

Karen Bennett

Academic Writing in Portugal

I : Discourses in Conflict

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)



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PREFACE

When I began translating Portuguese academic texts into English, back in the early '90s, I was confident that I knew what academic discourse was. I had been thoroughly trained in the art of writing papers at university, and had already had some years of teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in Portugal, which had given me an easy familiarity with the advice presented in the academic style manuals.

I knew, therefore, that good academic writing was clear and concise, that one should 'never use two words if one will do'. I knew that all key words had to be defined in order to avoid ambiguity, and that sentences should be kept quite short and simple, with no more than one main idea per clause. I knew that the text had to be planned in advance to ensure that the argument proceeded logically, and that each paragraph had to have a topic sentence that summed up its content, just as the text as a whole had to have an introduction that did the same thing. And above all, I knew that we should try to be impersonal and objective, avoiding figurative and emotive language, as it was unfair to manipulate the reader through non-rational means.

Yet many of the Portuguese academic texts that I was being asked to translate were nothing like this. The sentences were incredibly long and complex, and it was often difficult to make out the main point that was being made. The vocabulary seemed pompous and unnecessarily erudite, with metaphorical effusions that would sometimes extend halfway down the page. There were verbless sentences, and strange tense usages (why on earth would one use the present and future when referring to a historical past that was quite clearly over and done with?). And the texts as a whole did not seem to have been logically planned. That is to say, in terms of organisation, they often

seemed to favour the loose flowing style of poetic prose above the tight hierarchical structure that I had come to expect from a serious scholarly work.

At first I thought that Portuguese academics didn't know how to write. But then I realised that this style was so prevalent and so valued in the culture that such a simplistic interpretation was inadequate. I found it reproduced in books and academic journals, and I heard it being used in classrooms and at conferences. And although there didn't seem to be any specific courses available to teach Portuguese academic discourse, my students were certainly being instructed by their Portuguese tutors to write in a very different way to English. I realised this when I saw the bewilderment on their faces as I chopped up their elaborate sentences into smaller ones and replaced their high-flown vocabulary with more down-to-earth equivalents.

Since then, things have changed a lot in Portugal. Nowadays, almost everybody is aware of English Academic Discourse, and many researchers are even producing something very similar to it in Portuguese. This has facilitated the translation process immensely. However, my confrontation with Portuguese academic texts provoked questions in me that did not go away. I wondered why, if this were indeed an alternative academic discourse, nobody had ever thought to study it, why it remained uncodified and untaught. I wondered why the English way of composing texts had always been presented to us as the only way. And this made me wonder whether there might not be other academic discourses in other countries that no one outside had ever heard of because they had actually been silenced by a dominant voice.

Thus, I embarked upon a process of reflection about discourses and cultures and the relationships between them that eventually led to the research presented in this book.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This book is about the Portuguese version of an entity that is known in English as ‘Academic Discourse’. That is to say, it is concerned with the kind of prose that is produced in academia and manifested in genres such as the research article, conference paper, dissertation and abstract (Swales, 1990). In Britain and America, there are literally hundreds of books on the market designed to teach this kind of writing, and courses are offered in it at almost all universities. It is also the subject of a huge body of linguistic research, with entire journals, not to mention numerous books, devoted to it. Yet in Portugal, ‘academic discourse’ has only recently started to be recognised as an entity at all. Before the mid ‘noughties’, it was not systematically taught or researched, and writing manuals were scarce and usually dealt with textual macrostructure rather than with discourse *per se*.

Now, in the wake of the various initiatives to standardise higher education and research processes throughout the European Union,¹ academic writing courses have begun to sprout up in many Portuguese institutions. As might be expected, given the increased pressure upon Portuguese academics to publish and attend conferences abroad, many of these are in English. Moreover, the few that are in Portuguese largely reflect Anglo-Saxon attitudes to knowledge and discourse, and many seem to have been calqued directly from Anglophone models. The instruction given, therefore, bears little resemblance to the way in which Portuguese scholars have traditionally approached the production of academic texts, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

¹ Such as the creation of the European Research Council, the European Common Reference Framework for Languages, and of course the Bologna Accord for Higher Education.

This 'traditional' Portuguese academic writing style is nevertheless still highly visible in certain disciplines. What is more, it is very different from the English model. More akin to literary than scientific prose, its typical features include a taste for 'copiousness', manifested by a general wordiness and much redundancy; a preference for a high-flown erudite register (including complex syntax, lexical abstraction, etc); a propensity for indirectness, meaning that the main idea is often embedded, deferred or adorned at all ranks; and the extensive use of figurative language and other forms of subjectivity.

Despite the prevalence of this style of academic writing, it remains almost entirely unstudied by linguists. To my knowledge, there has been no research conducted into its distinctive features or the historical circumstances that gave rise to it, nor (as I have already mentioned) does it seem to have been systematically taught. Rather, the prevailing attitude amongst those producing it seems to be that this is 'personal' writing, deeply bound up with the individual's identity, and therefore ultimately unteachable.

This somewhat 'mystical' attitude to the production of scholarly texts in the humanities is not, however, borne out by the evidence. The many samples of Portuguese academic writing that have come to me over the years in the form of texts submitted for translation have a great many features in common – so many, in fact, as to belie the claim that each of those authors is simply 'doing his/her own thing'. On the contrary, there is every indication that we are in the presence of a distinct scholarly 'discourse', one that is apparently predicated upon a quite different epistemological framework to that underlying English Academic Discourse (EAD).

The studies presented in this book, therefore, were motivated by the desire to find empirical proof that there exists in Portugal an academic discourse that is clearly distinguishable from the hegemonic one and to make a start on the complex task of defining its parameters and determining its prevalence in relation to other discourses. Hence, this research may be considered as a preliminary reconnaissance of the complex terrain that is Academic Discourse in Portugal. Its primary aim is to provide a descriptive overview of current Portuguese academic writing practices by means of a Corpus study of texts of different academic disciplines and genres (Part I), but it also takes account of the attitudes of Portuguese scholars towards the issue of academic writing

(Part II), and of the prescriptive dimension, as manifested in Portuguese academic style manuals (Part III).

The approach taken throughout is a comparative one. That is to say, as the study was carried out within the discipline of Translation Studies and draws upon my own extensive experience as an academic translator in Portugal, the starting point for all three studies is English Academic Discourse against which the Portuguese situation is systematically compared. However, this does not mean that EAD is taken as a neutral universal standard. On the contrary, it is assumed to be a historically-contingent form of social practice that encodes the values and ideology of the community that gave rise to it. Hence, the current dominance of English in the academic sphere is viewed as a form of ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 1992), which seriously undermines other forms of encoding knowledge, leading in worst-case scenarios to full-blown ‘epistemicide’ (Santos, 2001, 2007). The extent to which this process is under way in Portugal is thus a central theme of this book.

* * *

The first problem assailing the researcher in this field is that the term ‘academic discourse’ is difficult to render into Portuguese. The notion of ‘discourse’ as a community-defined form of social practice seems to be absent from the experience of most Portuguese researchers, who prefer terms like *linguagem* or *estilo* to *discurso*. Moreover, the adjective *académico* does not easily collocate with any of these. The term *escrita académica* has now begun to appear in the context of university writing courses, but when I initially began collecting data for this project in around 2002, it was not common (except perhaps in Brazil). At that time, *linguagem científica*² was more frequently used in Portugal, or, in some disciplines, *linguagem filosófica*. Thus, it became clear from the outset that there was a terminological disjunction between Portuguese and English, which in itself was culturally revealing.

² The word *científico* has a much broader range of application than its English cognate, and can be used to refer to systematic knowledge in all areas, including subjects like literary studies, fine art and theology. It is particularly common in collocations such as *revista científica* (academic journal), *encontro científico* (academic conference) and *conselho científico* (research board).

Hence, it would seem appropriate to begin this study of academic writing practices in Portugal with a discussion of some of the key terms that will be used throughout this work. Let us begin with ‘discourse’.

i. Discourse

The notion of discourse as a form of social practice that effectively constructs the object it purports to describe was first articulated by Michel Foucault in his 1969 work *L'Archéologie du Savoir*. This was a revolutionary idea at the time, not only for linguistics (in that it shifted the focus away from the word and sentence to much larger units of text) but also politically, as it suggested that that language is always inescapably ideological. That is to say, the syntax and lexis of the simplest sentence can be shown to contain value judgements that relate it synchronically and diachronically to other texts in the system, constructing a complex web of interconnections, which, when institutionalized, may form a coherent ‘discursive formation’ (Foucault: 2002:41) with its own ideology, history and agenda.

These observations went on to inform an approach to textual analysis that has come to be known as Critical Discourse Theory³. Within this perspective, Kress (1985:7) describes discourse as follows:

Discourses are systematically organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. Beyond this, they define, describe and delimit what it is possible to say and not possible to say (and by extension – what it is possible to do or not to do) with respect to the area of concern of that institution, whether marginally or centrally. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about. In that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions. (Kress, 1985:7)

³ Cf. Kress & Hodge (1981 [1979]); Kress (1985); Fairclough (1989, 2002, 2003); Wodak & Meyer (2001), amongst others.

This leads on to another important feature of discourses, namely that they are inherently totalitarian in mission ('discourses tend towards exhaustiveness and inclusiveness', *Idem*) and imperialistic in reach, constantly aiming to explain and control as much area as possible. This is an important aspect to be borne in mind when attempting to map out the terrain of academic writing practices in Portugal. For EAD has systematically ousted rival academic discourses in many parts of the globe and with them alternative ways of construing knowledge. It is of interest to this study to determine the extent to which the traditional Portuguese approach is now under threat.

When the notion of discourse first began to be applied to the sphere of academic production, the concept of the 'discourse community' soon acquired a central role.

Use of the term 'discourse community' testifies to the increasingly common assumption that discourse operates within conventions defined by communities, be they academic disciplines or social groups. The pedagogies associated with writing across the curriculum and academic English now use the notion of 'discourse communities' to signify a cluster of ideas: that language use in a group is a form of social behaviour, that discourse is a means of maintaining and extending the group's knowledge and of initiating new members into the group, and that discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge. (Herzberg, cit. Swales, 1990:21).

Hence, by the mid '80s, academic writing was no longer considered an individual enterprise, crafted by lone scholars in pursuit of some referential truth. Instead, it was perceived above all as an *interpersonal* activity, a means of achieving membership of a community that would then endorse one's own production by conferring upon it the status of knowledge.

Thus, academic discourse became something eminently teachable. Indeed in the field of Applied Linguistics today, it is frequent to speak of 'novice' versus 'expert' writers, reflecting the assumption that the acquisition of writing skills is something that takes place over time, resulting in a continuum of expertise.

There is little place here for individualistic notions of ‘inspiration’, much less for aesthetic concerns. Rather, academic writing skills are seen as a craft that can be acquired somewhat mechanically by the systematic analysis and imitation of exemplary models.

This shift in perception will also have accounted in part for the great flurry of research activity that subsequently began in the Anglophone world into the entity now known as ‘academic discourse’. Since the mid-‘80s, there has been an intense interest in the phenomenon on the part of descriptive and applied linguists, leading to the production of countless books and articles that explore every possible aspect of the practice and how it should be taught⁴. Naturally, economic concerns are never very far away. Given Anglophone dominance in matters of scientific research, the teaching of academic writing skills is big business, as is testified by the burgeoning of EAP courses all over the world and the hundreds of style manuals on the market aimed at ever more tightly-defined target publics.

Let us look now at the entity that has been object of such attention, in order briefly define what it represents.

ii. English Academic Discourse (EAD)

Although research into the way that academics actually write in practice has shown that English Academic Discourse is by no means monolithic and that there are numerous genre and disciplinary variations (Swales, 1990; Hyland, 2000), EAD is usually presented to novices as a coherent entity with clearly defined features. A review of English academic style manuals conducted between 2004 and 2007 (Bennett, 2009) revealed that the advice given in them is broadly the same, irrespective of discipline, genre or target public. Of the 41 books actively consulted, only 1 (Woods, 2006), which was aimed specifically at qualitative researchers in the social sciences, took a different approach;

⁴ See, for example, Swales (1990); Halliday & Martin (1993); Battalio (1998); Martin & Veel (1998); Candlin & Hyland (1999); Hyland (2002); Flowerdew (2002); Schleppegrell & Columbi (2002), to name but a few.

indeed, the very fact that this author sets out to deliberately challenge 'traditional' practice would seem to confirm the hegemony of the conventional discourse⁵.

Thus, on the basis of the advice given in those style manuals, the main features of EAD might be summarized as follows:

a) General Principles:

- clarity and coherence;
- economy and precision of language (avoiding vagueness, verbosity, circumlocution);
- structured rational argument supported by evidence (avoiding dubious persuasive techniques);
- * generally impartial/objective with fact distinguished from opinion;
- caution and restraint about claims (use of hedging devices, etc);
- incorporation of theory through citation and referencing;

b) Text Structure:

- text organised into sections (Introduction / Development / Conclusion in the humanities and arts; Introduction / Method / Results / Discussion / Conclusion in the sciences);
- sections are organised into paragraphs, each of which deals with one particular idea;
- hierarchical organisation at all ranks, with general statement of theme followed by development;
- coherence created by thematic progression and made explicit through signposting;
- cohesion (through use of linkers, back- and forward referencing, ellipsis, etc);

⁵ There are, of course, other counter-hegemonic discourses being produced in English and American universities. Besides the various discourses of qualitative research, we could include the emancipatory *écritures* produced by different subaltern groups and the somewhat dense and opaque discourse of Critical Theory. However, within the academic panorama as a whole, these occupy a very peripheral role, as we can see by the complete lack of attention given to them outside of a few trendy sub-departments.

c) *Sentence Length and Structure:*

- complete sentences, each containing one main point, with straightforward syntax;
- sentences relatively short or varied in length, rarely containing more than about 40 – 50 words;
- *predominance of impersonal structures (passive; impersonal verbs etc);

d) *Lexis:*

- technical terminology from discipline (nominalisations);
- lexis used denotatively (definition of key words);
- concrete terms rather than abstractions;
- *limited use of figurative language.

(NB. *The asterisked features are controversial or discipline-dependent).

Historical studies into the origins of this discourse shed some light on the reasons for certain features. Work by the Systemic Functional linguists of the Australian School (Halliday & Martin, 1993; Wignell, 2007) has shown that this discourse was consciously developed in the 17th century to serve as a vehicle for the ‘new science’ that was then emerging, and that, over the course of the next three centuries, it spread to other disciplines to eventually become the default discourse of factuality. The technological and economic benefits brought by science ensured that this paradigm of knowledge rapidly took over from the earlier scholastic/humanistic approach until, by the mid 20th century, the humanities and social sciences were under a great deal of pressure to present themselves as ‘scientific’ in order to be taken seriously.

The scientific revolution of the 17th century essentially shifted the focus of knowledge away from texts and language to the concrete things of the outside world. Thus, the new grammar put the emphasis on physical phenomena with the development of nominalizations and impersonal verb forms, which presented the scientists’ findings as objective universal truths. Even today, despite the challenges to the whole notion of objectivity raised by poststructuralists and others in the final decades of the 20th century, the highly

nominalised impersonal style is still preferred by many academic authors as a marker of authority and factuality. Indeed, whether or not personal pronouns and other markers of subjectivity are permissible in academic discourse is still a moot point, as the survey of academic style manuals revealed (Bennett, 2009: 48-50).

The emphasis on plain language and clarity can also be historically explained. Most of the early scientists were Protestants (Merton, 2001 [1938]) with an inherent distaste for mediation in all aspects of life. For them, in science as well as in religion, 'to speak plainly...meant speaking the Word' (Bercovitch, 1975:29). Hence, in the rhetorical debates between Ciceronians and Anti-Ciceronians that wracked the Early Modern period (Croll, 1969 [1929]; Ryan, 1953), Protestants naturally gravitated towards the Anti-Ciceronian camp, spurning the elaborate grand style of Cicero in favour of the more demotic plain style. This gradually became reified, until today it is viewed in Anglophone culture as the only valid vehicle for fact; indeed, implicit connections are often made between the use of a 'neutral' 'transparent' prose style and the truth value ascribed to a writer's claims.

This kind of writing has variously been called 'windowpane prose' (Golden-Biddle & Locke, *cit.* Woods, 2006:43), 'the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric' (White, 1997:27) and the 'authoritative plain style' (Bernstein, *cit.* Venuti, 1995:5). Based upon a philosophy of language that is termed 'realist'⁶, it posits the existence of a world 'out there' that can be perceived, analysed and discussed in absolute terms, irrespective of the subjective position of the observer or the cognitive tools that are used for the purpose. But this apparent neutrality is a construct. It is largely achieved through the systematic use of nominalizations and impersonal verb forms, which remove the subjective observer from the picture and focus upon the world outside; by simple sentence structures and clearly defined lexis, which create an illusion of a basic correspondence between words and things; and by a careful reasoning process that uses 'logical' devices such as entailment and consistency to create a watertight argument.

⁶ 'Realism I characterise as the belief that statements of the disputed class possess an objective truth-value, independently of our means of knowing it: they are true or false in virtue of a reality existing independently of us' (Michael Dummett *cit.* Rorty, 1991:3)

The art of the matter, as far as the creation of facts is concerned, lies in deceiving the reader into thinking that there is no rhetoric, /.../ and that the facts are indeed speaking for themselves. (Swales, 1990:112)

From this perspective, then, ‘facts’ are no more than claims that have been canonised by the discourse community. Hence, the teaching of Academic Discourse largely involves equipping the students with the rhetorical skills that will make their claims acceptable to that community. As Swales implies, this often involves a certain amount of linguistic manipulation.

iii. Contrastive Rhetoric

Despite the fact that the EAP industry has long been sustained by a legitimizing discourse that portrays EAD as the only valid vehicle for academic inquiry (Lyotard, 1984; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994), applied linguists working with foreign students have gradually become aware that there may exist cultural differences in discursive or expository writing patterns. This notion was first broached by Robert B. Kaplan in a seminal paper first published in 1966, in which he suggested that many of the errors of text organisation and cohesion made by foreign students in their English academic writing may be due to different cultural conventions and indeed ‘thought patterns’ encoded in their mother tongues.

Logic (in the popular, rather than the logician’s sense of the word), which is the basis of rhetoric, is evolved out of a culture; it is not universal. Rhetoric, then, is not universal either, but varies from culture to culture and even from time to time within a given culture. It is affected by canons of taste within a given culture at a given time. (Kaplan, 1980:400)

He went on to assert that the typical linear development of the expository English paragraph may in fact be quite alien to other cultures, and even suggested a series of diagrammatic representations of how a paragraph might develop according to Semitic, Oriental, Romance and Russian styles. (*Idem*: 403-411)

Although this initial approach was overly simplistic, Kaplan's work spawned a multitude of similar studies that explored discourse differences from a variety of cultural perspectives (eg. Smith, 1987; Ventola & Mauranen, 1996; Duszak, 1997), culminating in the formal constitution of the discipline that is today known as Contrastive Rhetoric (Connor, 1996). However, amidst this plethora of contrastive studies, Portuguese academic discourse has been somewhat neglected. There has been some work done into other Romance languages, particular Spanish, which has a certain relevance: for example, Kaplan (1980:408), in his initial article, observed that 'there is much greater freedom to digress or to introduce extraneous material in French, or in Spanish, than English', while Grabe & Kaplan (1996:194), summarizing the work of several different researchers, report that Spanish writers prefer a more 'elaborated' style of writing, use longer sentences and have a penchant for subordination.⁷

However, although Contrastive Rhetoric is predicated upon the assumption that cultural differences exist in academic writing style, in my view, none of the CR studies that I have yet encountered go quite far enough in their claims. That is to say, although a great deal of attention has been given to identifying and analysing minor details of form and structure (such as sentence length and structure, personal pronouns, modality, argumentation strategies, etc), I have yet to find a single author who postulates that there may in fact be an entirely different paradigm underlying academic production in any other culture.

Yet 'Continental philosophy', with its long tradition of idealism⁸ stretching back through poststructuralism and structuralism to phenomenology and hermeneutics, is fundamentally sceptical of knowledge gleaned by empirical means. Thus, it is to be expected that cultures where this paradigm dominates might incline towards a different type of discourse, one in which meaning is generated within the sign system rather than purporting to reflect the world outside. The fact that these alternatives are given such short shrift in the

⁷ For other more recent studies contrasting specific features of Spanish and English academic texts, see Moreno, 1997; Martín Martín, 2003; Mur Dueñas, 2007a, 2007b.

⁸ In philosophical idealism, the so-called external, or real world is inseparable from consciousness, perception, mind, intellect or reason. Cf. Kant '... if I remove the thinking subject, the whole material world must at once vanish because it is nothing but a phenomenal appearance in the sensibility of ourselves as a subject, and a manner or species of representation' (*Critique of Pure Reason*, A383).

Anglophone world would seem to support the claim that it is ultimately engaged in a neo-imperialistic exercise to impose its own worldview throughout the globe.

iv. Linguistic Imperialism

The ongoing debate about linguistic imperialism in academia was prompted by the publication in 1992 of Phillipson's critique of the English language teaching (ELT) industry entitled precisely *Linguistic Imperialism*. In this influential work, Phillipson points out that, despite being packaged as a kind of 'aid' for under-developed countries,⁹ the English language is in fact both a very lucrative export commodity and an effective form of propaganda. Indeed, he devotes an entire chapter to describing how the British Council, along with parallel American institutions, was set up in the early 20th century as part of a concerted attempt to avert the threat of war through cultural diplomacy, with English language teaching forming a central weapon in its armoury.¹⁰ According to the first *British Council Annual Report* of 1940-41:

The Council's aim is to create in a country overseas a basis of friendly knowledge and understanding of the people of this country, of their philosophy and way of life, which will lead to a sympathetic appreciation of British foreign policy, whatever for the moment that policy might be and from whatever political conviction it may spring. (*cit.* Phillipson, 1992: 139)

Reframing this intent within the Bourdieuan concept of 'symbolic power', Phillipson focuses upon the consequences for the recipients, who are persuaded to internalise a whole set of ideological assumptions and values that may not necessarily be in their own interest.

⁹ 'The white man's burden had been metamorphosed into the British native-speaker teacher's burden' (*Idem*: 179).

¹⁰ By 1940-41, the institution's activities were focused on four main areas of the globe which were considered to be of prime strategic importance, as 'this was where the Germans and Italians had concentrated their propaganda efforts'. Interestingly, one of those four areas was Portugal (*Idem*: 140).

What is at stake when English spreads is not merely the substitution or displacement of one language by another but the imposition of new 'mental structures' through English. (*Idem*: 166)

Thus, by presenting itself as a vehicle of modernity and progress, English language and culture managed in the first part of the 20th century, to acquire hegemonic status¹¹ in the world, rapidly overtaking French as the *lingua franca* of cultured elites. When the United States emerged as superpower after the Second World War, its future was assured. English had become the language of power, required by anyone that wished to make their voice heard on the international stage.

This argument was furthered with Pennycook's work *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*, which came out in 1994. Amongst other things, this author introduces the specific issue of academic discourse, pointing out that access to the most prestigious kind of knowledge is often only through English.

In international academic relations, the predominance of English has profound consequences. A large proportion of textbooks in the world are published in English and designed either for the internal English-speaking market...or for an international market. In both cases, students around the world are not only obliged to reach a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies, but are also dependent on forms of Western knowledge that are of limited value and of extreme inappropriacy in the local context. (1994: 20)

Although Pennycook goes on to discuss this with relation to India,¹² the same argument might be applied in the context of Europe, which has long been split between two distinct paradigms of knowledge, as mentioned briefly above. Recent EU policies designed to standardize higher education and

¹¹ See Phillipson (1992:72-76) for a detailed discussion of Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' in the English language context.

¹² See Canagarah (2002) for a further exploration of the material and conceptual constraints affecting scholars from peripheral countries.

research have ensured that it is the Anglophone empirical model that has prevailed, with inevitable consequences for the kinds of discourse produced in academia.

This situation is discussed by Swales, who likens EAD to a Tyrannosaurus Rex ‘gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds’ (1997:374). One of the greatest risks posed, he argues, is the loss of ‘registral biodiversity’ (Idem: 378), as languages deliberately cultivate modern scientific or academic varieties in order to ensure the production of competitive scholarship. Continuing this theme, Tardy (2004:250) points out that 95% of the publications in the 1995 edition of the *Science Citation Index* were in English, and that gatekeeping roles (in the form of editorial boards and referees) are most often occupied by Anglophone scholars.

Common methods and measurement standards have coupled with cumulative and self-referential knowledge-making to result in an increased standardization of scientific discourse. Therefore, when genre or discourse patterns do not follow the expectations of the gatekeepers, they are more likely to be viewed as non-standard and to be excluded from publication.
(Idem)

The emerging picture is therefore of an academic monoculture that seems intent on wiping out all competition. The Portuguese sociologist, Boaventura Sousa Santos (2001, 2007) has termed this process ‘epistemicide’.

v. Epistemicide

Although Pennycook (1994:13-14) mentions ‘linguistic genocide’ and ‘linguistic curtailment’¹³ as consequences of the global spread of English,

¹³ ‘Linguistic genocide’ refers to the disappearance of minority languages as a result of dominance by a more powerful one. ‘Linguistic curtailment’ occurs when the usage of a particular language is restricted, qualitatively and quantitatively, in certain situations. A relevant example in this context might be the increasing use of English in international conferences held on Portuguese territory.

neither of these concepts quite corresponds to the far more serious allegation of ‘epistemicide’ brought by Boaventura de Sousa Santos. The sociologist has used this term a number of times over the course of his wide-ranging critiques of Western thought, but it is perhaps most explicitly developed in his 2001 essay on the ‘epistemology of blindness’. In this, he accuses modern science not only of being blinkered to the existence of other forms of knowledge, but of deliberately bringing about the destruction of any that might threaten its pre-eminence.

Social practices are knowledge practices, but they can only be recognised as such to the extent that they are the mirror image of scientific knowledge. Whatever knowledge does not fit the image is discarded as a form of ignorance. The single view rather than being a natural phenomenon is the *ur*-product of the creative destruction of modern science. The epistemological privilege that modern science grants to itself is thus the result of the destruction of all alternative knowledges that could eventually question such privilege. It is, in other words, a product of epistemicide. The destruction of knowledge is not an epistemological artefact without consequences. It involves the destruction of the social practices and the disqualification of the social agents that operate according to such knowledges. (2001: 266)

Most of Santos’ work has concentrated upon oppositions between the Western and non-Western, or between North and South; consequently, although Portugal is granted a role on the ‘semi-periphery’¹⁴ of the world system, little attention has yet been given to the way in which knowledge is encoded in this culture. Indeed, the implications seem to be that Portugal largely partakes of centre values in this domain. However, as I am hoping to show over the course of this book, much of what is generated in humanities departments in Portugal

¹⁴ This concept was originally formulated by Wallerstein (1984) and applied to Portugal by Santos (1985). According to this analysis, semiperipheral countries are positioned, geographically and economically, between the core and the periphery of the world system and have characteristics of each; thus, they are essential to the functioning of the world system, providing a buffer zone between rich and poor as well as mediating change.

has little in common with the hegemonic knowledge that is the object of Santos' critique. Often based upon quite different epistemological assumptions to the empiricism and linguistic realism that underlies Anglo-Saxon research, such texts can rarely be made fit for publication in English-language journals without extensive re-structuring and reformulation. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (Bennett, 2007b), the translational act may itself be considered as a form of 'epistemicide' in the sense that it is sometimes obliged to destroy the epistemological infrastructure of the original work in order to ensure acceptance by the target culture.

On the other hand, translation may also offer an escape route from what Santos calls the trap of 'abyssal thinking'. In a later work, he calls for an 'ecology of knowledges' which would make extensive use of intercultural translation to guarantee epistemological biodiversity.

From the perspective of Northern abyssal epistemologies, policing the boundaries of relevant knowledge is by far more decisive than arguing over internal differences. As a consequence, a massive epistemicide has been under way for the past five centuries, whereby an immense wealth of cognitive experiences has been wasted. To recuperate some of these experiences, the ecology of knowledges resorts to intercultural translation, its most characteristic post-abyssal feature. Embedded in different Western and non-Western cultures, such experiences use not only different languages but also different categories, symbolic universes and aspirations for a better life. (2005: 16)

He goes on to discuss the issue of whether these different knowledges are in fact 'incommensurable'.¹⁵

...there are those who defend that there are not one but many philosophies and believe that mutual dialogue and enrichment is possible. They are

¹⁵ This question was first raised by Thomas Kuhn (1962) in the context of different scientific paradigms. Kuhn mentions translation as a way of overcoming incommensurability (1970 [1962]: 198-204), although this perspective is amended in a later work in which he acknowledges that 'the roots of incommensurability lie in the nature of language itself' (2009 [1999]: 182).

the ones who often have to confront the problems of incommensurability, incompatibility, or reciprocal unintelligibility. They think, however, that incommensurability does not necessarily impede communication and may even lead to unsuspected forms of complementarity. It all depends on the use of adequate procedures of intercultural translation. Through translation, it becomes possible to identify common concerns, complementary approaches, and, of course, also intractable contradictions. (*Idem*)

Similar opinions have been voiced with the field of Translation Studies. For example, Venuti (1995) famously called for a ‘foreignizing’ approach to translation into English that would highlight the ‘otherness’ of the discourse and make the reader aware of the different worldview. To some extent this has now taken place in the field of fiction, particularly with the burgeoning market for postcolonial novels. However, factual texts remain stubbornly impervious to such techniques. Research into the academic writing of multilingual scholars (Curry & Lillis, 2004; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2006b) confirms that journals often reject articles by foreign academics on linguistic and stylistic grounds, and that ‘literacy brokers’ (such as journal editors, reviewers, academic peers, etc) systematically intervene in texts of foreign authorship to bring them into line with target culture expectations. Hence, Santos’ optimistic vision of an ‘ecology of knowledges’ still seems very remote at this point.

* * *

Of course not everyone involved in the production of academic texts sees the hegemony of English as a bad thing. A survey of foreign graduate students carried out in the US revealed that the overwhelming majority felt there was a need for a *lingua franca* for scientific communication, and that some considered EAD to be particularly suited to the task given its ‘explicit and objective’ structure (Tardy, 2004: 258). Hence, in this study of academic writing practices in Portugal, I felt that it was important to take account of the attitudes of Portuguese researchers towards both Portuguese and English, and to gauge their awareness of the issues described above.

This book, therefore, contains three self-contained (though complementary) studies into different aspects of Portuguese academic writing practices. **Part I** is a Corpus Study of 408 Portuguese academic texts (1,333,890 words) of different disciplines and genres, which had been submitted to me for translation over a roughly ten-year period (1998-2008). These were analysed for the presence of features considered to constitute markers of difference from EAD, as well as for general ‘translatability’, on the basis of which they were allocated a score known as a ‘Variance Factor’ ranging from 0 to -4. The results were then interpreted in the light of discipline and genre.

Part II describes the results of a survey of Portuguese researchers conducted in 2002 and 2008, designed to gauge their attitude towards the issue of academic discourse and find out something about their habits as regards the production of academic texts in English. As one of the main aims was to further test my hypothesis that there exists in Portuguese a discourse of the humanities that is distinct in structure and underlying epistemology from EAD, the questionnaire was administered mainly to researchers operating in the Humanities and Social Sciences, who were asked not only about their writing practices, but also about their perceptions of the differences between Portuguese and English in their respective disciplines and their subjective responses to the encroachment of English. There were also questions about the strategies used for publication in English (where appropriate), in order to assess the prevalence of translation.

Part III describes a review of the Portuguese academic style manuals on the market, designed to mirror the survey of English academic style manuals, mentioned above (Bennett, 2009). Its objective was not only to assess the volume of such material available but also the nature of the advice given, in order to determine the kind of academic discourse that was being promoted via this channel.

Finally, the **Conclusion** draws together the results of all three studies in order to offer an overview of academic writing practices in Portugal at present, discussing some of the implications of the findings made.

PART I

**CORPUS STUDY OF
PORTUGUESE ACADEMIC TEXTS**

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I. INTRODUCTION¹⁶

This corpus consists of 408 Portuguese academic texts (1,333,890 words), spanning a range of disciplines and genres. Most were submitted to me for translation over a 10-year period (1998-2008), though a few date from earlier. The texts, which represent the work of 195 authors (single or collective), were usually sent to me directly by the author or research unit that produced them, or from the institutions or journals responsible for publishing them; intermediaries such as translation agencies or university language centres were involved in only a very few cases. Generally, the translation was requested in order to enable the work to be published or presented abroad, although there were some cases of texts that were intended for bilingual editions or web pages to be published in Portugal.

The corpus was compiled with several aims in mind:

- 1) To obtain an overview of the kind(s) of discourse being produced by Portuguese academics across disciplines and genres;
- 2) To compare Portuguese academic discourse in different disciplines and genres with EAD;
- 3) To assess the volume and nature of the translational activity taking place between Portuguese and English in different academic disciplines and genres.

A fourth aim - to trace some of the changes that have taken place in Portuguese academic discourse across the 15 years that I have been working

¹⁶ The results of this study were first published as an article in 2010: 'Academic Discourse in Portugal: a Whole Different Ballgame' in *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 9 (1) 21-32.

as an academic translator – unfortunately had to be abandoned, due to the fact that most of the earlier texts (produced before electronic transmission and storage became generalised) had been lost.

The texts were all stored as *Microsoft Word* files, with the exception of a few of the earlier ones that only existed in the form of a hard copy. As most were unpublished at the time of translation, they were anonymised, and the files were categorised and coded according to Discipline, Text Type, Year of Submission and Author. They were then analysed in order to determine their degree of deviation from the hegemonic EAD standard.¹⁷ The results were collated in a *Microsoft Access* database.

Texts submitted for revision as opposed to translation (i.e. written directly in English or translated into English by the authors themselves) are not included in this corpus because they have been studied elsewhere (McKenny & Bennett, 2009, 2011).

II. THE CORPUS

The corpus may be considered a ‘convenience’ corpus, in the sense that it is not a random sample of Portuguese academic production, but is constrained by factors resulting from my professional practice. This has produced a certain distortion, particularly as regards representativity. For example, there are clusters of texts in areas where I have a particularly active clientele, and gaps in others, which makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about translational activity across disciplines and genres. Similarly, the fact that I have ‘regular clients’ means that some areas are dominated by single authors, whose particular style will inevitably affect assessments about discourse in that field.

¹⁷ The characteristics of English Academic Discourse, summarized in the Introduction, were established through a survey of the academic style manuals on the market (see Bennett, 2009), complemented by a bibliographic review of research carried out in the fields of Descriptive and Applied Linguistics.

The text-based approach has been given priority in my analyses chiefly to take account of genre, which is considered to be an important determinant of discourse style (Swales, 1990). However, a major disadvantage of this approach is that it results in a massive variation in the word count of individual files, which range from 40 words, in the case of a simple abstract, to over 80,000 words for a PhD thesis.

I have tried to compensate to some extent for this distortion by offsetting the text-based approach with a word-based approach. For example, the overwhelming dominance of Medicine when counted through number of texts (a situation that has arisen from the fact that I have regularly translated a quarterly medical journal since 2005) is partly mitigated by the fact that other disciplines, such as Sociology, Law, History and Art, contain much longer texts (MA and PhD dissertations, full-length monographs, multi-authored volumes, etc), which gives them a comparable or superior word count.

i. Inclusion criteria

Deciding what texts qualified as Academic Discourse was surprisingly difficult. Priority was given to what Swales (1990:93-189) defines as 'Research-Process Genres' (i.e. research articles, abstracts, theses and research proposals) produced within the academic environment (i.e. under the auspices of universities or other institutes of high education or university-based research institutes), and it is these that form the core of the corpus. However, some of the 'Research-Process' texts submitted for translation were produced outside academia (e.g. medical research produced by practising clinicians; engineering studies generated by industry or heritage-protection institutes; EU or UN research projects, etc). Despite a tenuous or non-existent university connection, these were included in the corpus provided that they complied with the norms of the genre and were aimed at a specialist public.

On the other hand, some of the texts that had been submitted for translation were produced within the academic environment but were peripheral to the main research-process genres. Of those, it was decided to include research

reports, academic reviews, course programmes, monographs, and multi-authored volumes produced by research institutes. A miscellaneous category (Other) was also created to account for smaller but related text-types such as publicity material for conferences or courses, calls-for-papers, blurbs from academic book covers, etc. Academic correspondence and teaching materials were not included, as they were felt to be governed by other discourse conventions.

Even within research-process genres, the border between academic and non-academic writing was also very difficult to establish. Some indisputably academic texts, such as abstracts, research articles, theses and course programmes, were found to employ an emotive or high-flown literary style that has very little in common with the norms of mainstream EAD; while other articles, which at first sight seem to be aimed at a more general public, were scholarly in tone and densely referenced. Both have been included in this corpus as they are felt to provide evidence of a lack of genre definition in the Portuguese approach to discourse. Indeed, the former are given particular attention in my discussion of Portuguese academic discourse, as possible manifestations of a different epistemological approach.

Excluded from the corpus were: guide books to archaeological and historic sites (even though the information contained in these was the result of research); texts designed primarily for publicity purposes; non-academic book reviews; non-academic legal documents; literary works, and articles for publication in general-circulation newspapers or magazines, even when written by academics. Articles written for exhibition catalogues were included only when they were clearly related to some university project, such as a conference or research-based publication.

As regards authors, I tried to limit the corpus to Portuguese native speakers (including Brazilians and Lusophone Africans). However, it is not always easy to distinguish this: the name of the author is not necessarily an indication of mother tongue, and neither is author's affiliation, given the increased mobility of academics in the modern world. Indeed, two particularly interesting Portuguese texts had to be discarded from the corpus when I learned that the authors were in fact Italian. Portuguese texts that were translations of an original in some other language were also excluded.

ii. Categorization system

The texts are identified by a transparent code that provides the following information:

Discipline: A series of 3-4 capital letters indicating disciplinary area. ARCT (Architecture); ARLG (Archaeology); ART (Art); ECON (Economics); EDUC (Education); ENG (Engineering); GEOG (Geography); HIST (History); LAW (Law); LING (Linguistics); LIT (Literature); MAT (Mathematics); MED (Medicine); MUS (Music); PHAR (Pharmacy); PHIL (Philosophy); PSY (Psychology), and SOC (Sociology).

Year: Two numbers indicating year when the text was submitted and the translation executed. This generally ranges from 96 (1996) to 08 (2008).

Text Type: Two or three letters, usually in small case except for the first, indicating text type.

Abs – Abstract;

Art – Article for publication in journal or conference paper, sometimes qualified in brackets by the letters Int (Interview) or Biog (biographical article);

CP – Course Programme;

MA – Masters Dissertation or part of one;

PhD – PhD Dissertation or part of one;

Mono – Full-length monograph or part of one;

Rep – Report;

Rev – Review of book or article;

RP - Research Proposal;

Vol – Full-length multi-authored volume produced by research unit;

Other – publicity material for conferences/courses/databases, calls for papers, blurbs from book covers, etc.

[NB. If the Word file does not contain the full text, this fact is indicated by the insertion of 'Frag' (fragment) or 'Chap' (chapter) in the categorisation code before the text type, numbered in the order of submission.]

Author: Two or three letters indicating the Author(s) or Institution responsible for text.

Serial No: A number indicating if it is the 1st, 2nd, 3rd text by this author in that category.

Original/Translation: A letter in brackets indicating if this is the Original Text in Portuguese (O) or the Translated Text in English (T). The database (see below) also includes references to other versions, not included in this corpus, such as English versions submitted for revision (E) and the Revised versions of those (R).

iii. Categorization problems

All the categories used in the above coding system were problematic to some extent. This was felt to be inevitable (since reality is never as easily classifiable as we would like it to be), though categorization was necessary for analysis and description. The main problems were as follows:

a) Disciplines

Problems were raised for categorisation by the fact that disciplinary boundaries are becoming ever more blurred. For one, Portugal has seen a reorganisation of its traditional disciplinary areas in the last few years, with new courses emerging in areas like Tourism, Museology, Urban Planning, European Studies, etc. In addition, research is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary in nature, and is often conducted by teams of researchers with backgrounds in different areas.

Nevertheless, in order to restrict the number of categories used in this corpus, the decision was taken to retain the more traditional disciplinary areas and to classify texts according to criteria such as: similarity of content with other texts in that category; author's institutional affiliation; identity of institution

paying for or publishing the translation; disciplinary area of conference or publication receiving the text, etc.

As for the assumedly interdisciplinary texts, the decision to include the text in one category above another was taken on the basis of both content emphasis, and identity of author or financing institution. Hence, a text on the legal and psychological implications of child abuse is under Law rather than Psychology, while another about the legal consequences of a particular medical condition is filed under Medicine. There are some inconsistencies. For example, some of the articles published in the Proceedings of a conference on Literature and Art were filed under Art, while others from the same conference were under Literature. Here, the main criterion used was content emphasis.

An additional problem was caused by authors writing texts in a number of different disciplinary areas. For example JPA is well-known in Portugal as a psychiatrist, but the texts he writes have little in common with the other medical texts in the corpus; rather, they range around areas of psychology, culture, language and philosophy (he has been categorised under Psychology and Philosophy). LC is also a doctor, but her maverick texts have more in common with the discourse of the humanities than science; she too has been placed under Psychology and Philosophy. SF, on the other hand, is better known as a chemist, but his texts include a supra-disciplinary reflection upon the whole epistemological project of science in the light of postmodernism, initially published in a journal on Christianity and Culture (filed under Philosophy) and a reflective article on art, science and literature (filed under Art).

This difficulty with disciplinary categorization is in itself an interesting issue, which is discussed in more detail below.

b) Year

This indicates the year when the text was submitted for translation. This is not generally too problematic, though in a few cases, it has led to a discrepancy with the date of authorship (for example, one philosophy article was first published in a Portuguese journal in 2001, although only submitted for translation in 2005).

c) Text Types

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The vast majority of academic texts presented for translation were Abstracts or Articles. However, both of these categories may be subdivided. Abstracts, for example, may refer to many different genres (articles, conference papers, dissertations, monographs, research projects, etc) and they may be either prospective (i.e. written before the research was actually carried out to apply for funding, secure a place at a conference or persuade a publisher) or retrospective (describing work already done).

Similarly the category Article may refer to a text written for publication in an academic journal or collective volume, or a conference paper (in Portugal, unlike in the UK, there is no appreciable difference between a written and an orally delivered paper, since the latter are inevitably written texts that are read aloud). There are also different kinds of article. Some of the articles translated for a particular Mathematics research institute are in fact biographical essays about famous mathematicians, rather than research articles as such, while several articles in the field of Sociology are simple transcriptions of interviews, framed by an introduction and conclusion. These variations in form and purpose are indicated in the database wherever possible (eg. 'Abstract: conference paper'; 'Article: interview').

Some of the longer texts, particularly prospectuses or websites presenting a Faculty, Course or Research Institute, may contain a number of different discourses, not all of which are strictly speaking academic discourse (i.e. extracts from relevant legislation; staff curricula; descriptions of activities, etc). In these cases, only the relevant parts have been considered and assessed.

A major logistic problem arose from the fact that files do not always correspond to complete texts. Some texts were presented to me in fragments, often because the whole text was extremely large (in the case of theses or monographs), because there was a deadline approaching and the author had not yet completed the original, or because the client wanted to save money by avoiding the inclusion of bibliographies, titles and captions in the word count. Given the impossibility of accurately reconstituting the whole text, it seemed more sensible to retain the fragments in separate files. In these cases, the files

were labelled 'Frag' followed by a serial number (indicating order of submission/translation) and a reference to the text type of the whole work (i.e. Frag1Art; Frag2RP). However, in the database and the statistical analyses derived from it, a text that occupies several files was only counted once. A similar process was used for full-length works, such as monographs, volumes and theses, where individual chapters have been identified (ChapMono; ChapPhD).

Sometimes more than one text occupies a single file. This is very common in the case of Research Articles, which are frequently accompanied by an Abstract. These were labelled as Abs+Art in the Corpus, but were counted separately in the Database.

d) Authorship

In order to take account of authorship while simultaneously maintaining anonymity, authorship is identified by a series of letters. This may indicate a single author, a team of authors, a head researcher taking responsibility for a text not actually written by him/her, or a research institute. When there is more than one text by the same author in a given category, then they are serialized: i.e. SM1, SM2, SM3 etc.

In some cases, the author's identity was not available. This was either because the text dates from before I started keeping proper records, or because the translation came to me via an agency, which preferred not to name their client. These were identified as 'Anon'.

e) Versions

Most of the texts in the Corpus exist in 2 versions: Original (O) and Translation (T). However, there are many cases where one of the versions is missing. The Original is often missing from the electronic corpus because it was presented as a hard copy (particularly common for texts executed before 2002) or because it is in a different format (web page, Powerpoint presentation, etc).

Although some of these Originals may exist elsewhere and reference is made to them in the database, there are others that have been lost, usually because they were presented many years ago before digital records were properly kept (this accounts for the many missing Originals in the category of Education, for example).

If the Original is present but the Translation is missing, this is either because the Portuguese text had already been translated by the client, who was seeking revision (in which case reference is made in the database to their English version and my revision of it, labelled E and R respectively) or because the translation was never actually executed (usually for reasons of price).

Some texts were presented to me written partly in Portuguese and partly in English. This was usually because the author was importing passages from an already-translated text, or because s/he was paraphrasing extracts from another work published in English. When the foreign language intrusion was widespread enough to justify it being considered a bilingual text, these were identified as O-E and T-R (where the E stands for 'English Version' and the R for 'Revision').

Texts submitted entirely in English (E) for revision were included in this Corpus because they have been studied elsewhere (McKenny & Bennett, 2009, 2001). However, the database makes reference to these when they complement (O) and (T) texts in the Corpus.

III. ANALYSIS

After the number of texts, words and authors had been calculated for each discipline, the Portuguese texts were analysed to assess the extent to which their discourse differed from the norms of English Academic Discourse. On the basis of this analysis, each one was awarded a grade between 0 and -4, called a Variance Factor (VF).

The Variance Factor was attributed on the basis of a series of different characteristics. A global assessment of the general 'translatability' of the text (which included textual and paragraph organization, general syntax, referential

vs. figurative use of lexis, level of abstraction, etc) was supplemented by survey designed to identify particular characteristics considered to be markers of a non-English style (Distinguishing Discourse Features or DDFs).

The analysis was done entirely manually on the grounds that the important global assessment was essentially qualitative and therefore did not lend itself to electronic analysis; indeed, even the DDFs were not all susceptible to electronic tagging, as many different forms and structures were often used to realise a particular function or effect.

The disadvantage of manual analysis was, of course, that I was unable to count the incidences of certain features, as might have been achieved for some DDFs using electronic tools. This could have provided interesting statistics about the prevalence of those features in different disciplines and text-types.

i) Variance Factor

The Variance Factor (VF) refers to the perceived difference between the discourse used in a particular text and mainstream EAD (see Fig. 1). 0 indicates that the discourse is essentially the same as what might be expected in an English academic text in the same discipline and of the same genre, with allowance made for aspects that are determined by the language rather than by discourse (i.e. use of reflexive voice to express a passive idea; inversion of SV word order in certain contexts). Scores ranging from -1 to -4 express an increasing difference from the EAD.

Although the quantity of Distinguishing Discourse Features contributes to the VF attributed to a particular text, it must be pointed out that the concept of the Variance Factor extends beyond the mere sum of DDFs (one reason why a manual analysis was preferred over an electronic one). Translatability was of prime importance here; texts which required extensive reformulation in order to become intelligible in English would be awarded a higher VF than those in which the surface structure resembled English. Other texts have been given a high VF for reasons that have more to do with epistemological approach or textual organisation than with surface texture.

- 0 The style resembles the respective English discourse in all respects. The text organisation corresponds to what would be used in an English text of the same type. Paragraphs are blocked and generally introduced with a topic sentence. Syntax is mostly simple, with a single idea per clause and limited subordination. Impersonal forms may predominate (often realised through the reflexive voice), and uses of personal forms and gerunds are similar to in English. There may be some alteration to word order as a result of reflexive or passive formulations that front the verb rather than the subject. Lexis is used referentially, rather than figuratively, and terms are clearly defined.
- 1 The general textual organization is the same as English. The text has a clear Introduction/Development/Conclusion (explicit or implicit), or in the case of scientific texts, follows the expected format (Materials & Methods; Results; Discussion; Conclusions, etc). The theme is clearly identified. Paragraphs are approximately the same length and generally introduced by a topic sentence. There is evidence of structured rational argument and incorporation of theory through citation and referencing. An impersonal objective style is generally maintained but there maybe **occasional** recourse to some of the following DDFs: *interpersonal framing devices (FD)*, *deferred topics (DT)*, *high-flown figurative or emotive language (PD)*, *negative constructions (Neg)*, *historic tenses (HT)* or a non-English usage of *personal references (Pers)* or *gerunds (Ger)*. Sentence structure is mostly simple, but there may be a few examples of complexity (*CS*).
- 2 The general textual organisation is similar to English, and there is a clearly identifiable theme. Paragraphs may sometimes not be blocked and there is use of *deferred topics (DT)*. There is widespread recourse to *abstractions (Abs)*, *interpersonal framing devices (FD)* or *figurative or poetic diction (PD)*. Sentence structure is frequently *complex (CS)*, with *negative constructions (Neg)* and some *verbless sentences (VS)*. *Gerunds (Ger)* and *personal references (Pers)* may be used in a non-English fashion.
- 3 The text is organised differently to a typical English academic text, perhaps with no clear hierarchical relationship between the various parts. This may be visible in the visual layout on the page (eg. long expanses of unbroken text or a highly-fragmented text with sentences all beginning on a new line). Topic sentences, if they exist, may appear at the end of paragraphs or sections, or elsewhere. There is a high degree of syntactic complexity (*CS*) and/or *verbless sentences (VS)*. Lexis is used predominantly in a figurative or poetic way (*PD*), perhaps with poetic excerpts (*Cit*), and there are a lot of abstractions (*Abs*). The content of the text may also be less easily categorisable, in terms of discipline or genre.
- 4 There are profound differences in organisation of text, use of syntax and lexis, indicating completely different underlying philosophy. The text is also difficult to categorise in terms of discipline and genre. It may range across a number of different areas, such as art, science, literature and philosophy, and play with the discourses of different genres, perhaps by including fragments of quotations from poets or philosophers (*Cit*), for example. Diction will be mostly figurative or poetic (*PD*), abstract (*Abs*) or drawn from the postmodern repertoire (*PM*) and the structure will not be created in the conventional way but instead through more literary or creative means.

Fig. 1. Variance Factor

ii. Distinguishing Discourse Features

The Distinguishing Discourse Features (DDFs) include both grammatical and lexical items. Some are features of the Portuguese language that do not exist in English at all. Most, however, do have formal equivalents in English. They have been included here either because they would be considered inappropriate or controversial in English academic discourse, or because they raise particular translation problems.

The DDFs considered in this study are listed below. All examples are taken from the Corpus.

i. Reflexives (*Refl*):

The Reflexive voice is an alternative to the Active and Passive, with no formal equivalent in English. It is, however, extremely common in Portuguese, particularly in academic discourse. Superficially, it indicates an action that is both performed and undergone by the subject(s), alone or reciprocally¹⁸ (eg. '*defendendo-se das sanções recebidas*' – '**defending themselves** against the sanctions imposed'; '*povos que na maior parte das vezes nem sequer se conheciam*' – '**peoples that generally did not even know each other**'). However, many common verbs (such as '*tornar-se*' - 'become'; '*tratar-se de*' - 'deal with'; '*referir-se a*' - 'refer to'), take the reflexive form as a matter of course on the grounds that this relationship is implicit. These are usually translated by Intransitive or Active verbs in English.

However, for our purposes, the most important use of the Reflexive is its passive function (Mateus et al, 1989: 225-6; Cunha & Cintra, 1985: 268), since this makes it an important resource for expressing Impersonality/Objectivity. Consequently it is extremely frequent in academic texts. Examples from the Corpus include: '*descrevem-se três casos clínicos*' ('three clinical cases **are**

¹⁸ This is the function that is given priority by Cunha & Cintra (1985: 167) and Estrela et al. (2003: 75). On the other hand, Mateus et al. (1989: 225-6) do not give a separate category to the Reflexive but consider it under the heading of the Passive.

described’); *‘pede-se ao juiz que não seja concedida...’* (‘the court is asked not to grant...’) *‘logo que se comunique aqueles dados a terceiros...’* (‘as soon as that information is transmitted to third parties...’).

An interesting consequence of the passive use of the Reflexive (like the alternative Passive form, which is constructed in exactly the same way as in English) is that the verb is frequently placed at the beginning of the clause. Verbal fronting is of course grammatically impossible in English in affirmative sentences and may lead to translation problems, particularly when the clause or noun phrase that follows is complex (eg. *‘procurou-se determinar a relação entre os comportamentos de bullying e outras formas de comportamento social’* – ‘it was sought to determine the relationship between bullying behaviours and other forms of social behaviour’) or when the verb in question cannot take the Passive in English (eg. *‘Procedeu-se a uma análise diferencial dos sexos...’* – ‘it was proceeded to a differential analysis of the sexes’). In these cases, the translator has either to resort to an Active construction (i.e. ‘we also attempted to determine the relationship between bullying and other forms of social behaviour, such as drug addiction and delinquency’) or sacrifice a component of the meaning (i.e. ‘a differential analysis was performed to establish statistical differences between the sexes’).

ii. Personal References (*Pers*):

Portuguese academic discourse also makes great use of Personal References, such as first and second person verb forms (singular and plural), personal pronouns, and their respective possessive adjectives. However, a number of different functions may be distinguished, some of which correspond to English usages and others which are quite alien.

- Self-reference to author: As in English, authors sometimes refer to themselves using the 1st person singular (eg. *‘para este estudo servi-me de...’* – ‘In this study I used...’). However, it is much more common to find the first-person plural used for this function, not only when the text is written by a team, but also, significantly, by single authors. It is used

for signposting (*'Na secção seguinte mapeamos algumas destas principais estratégias jurídicas'* – 'In the next section, we will map out some of the main legal strategies'); for referring back to points already made (*'Dissemos anteriormente que...'* – 'We have already said that...'), for expressing personal opinions about the matter in hand (*'quanto a nós'* – 'according to us/in our opinion'), etc.

- Impersonal usages: The first-person plural is often used in generalised situations where English would prefer an impersonal form¹⁹. eg. *'Estamos perante uma situação de conflito de deveres'* ('We are faced with/This leads to a conflict situation'); *'Se juntarmos a isto a leitura de alguns estudos feitos com base nos processos inquisitoriais, o que obtemos é...'* ('If we add to this / this is added to the findings of studies of inquisition trials, what we obtain is / the result is...');
- Reference to the discourse community: The first person plural may be used when the author is identifying with a position that is generally accepted by the discourse community (eg. *'Sabemos que'* – 'We know/it is known that...'; *'O desenho da fonte foi, julgamos, elaborado por...'* – 'We believe / it is believed that the fountain was designed by...');
- To refer to the here-and-now (deictic use): It is very common for Portuguese authors to refer to Portugal using the first person plural. This is not only in EU-style reports where aspects of Portuguese culture are being compared and contrasted to other countries (eg. *'no nosso sistema jurídico'* – 'in our legal system'; *'no nosso país'* – 'in our country'), but also when referring to Portugal more generally (*'entre nós'* – 'in Portugal/amongst the Portuguese'). There is a similar usage as regards time (eg. *'nos nossos dias'* – 'in our days/nowadays').

It is clear that some of these uses have direct correspondences in English, but others do not. The first-person plural is used for self-reference by a single author in Portuguese to express 'modesty' (Estrela et al. 2006: 43) or to create

¹⁹ Cf. Estrela et al. (2006: 43). 'Com esta opção discursiva cria-se o efeito de expressão de um pensamento colectivo, suavizando o modo impositivo das afirmações' ('This creates the effect of collective thought, softening the imposition of personal assertions').

a sense of identification with the reader (Eco, 1997: 168). However, the effect in English is quite different. Perhaps owing to cultural associations with the ‘royal “we”’, it comes across as pompous and magisterial, or alternatively, suggests a generalization that may be unjustifiable (Fabb & Durant, 2005: 96-7). Consequently, it tends to be eschewed by the English style manuals.

Similar the deictic use of the personal pronoun and adjective is much less likely to occur in English. Reference to the immediate spatial context in which the text has been produced using a first-person pronoun not only restricts readership (since the reader is implicitly included in the ‘we’), but also compromises the objectivity and universality of the research.

iii. Gerunds (*Ger*):

The verb form the Portuguese call the ‘*gerúndio*’ is very widespread in written discourse of all types. Like the English Present Participle, it can be used to express a wide range of syntactical relationships, including temporality (anteriority, posteriority, simultaneity), causality, consequence, purpose, condition and concession²⁰. Although many of its uses are literally translatable into English and are indeed very common in academic discourse (eg. ‘*envolvendo*’ – ‘involving’; ‘*incluindo*’ – including; ‘*correspondendo a*’ – ‘corresponding to’; ‘*tendo em conta*’ – ‘taking into account’), others have to be reconstrued using a clausal structure, either because the relationship between the clauses would remain too ill-defined in a discourse that values precision, or because the verb in question does not lend itself to this usage in English (particular verbs like ‘*sendo*’/‘*estando*’ – being; ‘*havendo*’ – there being, etc; ‘*podendo*’ – ‘being able to’). Examples from the Corpus include:

- (Condition) ‘*havendo conflito entre direitos humanos fundamentais e direitos patrimoniais, são estes últimos que devem ser sacrificados*’

²⁰ It is interesting that the Portuguese grammars only really recognise the 3 temporal functions of the Gerund (Cunha & Cintra, 1985: 345-346; Mateus et al. 1989: 84-85), although Mateus & al. do acknowledge that it may be used to express causal relationships (299-300).

- ([*There being...] If there is conflict between fundamental human rights and property rights, the latter shall be sacrificed')
- (Concession) '*mesmo sendo de carácter pacífico, durante as manifestações é comum haver repressão policial*' ([*Even being] Even though the demonstrations are peaceful in nature, there is often police repression')
 - (Purpose) '*Após os jogos, a equipa de observadores reunia-se, sendo trocadas impressões e preenchidos os protocolos de observação.*' (After the matches, the observer team gets together [*exchanging] to exchange impressions and fill out the observation forms')
 - (Anteriority) '*O doente fez tratamento quimioterápico, tendo-se assistido nos exames laboratoriais e imagiológicos*' ('The patient was treated with chemotherapy [having undergone] after undergoing laboratory and imaging tests')
 - (Posteriority) '*O doente fez quimioterapia, verificando-se desaparecimento da massa descrita*' ('The patient underwent chemotherapy, [it being found that] after which the mass was found to have disappeared')
 - (Simultaneity) '*realizaram a demarcação física de sua terra abrindo picadas na mata e fixando improvisados marcos e placas*' ('They physically demarcated their land by opening up pathways in the forest and putting up improvised markers and wooden plaques')
 - (Consequence) '*tanto a idade gestacional como o peso ao nascer transitaram de variáveis contínuas para variáveis categóricas abrindo-se, desta forma, a possibilidade de ainda poderem entrar no modelo final*' ('gestational age and birthweight shifted status from continual variables to categoric variables, thereby opening up the possibility that they might still play a part in the final model').

All examples of the above were highlighted in the corpus. However, the form was not counted when it was used in the composition of continuous tenses ('*vão-se integrando*' '*os problemas que iam surgindo*', '*a medida que o modelo foi sendo edificado*') or other obvious Brazilianisms ('*continuasse se repetindo*', '*acaba fazendo*'), since this a highly controversial practice (known pejoratively in Portuguese as '*gerundismo*').

iv. Framing Devices (FD):

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It is particularly common in Portuguese academic discourse for assertions and observations to be presented indirectly, embedded in a main clause that emphasises the interpersonal dimension. Some of these Framing Devices have specific semantic content (expressing attitude, epistemic modality, emphasis, etc), but others do not seem to have any purpose other than perhaps pad out the sentence.

- FDs with little or no semantic content: '*constata-se que*'/'*de referir que*'/'*de notar que*'/'*repara-se que*' ('note that / it is noted that'); '*diríamos que*'/'*dir-se-ia que*'/'*informa-se que...*' ('we could say/it may be said that'); '*recorde-se que*'/'*não pode esquecer-se que*'/'*haverá que ter presente que*'/'*deve-se ter sempre presente que*' ('it should be remembered/not be forgotten that'); '*deve considerar-se que*' ('it should be considered that');
- FDs expressing emphasis: '*convém sublinhar que*'/'*é importante ressaltar que*'/'*vale destacar que*'/'*importa sublinhar que*'/'*importa ter presente que*'/'*o que merece relevo é que*'/'*cabe aqui realçar que*' ('it should be pointed out that');
- FDs expressing attitude: '*não surpreende que*'/'*não é de admirar que*'/'*nao espanta que*' ('it is not surprising that'); '*é de estranhar que*' ('it is surprising that'); '*é interessante observar que*' ('it is interesting to note that');
- FDs expressing epistemic modality: '*constitui um facto que*' ('it is a fact that'); '*a verdade é que*' ('the truth is that'); '*o que é certo é que*'/'*certo é o facto que*'/'*resta-nos a certeza de que*'/'*é incontestável que*'/'*não parece hoje contestável que...*' ('it is certain/indisputable that'); '*não há dúvida que*' ('there is no doubt that'); '*é legítimo pensar que*' ('it is legitimate to think that'); '*é talvez de admitir que..*' ('it may be admitted that').

The FDs that express attitude, emphasis or epistemic modality are clearly possible to render fairly literally in English. However, given the English predilection for directness and economy (see Bennett, 2009: 45), alternative formulations involving modals or adverbials may be preferred in translation in

order to give the sentence more impact. As for those that have little or no semantic content, they may simply be eliminated in translation in the interests of clarity.

Particularly interesting for our purposes are the excessively elaborate FDs, which add great complexity to the sentence and often defy translation. Examples from the corpus are: *'seja errado não se perceber que'* ('it would be wrong not to understand that'); *'não podemos aqui deixar de nos referir a'* ('we cannot omit here to mention that'); *'é importante que se leve em consideração o facto de que'* ('it is important to take into consideration the fact that'); *'é importante não perder de vista que'* ('it is important not to lose sight of the fact that'); *'não deixa de ser interessante notar que'* ('it does not cease to be interesting to note that'); *'reveste-se também de particular interesse verificar que'* ('it is also endowed with particular interest to note that'); *'só uma ideia excessivamente elitista dos comportamentos colectivos poderá acreditar que'* ('only an excessively elitist idea of collective behaviour could believe that'). Obviously, expressions like these are entirely unacceptable in EAD on the grounds that they obfuscate and detract from the main point. The fact that they are so very prevalent in Portuguese is therefore particularly interesting for this study.

v. Deferred Topic (DT):

This is where the main idea of the clause, sentence or paragraph is not placed in initial position but is deferred, creating an effect of suspense. Such formulations frequently have to be reconstrued in English to avoid creating confusion in a readership used to having the important information presented in initial position.

For example, in the following abstract (ARLG-06Abs-AB2), the subject of the paper only appears some 50 words into the opening sentence:

Original

Partindo de um levantamento arqueológico e antropológico sobre os barcos e a navegação desde a pré-história até aos meados do séc. XX, nas tradições

associadas à construção naval existentes no litoral do NW de Portugal, no tipo de turismo existente nesta região (associado a actividades costeiras e marinhas) e no público-alvo, as autoras apresentam um projecto de desenvolvimento do produto *O Museu do Barco e da Construção Naval*.²¹

Literal translation

Starting off from an archaeological and anthropological survey into boats and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century, the traditions associated with shipbuilding along the coast of Northwest Portugal, the type of tourism existing in the region (associated to coastal and marine activities) and the target public, the authors present a development project for the product *The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum*.

Final translation

This paper presents a project for a cultural product entitled *The Shipbuilding and Boat Museum*, drawing upon archaeological and anthropological studies into boats and shipping from pre-history until the mid 20th century, the traditions associated to shipbuilding in northwest Portugal, the type of tourism that exists in the region (associated to coastal and maritime activities) and research into target markets.

In the following examples, the initial participle phrase qualifies a noun that is only made explicit further on in the sentence (a referencing device known as cataphora):

- *'Estabelecido no antigo refeitório beneditino, o museu expandiu-se'* ('Established in the former Benedictine refectory, the museum expanded...');
- *'Misto de justificação da própria reforma e de balanço da obra feita e da por realizar, o texto salienta...'* ('A mixture of justification for the reform

²¹ From the abstract of 'Ancient shipping, traditional boats and sustainable tourism in Northwest Portugal: the development of a product entitled *The Boat and Naval Construction Museum*' by A. Bettencourt (2006). Reproduced with the kind permission of the author.

itself and assessment of the work done and work still to do, the text emphasises...’);

- ‘*Nascida em 1996 e constituindo a única publicação periódica gay, a Korpus apresenta uma cobertura dos eventos gays nacionais...*’ (‘Founded in 1996 and constituting the only gay periodical, Korpus offers coverage of national gay events...’);
- ‘*Reconhecida como uma etapa de transição entre a infância e a idade adulta ou, mais recentemente, entre a infância e a juventude, a adolescência é pensada...*’ (‘Recognised as a transition stage between childhood and adulthood, or, more recently, between childhood and youth, adolescence is considered...’).

These sound more natural in English if the main theme is explicitly stated at the beginning of the sentence, with anaphoric rather than cataphoric referencing.

Inversions may also occur within the clause. For example:

- ‘*São múltiplos os factores stressantes*’ [‘*Are multiple the stress factors’];
- ‘*Vários são os exemplos que podem ilustrar essa situação*’ [‘Various are the examples that can illustrate that situation’];
- ‘*Difícil se torna, por isso, identificar os seus sentidos e funções*’ [‘Difficult it becomes, for this reason, to identify meanings and functions’];
- ‘*São fundamentais para a aplicação de uma haste cónica a fresagem de um cone perfeito e de uma forma segura e o encaixe perfeito e igualmente seguro da haste no cone fresado*’ ([‘*Are fundamental for the application of a tapered stem the cutting of a perfect cone and the perfect secure fitting of the stem into the cut cone’] i.e. ‘For the application of a tapered stem, it is essential that the cone has been perfectly cut and that the stem fits perfectly and securely into the cut cone’).

These inversions are clearly introduced for rhetorical effect. Some (such as the second and last example) may be grammatically possible in English, but make the discourse sound pompous and old-fashioned. For this reason, they are usually reformulated in translation.

vi. Complex Syntax (CS):

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It is very common in Portuguese academic writing to find very long sentences, usually with complex syntax involving a great deal of subordination. The longest sentence in this Corpus is 358 words long, which is excessive by any standards. However, it is not unusual to find large tracts of text consisting predominantly of sentences over 70 words long.

Although long sentences of this kind have inevitably to be reworked in English, it is the structure rather than the length that ultimately determines translatability. Sentences that have a coordinated structure or are organised in the form of a list present few problems (as with the 322-word long sentence in a medical article, which attempts to present a full literature review in a single sentence). In practice, these were simply split up into shorter sentences. Much more difficult to deal with are those sentences that have dense subordination or which present a syntactical structure that is quite alien to English. For example, in the following sentence, an introductory clause (which could be perhaps conceived as a topic sentence if it were followed by a full stop rather than a colon) is followed by a succession of complex noun phrases separated by semi-colons, which are ultimately revealed to be the grammatical subject(s) of a sentence that is only completed at the very end.

Esta catástrofe marca um momento alto do inevitável cruzamento entre um fenómeno natural e um fenómeno cultural: as suas imediatas e tão amplas repercussões quer no país quer em toda a Europa e mundo ocidental; as implicações discursivas e reflexivas que potencia (morais, metafísicas, literárias, religiosas, científicas, socio-políticas, geográficas); a amplitude histórica que conhece até ao presente, como fenómeno paradigmático que coloca problemas como a imprevisibilidade, o irónico contraste entre glória e destruição, ou a catástrofe – são elementos que fazem do Terramoto de Lisboa um momento único na reflexão, em particular europeia, sobre Natureza e Cultura.²²

²² From the Call for Papers for the volume *O Grande Terramoto de Lisboa: Ficar Diferente*, Centre for Comparative Studies, University of Lisbon.

In translation, it has been split into three sentences, and the complex noun phrases that make up the subject of the second finite verb have been reformulated as clauses.

This disaster marks the high point of contact between natural and cultural phenomena. It brought far-reaching and immediate repercussions for Portugal and the whole of Europe; there were discursive and reflexive implications (moral, metaphysical, literary, religious, scientific, socio-political and geographical); and its historical sweep is felt even today as paradigmatic of problems such as unpredictability and the ironic contrast between glory and destruction, or catastrophe. For all these reasons, the Lisbon earthquake represents a unique moment in our (particularly European) reflections about Nature and Culture.

vii. Top-heavy Sentences (*TH*):

This feature is related to the Complex Sentences described above. A top-heavy sentence is one where there is an excessive amount of information between the grammatical subject and the verb (an example is the second part of the sentence quoted above), and this is considered bad style in English. However, the Latin languages, which are less dependent upon word order due to their grammatical system of inflections, frequently favour this kind of sentence. Hence, there are a number of examples in the Corpus, all of which had to be reformulated in some way in translation.

- ‘conceitos como a projecção metafórica entre domínios, a convencionalização metonímica de implicações conversacionais, os “image schemas”, a subjectificação, a rede de domínios conceptuais e comunicativos envolvidos numa situação de interacção verbal; princípios como a natureza enciclopédica do significado; e métodos interpretativos com base no uso efectivo das unidades linguísticas permitem explicar o que falta em muitos estudos sobre marcadores discursivos:...’ (LING-02Art-AS1)

- ‘As dimensões territoriais brasileiras, implicando em alto custo de transportes e locomoção entre regiões distantes; a dispersão da população indígena em todas as regiões país; as diferenças de contextos regionais; os variados graus de contato interétnico; e a forma autoritária como o Estado brasileiro historicamente trata as questões indígenas, são fatores que dificultam a afirmação de um movimento indígena de âmbito nacional’ (SOC-01Art-LJN1)
- ‘a prevalência do tipo pulsátil da cefaleia, sua lateralização, duração, frequência e sintomas associados, bem como as relações de dependência entre a fonofobia e a fotofobia, a frequência e a duração das crises, torna consistente ou válida a classificação’ (PHA-05Frag3Art-SS1)

viii. Verbless Sentences (VS):

An aspect that is absolutely alien to English academic discourse, and yet is very prevalent in Portuguese, is the verbless sentence. In most cases, this represents a subordinate clause or participle phrase that has become detached from its main clause (perhaps due to the excessive length of the sentence):

- *‘Dentre os quais nos propusemos avaliar três.’* (‘Of which we will assess three’);
- *‘O que não obsta a que o consentimento possa ser expresso ou tácito, nos termos gerais.’* (‘Which does not prevent consent from being manifestly expressed or tacit, under the general terms’);
- *‘Investigações que foram retomadas no século xx por Esteban Mugica de Madrid’* (‘Investigations that were reopened in the 20th century by Esteban Mugica of Madrid’);
- *‘Permanecendo assim, um “mistério” para muitos ortopedistas.’* (‘Thus remaining a “mystery” for many orthopedists’).
- *‘Obtendo excelentes resultados em lesões do tipo I e II de Clark’* (‘Obtaining excellent results with Clark Type I and II lesions’).

Other verbless sentences result from a list-type structure which would normally be presented in English in a single sentence, separated by colon and semi-colons:

- ‘... existência de 3 fases. Fase vascular de aparecimento imediato e que no caso mostrará um aumento da vascularização concordante com a clínica, fase de estado e fase tardia ou fase óssea.’ [‘... existence of 3 phases. A vascular phase that appears immediately and which will reveal an increase in vascularization in accordance with the clinical signs, a development phase and a late or bone phase.’]

There is also a tendency in some disciplines to resort to note form when describing case studies.

- ‘Lesão rara pela localização e pelo modo de apresentação. Curiosidade pela compressão local do nervo femoral e efeito de massa sobre os órgãos adjacentes’ (‘A rare lesion, owing to its location and mode of presentation. A curiosity, owing to the local compression of the femoral nerve and effect of the mass upon the adjacent organs’);
- ‘Encadernação em pele. Manchas de humidade e notas marginais, a azul.’ (‘Leather binding. Patches of damp and notes in the margin, in blue’).

Finally, some verbless sentences seem to result from the intrusion of colloquial or poetic forms into the discourse.

- ‘Uma última palavra sobre o papel das comissões de ética numa eficaz protecção de dados de saúde nos hospitais’ (‘One last word about the role of ethics committees as regards the efficient protection of health data in hospitals’).
- ‘Puro engano’ (‘Quite wrong!’)
- ‘E pronto’. (‘And so it was!’)

To conform to EAD, these have to be neutralised and reworked into complete sentences.

viii. Multiple Negative Constructions (*Neg*):

It is common in Portuguese to find multiple negatives used for rhetorical effect. The most common pattern is a negative with a lexical item that also has a negative charge: ‘*não deixa de ser/evidenciar/merecer a preocupação*’ (‘doesn’t cease to be/show/cause concern’); ‘*não raro*’/ ‘*não raras vezes*’ (‘not rarely’); ‘*isto não significa que não continuassem a ser...*’ – ‘this does not mean that they do not continue to be...’

Although these are by no means unacceptable in English, they often risk complicating already-complex sentences. For this reason, they often have to be simplified in English translation.

ix. Historical Tenses (*HT*):

This is an aspect of Portuguese that has no correspondence in English whatsoever (except perhaps in highly colloquial oral story-telling registers). It involves using the Present or Future tenses to refer to events that took place in a contextualised past.

- ‘*Entre estes, Cassiano (360-430) /.../ **viaja** para Roma, após o que **se instala** em Marselha, onde **transmite** a sua experiência, espiritual e organizativa, dos mosteiros do Oriente*’ [‘Amongst these, Cassiano (360-430 AD) /.../ **travels** to Rome, after which he **settles** in Marseilles, where he **transmits** his spiritual and organizational experiences of monasteries in the East’] (HIST-07Art-PBD)
- ‘*Ainda no dia 31 de Dezembro D. Manuel **decide** que os judeus **apenas poderiam partir** do porto de Lisboa para onde **são obrigadas** a **dirigir-se** mais de 20.000 pessoas.*’ [‘On 31st December, D. Manuel **decides** that the Jews may only leave from the port of Lisbon, and so over 20,000 people **are obliged** to head for there’] (HIST-07Art-AS1)
- ‘*Na segunda metade do século II a.C. Eudoxo de Cízico /.../ **alcança** mesmo a Índia, e os Gregos **continuarão** traficando/.../ ao longo da costa da Somália...*’ [‘in the second half of the 2nd century, Eudoxo of Cizico

even reaches India; and the Greeks will continue to trade along the coast of Somalia...'] (HIST-04Art-Anon)

These are clearly unacceptable in English, and have to be replaced with conventional Past tenses if they are to conform to EAD.

xi. Rhetorical Questions (RQ):

Direct questions about the issues in hand are very common in Portuguese academic discourse. Although these do not pose a serious problem for the translator, their prevalence perhaps needs to be taken into account when discussing discourse differences. For example:

- *'De que fontes dispomos para a reconstituição do combate de Aljubarrota?'*
(‘What sources are available for the reconstitution of the Battle of Aljubarrota?’)
- *'...quem pode dar o consentimento para o tratamento daqueles dados, ou para a sua utilização para finalidades de investigação científica?'*
(‘... who can authorise the processing of that data, or allow it to be used for scientific research?’)

xii. Poetic, Figurative or High-Flown Diction (PD):

Some Portuguese academic writing makes use of a high-flown literary style that is entirely alien to English. For example, we find the city of Coimbra referred to as *'Lusa Atenas'* (‘Lusitanian Athens’ or ‘the Athens of Portugal’) and *'Morada de Sabedoria'* (‘the Residence of Wisdom’), without any indication of quotation or irony. The University is described as *'instituição mater cujo corpo ilumina o tempo com as luzes do saber'* (‘alma mater, whose body illuminates time with the lights of knowledge’), and elsewhere, the same author uses highly emotive terms to describe the construction of the organ for the University

chapel: ‘...o grito de madeiras feridas, mordidas pelo impiedoso ferro e adoçadas pelo artífice’ (‘...the scream of wounded timber, bitten by merciless iron and sweetened by craftsmen’).

This kind of diction risks sounding ridiculous if rendered literally into English, for which reason it usually has to be neutralized in translation.

xiii. Poetic or Philosophical Quotations (*Cit*):

Of course it is common practice in many humanities and other disciplines to begin an essay with an epigraph from a poet or philosopher. However, Portuguese texts may sometimes insert such quotations in the middle of an article, often in text-types or disciplines where this would be unexpected in English, such as Psychology or Architecture. Unlike the kinds of quotations systematically used in Literary Studies to illustrate arguments about texts, these are considered to be distinguishing Features, which strongly affect the VF attributed.

xiv. Abstractions (*Abs*):

Another characteristic that distinguishes Portuguese humanities writing from EAD is an excessively high level of abstraction, defined as the ‘semiotic distance between events and the language through which they are construed’ (Wignell, 1998:58, 125)²³. Although abstraction plays an important part of all humanities and social science writing in English (Martin, 1993a, 1993b; Wignell, 1998: 79-91), I argue here that, in certain Portuguese discourses, it is taken to extremes that are not considered acceptable in EAD.

Discussions of abstraction in English factual writing usually centre around nominalizations derived by grammatical metaphor from some other part of

²³ We should perhaps understand ‘events’ here as the primary experience of reality, construed in ‘natural grammar’ in terms of a basic *congruence* between meaning and form; that is to say ‘actions come out as verbs, descriptions as adjectives, logical relations as conjunctions, etc’ (Martin, 1993a: 218; also Halliday, 1994: xviii).

speech (Martin, 1993b: 219)²⁴, whose function in humanities discourse is ‘to foreground relational clauses at the expense of material ones and at the same time foreground nominal groups at the expense of clause complexes’ (*Idem*). This enables the discourse to move forward by logical and coherent steps, each building on what went before, which is important for the development of rational argument (Halliday, 1993a: 60, 63) and for the thematic progression of the text as a whole (Martin, 1993b: 241-155). Hence, abstraction has an important functional role to play in EAD²⁵.

However, there are forms of abstraction in Portuguese humanities discourse whose semiotic distance from the primary congruent experience of reality is so great that, for readers brought up on EAD, they are difficult to process. This semiotic distance is created in two ways: i) lexically (through a particular use of suffixes); ii) syntactically (through particular kinds of collocation). Hence, I shall call them *lexical abstractions* and *syntactical abstractions* respectively. Let us look at each of them in turn.

❖ Lexical abstractions:

These have been created by adding Latinate suffixes to existing roots. What distinguishes them from regular English abstract nouns is that they have been achieved not in a single move – as when we derive ‘persuasion’ from ‘persuade’, ‘definition’ from ‘define’ or ‘resistance’ from ‘resist’ (all examples cited by Martin [1993a:219]) – but by a series of steps that progressively distance the term from the primary congruent form. For example, ‘*intenção*’, ‘*conflito*’, ‘*ciência*’ and ‘*história*’ are already abstract nouns in Portuguese, from which the adjectives ‘*intencional*’, ‘*conflitual*’, ‘*científico*’ and ‘*histórico*’ are regularly derived. However, when we take that adjective as the basis for a new noun form (i.e. ‘*intencionalidade*’, ‘*conflitualidade*’, ‘*cientificidade*’, ‘*historicidade*’, etc), we move up to a whole new level

²⁴ Martin, in a later work, refines the concept to distinguish between nominalizations that have become frozen or institutionalized (‘abstractions’ proper) and those that remain more obviously metaphorical (‘metaphor’), being derived anew each time they are used (*cit.* Wignell, 1998: 84-5). See also Wignell (2007: 48-50).

²⁵ Halliday & Martin (1993: 15) also acknowledge that abstraction may be used ‘ritualistically’, i.e. when it is functionally unnecessary, merely as a symbol of learning or status. See also Martin (1993a: 217).

of abstraction. Similarly, several steps are required before *'sistema'* and *'saudade'* are transformed into *'sistematicidade'* and *'saudosismo'*, or for the adjectives *'banal'* or *'dinâmico'* to become *'banalização'* and *'dinamização'*. This creates a level of semiotic distance that is wholly unfamiliar in EAD²⁶. Although English has the grammatical resources to reproduce many of these lexical constructions (eg. 'intentionality', 'conflictuality', 'systematicity', 'banalization', 'dynamization', etc), there is a deep-rooted cultural resistance to such forms (outside certain postmodern circles that deliberately cultivate abstractions in deliberate defiance of the hegemonic model)²⁷. This is probably due to the force of the Anglo-Saxon empirical orientation, which is inherently distrustful of knowledge built solely from words - or indeed of anything that is not directly derived from something concrete and tangible.

❖ Syntactical Abstractions:

One of the major functions of nominalizations in English is 'to foreground relational clauses at the expense of material ones' (Martin, 1993a: 219), and as a result, the range of verbs generally permitted in Impersonal Active constructions is limited. In Portuguese, however, we frequently find abstract subjects collocated with material and verbal processes (eg. *'a consciência da etnicidade colabora...'* – 'the consciousness of ethnicity collaborates...'; *'a construção da figura moderna do "artista" o propõe...'* – 'the construction of the figure of the artist proposes...'; *'o paradigma goetheano declina...'* – 'the Goethean paradigm declines...'). Dunleavy (2003:118) claims that 'reifications' of this kind, which attribute agency to abstract entities, are but a short step away from 'anthropomorphism', which in turn 'creates a broad pathway to writing absurd propositions'. Hence, they almost always have to be reformulated upon translation.

The second kind of syntactical abstraction that is frequently used in Portuguese yet generally frowned upon in English is the *archetypal singular*,

²⁶ Other examples from the Corpus include. 'intimismo', 'cronicidade', 'concretude', 'equacionação', 'intersemioticidade', 'heroicidade'; 'unicidade', 'hominidade', 'messianidade' etc.

²⁷ George Orwell, in his famous 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language*, criticized the habit of coining new words by using the Latin and Greek root with an affix. 'It is often easier to make up words of this kind (*deregionalize*, *impermissible*, *extramarital*, *non-fragmentary* and so forth) than to think up the English words that will cover one's meaning. The result, in general, is an increase in slovenliness and vagueness.'

that is, the use of a singular noun with the direct article to refer to a collectivity during the course of a generalization. Typical usages include references to ‘*o professor*’, ‘*o aluno*’ and ‘*o adolescente*’ in educational/psychology texts, ‘*o sindicalista*’ or ‘*o adepto*’ in sociology, and ‘*o doente*’ and ‘*o cirurgião*’ in medicine. In all cases, the ‘essence’ of the social role is being extrapolated in order to allow the author to make universalizing statements that are assumed to be true for all members of the class in that situation. While some of these may be acceptable in English in particular circumstances (such as the use of ‘the patient’ and ‘the surgeon’ in the description of a medical procedure), others not only sound remote and strange, they may even cause ambiguity (as a result of confusion with the dominant use of the definite article + singular noun to refer to specific instances). For example, a linguistics conference held in Lisbon some years ago entitled ‘*O Discurso, a Comunicação e a Empresa*’ was notoriously difficult to translate into English; for while the first two components of the title are regular abstract nouns that would naturally be rendered into English with the zero article (i.e. ‘discourse’, ‘communication’), the third is an archetypal singular. To translate it literally as ‘the company’ would seem to suggest a reference to a particular firm, while the plural (‘companies’) is too concrete and spoils the parallelism. In fact, the idea is probably closer to ‘the enterprise culture’, ‘the world of business’ or simply ‘management’. The basic resistance of EAD to the archetypal singular is illustrated in the following quotation from one of the style manuals (Dunleavy, 2003: 119):

Any author who uses the archetypal singular, in virtually any context, will immediately degrade her intellectual grip on whatever she is discussing, debasing her reasoning to a subprofessional level and affecting adversely the accuracy of her text. When discussing collective entities, use plural forms of phrasing: ‘Politicians are interested only in re-election’²⁸.

Once again, this reflects a culturally deep-rooted philosophical orientation.

²⁸ Ironically, Dunleavy himself is perilously close to producing an archetypal singular in this extract. ‘Any author who...’ is very close indeed to ‘the author who...’, a type of structure that is very common in Portuguese.

xv. Postmodern Features (*PM*):

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These include wordplay, neologisms, paradoxes, etc, of the kind that characterise the work of Derrida and the other Poststructuralists, and which give the prose an opaque quality that is quite alien to the transparency valued by mainstream EAD. Examples from an Architecture course description are: *'na longa duração que se (contra)diz-(des)faz na/pela circunstância...'* (a largely untranslatable phrase, which offers simultaneous alternatives between the Portuguese verbs 'se dizer'/'contradizer' ['to be said/contradict'] and 'fazer'/'desfazer' ['to do/undo'] and the prepositions 'em'/'por' ['in/by']); *'por condição um entre'* ('by condition a between'); *'o que mais acentuadamente sublinha-sublima, contamina-permuta essas dualidades, contaminações, circuitos, redes'* ('what most strongly underlines-sublimates,²⁹ contaminates-substitutes those dualities, contaminations, circuits, networks').

These are, for obvious reasons, extremely difficult to translate convincingly. Given the resistance of mainstream EAD to such postmodern phenomena, this too constitutes an important DDF.

* * *

It can be seen, then, that the various DDFs do not have equal value in the contribution they make to the attribution of the VF. Some (such as *Ger*; *Pers*; *FD*; *RQ*; *Neg*;) are perfectly possible in EAD, though would usually be used differently or more sparingly. Others (*VS*; excessive *CS*; *HT*; *Abs*; *PM*) are considered aberrations in English and important markers of discourse difference.

iii. The Database³⁰

The database (*Microsoft Access*) consists of records of the Portuguese texts contained in the Corpus, for the purpose of empirical analysis. There are 6 fields:

²⁹ There is a deliberate phonological similarity between the pair 'sublinha-sublima' that is lost in translation.

³⁰ Unfortunately it is not possible to publish the database for copyright reasons.

CODE: the identification code used for the text in the corpus;

TEXT-TYPE: this provides more information about text type than could be included in the identification code (eg. abstract of conference paper; article for publication in multi-authored volume).

VARIANCE FACTOR: a number from 0 to -4 indicating the degree of deviation from standard English academic discourse in the discipline and genre (see above);

DISTINGUISHING DISCOURSE FEATURES: a list of the DDFs identified in the text;

WORD COUNT: number of words contained in the text, to give an indication of the size of the document.

OTHER VERSIONS AVAILABLE: these are indicated with the corresponding letter from the corpus; i.e. T (Translation); E (English version produced by client); R (Revision of client's English version). Note: only O, T and bilingual texts (O-E; T-R) are included in this corpus.

All statistics presented in the Results section below have been compiled from the information contained in the database.

IV. RESULTS

This section presents the raw data resulting from this survey, which will be discussed and analysed in the Discussion section that follows.

i. Distribution by discipline and text type

The Portuguese corpus contains a total of 408 texts, of which almost half (46%) are medical texts. This puts Medicine way ahead of its nearest rivals, Sociology (7%), Geography (5%), Art (5%), Archaeology (4.6%), History (4.6%), Engineering (4.1%) and Literary Studies (3.9%). However, the picture is

somewhat different if we compare word count. Now it is Sociology (23.8%) that dominates, followed by Medicine (20%), Law (13%), History (10.2%) and Art (7.6%). This difference is clearly due to the length of the texts included in each discipline, with Sociology, Law, History and Art containing longer texts than Medicine. It is noticeable that, apart from the Medical texts and the 16 texts in Engineering, the hard sciences are very under-represented in this Corpus. There are no texts whatsoever from Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology or any of their related areas. Possible reasons for this will be discussed below.

As regards genre, Articles (50.6%) and Abstracts (34.4%) account for the vast majority of texts submitted for translation. When the calculation is done on the basis of the word count, the dominant genre continues to be Articles (65%), followed by Theses (MA & PhD) at a mere 7.5%, Monographs at 6%, Volumes and Reports at 4.5%, and Course Programmes and Research Proposals at 4%. Abstracts, though there are many of them, are short and therefore represent only 2.7% of the total word count.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the Articles in the corpus vary greatly in length. The shortest ones (Medical articles for publication in a journal) are sometimes less than 1000 words, while in Sociology, they may go up to 20,000 and even 24,000 words in length. These longer studies are inevitably destined for volumes to be published by the research unit that produced the work.

ii. Variance Factor: Distribution by Discipline and Genre

Tables 1a and 1b show the distribution of Variance Factor by Discipline (calculated by Text and Word Count respectively). When the distribution is analysed by text (Table 1a), the hegemonic EAD style (0) seems to predominate, with the number of texts decreasing as VF increases: VF 0 (46%); -1 (35.8%); -2 (12%); -3 (4.2%); -4 (2%). However, the picture looks rather different when the corpus is analysed by word count (Table 1b). The highest incidence is now VF -1 (46.1%), with VF -2 in second position (27.3%), and VF 0 in third place (19.2%).

Table 1a. Variance Factor by Discipline (No. Texts)

Discipline	Variance Factor (anomalies in brackets)				
	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
(Total Records)	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
ARCT (9)	0	2	0	4	3
ARLG (19)	7	8	4	0	0
ART (21)	0	(10)	4	4	3
ECON (7)	4	3	0	0	0
EDUC (9)	2	7	0	0	0
ENG (16)	10	5	1	0	0
GEOG (21)	12	3	6	0	0
HIST (19)	0	9	10	0	0
LAW (14)	2	12	0	0	0
LING (9)	1	7	1	0	0
LIT (16)	1	4	4	7	0
MAT (4)	0	(2)	(2)	0	0
MED (191)	149	42	0	0	0
MUS (3)	0	1	0	2	0
PHAR (3)	0	2	1	0	0
PHIL (7)	0	3	4	0	0
PSY (9)	0	7	0	0	(2)
SOC (31)	0	19	12	0	0
<i>TOTAL (408)</i>	188	146	49	17	8
%	46%	35.8%	12%	4.2%	2.0%

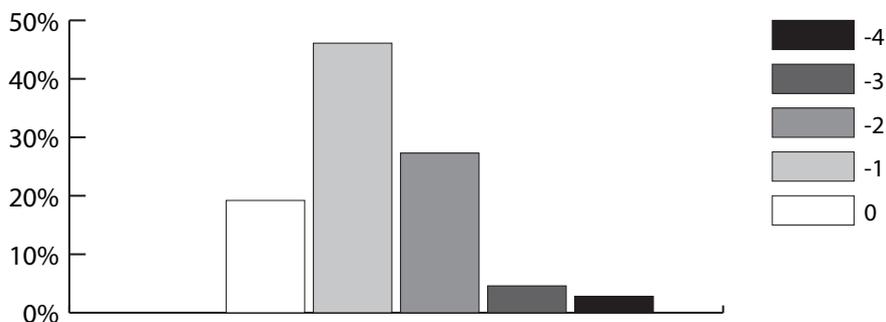
Table 1b. Variance Factor by Discipline (No. Words)

Discipline	Variance Factor (anomalies in brackets)					Total Words
	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	
ARCT	0	6 074	872	22 835	2 182	31 963
ARLG	25 462	26 359	7 760	0	0	59 581
ART	0	(24 326)	28 528	16 856	32 020	101 730
ECON	15 150	4 647	0	0	0	19 797
EDUC	1 620	18 091	0	0	0	19 711
ENG	12 668	32 125	2 126	0	0	46 919
GEOG	11 766	4 808	12 654	0	0	29 228
HIST	0	46 350	91 106	0	0	137 456
LAW	1 545	172 671	0	0	0	174 216
LING	153	19 621	5 281	0	0	25 055
LIT	115	8 861	7 212	11 221	0	27 409
MAT	0	(1 198)	(2 097)	0	0	3 295
MED	187 656	79 860	0	0	0	267 516
MUS	0	1 340	0	10 309	0	11 649
PHAR	0	11 365	3 695	0	0	15 060
PHIL	0	16 247	13 241	0	0	29 488
PSY	0	12 424	0	0	(3 194)	15 618
SOC	0	128 600	189 599	0	0	318 199
<i>TOTAL</i>	256 135	614 967	364 171	61 221	37 396	1 333 890
%	19.2%	46.1%	27.3%	4.6%	2.8%	

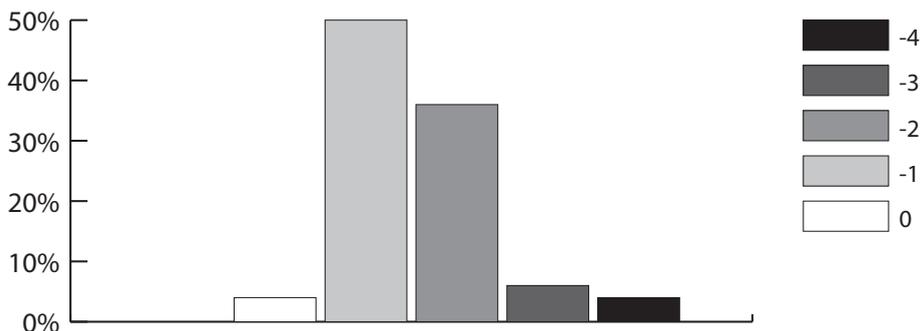
However, if we calculate the results only for texts in the Humanities and Social Sciences (i.e. by removing the data relating to Economics, Engineering, Mathematics, Medicine and Pharmacy), we find that the hegemonic style, VF 0, now accounts for no more than 4% of the total number of words, with -1 representing 50% and -2 36% (Table 2). The difference is illustrated visually in Graphs 1 and 2 below.

Table 2. Variance Factor for Humanities and Social Science Texts (No. Words)

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
No. Words	40 661	485 772	356 253	61 221	37 396
% Total	4%	50%	36%	6%	4%



Graph 1. Variance Factor (%): complete corpus



Graph 2. Variance Factor (%): Humanities and Social Science texts

This is, I believe, a significant indicator of the existence of a discourse style in Portuguese that is not only different from the English, but also preferred by most of the disciplines included in this corpus.

It is also clear from Tables 1a and b that there is a correlation between Discipline and discourse style, as most disciplines tend to cluster around a particular area of the chart. The more scientific subjects (Medicine, Economics, Engineering) score exclusively 0 or -1, which suggests that they are basing their discourse upon the English model. There is a clear predominance of 0 in the text-based analysis, a predominance that is exacerbated for Economics in the word count analysis, although reduced for Engineering, which now has a higher -1 score. Law and Education are also located in this part of the chart, though they are clearly centred on -1 from both perspectives. Archaeology is similar but less clear cut, with VFs 0 and -1 each accounting for around 40% of the total, with -2 the remainder.

Architecture, on the other hand, seems to be aiming something quite different as it is right at the other end of the spectrum, with a predominance of -3. Sociology, History and Philosophy cluster around -1 and -2, with the first two showing a predominance of -2 on word count. Archaeology and Linguistics occupy the same area of the chart, though these have a broader range with the inclusion of some 0s. Psychology is centred entirely upon -1 (if we discount the two rather anomalous -4s, which are the work of a single rather eccentric author).

Art and Literary Studies both occupy a broader spectrum. In the case of Art, half the texts are located between -2 and -4, which suggests a discourse style similar to Architecture), while half are located at -1 (by word count this is reduced to 2/3 vs. 1/3 respectively). This apparent discrepancy is easily explained by the fact that the -1s almost all represent the work of a single author (HBB), who works in History of Design, rather than Fine Art; as such, this has been counted as an anomaly. As for Literary Studies, the more typical production of this discipline seems to be centred around -2/-3; the 0/-1 scores may perhaps be explained by the fact that they include two very brief and factual course programmes and one short report (produced by German and English Departments).

Geography is an interesting category with the results polarised between 0 (11 766 words / 12 texts) and -2 (12 654 words / 6 texts) and only a third the

number of words (3 texts) for -1. Here, individual authorship also plays an important role. The author PS, who is responsible for 12 of the 21 texts, practises a very scientific brand of Geography involving a lot of statistics and mathematical calculations; it is therefore unsurprising that her work tends to score a much lower VF than that produced by colleagues working in more humanistic areas of the discipline.

Mathematics, Music and Pharmacy offer too few texts to enable any meaningful conclusions to be drawn. However, it should be pointed out that, in the case of the former, the texts in the Corpus are not research articles as such, but rather biographical or publicity articles for publication in the Research Unit's magazine. This accounts for the unexpectedly high VF achieved in this discipline.

As regards Genre and VF, there seems to be no obvious correlation. The genres with the most expression tend to cover the whole spectrum, which clearly reflects disciplinary differences, and there are not enough examples of the others to enable any conclusions to be drawn. For this reason, it was not considered relevant to perform a word count analysis for Genre.

V. DISCUSSION

i. Academic discourse in Portugal

One of the main aims of this study was to gauge whether or not there exists in Portugal an academic discourse or discourses that are different in form and function to the hegemonic EAD. This was done by attributing a Variance Factor to individual texts on the basis of certain textual characteristics, and then assessing the frequency of VF per discipline and genre. As we can see in Tables 1a and b, the existence of a large number of texts with a VF of -1 and -2 (which exceed the 0s, if we count only humanities and social science texts), does indeed point to a preference for a different kind of discourse. There also seems to be a correlation between discipline and VF, which suggests that certain disciplines have developed discourse habits that are distinct in nature and purpose from EAD.

As we have seen, the more scientific subjects (in this case Medicine, Engineering and Economics) are clearly centred upon 0, which suggests that their discourse is modelled upon the English norm. History, Philosophy and Sociology, for their part, are centred around -2, which represents a more elaborate style of discourse, with the use of some DDFs that are not considered to be acceptable in EAD. Architecture and Art, which occupy the -3/-4 end of the spectrum, are even more remote from the EAD norm, construed in a style that is almost impossible to translate in an acceptable way in English.

On the basis of this analysis, I would suggest that, in Portugal at present, there are 3 main kinds of academic discourse being produced, which I have labelled 'modern', 'traditional' and 'postmodern' for reasons that will be explained below. These are characterised as follows:

1) **'Modern' style:** this corresponds to a VF of 0 and is identical to EAD in all respects (with allowance made for differences determined by the structure of the Portuguese language itself).

2) **'Traditional' style:** in its fully-fledged form, this corresponds to a VF of -2 and is a type of discourse that generally sounds rather pompous, longwinded, and old-fashioned to the English ear. Although the overall textual organisation may be similar to English, paragraphs may sometimes not be blocked and there is use of deferred topics (DT). There is widespread recourse to *abstractions* (Abs), *interpersonal framing devices* (FD) or *figurative or poetic diction* (PD). Sentence structure is frequently complex (CS), with *negative constructions* (Neg) and some *verbless sentences* (VS). *Gerunds* (Ger) and *personal references* (Pers) may be used in a non-English fashion.

3) **'Postmodern' style:** in its most extreme form, this corresponds to VF -4, which sounds very alien to the English ear. There are profound differences in textual organisation and use of syntax and lexis, indicating a completely different underlying philosophy. The text is also difficult to categorise in terms of discipline and genre, and may range across a number of different areas, and play with the discourses of different genres, perhaps

by including fragments of quotations from poets or philosophers (*Cit*), for example. Diction will be mostly figurative or poetic (*PD*), abstract (*Abs*) or drawn from the postmodern repertoire (*PM*) and the structure will not be created in the conventional way but instead through more literary or creative means.

Style 1 is labelled ‘modern’ on the grounds that it reflects the ‘modern’ (rationalist, capitalist, democratic) mindset. Its orientation is empirical, in the sense that it aims to describe and explain aspects of reality in a transparent objective fashion, valuing clarity, concision and rational argument above aesthetic or interpersonal factors. Although it has long been the hegemonic discourse of the Anglophone world, it is a relative newcomer to Portugal; for despite attempts to introduce it at various points in the past, it remained peripheral until relatively recently. Now, however, with the influence of the EU and current government policies designed to stimulate science and technology, it is in the ascendancy.

Style 2 has been labelled ‘traditional’ because it corresponds to the discourse that was dominant in Portugal until very recently, and which still has significant expression in my Corpus, as I have shown. I have argued elsewhere (Bennett, 2007a, 2007b) that this discourse has its roots in an older humanities tradition that was perpetuated in Portugal by conservative political regimes, a Catholic-based education system and the cultural proximity with France and Spain.

Style 3 is called ‘postmodern’, because it seems to be aiming to reproduce some of the linguistic experiments initiated by the French poststructuralists. This may represent an updating of the ‘traditional’ model, in the sense that it is grounded upon a language-based epistemology in direct opposition to the ‘thing’-based orientation of the ‘modern’ style.

Given this range of styles available to Portuguese academics, it is little wonder that hybrid forms often occur. There are many texts in the corpus that reveal characteristics of more than one type of discourse, for which a number of explanations are possible. For example, a VF of -1 in subjects such as Medicine, Engineering and Economics, may represent the unintentional intrusion of the ‘traditional’ style into a discourse that is aiming to be ‘modern’. On the other hand, in subjects such as History and Philosophy, where the

'traditional' style is deep-rooted, the -1 scores may indicate a conscious attempt to modernise, perhaps in order to bring the discourse into line with international models.

Some subjects, like Psychology, Education, Linguistics and Law, seem to be resolutely centred upon a VF of -1, which may be a deliberate attempt to fuse the two approaches to knowledge. Geography, on the other hand, seems to be more divided, which perhaps reflects a split in the discipline between a scientific and humanities approach.

Literary Studies is interesting as it spans the centre of the spectrum, with VF scores ranging from -1 to -3. This suggests fidelity to the humanities model out of which the discipline emerged, though perhaps with attempts to modernise the rather archaic-sounding style embodied in VF -2. It is possible that this discipline too is being pulled in two directions; both the -3 and the -1 scores may represent attempts to update or modernise the 'traditional' style, the former following the French model and the latter the English one.

As for Art and Architecture, these are largely oriented towards the 'postmodern' part of the spectrum. Music might also prove to be located here if the sample were larger; 2 of the 3 authors writing in this field (representing 10,309 of the 11,649 words) also scored a VF of -3. These texts create particular problems for translation, given the different identity that these disciplines have in Anglophone culture, as I explain in Part IV.

ii. Academic Translation in Portugal

Although this is a very restricted corpus that has been strongly conditioned by factors resulting from my own professional situation, I nevertheless feel that it is possible to draw from it some conclusions about academic translation generally in Portugal.

Firstly, the demand for academic translation seems to be governed by two distinct dynamics. One comes from the individual scholar who needs international publications in order to build up a curriculum and advance a career. This impulse accounts for many of the Articles and Abstracts in the corpus, and all the Monographs and Theses. The second dynamic emanates

from institutions (research units, scientific societies, university departments) that need to attract funding and/or students in order to ensure their existence. Hence, there is considerable demand for the translation of Research Proposals, Reports (of finished projects, international collaborations, etc), Volumes, Articles for publication in periodicals and conference proceedings, and Course Programmes (for use in prospectuses and websites) to attract foreign students.

The great predominance of Articles in the corpus reflects the fact that these are perhaps the easiest and cheapest way of achieving some measure of international recognition, for both individual scholars and institutions. Similarly, Abstracts, which may be both prospective and retrospective, are submitted by both types of client, sometimes though not always in association with the article/thesis/research project that they refer to.

The disciplinary spread revealed in this Corpus is less easy to explain than the question of genre. Why, for example, are there clusters of texts and authors in these particular areas and nothing whatsoever in the hard sciences, outside Medicine and Engineering?

To some extent, the answer to this question lies in the nature of professional translation activity. A translator becomes known primarily through personal recommendation, with researchers from particular disciplinary areas passing on the contact to their colleagues. Hence, we find that all the 7 authors contributing to the corpus in the field of Archaeology know each other and in fact work in the same branch of the subject. Although the situation is less clear cut in the other disciplines (where there are typically two or three clusters of client-groups, plus a few individuals acquired via agencies or other sources), the general principle remains.

This fact has repercussions not only on the representativity of the sample, but also on the discourse used, since professionals working in the same field may cultivate a similar approach and discourse style. It also implies that there may be other clusters of researchers operating in different areas, possibly with a different discourse style, who have completely fallen outside the scope of this survey because they use different translators or other means of achieving international prominence. Could this explain, then, the almost total absence of texts from the hard sciences? Can we simply assume that the physicists, chemists, biologists, geologists etc are simply using other translators, i.e. that this is a 'market' that I have not yet broken into?

I would suggest that the issue is perhaps more complex than this. My experience in the related areas of textual revision and the teaching of English for Academic Purposes leads me to believe that hard scientists rarely pay professionals to translate their texts. Instead, they are more likely to translate their work themselves or, more often than not, write it directly in English.

There are a number of factors contributing to this situation, the most important of which has to do with the universality and communality of science itself. As scientific advances generally take place in English and are transmitted to the international community via English-language conferences and periodicals, Portuguese scientists may actually have acquired the terminology of their field in English. Hence, they may find it easier to speak and write about their subject in English than in Portuguese, where terminological equivalents may not have been formally established.

Secondly, research in science, unlike in the humanities, is typically carried out by teams rather than by individual researchers; given the increase in the number of international research projects and the mobility that is now possible through EU and other bodies, these teams are increasingly multi-national in nature. Hence, the lingua franca of the laboratory, even in Portugal, may well be English. This means that it will not be difficult to find someone on the team that is willing to write up the work directly in English.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the nature of scientific discourse itself also contributes to this situation. While the terminology of science is typically dense and technical, and largely inaccessible to non-experts, the grammatical structures used are actually very simple and limited in range (see Halliday, 1993a, 1993b). This fact, combined with the highly standardised formats of scientific research articles and abstracts, makes it easier for the texts to be written directly in English by the scientists themselves than for them to be written first in Portuguese and then translated by a non-expert.

Moreover, as Tribble (2008:308) has pointed out, native-speaker competence is no longer necessary for scientific texts to be accepted and valued in English:

... in professional and academic writing, both authorship and gate keeping authority have shifted and the production and evaluation of these texts is no longer a native speaker monopoly... The critical thing is the extent to which a text is likely to be acceptable in the eyes of peers in the discourse

community in which an expert writer already acts or which they wish to enter. If the text is published in a respected peer-reviewed journal, it's an expert text. The L1 status of the writer has become irrelevant.

This 'relaxing' of linguistic standards offers an additional motivation for scientists to undertake the writing up of their work themselves. Indeed, many Portuguese universities now offer courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) aimed at these researchers, and it is significant that scientists form the bulk of their clientele, as the following data from the University of Coimbra shows:

Table 3. Students attending EAP courses at Coimbra University by disciplinary area

Year	Total No. Students	No. Students per Academic Area		
		<i>Sciences</i>	<i>Social Sciences</i>	<i>Humanities</i>
2006-7	23 (1 group)	10 (43%)	10 (43%)	3 (13%)
2007-8	39 (2 groups)	31 (80%)	4 (10%)	4 (10%)
2008-9	53 (2 groups)	27 (51%)	23 (43%)	3 (6%)
2009-10	42 (2 groups)	31 (74%)	7 (16%)	4 (10%)
2010-11	41 (2 groups)	27 (66%)	13 (32%)	1 (2%)

(Data from 2006-8 kindly provided by the course teacher, Andrew Packett; 2008-2011 from FLUC-Centro de Línguas)

This would seem to suggest that there may be a different attitude to the question of academic text production between scientists and humanities scholars. While the former are content to rustle up an English text themselves, in the full knowledge that scientific content counts more than words and that minor mistakes of language are likely to be overlooked by editors and referees (who may themselves not be native speakers, as Tribble [2008] points out), in the humanities, the wording and style of the text are much more central to the overall aim and likely to be crucial for the acceptance or rejection of the work by editors.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, despite the emphasis on translation in this corpus, translation is not really discrete from revision as an activity. Instead the two form a continuum, with a text typically undergoing multiple reformulations and revisions, often by several different people, before it is finally accepted for publication (see Curry & Lillis, 2004; Lillis & Curry, 2006a, 2006b). Indeed, texts are sometimes presented to the translator/reviser in a mixture of source and target languages, as we have seen.

There may be some correlation between academic area and the kind of service required of language professionals. Unfortunately my own sample is too restricted to enable any conclusions to be reached on this score. But this would be an interesting area for future investigation.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

This study represents a preliminary attempt to chart a broad terrain that has been largely unexplored until now. My aims have been ambitious – to glean an overview of the academic genres and disciplines that are most frequently translated in Portugal, while at the same time, trying to determine whether such texts do in fact use a discourse that is markedly different from EAD in character and underlying epistemology.

Given the breadth of these aims, and the restricted nature of the corpus, the results are limited in scope. Nevertheless, I feel that it has been possible to reach some preliminary conclusions about academic translation and academic discourse in Portugal. For example, it is clear that there is pressure upon both individual scholars and institutions to ‘perform’ internationally, and translation clearly has an important role to play in this. That role is unevenly distributed across disciplines and genres, however. As we have seen, there appears to be very little professional translation in the hard sciences, compared to other areas, while, as regards genre, the emphasis is firmly upon Articles and Abstracts, though other academic text types, such as Research Proposals and Reports do have some expression.

Concerning academic discourse, my Corpus does suggest the existence of at least one, if not two, discourses that are quite different in nature and

epistemology to EAD. Although it was not possible to determine the extent to which they are related to Genre due to the limited samples involved, there is a clear correlation with Discipline, which seems to indicate the existence of a deep-rooted humanities tradition in Portuguese culture. Thus, there may be something of a power struggle going on at present between the traditional discourse used by Portuguese academia and the hegemonic EAD model, a struggle which will have important practical and ideological consequences for Translation.

Unfortunately, constraints of space and time have meant that I have been unable to investigate all the interesting issues that have arisen out of this research. For example, a diachronic study might be able to trace the progress and outcome of the power struggle mentioned above, while other surveys could examine the prevalence of certain DDFs in particular disciplines or genres, the way individual features develop over time, and how they are translated into English.

This work should therefore be considered as an introduction to a much vaster project, one which will require years of research and large numbers of participants to complete. Hopefully, others will be sufficiently interested to take it further, thereby providing us with a much more detailed and accurate picture of academic discourse and academic translation in Portugal.

PART II

SURVEY OF PORTUGUESE
RESEARCHERS

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I. INTRODUCTION³¹

This survey was designed to gauge the attitude of Portuguese researchers towards the issue of academic discourse and find out something about their habits as regards the production of academic texts in English. One of the main aims was to further test my hypothesis that there exists in Portuguese a discourse of the humanities that is quite distinct in structure and underlying epistemology from EAD. For this reason, the questionnaire, which includes several questions designed to find out if Portuguese academics perceived such a difference, was sent out mainly to researchers operating in the Humanities and Social Sciences (the discourse of Science was felt to be so clearly calqued upon the English model that it held little interest for this study).

As the survey was first performed in 2002, it was found that the disciplines covered did not completely overlap with those in the Corpus, which was only closed in 2008. For example, Anthropology is represented in the survey but not in the Corpus, while a number of subjects that are present in the Corpus were not initially covered by the survey. Therefore, in 2008, the questionnaire was sent out again, partly to increase the number of responses and update the information received, but also to achieve a better disciplinary correlation with the Corpus. This time authors represented in the Corpus (and who had not answered the questionnaire the first time around) were specifically targeted.

Despite these two applications, the total number of responses received was rather small. However, this was felt to be inevitable. The academic community in Portugal is tiny compared to many other countries in Europe (we should

³¹ This study was first published in 2010 as an article in the journal *Diacrítica – Série Ciências da Linguagem*, 24.1 (193-209) under the title 'Academic writing practices in Portugal: survey of Humanities and Social Science researchers'.

remember that the population of the whole country is only 10 million), and when we take account of factors such as frequently-changing email addresses, academics' heavy workload, etc, it is scarcely surprising that the yield was small.

For this reason, the survey will be considered merely as an adjunct to the main empirical research represented by the Corpus and not as a major source of data in itself. Nevertheless, the results are quite interesting, as we shall see.

II. METHOD

The survey was carried out by means of a questionnaire, prepared in Portuguese and sent out by email to Portuguese researchers operating in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The questionnaire covered issues such as: the differences between Portuguese and English discourse in the respondent's discipline; perceived advantages/disadvantages of EAD in relation to Portuguese; the respondent's attitude towards the hegemony of English; experience of publication in English, and methods used to produce English texts.

In the first instance (2002), it was sent to all the researchers listed as members of national research centres in the humanities and social sciences by the Foundation for Science and Technology, the body responsible for funding research in Portugal. However, by 2008, this channel was no longer available, as the listings had been removed from the website. Therefore, an alternative route had to be found for the second application. I considered the possibility of using client lists from the various Translation Services that have recently begun to appear in many Portuguese universities, but found that, in most cases, records had not been kept of people that had used the service. Consequently, I decided to make use of my own client lists, which had the advantage of creating a closer correlation with the Corpus.

III. RESULTS

Overall, a total of 590 questionnaires were sent out and 192 completed questionnaires were received (32.5%). Most of the respondents had answered the questions fully and had left few blank. Indeed, many had gone to

considerable lengths to explain or justify their answers, even when this was not required by the questionnaire. The most interesting of these comments are listed in Annex I in the form of quotations.

i. Perceived differences between Portuguese and English academic discourse by discipline

In Question 1 of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to assess the extent of the difference between Portuguese and English academic discourse in their discipline (choosing between *no significant differences*; *a little different*; *quite different*; and *very different*). They then had to indicate the aspects of the discourse where the differences were most marked, choosing from *textual organization/structure of argument*; *paragraph structure*; *syntax/sentence structure*; *lexis/vocabulary*; *other*). In the first part of the question they could only choose one response, while in the second part, they could tick as many as they felt were relevant.

The responses to the first part of the Question 1 were allocated a number (i.e. *no significant differences* (0); *a little different* (-1); *quite different* (-2); and *very different* (-3)), which brings them into line with the system used to assess Variance Factor in the Corpus. The most common response overall was *a little different* (42.2%), followed by *quite different* (33.3%). However, there do seem to be some disciplinary variations. The most 'scientific' of the subjects covered, Economics, was the one with the highest proportion of 0 scores (27%), although admittedly responses for this discipline did cover the full range of options, as also happened in Geography, Education and Literary Studies. Other areas, such as Anthropology, Archaeology, Art, History, Philosophy, Psychology and Sociology showed a clearer predominance of -1 and -2 (though of course the numbers were really too small to indicate significant disciplinary differences).

As regards the distinguishing features, sentence structure and text organization/argumentation were the most frequently indicated in most disciplines, though lexis/vocabulary was considered to be more significant than sentence structure in History, Music and Art. Most of the comments made under the category of 'Other' tended to refer rather vaguely to 'Style', understood as a general orientation or 'feel' to the text.

It should be pointed out that there were inconsistencies in some questionnaires on this point. For example, some of the people that answered in the first part of Question 1 that there were few or no differences between Portuguese and English academic discourse in their field went on in the second part to identify areas of difference, or to claim in Question 6 that they significantly altered their writing style when writing in English. This, to my mind, does not necessarily disqualify their answers; rather, it would seem to suggest that they had not given serious thought to the issue and required prompting to encourage them to reflect more deeply.

ii. Relative advantages and disadvantages of English and Portuguese as means of communication in different disciplines

Question 2 asked about the perceived advantages and disadvantages of English and Portuguese respectively as a means of communication within the respondent's area of study. This question was deliberately left open to avoid conditioning the responses, and as a result, was interpreted in several ways.

The main advantage given for English across all disciplines was the *opportunity for international exposure* that it offered researchers (see Annex I, Nos. 6-18), while the most frequently mentioned disadvantage of Portuguese was the correlative restrictedness of the discourse community. Indeed, these responses were often presented together by respondents as two sides of the same coin.

However, there were some that presented the hegemony of English in negative terms. 22 respondents complained of the *standardization of thought* that hegemony entails (see Annex I, Nos. 24-35); others referred to the *subalternization of work produced by other linguistic communities* (Annex I, 36-38) the *exclusion of non-English-speaking scholars* from the international scene (Annex I, 39-43), and even *the colonization of the Portuguese language* by English (Annex I, 44-50).

Some also mentioned the English affinity for empiricist or positivistic models, and its incapacity to do justice to concepts developed by 'Continental' philosophy (Annex I, 52-54; 68-71).

Other respondents interpreted the question in terms of the relative adequacy of each language as a vehicle for communication in their respective academic fields. Here, again, opinions were divided as to the value judgements attributed, although there was a remarkable consistency with regards to the characteristics believed to pertain to each language. Portuguese researchers tend to perceive English academic discourse as clear, precise, objective, concrete and grammatically simple, or, conversely, as reductionist and semantically impoverished (see Annex I, 55-92). Portuguese, on the other hand, is characterised as semantically richer, more nuanced, more flexible and better able to express subjectivity and sentiment - or negatively, as overly complex, elaborate, longwinded and subjective (Annex I, 94-126). In fact, only one respondent offered a view that countered this polarity (Annex I, No. 93), probably reflecting the poststructuralist influence in the area of Literary Studies in English.

iii. Perceived reasons for the hegemony of English in academia

Question 3 asked respondents to give their opinions as to the reasons for the current hegemony of English in the academic world. Three options were given of which they could tick any number, or they could suggest other reasons under the category 'Other'. The reasons given were: (a) the structure of the English language, as more suited to academic discourse; b) the historic role of England and the United States in research; c) the current political and economic power of English-speaking nations in the world.

Far more researchers chose options b) and c) than a). Several respondents specifically made the point that they did *not* consider the English language more suited to academic production than any other language, and some philosophers and historians claimed that it was actually deficient for dealing with certain branches of their field in relation to Portuguese, German or French (Annex I: 68, 69, 53, 88, 97). Several respondents claimed under the category of Other that the reason for the hegemony of English in the academic world was indeed linguistic, but nothing to do with it being particularly suited to the task; instead, they suggested that its dominance had more to do with the fact

that it was already used as a lingua franca in other areas, that it was an easy language to learn, or because developments in the teaching of the language had encouraged its spread throughout academia. Others suggested that the main reason for the hegemony of English was its relationship to business and technology, or to globalized culture in general; while 4 people argued that the United States invests more in research generally, which not only results in a greater proliferation of data in English but also means that it is able to attract the best researchers from Europe.

There were some challenges to the notion of hegemony. One anthropologist claimed that he did not believe that there was an English hegemony in academia at all (see Annex I No. 2), while two philosophers and a historian pointed out that France (and Germany too in the case of philosophy) had also had an important historic role to play in their disciplines (Nos. 3, 53, 21). These comments are of special interest as they support my argument that there exists a rich humanities tradition in Continental Europe that has led to the development of a discourse that is quite different in structure and epistemology from the empirically-oriented EAD.

iv. The effect of the English hegemony upon Portuguese researchers

Question 4 asked respondents whether they felt that Portuguese researchers were disadvantaged by the hegemony of English. 44.8% responded with a definite Yes, 35.4% with No and 17.2% gave a balanced response in which they admitted some disadvantage but suggested that this was perhaps counterbalanced by the advantages of learning English. 5 respondents (2.6%) did not answer this question.

Some respondents justified their answers, although they were not specifically asked to do so. Of those that felt that Portuguese researchers are at a disadvantage, 24 argued that the hegemony of English meant that much of the scholarship produced in Portugal remained unread by the international community; 20 referred to the marginalisation of non-native speakers on the international academic stage; 17 complained that their lack of skill in English led to a loss of meaning, in both production and reception of information; and

16 argued that the hegemony of English resulted in additional costs for them, either due to the pressures of having to learn the language or the expense of having their work translated.

The 'No' camp, on the other hand, reacted somewhat differently to the same situation. Of those that justified their decision, most (18) argued that the situation is inevitable as there is a fundamental need for a universal language of knowledge; for this reason, English should be viewed as a working language or internationally accepted code, perhaps analogous to a computer language, which a professional is obliged to master. 10 respondents acknowledged that this meant extra work for non-native speakers, but argued that learning another language was a challenge that brought benefits that far outweighed any disadvantages.

Of those that did not provide a clear-cut answer, a number of respondents (8) mentioned the disadvantages suffered by older academics, whose second language was French rather than English. They did point out, however, that scholars who had received their secondary education after the mid-1970s would have had 9 years of English or more, and would therefore be in a position to participate actively in the international research community. 1 respondent also claimed that the problem lay not in the hegemony of English but rather the closed nature of the Portuguese academic community, which younger generations were now trying to overcome (see Annex I Nos. 21).

v. Portuguese researchers' habits as regards publication in English

Sections B and C of the questionnaire were concerned with gauging the extent and nature of Portuguese researchers' practices as regards publication of their work in English. They were asked if they had published in English, and those that had were asked to specify if they wrote directly in English, or if they wrote first in Portuguese and then had their text translated (and if so, by whom?).

The majority of respondents (81.3%) had already published in English. Those that had not were asked to give a reason why. They could choose between: a) There is no need; my area of specialization is fully served by Portuguese or

languages other than English; b) My English isn't good enough; c) I don't believe that my articles could get published in an English-speaking journal; d) I have tried publishing in English but my articles were rejected for **linguistic** reasons; e) I have tried publishing in English but my articles were rejected for **scientific** reasons; f) Other reason. More than one reason could of course be chosen.

The most common reason given for failure to publish in English was a lack of confidence in their English. Of those that gave a different reason (Other), almost all indicated that they were planning to publish in English but had not yet got round to it, either because they were still at an early stage in their academic career or because the opportunity had not yet arisen. Of those that claimed that English was not necessary in their area because it was fully served by Portuguese or some other language, the disciplines are perhaps significant; indeed, two philosophers made the point that it is more common in their field to publish in French than in English (see Annex I Nos. 3-4).

Of those that have published in English, the majority (75%) claim to have written texts directly in English, in some cases with revision by a native speaker (usually a colleague or acquaintance). However, many of these same authors have also resorted to translation on occasions. Around 50% of those that have published in English have had their Portuguese texts translated at some point, sometimes by themselves or by a non-native-speaker colleague/acquaintance (perhaps with native-speaker revision), by a native-speaker colleague/acquaintance or by a professional translator. 46.7% of the 77 researchers that have had their work translated have at some point used the service of professionals.

vi. Style changes made by Portuguese scholars writing directly in English

Question 6 was designed to reinforce Question 1 by placing the same issue (i.e. the differences between Portuguese and English academic discourse) in a practical context. Addressed exclusively at those researchers that claimed to write directly in English, it asked whether their writing style changed when

they were preparing a text in English, and if so, how. Of the 117 respondents that wrote in English, only 5 said that they were unaware of any differences, while another 5 said that they were limited by lack of competence in the language. 28 responded briefly that they felt themselves to be constrained by the norms of the language or discourse, or by a different thought structure, without going into any further detail. The rest, however, were amazingly consistent in their descriptions of the alterations made to their discourse.

The characteristics cited can be divided into four main categories: Structure, General Orientation, Economy and Plainness of Style. 32 respondents claimed to alter the Structure of their texts, mentioning that, in English, the overall argument was clearer, more logical or more linear (15), the text as a whole and/or paragraphs would be more rigidly organized or standardized (8), and that their sentences were shorter with less subordination (9). As regards General Orientation, there were 26 references to changes in this area: 10 claimed to be more factual/pragmatic/informative/technical in English, and concrete rather than abstract; 13 said they were more objective and made more use of the Passive, while 3 said they tried to be more explicit.

As regards style, there were 115 comments concerning Economy and 32 concerning Plainness. In the first category, 25 respondents claimed to be more precise and to-the-point in English (*'preciso'*, *'directo'*, *'incisivo'*), while 90 said that they used fewer words to express themselves (less redundancy, more concise/succinct/economical, *'sintético'*, *'depurado'*, *'expurgado'*, etc). In the second, 13 said they used a style that was less elaborate and ornamented (*'menos requintado/floreado/precioso/elegante/rebuscado/elaborado'* etc); 14 said they used a more limited vocabulary (sometimes expressed positively as *'correcto'* ['accurate'], sometimes negatively as *'pobre'* ['impoverished']), while 5 claimed to use less rhetorical or figurative devices.

There were no opinions that contradicted these, which reaffirms the conclusion drawn from Question 1 as regards Portuguese researchers' attitudes to English academic discourse in relation to Portuguese.

Some of the comments made in this section of the questionnaire are reproduced in Annex I (Nos. 127-139). As we can see, they are mostly positive with regards to English, unlike the answers to Question 1 which included a certain amount of negativity.

IV. DISCUSSION

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One of the most interesting points to emerge from this survey is that many respondents did not seem to really understand the concept of 'discourse' as distinct from 'language' or 'style'. Some claimed that the features they noted were intrinsic to the languages in question while others (a minority) said they depended upon the personal style or linguistic competence of individual authors. This in itself is significant, as it supports my intuition that there is (or has been until recently) little sense in Portugal of 'academic discourse' as a community-defined entity that can be systematically taught and learned.

For example, there seems to be a very strong sense amongst respondents that the English language is inherently suited to science, but inferior to Portuguese when it comes to the expression of certain philosophical concepts (see Annex I 52-53; 68-70). Portuguese, on the other hand, was consistently described as *intrinsically* poetic and non-scientific (Annex I 100-126). Indeed, this polarity was so prevalent in the survey that it could almost be said to constitute a stereotype, with only one person (Annex I No. 93) expressing a contrary view.

Several respondents asserted quite categorically that the dichotomy was due to the relative 'richness' of the vocabulary in each language; English, they claimed, has a more limited or 'impoverished' vocabulary than Portuguese, particularly as regards adjectives, which is why is unable to express subjectivity or be poetic (Annex I 73, 76, 77, 83, 87, 89, 90, 94, 95, 104-110). This is of course is manifestly untrue, given that English is generally considered to have the largest vocabulary in the world³² and an extremely rich literary tradition. It does, however, reflect these researchers' experience of English *academic discourse*, which does, as we have seen, restrict the lexical items that are effectively permitted in particular disciplinary areas, and generally discourages the expression of subjectivity or use of figurative language.

³² "The statistics of English are astonishing. Of all the world's languages..., it is arguably the richest in vocabulary. The compendious *Oxford English Dictionary* lists about 500,000 words; and a further half-million technical and scientific terms remain uncatalogued. According to traditional estimates, neighboring German has a vocabulary of about 185,000 and French fewer than 100,000," (Robert McCrum, William Cran, & Robert MacNeil. *The Story of English*. New York: Penguin, 1992: 1)

It seems, then, that the frontier between academic and literary writing in the humanities is somewhat blurred in Portugal, at least in the perceptions of the researchers surveyed. Indeed, the term 'academic discourse' is notoriously difficult to translate into Portuguese, which in itself suggests that the concept might not be as clear cut as it is in English. The term used in the survey was '*discurso científico*', on the grounds that '*científico*' in Portuguese has a much broader range of application than its cognate in English and is frequently used to refer to any research or systematic knowledge, irrespective of discipline. However, as we have seen, a number of the respondents made a point of distinguishing between 'scientific' and 'philosophical' discourse, attributing markedly different characteristics to each. This would seem, then, to support my hypothesis that Portuguese discourse in the humanities is based on a quite different epistemology to EAD and characterised by features that are markedly different from what would be expected by English in the same fields.

As regards disciplinary differences, it is interesting to compare Portuguese researchers' responses to Question 1 (i.e. 'To what extent is academic discourse in your field different from EAD?') with the results of the Corpus study. By allocating a number between 0 and -3 to the responses offered in the questionnaire ('*Not different*', '*A little different*', '*Quite different*' '*Very different*'), these responses may be assimilated to the concept of Variance Factor used in the Corpus. This allows us to compare Portuguese academics' impressions of their discourse with the more objective data given by the Corpus study.

Thus, we can see that there are some differences between Portuguese researchers' perceptions of the discourse used in their respective disciplines and the information provided by the Corpus. The Economists, Educationalists and Philosophers seem to have exaggerated the difference between Portuguese and English academic discourse in their fields, in each case believing it to be a degree removed from what the Corpus suggests it to be. Historians and Literary scholars, on the other hand, have underestimated it, also by a degree. Geographers and Sociologists have got it about right on average, although the wide range of answers in their disciplines (as indeed occurred with all disciplines in which there were over 4 or 5 respondents) suggests a certain lack of agreement (or standardization?) within the various discourse communities. However, in all cases, the number of respondents per discipline was really too small to draw any significant conclusions.

As regards the responses to Questions 3 and 4, one of the most interesting aspects was the challenge raised by a few researchers to the basic premise that English holds hegemonic status in the academic world. Although these were a small minority (most respondents accepted the notion of an English hegemony unquestioningly), it is nevertheless significant that some Portuguese scholars look elsewhere for their academic inspiration other than to the Anglo-Saxon world. A number referred specifically to the Continental tradition of philosophy led by Germany and France (Annex I, 52, 53, 68, 69), to the French influence upon Portuguese academic discourse (Annex I, 3-5; 119-121), and indeed to the fact that French was the second language in Portugal until the middle of the 20th century. Some implied that there were other influences operating upon their particular areas of knowledge besides the Anglo-American (Annex I, 3, 21, 52, 53), while others mentioned Portugal's long insularity with regards to the international community (Annex I, 21). All of these factors have no doubt contributed to the persistence of an alternative approach to academic discourse that is in many respects alien to the Anglo-American tradition.

However, the responses given to Question 5 ("Have you published academic articles in English?") suggest that Portuguese researchers are now under considerable pressure to publish in English. Of those that have not done so, only 8 (22%) claimed not to feel the need. The rest implied that they intended to, but had not yet had the opportunity or felt restricted by lack of competence in the language.

Finally, as regards the methods used by Portuguese researchers to produce English texts, there are clearly a number of different approaches and many authors appear to have used different ones at different times. They include: writing the text directly in English; writing it in English with revision by a native speaker; writing in Portuguese and then translating it into English oneself; writing in Portuguese and having it translated by a non-native-speaker colleague or acquaintance, perhaps with revision by a native speaker; writing in Portuguese and having it translated by a native-speaker colleague or acquaintance; having it translated by a professional translator, or submitting the text in Portuguese to the publisher, who then has the text translated by 'their' translator.

This means that the traditional dichotomy between Source Language Original and Target Language Translation does not really hold for academic discourse.

In between these two extremes we have a whole range of intermediate texts: Portuguese texts written with translation in mind (which may be quite different in nature from those written for domestic consumption, given the level of awareness shown by Portuguese researchers of target-culture expectations); English texts written by non-native speakers; English translations of Portuguese texts done by non-native speakers; native-speaker revisions of non-native speaker English texts or translations, etc.

Moreover, the author/translator dichotomy is also undermined by the fact that many different people may have intervened in the text before the final version is reached. The traces left by these interventions, and the extent to which such 'meddling' is acceptable to academics operating within a humanities tradition where the concept of authorship still has something of a sacred aura, are also interesting issues in the context of this study.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the limited nature of this survey, it has, I believe, allowed us an insight into Portuguese attitudes towards academic discourse and the hegemony of English, and revealed some of the strategies used by academics to project their own texts onto the international stage.

The main conclusions that can be drawn are as follows

- i. The Portuguese clearly perceive a difference between English and Portuguese academic discourse in almost all the disciplines covered by the survey, and the comments they make about that difference largely correspond to the findings of the Corpus Study and the Review of English Style Manuals. However, this is usually expressed as an intrinsic difference between *languages*, which suggests that the concept of *discourse*, as a circumscribed, community-defined subset of language, is largely absent from their experience. This lack of clear-cut boundaries between discourses in Portuguese would account for many of the apparent differences between Portuguese and English textual practice in the academic domain.

- ii. This lack of distinction between genres or discourses can probably be traced back to a Continental tradition of scholarship that is more holistic in its approach to knowledge than the Anglo-Saxon model. Indeed, a number of respondents specifically point to the influence of French and German thought upon the humanities in Portugal.
- iii. The evidence seems to be, however, that the English model is rapidly taking over from the Franco-German model in Portugal in all disciplines (except, perhaps, Philosophy and some restricted branches of History and Literary Studies). The vast majority of respondents clearly felt the need to publish in English, and most of them acknowledge the hegemony of English, whether they sympathise with it or not.
- iv. Although older Portuguese scholars were raised with French as a second language, most academics today seem to have a good command of English. This is revealed by the fact that over 80% of the respondents had published in English and over 75% of those claimed to have written their texts directly in English.
- v. Nevertheless, translation is still required, although native speaker proficiency does not seem to be vital. Much of the translation that takes place in Portugal is done by non-native speakers. It may be significant that professional translators seem to be used more in disciplines like Art and History where the cultural difference between Portuguese and English is more marked (though further research is required before this can be asserted with any authority).
- vi. Translation is no longer a binary activity involving two people (Author and Translator) and two texts (Source Text or Original, and Target Text or Translation). Rather it is a complex process in which many different people may intervene, and where the publishable version may occupy any position along a cline between the fully Source-Culture-oriented text and the fully Target-Culture-oriented text.

Overall, then, this survey has fulfilled its main purpose, despite the relatively small number of respondents. Not only has it largely confirmed my hypothesis of a clearly discernible difference between Portuguese and English academic writing habits in the humanities, and provided useful data about translation

practice in this domain, it has also revealed powerful tensions amongst the Portuguese academic community as regards attitudes to English and its hegemonic status in academia.

For this reason, it would be very interesting indeed to repeat the survey in a few years' time (ideally under more rigorous conditions and with a much larger sample). This would enable us to chart the changes taking place in Portuguese academic writing practice and find out how those tensions play out over time, within the broader context of globalization.

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ANNEX I

Selected Quotations from Portuguese Researchers about English and Portuguese as Vehicles of Academic Communication

Key:

(+) *Advantage*, (-) *Disadvantage*

I. On the hegemony of English

1. “*Não publicar em inglês é não existir*” (“If you don’t publish in English, then you don’t exist”) *T.S. (Geog)*

2. “*Não creio haver hegemonia da língua inglesa no mundo académico*” (“I don’t believe there is any hegemony of the English language in the academic world”) *M.R. (Anthr)*

3. “*Na área específica da filosofia, a língua inglesa não é ainda claramente dominante. Dependendo do trabalho específico que faz, o investigador pode usar uma outra língua para a publicação dos seus escritos internacionais. Os colóquios internacionais de filosofia, em Portugal e genericamente no estrangeiro, longe de admitirem apenas comunicações em inglês, admitem quase sempre comunicações em francês, em italiano, em castelhano e em alemão. No meu caso, por exemplo, devido à área de investigação específica a que me*

dedico, não tendo publicado ainda em inglês, já publiquei em alemão. E, em Portugal, é aliás mais comum – embora esta situação tenda a alterar-se – publicar em francês que em língua inglesa” (“In Philosophy specifically, the English language is not yet clearly dominant. Researchers may use other languages for their international publications, depending upon the particular area they work in. Far from allowing only English papers, international philosophy conferences in Portugal, and also generally abroad, usually accept papers in French, Italian, Spanish and German. In my case, for example, I have not yet published in English; instead, I use German, given my particular area of research. Indeed, in Portugal it is more common to publish in French than in English - though this situation may well be changing”) *A.B. (Phil)*

4. *“Predominantemente, a minha língua de trabalho é o francês.”* (“My working language is predominantly French”) *J.R. (Phil)*

5. *“As vantagens são permitir ser um veículo que unifica muitas pessoas de diferentes nacionalidades e combater uma certa hegemonia que havia da Linguística francesa”* (“The advantages [of English] are that it provides a vehicle that unifies many people of different nationalities and combats a certain French hegemony that used to exist”) *I.D. (Educ.)*

English as an international language

6. *“A língua inglesa é hoje o meio de comunicação mais global, e portanto deve ser o meio utilizado na divulgação do conhecimento científico”* (“English is today the most widespread language of communication around the globe; it should therefore be used for divulging academic knowledge”) *C.D. (Econ)*

7. *“A grande vantagem consiste no facto de ser a língua de publicação das melhores revistas de carácter científico e de ser lida por toda a comunidade científica mundial”* (“The biggest advantage [of English] is that it is the language used by the best academic journals and is read by the whole academic community worldwide”) *E.R. (Econ)*.

8. (+) *“Facilidade de disseminação de resultados, publicação em revistas internacionais, sobretudo “refereed”, com maior “peso” e maior respeitabilidade científica”*([English] makes it easier to disseminate results and get published in international journals, particularly the refereed journals that carry the most weight and are most respected by the academic community”) *P.C. (Geog)*

9. (+) *“Acesso a uma vasta bibliografia, novos paradigmas teóricos e metodológicos e a projectos de investigação inovadores”* (“Access to a vast bibliography, new theoretical and methodological paradigms and innovative research projects”) *A.P.H. (Soc)*

10. (+) *“Conhecimento do avanço científico por parte da comunidade científica mais alargada e publicação atempada das investigações feitas”* (“Knowledge of scientific advances by the academic community at large and the timely publication of research”) *M.D.D. (Lit)*

11. (+) *“... possibilidade de aceder e consultar um enorme volume de informação sobre as minhas áreas de interesse científico, que estão muito desenvolvidas e em permanente actualização em países como o Reino Unido, EUA e Canadá /.../; possibilidade de adquirir novos conhecimentos em colóquios internacionais /.../, nomeadamente através do contacto pessoal com os peritos internacionais (ingleses, americanos, canadianos)”* (“...the possibility of accessing and consulting a huge volume of information about my areas of interest, which are highly developed and constantly being updated in countries such as the UK, US and Canada /.../; it also offers the possibility of acquiring new knowledge in international conferences /.../, particularly through personal contact with international experts (English, American, Canadian)”) *A.E. (Geog)*

12. *“A grande vantagem é ser uma língua muito disseminada, geralmente num discurso fácil de compreender, e ser fácil encontrar uma grande oferta de livros e revistas no mercado através da internet e bases de dados”* (“The great advantage of English is that it is very widespread and easy to understand, and with it, we can easily access a wide range of books and journals on offer on the market through the Internet and databases”) *R.P.P. (Music)*

13. (+) “...permitir aceder a meios pedagógico-científicos de difícil penetração atendendo à periferia do país” (“...it enables us to access theoretical and pedagogical resources that are difficult to find, given Portugal’s peripheral status”) *I.A. (Hist)*

14. (+) “Torna os textos escritos por portugueses acessíveis à comunidade científica internacional” (“It means that texts produced by Portuguese researchers are accessible to the international academic community”) *J.R. (Hist)*

15. (+) “Acesso à audiência de especialistas, espalhada pelo mundo” (“Access to an audience of specialists spread around the world”) *J.G.S. (Phil)*

16. (+) “Permite divulgar os resultados da investigação de qualidade efectuada em Portugal junto de entidades e investigadores estrangeiros, que muitas vezes não têm conhecimento do que se faz em Portugal devido ao obstáculo linguístico” (“It enables quality research from Portugal to be divulged to foreign researchers and institutions, who would otherwise have no knowledge of what was happening in Portugal due to the language barrier”) *A.M.C. (Hist)*

17. “As vantagens são semelhantes às da normalização de qualquer produto, serviço ou cultura: o poder de transmissão e de comunicação por diferentes polos de emissão e recepção da informação” (“The advantages are similar to those associated with the standardization of any product, service or culture, namely the power of transmission and communication via different information emission and reception centres”) *C.L.G. (Geog)*

18. (+) “...divulgação (e, já agora, prestígio, logo financiamentos...)” (“... dissemination – and of course prestige and funding...”) *L.C. (Geog)*

19. (-) “Para que o nosso trabalho possa ser (re)conhecido fora de Portugal teremos de recorrer sempre à sua tradução, o que implica um grande gasto de tempo (e muitas vezes de dinheiro) e um certo atraso na sua divulgação” (“If we want our work to be known and acknowledged outside Portugal, we will have to resort to translation, which implies great expense in terms of time (and often money), not to mention the delay in publication”) *S.T. (Psych)*

20. “O universo muito reduzido de leitores [em Portugal] provoca um grande isolamento científico. Os autores ingleses e franceses continuam a escrever sobre a história militar da Península Ibérica como se aqui não se tivesse escrito e descoberto nada sobre o assunto nos últimos 50 anos...” “The restricted readership [in Portugal] leads to great academic isolation. English and French authors continue to write about the military history of the Iberian Peninsula as if nothing had been written and discovered on the subject in the last 50 years...”
J.M.G. (Hist)

21. “O prejuízo advém não da predominância da língua inglesa (porque o meio científico da minha área, História, tradicionalmente está mais ligada à língua francesa) mas de algum fechamento à internacionalização que as novas gerações tentam ultrapassar.” (“The disadvantage arises not from the predominance of English – indeed, my own area of History has traditionally been more associated with French – but rather from a certain resistance to internationalization, which younger generations are currently trying to overcome”) **I.A. (Hist)**

22. “A principal desvantagem [do inglês] é a péssima qualidade com que são escritos artigos. O uso de italiano era, na nossa especialidade, historicamente mais razoável. O ideal seria o uso de Latim em comunicações internacionais” (“The main disadvantage [of English] is the poor quality of the articles, which are very badly written. In our field, Italian would be more reasonable, for historical reasons. The ideal would be to use Latin for international communications”) **V.N. (Music)**

English as a standard

23. (+) “uniformizar o discurso científico, permitindo a partilha de saberes inter pares dentro da comunidade científica” (“the standardization of academic discourse enables knowledge to be shared amongst peers in the academic community”) **F.M. (Educ)**

24. *“Tem a vantagem correlativa fornecer um standard, embora este seja por vezes constrangedor em sociedades e línguas diferentes (e não só diferentes mas também ‘dominadas’ do ponto de vista da comunicação)”* (“It has the advantage of providing a standard, although this can sometimes be limiting for different societies and languages – which are not only different but also ‘dominated’ from the point of view of communication”) *M.C. (Hist)*

25. *“As desvantagens também estão associadas à normalização, ou mais declaradamente à Globalização e baseiam-se no detrimento do conhecimento das línguas pelo investimento na expansão de uma língua técnica global”* (“The disadvantages are also associated to standardization, or rather, globalization, i.e. investment in the expansion of a single technical language around the world to the detriment of the knowledge encoded in other languages”) *C.L.G. (Geog)*

26. (-) *“algum monolitismo formal”* (“rather monolithic in formal terms”) *R.N.B. (Econ)*

27. (-) *“a pluralidade linguística fica empobrecida e se pensarmos que uma língua reflecte sempre uma cultura, teremos igualmente um empobrecimento cultural”* (“impoverishment on the level of linguistic pluralism, and if we remember that languages always reflect a culture, then there is also cultural impoverishment”) *L.S. (Educ.)*

28. (-) *“risco de favorecer o pensamento único, resultante de uma globalização excessiva e indesejável”* (“the risk of favouring a single mode of thought, resulting in excessive and undesirable globalization”) *A.M. (Educ);*

29. *“...sou bastante desfavorável à ideia de que todos os congressos ou encontros científicos se realizem em inglês. Acho essa ideia péssima num projecto europeu (‘Unidade na Diversidade’) e tendo em conta a dimensão da comunidade de falantes de língua portuguesa.”* (“... I am against the idea that all conferences and scientific meetings should be held in English. I think that is a terrible idea within a European project of ‘Unity in Diversity’, particularly given the size of the Portuguese-speaking community”). *LNF (Lit)*

30. (-) “*fecha-se no mundo anglo-saxónico*” (“we are becoming enclosed in the Anglo-Saxon world”) *J.S. (Geog.)*

31. “*limitação das ideias à estrutura conceptual da língua inglesa*” (“ideas are limited by the conceptual structure of the English language”) *M.F.M. (Lit)*

32. “*uma desvantagem /.../ de a utilização do inglês /.../ está excessivamente fechada dentro dos limites de preocupações e temáticas sócio-culturais (uma visão do mundo, se quiser) centradamente anglo-americanas /.../. O problema aqui presente é o do etnocentrismo das categorias de percepção e conceptualização que veiculam os instrumentos linguísticos de uma potência imperial, pouco habituada, muitas vezes aversa, aliás, em compreender o lugar e a visão do Outro.*” (“one disadvantage /.../ of the use of English /.../ is that we become too enclosed in Anglo-American concerns and preoccupations (or worldview, if you like) /.../. The problem is the ethnocentricity of perceptual and conceptual categories, transmitted by the linguistic tools of an imperial power that is unused and often averse to understanding the place and worldview of the Other”) *P.V. (Soc.)*

33. (-) “*algum empobrecimento das questões que assim ficam sujeitas aos limites do que o inglês permite pensar e dizer, apagando-se ou, pelo menos, diluindo-se outras visões, outras tonalidades discursivas que a forma das outras línguas iluminaria de modo estimulante; a lenta subalternização (e consequente desaparecimento?) de línguas ditas periféricas*” (“some impoverishment of issues when they are subjected to the conceptual and verbal restrictions of English, extinguishing or at least diluting other views and other shades of discourse that other languages could illuminate in a stimulating way; the slow subalternization (and consequent disappearance?) of ‘peripheral’ languages”) *A.L. (Lit.)*

34. (-) “*Potencialmente, um dia, toda a linguagem científica estaria contaminada da lógica linguística do inglês, ou seja, só em inglês se produziriam conceitos científicos de análise da realidade...*” (“Potentially, all academic language will one day become contaminated by the linguistic logic of English – that is to say, all theoretical concepts for the analysis of reality will be produced in English alone”) *M.L. (Hist)*

35. (-) *“Impedimento ao crescimento de uma linguagem própria; obstrução ao desenvolvimento de discursos múltiplos”* (“Obstacle to the growth of one’s own language; obstruction to the development of multiple discourses”) *C.L. (Arlg)*

Subalternization of other linguistic communities

36. (-) *“A secundarização das outras línguas, e conseqüentemente dos investigadores que as usam, é uma desvantagem”* (“the subordination of other languages and consequently of the researchers that use them”) *P.B.D. (Lit)*

37. (-) *“desvalorização de outras comunidades linguísticas /.../ que assim se vêem remetidas de forma ainda mais agravada ao estatuto de parceiras periféricas, secundarizadas”* (“the devaluing of other linguistic communities /.../ which are increasingly relegated to the status of peripheral, second-class partners”) *A.M. (Educ.)*

38. *“... face ao domínio da produção científica norte-americana (que não é alcançado necessariamente pela sua qualidade, mas pela força político-económica e cultural dos EUA /.../), outros contributos científicos /.../ acabam por ser marginalizados e bastante ignorados. O problema que ai se coloca é, no fim de contas, um de imperialismo linguístico...”* (“...with the American domination of academic production - not necessarily achieved through quality, rather through the political, economic and cultural clout of the USA – other academic contributions end up being marginalized and to a large extent ignored. The problem here is, ultimately, the question of linguistic imperialism...”) *P.V. (Soc.)*

Exclusion or marginalization of non-English-speaking scholars

39. (-) *“a sistemática marginalização de obras, por vezes de grande qualidade, que não podem competir em matéria de divulgação”* (“the systematic marginalization of works which may be of very high quality but which cannot compete through lack of exposure”) *M.T.F. (Lit)*

40. (-) “*os não nativos têm um handicap, por lbes ser mais difícil a comunicação*” (“non-native speakers are handicapped, as communication is much more difficult for them”) *P.M. (Geog)*

41. (-) “*exclusão de quem não domina a língua*” (“exclusion of those that do not speak the language”) *H.N. (Geog)*

42. “*exige um bom domínio da língua para se beneficiar das vantagens /.../*” (“mastery of the language is necessary before we can benefit from the advantages it offers /.../”) *P.H. (Soc)*

43. (-) “*penso que se cria uma espécie de língua franca e o seu domínio favorece uma maior visibilidade e eventual reconhecimento àqueles que a dominam. /.../ Por outro lado, quando se fala em igualdade linguística e de oportunidades no seio da Comunidade Européia, esta supremacia vem negar estes mesmos princípios.*” (“I think it creates a kind of lingua franca which benefits those that speak it by giving them greater visibility and recognition. /.../ This supremacy ultimately undermines the principles of linguistic equality and equality of opportunity promoted by the European Community”) *L.S. (Educ.)*

Colonization of other languages

44. (-) “*... coloniza as outras línguas com jargão que acaba por não ser traduzido para a língua materna; subjuga as diversas línguas maternas a ponto de os encontros científicos realizados em Portugal terem como língua oficial o inglês (considero isso lamentável)*” (“...it colonizes other languages with a jargon that ends up not being translated into the mother tongue; it subjugates other languages to the extent that English is the official language of academic conferences held in Portugal (a situation which I consider highly regrettable)”) *L.O. (Other)*

45. (-) “*apropriação e utilização de vocabulário inglês para nomear novos sistemas ou processos culturais em Portugal*” (“the appropriation and use of

English vocabulary to name new cultural systems or processes in Portugal”) *A.C.B. (Music)*

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46. (-) “*Acontece que muitos conceitos não foram traduzidos adequadamente para outras línguas pelo que mesmo quando não escritos em inglês os textos são geralmente ‘colonizados’ por expressões anglófonas*” (“Many concepts have not been properly translated into other languages, which means that even texts that are not written in English are often ‘colonized’ by English expressions”) *A.L. (Econ).*

47. (-) “*desincentivo à criação de um corpo lexical próprio em português*” (“it discourages the creation of a specific lexicon in Portuguese”) *J.R. (Music)*

48. (-) “*...a tendência para a incorporação de conceitos e termos sem relevância no quadro da cultura portuguesa*” (“...the tendency to incorporate concepts and terms that have no relevance within the framework of Portuguese culture”) *P.J.S. (Psych)*

49. (-) “*A adoção passiva de vocabulário, sobretudo em áreas científicas /.../ põe em causa os benefícios que em princípio o inglês ou outras línguas estrangeiras deveriam trazer ao falante de português. Mais grave é essa adoção passiva se reflectir frequentemente no uso de termos ou construções lesivos das boas regras.*” (“The passive adoption of vocabulary, particularly in academic areas /.../ undermines any benefits that English or other foreign languages could offer Portuguese speakers. The situation becomes even more serious when this passive adoption involves the use of terms or constructions that break the rules of good usage”) *M.T.F. (Lit)*

50. (-) “*o ‘excesso de consumo’ do inglês como língua científica, particularmente em cursos de letras, tende a empobrecer a capacidade de expressão na língua-mãe*” (“the ‘over-consumption’ of English as an academic language, particularly in the humanities, tends to diminish the capacity to express oneself in one’s mother tongue”) *M.T.F. (Lit)*

Predominance of particular methods or schools of thought

51. (-) “...hegemonia dos modelos de análise apropriados a sociedades centrais” (“...the hegemony of certain models of analysis, appropriate to central societies”) *A.P.D. (Soc)*

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52. “No que diz respeito à Filosofia, a principal desvantagem tem a ver com o facto de a produção de língua inglesa se enquadrar maioritariamente em determinadas orientações filosóficas (filosofia analítica) passando muitas vezes ao lado das produções em língua francesa ou alemã.” (“In Philosophy, the main disadvantage has to do with the fact that the English language is generally associated with particular philosophical orientations (analytical philosophy), often to the detriment of French or German production”) *O.P. (Phil)*

53. “No domínio da Filosofia, onde as línguas francesa e alemã têm um peso substantivo, o inglês acaba por ser adequado para certas correntes (filosofia analítica) e mais penosa para outros domínios (metafísica clássica, por ex.).” (“In Philosophy, where French and German carry a considerable weight, English is suited to certain currents (analytical philosophy) but has difficulty in coping with other domains (such as classical metaphysics)”) *V.S. (Phil)*

54. “normalmente está associado a escolas de pensamento económico mais viradas para raciocínios matematizados e por vezes esvaziados de qualquer leitura crítica” (“it is usually associated with schools of economic thought that are dominated by mathematical reasoning, often without any critical interpretation”) *M.A. (Econ)*

II. Linguistic structure/usage

a) About English

55. “Penso que se trata de uma língua com uma estrutura e vocabulário de fácil aprendizagem, com a qual os portugueses contactam no ensino secundário, e

o “treino” no trabalho científico (na área de economia) leva a superar rapidamente alguma desvantagem que pudesse à partida existir.” (“I believe English has a structure and vocabulary that are easy to learn, and which Portuguese people usually come into contact with in secondary school; this, and the academic ‘training’ that they receive (in the area of economics) means that they can quickly overcome any disadvantage that may at first sight exist”) *A.C. (Econ)*

56. “A língua inglesa consegue ser mais sintética. Os argumentos são mais lógicos. É mais fácil sistematizar o que queremos transmitir. É mais flexível no uso de novos termos científicos...” (“English manages to be more concise. The arguments are more logical. It is easier to systematise whatever it is we are trying to say. It is more flexible in the use of new scientific terms...”) *M.N.R (Geog)*

57. “organização mais eficiente dos conteúdos” (“more efficient organization of content”) *J.F. (Geog)*

58. “grande variedade e precisão de vocabulário técnico” (“great range and precision of technical vocabulary”) *R.P.P (Music)*

59. “língua mais clara, objectiva, concisa” (“it is clearer, more objective, more concise”) *T.G. (Soc)*

60. “tem a vantagem de uma certa matter-of-factness, ie, concisão, precisão, etc., e também flexibilidade perante as inovações” (“it has the advantage of a certain matter-of-factness, i.e. concision, precision, etc, and also flexibility with regard to innovations”) *M.C. (Hist)*

61. “mais directa, sintética, menos ambígua” (“more direct, concise, less ambiguous”) *T.G.M. (Psych)*

62. “a clareza e objectividade do discurso académico inglês é uma vantagem” (“the clarity and objectivity of English academic discourse is an advantage”) *P.B.D. (Lit)*

63. *“a mensagem é transmitida com economia de palavras”* (“the message is transmitted in few words”) *P.S. (Geog)*

64. *“a língua inglesa é mais “econômica” na sua construção”* (“the English language is more ‘economical’ in its construction”) *A.P.M (Econ)*

65. *“permite ter argumentos mais concisos”* (“it enables us to create more concise arguments”) *C.C. (Anthr)*

66. *“A língua inglesa parece-me mais sintética, gramaticalmente mais simples e não evita a repetição lexical, algo que evitamos constantemente numa boa redacção em português”* (“English seems more concise, grammatically simpler, and it does not mind lexical repetition, something that has to be avoided in good Portuguese style”) *L.N.F. (Lit)*

67. *“Na língua inglesa, a organização de um texto filosófico, em particular, o texto com construção de argumentos e de raciocínios, são feitos de forma directa e simples sem rodeios literários e divagações”* (“In an English philosophical text, the argument and reasoning are constructed in a direct and simple way, without any literary circumlocutions or digressions”) *M.M.M. (Phil)*

68. *“Uma língua que em ciência consegue ser precisa recorrendo a menos palavras. A desvantagem de faltar-lhe a capacidade de construção fácil de palavras novas com em alemão para definir ou precisar conceitos sob o ponto de vista filosófico.”* (“English manages to be precise using few words. The disadvantage is that it does not have the capacity to easily construct new words, as German does, to define or fine-tune concepts from the philosophical point of view”) *S.F. (Other)*

69. *“...a língua inglesa, devido à sua estrutura, é filosoficamente mais pobre que o português ou o alemão. Um caso evidente está, por exemplo, na impossibilidade de substantivar infinitivos verbais (traduzindo “ser” por “being”). Veja-se as dificuldades das traduções inglesas em traduzir aquilo a que Heidegger chamou a “diferença ontológica”: a diferença entre ser e ente, entre Sein e Seiendes.”* (...the English language, because of its structure, is

philosophically impoverished compared to Portuguese or German. A clear example is its incapacity to form nouns from verbal infinitives - translating 'ser' by 'being'. We can see this in the difficulty that English translations have in rendering what Heidegger called 'the ontological difference': the difference between 'ser' and 'ente', between 'Sein' and 'Seiendes'") *A.B. (Phil)*

70. "...Os ingleses têm uma narrativa pobre e dogmática. As perguntas de partida são simples e dirigidas de modo a que haja uma resposta de tipo SIM ou NÃO, com refúgio em modelos matemáticos que nos dizem muito pouco da realidade. É basicamente assim que legitimam a sua ciência, com base numa lógica muito positivista..." ("...The English have an impoverished dogmatic narrative. The questions raised at the outset are simplistic and formulated in such a way as to elicit a YES/NO type answer, based upon mathematical models that have little to say about reality. That is how they legitimise their science, based upon a positivistic logic..." *L.O. (Soc)*

71. (-) "*A redução de quase toda a linguagem ao enunciado proposicional e o princípio empirista que subjaz à argumentação*" ("The reduction of almost the whole of language to the propositional enunciation and the empiricist principle that underlies this kind of argumentation") *J.M.S.R. (Phil)*

72. (-) "*obriga a reduzir a riqueza da informação documental em proveito da comunicação*" ("the wealth of documental information is necessarily reduced in the interests of communication") *I.A. (Hist)*

73. "(+) *mais objectiva, estruturada, menos especulativa; (-) menos rica em termos de adjetivos*" ("more objective and structured and less speculation; less rich in adjectives") *A.J.N. (Educ)*

74. "(+) *simples e eficaz; (-) pobre e esquemática*" ("simple and effective, but impoverished and schematic") *J.F. (Arch)*

75. "(+) *mais objectiva e concreta; (-) dificuldade em descrever a subjectividade*" (more objective and concrete, but has difficulties in describing subjectivity") *J.P.A (Psych)*

76. “(+) *linguagem mais sintética e unívoca; (-) menor riqueza de sentidos*” (“a more concise univocal language, but less rich in meanings”) *J.F. (Soc)*

77. “(+) *clareza de expressão e organização conceptual e discursiva; (-) simplificação vocabular, contrária à tradição literária continental na minha área filosófica*” (“clarity of expression and conceptual and discursive organization; on the other hand, lexical simplification, contrary to the continental literary tradition in my philosophical area”) *M.J.C (Phil)*

78. “(+) *clareza de exposição; grande rigor filológico; (-) tendências standardistas; reducionismo nas abordagens*” (“clarity of exposition and great philological rigour; but standardising tendencies and reductionism in its approaches”) *J.R. (Phil)*

79. “*É bastante mais directa e clara. É por vezes também simplificadora*” (“It is considerably clearer and more direct, but can sometimes be simplistic”) *M.P. (Lit)*

80. “*os textos escritos originariamente em inglês são claros e directos, o que nem sempre acontece com os textos escritos em português. A desvantagem é que o inglês tem uma riqueza de vocabulário menor*” (“Texts written originally in English are clear and direct, which is not always the case with texts written in Portuguese. The disadvantage is that English has less wealth of vocabulary”) *J.B. (Art)*

81. “*A desvantagem é alguma dificuldade de contemplar certas nuances ou subtilezas na explanação de ideias e argumentos, até por ser usada por cientistas que não têm o inglês como língua materna.*” (“The disadvantage is that there are some difficulties in creating certain nuances or subtleties in the explanation of ideas and arguments, perhaps because it is used by researchers whose mother tongue is not English”) *F.M. (Soc)*

82. “*por vezes a língua inglesa ‘peca’ pela sua excessiva ‘coloquialidade’ científica*” (“sometimes English ‘sins’ on the side of an excessive ‘colloquialism’”) *CV (Educ)*

83. “*léxico restrito*” (“limited vocabulary”) *P.S. (Phil)*
84. “*empobrecimento do conteúdo argumentativo*” (“impoverishment of argumentative content”) *L.C. (Geog)*
85. “*Algum empobrecimento das questões que assim ficam sujeitas aos limites do que o inglês permite pensar e dizer*” (“Some impoverishment of questions which are constrained by the limits of what can be said and thought by the English language”) *A.L. (Lit)*
86. “*A principal diferença do inglês consiste na sua maior aproximação a uma expressão mais próxima do “senso comum” e do quotidiano. Isso traz, ao mesmo tempo, vantagens e desvantagens. As vantagens consistem sobretudo na necessidade de uma maior precisão, de uma circunscrição temática mais rigorosa e objectiva dos temas tratados. As desvantagens consistem numa possível “superficialização” do discurso*” (“The main difference is that English is closer to ‘common sense’ or the everyday view of the world. This brings both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages consist above all of the need for greater precision, a more rigorous and objective approach to the subject. The main disadvantage is that the discourse may be more superficial”) *A.B. (Phil)*
87. “*escassa versatilidade semântica*” (“lack of semantic versatility”) *J.A.A. (Phil)*
88. “*a realidade histórica portuguesa tem muitas especificidades que a língua inglesa dificilmente traduz*” (“Portuguese history has many specific aspects that are difficult to translate into English”) *J.G.G. (Hist)*
89. “*Na minha opinião a língua inglesa é muito menos rica, do ponto de vista semântico do que a língua portuguesa*” (“In my opinion, English is less rich semantically than Portuguese”) *M.M. (Phil)*
90. (-) “*vocabulário limitado e escrita elementar por ser usada por indivíduos que não têm o inglês como língua materna, nem experiência vivencial da língua*” (“limited vocabulary and elementary writing style, as a result of being

used by people whose mother tongue is not English and who have no living experience of the language”) *L.O. (Other)*

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91. (-) *“a dificuldade objectiva de construir determinadas expressões em inglês”* (“the objective difficulty of constructing certain expressions in English”) *D.F. (Phil)*

92. *“Os textos em inglês caracterizam-se frequentemente por uma maior clareza na estrutura e exposição de ideias do que os artigos académicos em português e alemão (frases muito complexas, vocabulário muito rebuscado). No entanto, noto cada vez mais uma crescente influência do “estilo inglês” em publicações académicas das minhas áreas e eu própria, quando escrevo em português e em alemão, tento escrever com a maior clareza possível”* (“English texts are often characterised by a greater clarity of structure and exposition of ideas than Portuguese and German articles – which use complex sentences and a very erudite vocabulary. However, I have noticed an increase in the influence of the ‘English style’ in academic publications in my areas, and I myself now try to write as clearly as possible when I write in Portuguese or German”) *J.G. (Lit)*

93. *“Nas últimas (2?) décadas, provavelmente devido a uma necessidade de autolegitimação, o inglês da minha área (Estudos Culturais e Estudos Literários) evoluiu no sentido de uma “complicação” formal que o torna próximo de um estilo “alatinado”, quer ao nível do léxico, quer ao nível das estruturas sintáticas.”* (“In the last 2? decades, probably as result of the need for self-legitimation, English in my area – Cultural and Literary Studies – has developed a formal complexity that brings it closer to the Latinate style, as regards both lexis and syntactical structures”) *J.P.M (Lit)*

b) About Portuguese

94. *“A principal vantagem é ser uma língua mais poética e dada a expressar ideias filosóficas”* (“The main advantage is that it is a more poetic language, suitable for expressing philosophical ideas”). *R.P.P (Music)*

95. “A língua portuguesa permite ao nativo expressar-se melhor do ponto de vista poético, mas torna-se barroca na escrita académica” (“The Portuguese language allows the native speaker to express himself more poetically, but this can become baroque in academic writing”) *M.V.A (Anth)*

96. “é uma língua mais clássica, mais formal, o que pode tornar muitas vezes mais ‘pesado’ ou ‘denso’ o discurso científico” (“It is a more classical language, and more formal, which can make it rather ‘heavy’ or ‘dense’ for academic discourse”). *C.V. (Educ)*

97. “a língua portuguesa permite uma expressão mais rigorosa do pensamento e dos conceitos” (“the Portuguese language enables thoughts and concepts to be expressed more rigorously”) *J.C. (Hist)*

98. “O português não possui ainda, nos estudos filosóficos, uma “autonomia” plena. O vocabulário, a estrutura lexical e o estilo de argumentação usados dependem muito da “esfera de influência” em que cada docente ou investigador se situa. Contudo – e isso nota-se sobretudo na actividade de tradução – o português tem, no âmbito da filosofia, possibilidades imensas.” (“Portuguese does not yet have full autonomy in philosophical studies. The vocabulary, lexical structure and style of argumentation used depend a great deal upon the influences operating upon the individual lecturer or researcher. However, Portuguese does have immense potential within the field of philosophy (something that is particularly noticeable in translation)”) *A.B. (Phil)*

99. “domínio semântico, ductilidade face à novidade” (“semantic capabilidade, flexibility with regards to anything new”) *J.R. (Phil)*

100. “...nesta área da Língua e da Literatura tendemos a ser muito retóricos e hiperbólicos, num estilo às vezes, reconheço, pouco adequado à exposição científica...” (“... in this area of Language and Literature, we tend to be very rhetorical and hyperbolic, a style that is, I admit, not very suitable for scientific exposition....”) *M.L.T. (Educ)*

101. *“A língua portuguesa faz muito recurso à retóricas desnecessárias (ela não está convenientemente preparada para o discurso científico)”* (“The Portuguese language makes use of a lot of unnecessary rhetoric - it is not really prepared for scientific discourse”) *V.K. (Soc)*

102. *“o investigador português tem a tendência para ser pouco sintético, prefere a descrição e a análise exaustiva dos fenómenos. No meu caso, prendo-me muito à formulação de um discurso literário para comunicar dentro da minha área científica”* (“Portuguese researchers have a tendency to be rather wordy; they like to indulge in description and an exhaustive analysis of phenomena. In my case, I find that I tend to stick to literary formulations to communicate in my academic area”) *A.C.B. (Music)*

103. *“língua extremamente elaborada, onde é preciso evitar repetições lexicais, e onde a riqueza do texto passa muito pela diversidade do vocabulário e complexa organização sintáctica da frase.”* (“... an extremely elaborate language, in which it is necessary to avoid lexical repetitions, and where the richness of the text is determined by the diversity of vocabulary and the complexity of the syntactical organization of the sentence”). *A.E. (Geog)*

104. *“talvez muito elaborada, dispondo de um vocabulário muito diverso (embora rico para quem já o conhece bem)”* “...perhaps too elaborate, with a very diverse vocabulary (though rich for those that know it well)”. *J.S. (Geog)*

105. *“acontece que formas de pensar e modos de adjectivar, para nós importantes na caracterização de certas situações, são considerados exageros ou meras figuras de estilo literário, por vezes não compreendidas por um falante de língua inglesa”* (“there are forms of thought and ways of using adjectives that are very important for us in our descriptions of certain situations. However, these are not always understood by English speakers, and considered to be exaggerations or mere figures of literary style”) *M.F. (Educ)*

106. *“(+) mais emotiva, porque mais adjectivação; (-) muito especulativa, mais subjectiva”* (“more emotive, because it uses more adjectives; more speculative, more subjective”) *A.N. (Educ)*

107. *“é uma língua rica de adjectivos que facilita a descrição dos factos humanos, em particular os comportamentos /.../ Há na língua portuguesa uma maleabilidade e uma poesia, nem sempre traduzíveis noutras línguas, sobretudo as não latinas”* (“Portuguese is rich in adjectives which facilitates descriptions of human matters, particularly behaviour /.../. There is a flexibility in the Portuguese language, and a poetry which are not always translatable into other languages, especially the non-Romance languages”) *P.L. (Soc)*

108. *“riqueza das descrições”* (“enables rich descriptions”) *C.C. (Anth)*

109. *“a vantagem da língua portuguesa é a riqueza de vocabulário”* (“the advantage of Portuguese is its rich vocabulary”) *J.B. (Art)*

110. *“maior riqueza de vocabulário: maior possibilidade de desenvolvimento conceptual”* (“richer vocabulary; greater potential for conceptual development”) *MCL (Arlg)*

111. *“(+) mais expressões de relacionamento (verbos); (-) a sua sintaxe permite, por vezes, a ambiguidade”* (“more relational expressions (verbs), although its syntax may sometimes result in some ambiguity”) *J.P.A. (Psych)*

112. *“(+) maior flexibilidade e riqueza de sentidos; (-) mais palavrosa e literária”* (“greater flexibility and wealth of meanings; more wordy and literary”) *J.F. (Soc)*

113. *“existe igualmente uma natural riqueza polissémica na nossa língua que parece não existir na língua inglesa. Esta variedade e esta riqueza semântica, por vezes impede uma certa clareza do discurso e uma certa objectividade da linguagem ao transmitir o pensamento”* (“there is also a natural polysemy in our language, which does not appear to exist in the English language. This semantic wealth and variety may sometimes impede clarity of discourse and a certain objectivity in transmitting thought”) *M.M. (Phil)*

114. *“(+) mais elaborada, rebuscada, mais arabesca; (-) talvez seja uma língua que devido a sua própria estrutura, e para ser correctamente escrita, necessite*

de mais palavras para dizer a mesma coisa que em língua inglesa se diria por muito menos.” (“more elaborate, erudite, more arabesque; however, it perhaps requires more words to say something that English would say in few, due to its structure and in order to be correctly written”) **TG (Soc)**

115. *“diversidade de vocabulário e da estrutura de apresentação do discurso”* (“diversity of vocabulary and structure as regards the presentation of the discourse”) **L.O. (Other)**

116. *“mais enroupada mas por vezes tb. mais rica”* (“more dressed-up, but also sometimes richer”) **M.P. (Lit)**

117. *“(+) a poder descritivo mais amplificado em virtude da sua riqueza semântica; (-) ambiguidade discursiva por falta de controlo semântico da polissemia linguística”* (“greater descriptive power as a result of its semantic richness, but some discursive ambiguity due to lack of control of linguistic polysemy”) **J.A.A. (Phil)**

118. *“língua menos objectiva (mais texto em média para transmitir a mesma ideia)”* (“it is a less objective language - more text is required on average to transmit the same idea”) **P.B. (Econ)**

119. *“...o racionalismo abstractizante de influência francesa, que é muito dominante ainda em departamentos portugueses, incomoda-me quase sempre. É atavio e grandiloquência demasiada...”* (“... the abstract rationalism that is still very dominant in Portuguese departments as a result of the French influence almost always bothers me. It is too much ornamentation and grandiloquence”) **G.C. (Lit)**

120. *“as vantagens são a maior plasticidade, semelhante ao francês...”* (“it has the advantage of being more flexible, like French...”) **D.F. (Phil)**

121. *“A questão está que de um modo geral os portugueses escrevem de um modo ‘rebuscado’, não são directos e concisos, andam à volta, repetem, dispersam-se nas ideias (pior são os franceses).”* (“The Portuguese generally write in a very

elaborate, erudite way; they are not direct and concise but go round in circles, repeating themselves, with their ideas all dispersed (the French are worse!)”

C.M. (Educ)

122. “*língua que requer construções mais elaboradas na precisão das frases*” (“the Portuguese language requires more elaborate constructions to make its sentences precise”) *S.F. (Other)*

123. “(-) *podermos ser prolixos!*” (“we can be rather longwinded”) *M.N.R. (Geog)*

124. “(-) *prolixidade e indefinição*” (“verbosity and lack of definition”) *M.C. (Hist)*

125. (-) “*a maior parte do discurso científico das academias portuguesas é pouco organizado e argumentativo. Os autores defendem-se em banalizações e ideias feitas, a fim de defenderem as suas posições*” (“most of the academic discourse produced in Portuguese institutions is badly organized and poorly argued. Authors tend to bolster their arguments with banal statements and ready-made ideas”) *I.M. (Phil)*

126. (-) “*promove imprecisão de conceitos; uso de frases longas para conseguir expressar as ideias*” (“it promotes conceptual imprecision; the use of long sentences in order to express ideas”). *T.G.M. (Psych)*

III. The effects of writing in English

127. “*...verifico mais o que digo; escondo-me menos na floresta da linguagem...*” (“... I check what I am writing more; I do not hide so much in a forest of language...”) *M.V.A. (Anthrop)*

128. “*um português é obrigado a ser mais claro quando escreve em inglês, aumentando a auto-crítica*” (“The Portuguese are obliged to be clearer when they write in English, which makes us more self-critical”). *V.A. (Anthr)*

129. “...ordeno ideias ao contrário...” (“..I order my ideas the other way around...”) *C.C. (Econ)*

130. “...obriga a maior rigor e a maior clareza de pensamento...” (“...it makes you think more clearly and rigorously...”) *H.L. (Econ)*

131. “...Penso que imito o estilo das revistas internacionais, com maior ou menor sucesso. Mas actualmente também o tendo a fazer em português, há uma tendência para a convergência, independentemente das particularidades da língua...” (“... I think that I imitate the style of the international journals with some degree of success. But now I am starting to do the same thing in Portuguese; there is a tendency for some convergence, irrespective of the particularities of the language...”) *M.S.A. (Econ)*

132. “...O discurso torna-se menos rebuscado com palavras inúteis que utilizamos em Português e que muitas vezes só reforçam um estilo pessoal” (“...the discourse becomes less erudite, with less of those useless words that we employ in Portuguese and which often only go to reinforce a personal style...”) *E.R. (Educ)*

133. “... sinto que se perde algo da complexidade, modalização e tensão que existe num argumento...” (“I feel that I lose some of the complexity, modalization and tension from my argument...”) *C.P. (Lit)*

134. “...Mais rigor na escolha terminológica...” (“...more rigour as regards choice of terms...”) *M.D.A.D. (Educ)*

135. “...mais repetitivo, uso de menos conectores...” (“...more repetitive, less use of linkers...”) *A.B. (Ling)*

136. “...elimino informação supérflua...” (“...I eliminate superfluous information...”) *A.C. (Educ)*

137. “...expressimo-nos com mais propriedade e riqueza, nuances na nossa própria língua” (“we express ourselves in a more accurate, rich and nuanced way in our own language”) *T.S. (Lit)*

138. “o texto em Inglês tende a ser mais sintético e compacto (provavelmente porque o léxico do autor será bastante menos rico do que na sua própria língua)” (“In English, the text tends to be more concise and compact, probably because the author’s vocabulary is less rich than in his/her own language”) *L.Q.L. (Other)*

139. “o raciocínio é mais lento, o discurso perde subtileza.” (“the reasoning process is slower and the discourse loses subtlety”) *P.A. (Psych)*

IV. Other comments

140. “maior facilidade na publicação [em português]” (“It is easier to get published in Portuguese”) *E.A. (Psych)*

PART III

**REVIEW OF PORTUGUESE
ACADEMIC STYLE MANUALS**

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

I. INTRODUCTION

In Portugal, unlike the UK and US, there is not a strong teaching tradition with regards to academic discourse. Indeed, as both the Corpus Study and the Survey of Portuguese Researchers seem to show, academic writing is not always clearly distinguishable from literary writing in some subjects, and it is perhaps this blurring of boundaries that has led to the notion, frequently expressed by both lecturers and students in the Humanities, that one cannot teach writing, that it is a highly personal activity deeply bound up with one's identity and private experience and therefore not susceptible to standardization. This may be why, when I made informal inquiries in Coimbra bookshops about books on Portuguese academic writing style in 1997, I found only one work easily available, a Portuguese translation of Umberto Eco's *Como se faz uma tese em ciências humanas*, first published in Italian twenty years earlier.

This situation may now be changing, however. The increased centralisation of research funding at European level has led to the imposition of the Anglo-Saxon model upon many aspects of the Portuguese academic system, and this seems to have had repercussions upon attitudes to discourse. Now there are books available about academic writing in Portugal, and courses have started to appear in universities designed to teach it.

This study, then, aims to compare the situation in Portugal with that in the UK (Bennett, 2009), looking not only at the quantity and nature of the manuals available, but also at the kind of advice given in them. Correlations have also been sought between the prescriptions made in these books as regards what constitutes good academic writing in Portuguese with the actual practice of Portuguese scholars identified in the Corpus. As we shall see, the situation is quite complex.

II. METHOD

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This study was carried out in June/July 2008 in Coimbra, the city in Portugal most dominated by its university and where the ratio of students to townsfolk is reputedly higher than in any other. As might be expected, the city has a large number of bookshops for its size, with stock lists heavily oriented towards student reading lists. This, then, would seem to be the ideal place to find a representative sample of the academic style manuals available on the market.

The main bookshops in Coimbra are *Bertrand*, *Almedina*, *Minerva*, *FNAC* and *Quarteto*, and these were all visited with a view to creating a bibliography of academic discourse manuals available. The bookshops were also asked to do a computer search of other relevant titles on their lists in addition to the ones currently stocked.

The books that were in stock were then examined in order to glean an idea of their contents, with special attention given to the question of writing style. The results are as follows.

III. RESULTS

Overall, a total of 17 relevant titles were stocked by the Coimbra bookshops, with another 3 found listed in the catalogues (see Bibliography). However, it must be pointed out that it was not easy to find the books in question. In most cases, the academic writing manuals were mixed up with grammars and '*prontuários*'³³, Secondary School textbooks and 'crammers', or works on Rhetoric, or in some cases were distributed according to focus around different sections (Social Sciences, Health Sciences, etc).

Computer searches were also limited by the fact that most of the bookshops did not organize their stock lists by subject. Moreover, 'academic discourse' is a difficult concept to translate into Portuguese, as pointed out in the Survey of

³³ These are popular little handbooks which give typically advice about Portuguese spelling and usage, focusing upon items that are commonly confused.

Portuguese Researchers. Indeed, of all the works listed in the Bibliography, only one (Perrotta, 2004) uses the term ‘*académico*’ in its title; five refer to ‘*trabalhos/livros científicos*’ (Ceia, 1995; D’Oliveira, 2007; Madeira et al, 2004; Pereira et al, 2006; Serrano, 2004), while all the others identify themselves by the specific genre involved (*tese, dissertação, monografia, relatório, trabalho escolar, projecto de investigação, ensaio, trabalho de conclusão de curso*, etc).

Another interesting point is that most of the books on the list were not originally produced in Portugal. 7 are Brazilian (Alves, 2003; Brevidelli et al, 2006; Hübner, 1998; Martins et al, 2000; Martins Júnior, 2008; Salomé, 2004 and Vieira, 2001); 3 have been translated from English (Bell, 1993; Clanchy, 1998, and Sussams, 1983) and 1 from Italian (Eco, 1997).

As regards content, what was most immediately obvious was the scantiness of advice given about writing style. The majority of books consulted did not even mention the issue, but instead devoted most of their attention to matters such as textual macrostructure, bibliography, research techniques, general study skills, etc. Those that did touch on the subject generally did so very briefly, such as this contribution from Ceia (1995:19):

Não há modelos de estilo ou da escrita que possam ser «copiadas» ou «adaptadas» por um investigador. Cada indivíduo deve procurar um discurso autónomo, rigoroso do ponto da vista científica, objectivo, inteligível e fundamentado com exactidão.

[There are no stylistic or written models that can be ‘copied’ or ‘adapted’ by a researcher. Each individual should try to find his/her own style, one which is scientifically rigorous, objective, intelligible, and carefully grounded.]

We should note here, however, that, despite the assertion that style is ultimately a personal matter that cannot really be taught, the author nevertheless emphasises the need to be **objective** and **intelligible** and to **support one’s claims with evidence**, thereby moving a considerable way towards the English model. Elsewhere, he asserts that written style should not be too learned and opaque (*‘muito erudito e hermético’*), but neither should it become too demotic or standardized:

Pelo contrário, a excessiva vulgarização e padronização do discurso pode levar a um texto impessoal, amorfo, incharacterístico e inaceitável no quadro das exigências d uma tese de pós-graduação...

["On the contrary, an excessively standardized or common discourse may result in a text that is impersonal, amorphous, uncharacteristic and unacceptable within the framework of a postgraduate thesis."]

This would seem to be an attempt to find a compromise between the plain style generally favoured in EAD (Bennett, 2009) and the high-flown rhetoric that traditionally characterises Portuguese discourse in the humanities.

The most popular book, stocked by almost all the Coimbra bookshops (Azevedo, 2006) also devotes no more than four pages (47-50) to questions of written style, and offers only very general advice. Once more, the basic precepts are in keeping with the English style manuals: eg. "*Procure exprimir o seu pensamento com clareza e habitue-se a procurar a palavra que traduz o seu pensamento com mais propriedade*" ["Try to express your thoughts clearly and look for the word that best translates your idea"]; "*A preocupação de clareza é mais premente se usa períodos longos com várias proposições. Os períodos curtos são mais fáceis de ler e de redigir*" ["The concern with clarity becomes more pressing if you use long periods with various propositions. Short periods are easier to read and construct"]; "*Esforce-se especialmente por evitar períodos confusos, incompletos ou sintacticamente incorrectos*" ["Make a special effort to avoid periods that are confused, incomplete or grammatically incorrect"].

However, it is clear from the formulations used that the readership addressed here is accustomed to a different approach to writing. The benefits of the plain style are not assumed to be self-evident, and the possibility of creating long syntactically-complex sentences is not excluded out of hand. Moreover, the terminology ('periods', 'propositions') is lifted from the rhetorical tradition, and thus contrasts markedly with the grammatical terminology ('sentences', 'clauses', etc) usually found in English (UK) style manuals.

Another author (Serrano, 2004) goes to considerable lengths to contextualise the demands of academic discourse within a rhetorical framework. Having asserted that all academic writing should be governed by **simplicity**, **clarity**, **precision** and **brevity** ('*simplicidade*', '*clareza*', '*precisão*', '*brevidade*'), he goes on to situate this within the three classical levels of style:

O estilo *sublime*, muito próprio da narrativa poética, é aquele em que “se despregam todas as pompas da eloquência, agitando violentamente as paixões, por meio de uma expressão rica e animada”. Este estilo, que tem por objectivo arrebatat assembleias, caracteriza-se pela energia, veemência e magnificência do discurso /.../ Há que considerar dois outros géneros estilísticos: o estilo *médio*, caracterizado pela finura, riqueza e delicadeza do discurso, e o estilo *simples*, caracterizado por um discurso claro, conciso e natural, isto é, um discurso que dispensa os artificios de linguagem, se cinge somente às ideias que tem em vista expor e que apresenta as palavras sem affectação, evitando os termos ambíguos e as construções difíceis.

Tendo em vista a finalidade da comunicação em ciência (transmitir tão clara e sucintamente quanto necessário os resultados de uma pesquisa, o estilo simples é aquele que melhor serve a linguagem científica... (p. 55)

[The **high** or **grand** style, which is appropriate for poetic narrative, is the one that “unleashes eloquence in all its pomp, violently stirring up the passions with rich animated forms of expression”. This style, which aims primarily to stir up an audience, is characterized by energy, vehemence and magnificence of discourse /.../ There are also two other styles to be considered: the **middle** style, which is refined, rich and delicate, and the **plain** style, characterised by a clear, concise, natural discourse, i.e. a discourse that dispenses with linguistic artifice and is concerned only with transmitting the ideas, using words unaffectedly and avoiding ambiguous terms and difficult constructions.

Given the aims of scientific communication (to transmit the results of research as clearly and succinctly as possible), it is the plain style that best serves the needs of scientific language...]

This is followed by a ‘translation’ of a passage by Camões into the plain style (Serrano comments ironically: ‘The *Lusiads* can be effectively dispatched in a dozen pages’), and an anecdote about a French medical journal that commissioned English writing specialists to diagnose why medical articles produced in France did not get published in international journals; the

conclusion was that the written style was wrong (*“pecavam no seu estilo caseiro”*), for instead of being fully explicit and using short sentences with one idea per period, the French style was elliptical, imprecise and full of redundancies (*Idem*: 56).

The point of this digression appears to be that the Portuguese are liable to make the same mistakes. Serrano points out that France strongly influenced Portuguese culture until the second half of the 20th century (*Idem*), and so it is understandable that the traditional Portuguese style should include features borrowed from the French. This is why, he reiterates, the Portuguese need to learn simplicity, clarity, precision and brevity in their writing.

Similar qualities are highlighted by Estrela et al. (2006: 47), though using slightly different terminology:

A qualidade linguística de uma comunicação científica é fundamentalmente assegurada pelas seguintes características:

Clareza: precisão, ordem, propriedade.

Correcção: rigor.

*Pureza: vernacularidade*³⁴.

[The linguistic quality of an academic paper is assured by the following characteristics:

Clarity: precision, order, appropriateness.

Accuracy: rigour.

Purity: the use of the vernacular.]

This is further elaborated on pages 47-50 with a list of Dos and Don'ts that include: 'the use of short periods, trying to be simple and direct' (*‘períodos curtos, procurando ser simples e directo’*); moderation in the use of subordinate clauses (*‘moderação no uso de /.../ orações subordinadas’*); paragraphs of no

³⁴ This particular choice of terms may reflect an orientation towards the Rhetorical tradition. Classical *‘elocutio’* required four basic qualities, which are often translated as 'purity' (the use of current language); clarity; appropriacy and ornament. Although the last of the qualities has been omitted from the list, presumably in deference to the Plain Style, it should be pointed out that in another more general style manual, the authors provide an extensive list of the classical figures of speech (Estrela et al. 2003: 180-184).

more than three or four periods (*‘os parágrafos devem ter no máximo três ou quatro períodos, de modo a que haja pausas que proporcionem ao leitor tempo para acompanhar o raciocínio e absorver a informação’*); close attention to cohesion (*‘estrita coerência referencial’*); explicitness of meaning (*‘explicitação total do sentido’*) and careful choice of words (*‘rigor semântico’*).

The authors go on to affirm that discourse used should not be erudite and opaque, impeding intelligibility through the excessive use of archaisms, neologisms, high-flown terms or foreign loan words [*‘o autor de um trabalho científico não deve utilizar um discurso erudito e hermético, comprometendo a inteligibilidade do texto pelo uso excessivo de arcaísmos /.../, neologismos /.../, eruditismos /.../ e barbarismos ou estrangeirismos’*]; but, neither should it be excessively colloquial through the use of dialect terms or slang [*‘não deve empregar um vocabulário vulgar ou recorrer a provincianismos /.../ e a plebeísmos...’*].

However, despite the general similarity to the advice given in English style manuals, these authors also recommend the use of certain features (*Idem*: 43-47) that are alien to EAD, and which have been considered Distinguishing Discourse Features in the Corpus (14-32). These are:

- i. The use of the 1st person plural (*‘nós’*), on the grounds that this creates the effect of collective thought, thus softening the effect of over-assertiveness that could result from personal claims (*“...cria-se o efeito de expressão de um pensamento colectivo, suavizando o modo impositivo das afirmações.”*);
- ii. The use of the reflexive (*‘forma impessoal’*);
- iii. The use of discursive formulae (*‘formulas discursivas’*) such as typical introductory verbs (many of which constitute the Interpersonal Framing Devices, described in the Corpus, 18-20);
- iv. The use of Historical Tenses, such as the Present, Future and Conditional to refer to events that have happened in the past.

This, to my mind, illustrates the persistence of certain traditional Portuguese features in an academic discourse that is clearly trying to ‘modernise’ in line with international expectations. Indeed, these prescriptions are interesting in that they legitimise some of the more common practices found in the Corpus.

As for the work by Umberto Eco (1997), arguably the first to be widely divulged on the Portuguese market and possibly the most influential, having now been through 13 editions, this contains a short section (162-169) entitled '*Como se fala*' ['How to speak']. Once again, the advice offered is very general in nature and basically in line with that given by Ceia (1995) and Estrela et al. (2006) as regards register. On the one hand he insists that the academic writer should not imitate Proust:

Nada de períodos longos. Se vos acontecer fazê-los, dividam-nos depois. Não receiem repetir duas vezes o sujeito. Eliminam o excesso de pronomes e de orações subordinadas. (162)

[No long periods. If you do happen to use them, then split them up afterwards. Don't be afraid to repeat the subject twice. Remove any excessive pronouns and subordinate clauses.]

But neither should one try to be e.e. cummings:

*Esta recomendação é importante porque muitos tendem hoje a fazer teses «de rupture» em que não são respeitadas as regras do discurso crítico. Mas a linguagem da tese é uma **metalíngua**, ou seja, uma linguagem que fala de outras linguagens. (164)*

[This advice is important because there are many people today trying to do 'alternative' dissertations that do not respect the rules of critical discourse. But the language of the thesis is a **metalanguage**, that is, a language used to talk about other languages.]

Elsewhere in this section, Eco makes a number of recommendations that are basically in line with EAD, such as the use of frequent paragraph breaks ('*façam parágrafo com frequência*', 164), the avoidance of colloquial punctuation devices such as omission points and exclamation marks (165) and the definition of key words the first time they appear (167). However, he overtly allows the possibility of figurative writing (we must remember that he is writing specifically for students of the 'human sciences'):

Um ensaio crítico ou um texto científico deveriam ser escritos em linguagem referencial (com todos os termos bem definidos e unívocos), mas também pode ser útil utilizar uma metáfora, uma ironia ou uma litotes ./.../ Ora, as figuras de retórica ou se usam ou não se usam. Se se usam é porque se presume que o nosso leitor está em condições de as apreender e porque se considera que desse modo o argumento toma uma forma mais incisiva e convincente. Então ./.../ não é necessário explicá-las. (165-6)

[A critical essay or academic text should be written in referential language (with all terms clearly defined and unambiguous), but it can also make use of the odd metaphor, irony or litotes ./.../. However, rhetorical figures are either used or they are not. If we decide to use them, it is because we consider our reader to be in a position to understand them, and because we believe that they will make our argument more compelling. It is, therefore ./.../ not necessary to explain them.]

Finally, like Estrela et al. (2006), quoted above, he specifically recommends the use of the first person plural form to avoid excessive personalization, though acknowledging the existence of some debate on this issue:

Eu ou nós? Na tese devem introduzir-se as opiniões próprias na primeira pessoa? ./.../ Alguns pensam que é mais honesto fazer assim do que utilizar o plural majestático. Eu não diria isso. Diz-se «nós» porque se presume que o que se afirma possa ser partilhado pelos leitores. (168)

[Should we use “I” or “we”? Should our own opinions be introduced using the first person in a thesis? ./.../ Some think that it is more honest to do that than to use the **magisterial plural**. But I don’t think so. The form “we” is used because we presume that what we are saying is shared by our readers.]

As regards the other academic writing manuals found in the Coimbra bookstores, few offered any advice at all as regards writing style. Pereira & Poupa (2006) have a chapter on the topic (24-34), but it is more concerned with concrete aspects such as the presentation of quotations and bibliographic references. They do, however, insist that key terms should be properly defined

the first time they appear, and recommend the use of an impersonal style, something they claim, like Estrela et al. and Eco (who, incidently, is expressly quoted by them) is best achieved by the use of the 1st person plural.

Hence, it would seem that the advice offered by academic style manuals currently on the market in Portugal is to some extent in keeping with the precepts governing EAD (particularly the need for clarity, precision and brevity, the avoidance of an over-inflated register, the preference for short sentences and frequent paragraphing, etc). However, there is also evidence that the Anglo-Saxon model is being adapted to Romance-language traditions. The most obvious differences are in the use of the 1st person plural and historic present tense, which are not acceptable in English; but we should also note the greater tolerance for elaborate syntactic constructions and figurative language.

IV. CONCLUSION

The increase of books on the Portuguese market designed to teach students how to prepare theses, dissertations, reports, assignments, etc, would suggest that the Anglo-Saxon model of academic discourse has begun to impinge. However, it is less clear whether attitudes have really changed as regards the 'teachability' of style. As we have seen, only 6 of the books even broach the subject, and most of those limit themselves to rather broad generalizations about the need for clarity and precision, without going into much detail about how that should be achieved.

Of the few works that offer more concrete advice, what is most noticeable is the way in which the suggestions are inserted into a rhetorical framework, either explicitly, as in the case of Serrano (2004 [1996]), or implicitly (as in Azevedo, 2006; Estrela et al. 2006; Eco, 1997) through the references to 'periods', 'propositions', 'figures of speech', etc. Not only does this distinguish them from works published in the UK, which do not usually expect their readership to be familiar with the rhetorical tradition,³⁵ it also confers some legitimacy upon

³⁵ The situation is possibly somewhat different in the US, where rhetorical terminology has persisted and/or made a comeback.

features of style commonly found in Portuguese academic writing and which are generally considered to be unacceptable in English (see *Corpus and Survey of Portuguese Researchers*).

It is also evident from the tone adopted by some of these authors that many of their prescriptions will be unfamiliar, and perhaps unpalatable, to the target readership. Despite the fact that the arguments mobilised in defence of the Plain Style are not unlike those used by Bacon, Locke, Hobbes, etc, at the dawn of the Scientific Era in England (see Bennett, 2007a, 2007b), the authors of these Portuguese style books sometimes seem to lack conviction in the inherent 'rightness' of this style. Witness, for example, Serrano's ironic rendering of a passage of Camões into the Plain Style (2004:55); his anecdote about the French doctors (*idem*); Azevedo's rather non-committal attitude to the virtues of the short direct sentence in comments such as "*A preocupação de clareza é mais premente se usa períodos longos com várias proposições*" (2006:48) ["The concern with clarity becomes more pressing if you use long periods with various propositions"]; and Estrela et al.'s endorsement of particular Portuguese style features.

The overwhelming impression, then, is of an academy that is under pressure to change its traditional habits in order to become more acceptable to the outside world. These authors are trying to inculcate the hegemonic values into their students, while at the same time retaining a degree of distance on the issue, attempting wherever possible to reconcile aspects of the traditional discourse with the requirements of international style.

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GENERAL CONCLUSION

The most important fact to emerge from these three complementary studies into Academic Writing Practices in Portugal is the overwhelming pressure felt by Portuguese researchers to publish in English. While this is to be expected in the light of European measures to standardise higher education and research, not to mention the more generalised effects of globalization, the situation seems to have intensified a great deal in recent years. Today, in Portugal, as elsewhere, it is publication in international peer-reviewed journals that brings the greatest prestige, while the ever-increasing competition for jobs and funding means that researchers who are unable to participate on the international stage are likely to get left behind.

Although this has been the case for some time in the physical sciences, it is noticeable that the 'softer' disciplines are now also being subjected to the same kind of pressures. Universities and research centres are expected to function almost as bureaucratic corporations committed to the pursuit of 'excellence'³⁶, with funding dependent upon 'performance indicators'. Hence, the creation and transmission of knowledge is now almost entirely subordinated to the logic of the market, a fact that is inevitably presented by politicians as a sign of the country's economic 'modernity'.

As a result, Portuguese academics are resorting increasingly to English language services, such as translation, language revision and EAP courses. As regards the strategy chosen, there seems to be disciplinary split; researchers in the natural and physical sciences tend generally to prefer to learn how to

³⁶ See Readings (1996: 21-43) for a discussion of this concept imported from the language of management.

write EAD themselves, while social scientists and humanities scholars often opt for translation. This will almost certainly reflect the fact that the discourse of science in Portuguese seems to be calqued upon English, meaning that EAD is relatively easy for scientists to acquire. In the humanities, on the other hand, the very different writing habits used in the mother tongue become a serious source of interference for scholars attempting to write in English, leading sometimes to almost incomprehensible results.

Indeed, what this study has revealed is that there are several academic discourses currently available in Portuguese. In addition to the 'modern' style calqued on EAD, there is a 'traditional' style, elaborate and erudite, which is still prevalent in the humanities (it is this that the Portuguese academics are referring to when they claim that Portuguese discourse in their field is more *'requintado'*, *'rebuscado'*, *'precioso'*, *'figurativo'*, *'retórico'*, etc than its English counterpart), and a newer 'postmodern' style, probably imported from France. Thus, unlike the situation in Anglophone countries, where the hegemonic discourse occupies a very central role across disciplines, here the 'traditional' and 'modern' styles seem to be vying for dominance. Indeed, some disciplines have clearly become sites of epistemological conflict, as revealed by the presence of hybrid discourses that display features of more than one style.

As I have already argued in the Introduction, the decision to use a particular discourse over another is an ideological one. EAD (and its Portuguese equivalent) is the discourse of positivism and reason. Having developed as the vehicle for science, it encodes the scientific worldview in its very structure. That is to say, it is predicated upon a philosophy of language that assumes that statements have an objective truth-value in function of an independently-existing reality, and its goal is to represent that external reality as neutrally and transparently as possible. Hence, the human agent is removed from the picture through the use of nominalizations and impersonal verb forms, and all overt subjectivity is suppressed. Rational argument supported by evidence is therefore the only permissible method of persuasion, since the 'facts' are supposed to be able to speak for themselves.³⁷

³⁷ As discussed in the Introduction, it is now recognised by linguists working in the Anglo-Saxon tradition that this transparency and neutrality is construct and that EAD employs a range of covert rhetorical devices to present claims as persuasively as possible. See Swales (1990) and Hyland (2000), among others.

The Portuguese 'traditional' style, on the other hand, is clearly aiming at something else entirely. Clarity, precision and economy are not major goals, for sentences tend to be very long and syntactically complex; lexis is not always used denotatively and is rarely defined; and there is a general taste for 'copiousness' at all levels. Persuasion is achieved less through structured rational argument than by the use of poetic or rhetorical techniques designed to appeal as much to the senses and emotions as to the intellect; and there is often much hyperbole and effusiveness, rather than caution and restraint.

Epistemologically, this discourse would seem to encode a holistic³⁸ language-based approach to knowledge, which may have derived from the Rhetorical tradition that was popular all over Europe during the Early Modern period. Although Rhetoric gradually dropped out of fashion in England after the Scientific Revolution, becoming negatively associated with sophistry and manipulation, it was actively cultivated in Portugal by the Jesuits, who practically controlled the education system for centuries (Fernandes, 1972). Indeed, the 'traditional' style of Portuguese academic discourse may well be a descendant of the elaborate Ciceronian High Style of rhetoric that was favoured by the Jesuits (Conley, 1990: 152-157; Timmermans, 2002:122-126 and 143-149), though more historical studies would need to be conducted before this could be asserted with confidence.

As for the 'postmodern' style, this differs from the 'traditional' only by a matter of degree. That is to say, it shares its epistemological premise (i.e. that all knowledge is mediated through language) as well as many of its characteristics, with the addition of elements imported from poststructuralist experiments with discourse. As was suggested in Part I, in some cases this might represent a conscious attempt to oppose the encroachment of EAD with an anti-hegemonic style that has closer ties to the national culture.

The extent to which it is likely to succeed is debatable, however. Given the associations of EAD with science, industry and capitalism, it is perhaps more feasible that the hegemonic discourse will encroach even further upon the social sciences and humanities until the 'traditional' style is effectively wiped out, consumed in a process of epistemicide. As for the postmodern variant,

³⁸ i.e. that implicates the emotions as well as the intellect.

this will probably suffer the fate that such experiments have had in the Anglophone world, namely to be relegated to the 'loony fringe' of academia and starved of attention and funding.

The attitudes of Portuguese researchers to this situation are ambivalent. Many subscribe to the narrative of progress and embrace English as the most effective *lingua franca* for the pursuit of knowledge, valuing it for the access that it provides to a broader international discourse community. There are others, however, that are keenly aware of the epistemological loss that will result from the colonization of the local academic culture, and react with indignation or even outrage.

Yet while the notion persists that academic writing in Portuguese is an individual rather than a community-defined enterprise, little can be done to halt the advance of EAD. Many humanities scholars believe themselves to be producing a prose style that is exclusively their own, despite the fact that the Corpus Study suggests otherwise. Academic writing in the humanities is thus held to be basically unteachable, the product of a unique individual talent, not susceptible to reproduction.

If Portuguese linguists and educators could be persuaded to abandon this neo-Romantic attitude to authorship and acknowledge the existence of a Portuguese academic discourse that is markedly different from EAD, then action might still be taken to protect that discourse from extinction. It needs to be demarcated, codified, prescribed in manuals and taught in courses. It also needs to be studied historically (both as an independent entity and in relation to neighbouring cultures, such as Spain and France) and standardised so that novice writers know just what is permissible. This does not necessarily mean crystallising the discourse, making it impervious to change. But it does involve clarifying whether certain features (such as the verbless sentence and use of hyperbole – anathema to EAD) are in fact acceptable in Portuguese academic writing or not. Indeed, the situation as it stands must be utterly bewildering for young students, caught as they are in the crossfire of conflicting discourses.

Above all, the discourse community needs to assert itself in order to ensure that its traditional writing style acquires an identity that is sufficiently coherent to enable it withstand the onslaught of the colonizer. For only in this way does it stand some chance of promoting itself as an alternative way of construing

knowledge. The stakes are high. If nothing is done, then the academic discourse traditionally produced in Portuguese humanities departments will inevitably die out, representing a further blow to epistemological diversity.

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