

A corpus study of loans in translated and non-translated texts

Ana Frankenberg-Garcia
Centre for Translation Studies
University of Surrey (United Kingdom)
a.frankenberg-garcia@surrey.ac.uk

Keywords: translation, loan words, borrowing, parallel corpora, Portuguese, English
Mots clés: traduction, emprunts, mots étrangers, corpus parallèle, portugais, anglais

Abstract

Students training to become translators are usually taught that there are a number of strategies other than literal translation that professional translators employ to transfer meanings from one language to another. One such strategy is simply to borrow words from the source language. There are times when loans are used simply because the target language does not have a word for a culture-specific item that is expressed lexically in the source language, but loans can also be employed deliberately, to convey a foreign flavour to the translation. In order to help translators decide whether the use of loans is appropriate in a given context, it is essential that they be given a translation brief. Knowledge of the target readership and of the purpose of the translation will allow the translator to make informed decisions regarding the appropriateness of employing words that are foreign to the target language. However, there does not seem to be much discussion among translation scholars of the fact that the use of loan words is not a prerogative of translational language. Texts that are not translations may also contain loans, which means translators are sometimes confronted with the presence of foreign words in source texts. Yet little has been written about the relationship between loan words in source texts and translations. How different are translations from source texts in their use of loan words? Are there more loans in translational or non-translational language? What loan languages are used? To what extent do translators preserve loans when they encounter them in source texts? And what happens to source-text loans that have been borrowed from the target translation language? Without the help of a corpus, any attempt to answer questions such as these systematically would be practically impossible. Using a bidirectional parallel corpus of Portuguese and English, the present study compares the use of loan words in translated and non-translated fiction, and investigates the shifts that occur from source to target text in relation to the use of loans. The analysis focuses on the frequency and on the language distribution of loans utilized in a corpus of Portuguese and English literary texts published from 1975 onwards. The results indicate that comparable Portuguese and English literary traditions contrast quite substantially

in this respect, and that despite the fact that professional translators seem to be guided by similar norms when working from Portuguese into English and from English into Portuguese, the resulting translations can read very differently.

Les étudiants en traduction apprennent habituellement qu'il y a un certain nombre de stratégies autres que la traduction littérale utilisées par les professionnels pour transférer des signifiés d'une langue à l'autre. Une de ces stratégies est l'emprunt des mots de la langue source. Il y a des moments où ces emprunts sont utilisés simplement parce que la langue cible n'a pas des mots pour des éléments culturels exprimés lexicalement dans la langue source. Néanmoins, les emprunts peuvent également être utilisés délibérément, pour transmettre une finesse étrangère à la traduction. Afin d'aider les traducteurs à décider si l'utilisation des emprunts est appropriée dans un contexte donné, il est essentiel qu'ils connaissent la fonction de la traduction. La compréhension du lectorat cible et de l'objectif de la traduction permettra au traducteur de prendre des décisions éclairées concernant l'emploi des mots étrangers dans la langue cible. Pourtant, l'utilisation des emprunts n'est pas une prérogative de la langue cible. Les textes qui ne sont pas des traductions peuvent également contenir des emprunts, ce qui signifie que les traducteurs sont parfois confrontés à la présence de mots étrangers dans les textes sources. Toutefois, il y a peu d'écrits sur la relation entre les mots d'emprunt dans les textes sources et les traductions. Quelles sont les différences entre les traductions et les textes sources dans leur utilisation de mots étrangers? Y a-t-il plus d'emprunts dans la langue traduite ou dans la langue non traduite? Quels sont les emprunts utilisés? Dans quelle mesure les traducteurs conservent les mots étrangers quand ils les rencontrent dans les textes sources? Et qu'arrive-t-il aux mots étrangers empruntés à la langue cible dans un texte source? Sans l'aide d'un corpus, toute tentative visant à répondre systématiquement à des questions comme celles-ci serait vaine. En utilisant un corpus parallèle bidirectionnel de portugais et d'anglais, la présente étude compare les mots étrangers dans la fiction traduite et non traduite, et étudie les changements - par rapport à l'utilisation des emprunts - qui se produisent de texte source à texte cible. L'analyse se centre sur la fréquence des emprunts et sur leur distribution par langue dans un corpus de textes littéraires publiés à partir de 1975. Les résultats indiquent que les littératures portugaise et anglaise sont substantiellement très différentes à cet égard, et que, malgré le fait que les traducteurs professionnels des deux langues semblent être guidés par des normes similaires, les traductions de ces deux langues peuvent être perçues très différemment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Languages differ widely in the nature of their vocabularies. Distinctions which seem inevitable to us may be ignored in languages which reflect an entirely different type of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but intelligible to us (Sapir 1949: 24).

The use of loan words in translation is often associated with culture-specific items, i.e., “items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text” (Aixelà 1996: 58). Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) refer to loan words or *emprunts* as a way of filling in a semantic gap in the translation language or of adding local colour to the translation text, and classify this strategy as the easiest (though not necessarily the best) way of dealing with culture-specific concepts. Newmark (1988: 82) advises translators to borrow words from the source language (a procedure which he calls transference) judiciously, reasoning that “it is the translator's job to translate, to explain”. Ultimately, the translator's decisions about whether loans are appropriate and to what extent to they can be used will depend on the translation brief. As pointed out by Nord (2005), the translator must be aware of

the purpose and of the target readership of the translation in order to make such decisions. In the translation of medical information leaflets to be read by patients who have been prescribed a particular drug, for example, it is not customary to borrow words from another language. On the other hand, when translating a literary work whose plot is set in a foreign country, the use of loans can add local colour and evoke meanings that go beyond what can be expressed via the target language alone. As Chesterman (1997: 94), put it, the use of loans by a translator “refers to a deliberate choice, not the unconscious influence of undesired interference.”

The degree to which literary translators resort to foreign words can vary, however. Venuti (1995) claims that in the Anglo-American tradition, translated fiction is often judged acceptable only when it is ‘domesticated’ to the point that it does not read like a translation. Like Schleiermacher (1813), Venuti feels the foreign flavour of translated literature should not be hidden away, in which case the use of loans should be encouraged. However, there may be other considerations that need to be factored in when translators make their decisions. One such factor is the relative prestige or hegemony of the language and culture from which they are translating. For Toury (1995:278), the tolerance of interference is likely to be greater “when translation is carried out from a ‘major’, or highly prestigious language/culture, especially if the target language/culture is ‘minor’ or ‘weak’ in any other sense”. In the case of English and Portuguese, there is no doubt as to which of the two languages/cultures is more hegemonic. While most Portuguese speakers are exposed to the English language and culture in their everyday lives, the number speakers of English in the world who are familiar with Portuguese is comparatively very scant. Therefore, when it comes to using source-language loans, it is not unreasonable to predict that it is more likely that a Portuguese translation will include more words borrowed from English source texts than an English translation will contain loans from Portuguese source texts.

Notwithstanding the extent to which translators’ decisions to borrow words from the source language are determined by the translation brief, by personal choice, or by relative status of the source language and culture, one must not forget that the use of foreign words is not a prerogative of translational language. In monolingual settings, there seem to be basically two situations in which speakers of one language borrow words belonging to another language: when they are unable to retrieve an equivalent, economical way of expressing the same concept in their own language, or when they resort to loan words on purpose, to evoke meanings that go beyond the mere propositional content of the words employed. While the former can be regarded by purists as a sign of language impoverishment and loss, the latter is frequently associated with erudition and language enrichment.

However, it is not only individual language users who have opinions and preferences regarding this matter. Different language communities also have diverse attitudes towards the use of loans. In France, for example, there have been attempts to legislate against the use of foreign words in reaction to the increasing use of English in advertising and other spheres of French society (*loi Bas-Lauriol 1975* and *loi Toubon 1994*). Similarly, the Brazilian *Lei Aldo Rebelo*, initially proposed in 1999, made it compulsory to use only Portuguese in schools, work, legal settings, official documents, the media, advertising and services in Brazil. While there is no such law in Portugal, the European Portuguese dictionary *Academia de Ciências de Lisboa* published in 2001 has introduced spelling adaptations to widely used foreign words to make them more Portuguese, with words like *scanner* being changed into *escâner*, for example. In contrast, for English there is neither an Academy, nor any legal constraint to borrowing words from other languages, nor a deliberate attempt to make foreign words more

English. In fact, as discussed in Crystal (2003), English has always been very open to embracing words from other languages, and this is amply reflected in literature, the media and even dictionaries.

When analysing the use of foreign words in translation, it is therefore important to consider the use of foreign words in non-translated texts. However, there do not seem to be any studies that compare the use of loans in translations and in texts that are not translations. Are there more loans in translational or non-translational language? What loan languages are used? To what extent do translators preserve loans present in source texts? And what happens to source-text loans that have been borrowed from the target language? Without the help of a corpus, any attempt to analyse a sufficient amount of data in order to address questions such as these systematically would be practically impossible. In the present study, a bidirectional corpus of Portuguese and English literary texts was used to examine the use of loan words in translated and non-translated fiction, and in the shifts that occur from source to target texts.¹ This is an exploratory study, and it is hoped that the results may contribute to improve our understanding of the relationship between loan words and translation and inform translator education.

2. METHOD

This section describes the corpus used in the present study and the criteria used for establishing what was regarded as a loan, how loans were quantified, and how they were classified in terms of language.

2.1. Corpus and text selection

The corpus used in the present study, COMPARA, is a parallel, bidirectional corpus of English and Portuguese fiction containing three million words (Frankenberg-Garcia and Santos 2003, Frankenberg-Garcia 2009). The texts in the corpus consist of randomly selected excerpts of unequal lengths, covering a wide range of publication dates, with the oldest source text dating back to 1837 and the oldest translation being from 1886. Rather than using the entire corpus, in the present study it was deemed important to restrict the analysis to more recent texts only, for the use of loan words can change over time, with some being accommodated into the borrowing language and others being replaced by vernacular forms. Therefore, only source texts and translations published in the last forty years (from 1975 onwards) were utilized in the present study. Tables 1 and 2 summarize the precise composition of sub-corpus utilized in the analysis, which is based on 15 original Portuguese texts, 13 original English texts, 15 translated Portuguese texts, and 15 translated English texts, which together add up to a total of 1,293,513 running words.²

Text ID	Author/ST	ST date	ST words	Translator/TT	TT date	TT words
PBAD2	Aufran Dourado <i>Os Sinos da Agonia</i>	1975	23,779	John Parker <i>The Bells of Agony</i>	1988	26,477
PPCP1	Cardoso Pires <i>Balada da Praia dos Cães</i>	1983	14,892	Mary Fitton <i>Ballad of Dog's Beach</i>	1986	15,276
PBCB1	Chico Buarque	1995	10,607	Cliff Landers	1997	11,781

¹ Note that fiction is a genre that is not contemplated by the ban on foreign words imposed by the Brazilian *Lei Aldo Rebelo*.

² There are more Portuguese translations than English source-texts because EBDL1 and EBDL3 are aligned with two translations each.

	<i>Benjamim</i>			<i>Benjamin</i>		
PPJS1	Jorge de Sena <i>Sinais de Fogo</i>	1978	42,473	John Byrne <i>Signs of Fire</i>	1999	51,350
PPJSA1	José Saramago <i>Ensaio Sobre a Cegueira</i>	1995	29,232	Giovanni Pontiero <i>Blindness</i>	1997	33,295
PAJA1	J.Eduardo Agualusa <i>A Feira dos Assombrados</i>	1992	1,805	Richard Zenith <i>Shadowtown</i>	1994	1,860
PBMR1	Marcos Rey <i>Memórias de um Gigolô</i>	1986	18,463	Cliff Landers <i>Memoirs of a Gigolo</i>	1987	21,663
PPMC1	Mário de Carvalho <i>Um Deus Passeando pela Brisa da Tarde</i>	1994	20,837	Gregory Rabassa <i>A God Strolling in the Cool of the Evening</i>	1997	23,476
PMMC1	Mia Couto <i>Vozes Anoitecidas</i>	1987	6,077	David Brookshaw <i>Voices Made Night</i>	1990	7,841
PMMC2	Mia Couto <i>Cada Homem é uma Raça</i>	1990	9,924	David Brookshaw <i>Every Man is a Race</i>	1993	12,600
PBPM1	Patrícia Melo <i>O Elogio da Mentira</i>	1988	12,394	Cliff Landers <i>In Praise of Lies</i>	1999	13,973
PBPC2	Paulo Coelho <i>O Diário de um Mago</i>	1987	18,341	Alan Clarke <i>The Pilgrimage</i>	1992	20,310
PBPC1	Paulo Coelho <i>O Alquimista</i>	1988	9,933	Alan Clarke <i>The Alchemist</i>	1993	10,868
PBRF2	Rubem Fonseca <i>A Grande Arte</i>	1983	31,056	Ellen Watson <i>High Art</i>	1987	33,588
PBRF1	Rubem Fonseca <i>Vastas Emoções e Pensamentos Imperfeitos</i>	1988	27,432	Cliff Landers <i>The Lost Manuscript</i>	1997	30,148
Total number of ST words			277,245	Total number of ST words		314,506

Table 1. Portuguese>English subcorpus

Although all texts in tables 1 and 2 were published after 1975, it must be noted that not all them are set at this period of time. For example, the plot of PPMC1 takes place in the third century, EURZ1 is set in the sixteenth century and EBJB2 retells the story of Noah's Ark. Also, although all source texts were originally written in English or Portuguese, not all stories take place in English and Portuguese-speaking settings. PBPC1 takes place in Spain and North Africa, EBJT2 is partly set in Spain, and most scenes of EBJB1 are in France. Although these factors may naturally affect the way loan words are used, they are also typical of fiction. It would not make sense to exclude these texts from the analysis simply because they are not set in contemporary English or Portuguese speaking worlds: what matters here is that the source texts were written by contemporary English and Portuguese-speaking authors and that the translations were carried out by equally contemporary translators, and that both source texts and translations were intended for present-day English and Portuguese-speaking readerships.

TEXT ID	Author/ST	ST date	ST words	Translator/TT	TT date	TT words
EBDL1T1	David Lodge <i>Therapy</i>	1995	37,368	M. Carmo Figueira <i>Terapia</i>	1997	39,005
EBDL1T2				Lídia C-Luther <i>Terapia</i>	1995	39,095
EBDL3T1	David Lodge <i>Changing Places</i>	1975	24,853	Helena Cardoso <i>A Troca</i>	1995	24,296
EBDL3T2				Lídia C-Luther	1998	26,244

<i>Invertendo os Papéis</i>						
EBDL5	David Lodge <i>Paradise News</i>	1991	27,496	Carlos G. Babo <i>Notícias do Paraíso</i>	1992	28,075
EBDL2	David Lodge <i>Nice Work</i>	1989	24,144	M. Carlota Pracana <i>Um almoço nunca é de graça</i>	1996	24,439
EBDL4	David Lodge <i>How Far Can You Go?</i>	1980	29,407	Helena Cardoso <i>How Far Can You Go?</i>	1997	27,607
EBJT1	Joanna Trollope <i>Next of kin</i>	1996	27,400	Ana F. Bastos <i>Parentes próximos</i>	1998	27,214
EBJT2	Joanna Trollope <i>A Spanish Lover</i>	1993	31,415	Ana F. Bastos <i>Um Amante Espanhol</i>	1999	29,663
EBJB1	Julian Barnes <i>Flaubert's parrot</i>	1989	18,311	José Lima <i>O papagaio de Flaubert</i>	1990	17,755
EBJB2	Julian Barnes <i>A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters</i>	1984	28,146	Ana M. Amador <i>A História do Mundo em 10 Capítulos e ½</i>	1988	29,936
ESNG2	Nadine Gordimer <i>Burger's Daughter</i>	1979	35,160	J. Teixeira Aguilar <i>A filha de Burger</i>	1992	37,198
ESNG3	Nadine Gordimer <i>July's People</i>	1981	14,480	Paula Reis <i>A Gente de July</i>	1986	15,057
ESNG1	Nadine Gordimer <i>My Son's Story</i>	1990	14,057	Geraldo G. Ferraz <i>A História do Meu Filho</i>	1992	12,997
EURZ1	Richard Zimler <i>The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon</i>	1998	36,011	José Lima <i>O Último Cabalista de Lisboa</i>	1996	37,154
Total number of ST words			286,027	Total number of TT words		415,735

Table 2. English>Portuguese subcorpus

Having said this, it must be noted that there are more Portuguese than English-speaking authors in the sample. The number of translators represented for each language is however fairly balanced. Note also that despite the fact that different varieties of English and Portuguese may admittedly use loan words differently, it fell beyond the scope of the present study to take into account different varieties of Portuguese and English.³ Provided one does not lose sight of these issues, it is felt that an analysis based on the data available can shed some light on the broader differences regarding the use of loans in contemporary fiction in original and translated English and Portuguese.

2.2. Defining loans

In order to carry out a systematic analysis of the use of loan words, it is first necessary to arrive at a definition of what is meant by a loan. As noted by Frankenberg-Garcia and Santos (2003:79), "[t]he boundaries dividing what an author or translator (not to mention a corpus maker) considers or not to be foreign is by no means clear-cut". For the purpose of the present study, an operational definition of loan was adopted. It was determined that only the words and expressions in a language other than the main language of the text which had been rendered in italics in their original print editions would be treated as loans. This is the same definition of foreign words implemented in

³ The sub-corpus used in the present study included Portuguese from Brazil, Portugal, Mozambique and Angola, and English from the United Kingdom, South Africa and the United States. See <http://www.linguateca.pt/COMPARA/> for full details about the language varieties represented in COMPARA.

the compilation of the COMPARA corpus, which was manually annotated for this feature (Frankenberg-Garcia and Santos 2003).

It is important to note that according to the present operational definition of loan, if words like *coupé* and *décolletage* have not been rendered in italics but similar words originating from French like *manqué* and *passé* have, only the latter are regarded as loans. Similarly, words which have been used in italics despite widespread accommodation into the borrowing language were nevertheless classified as loans. For example, the Greek dish *moussaka*, which has become so generalized in English to the point that it appears in many dictionaries, was catalogued as a loan because it was rendered in italics in the corpus text in which it occurred. The analysis of what is a loan is therefore based on what the original author or translator (or editors and publishers) considered foreign enough to deserve being highlighted in italic font. This not only allows enables one to capture different opinions by different members of a given a language community on what is considered a loan, but also overrules the necessarily subjective perceptions of the corpus annotator and user with regard to this issue.

Note also that the present definition of loan allows the exact same word to be classified differently. The originally Czech word *robot*, for example, was rendered in italics in the EBDL2 and EBDL5 Portuguese translations and is thus considered a loan, but it is not taken to be a loan in the corresponding English text, where it was rendered in normal font. Even within the same language, there may be words classified as loans in some texts but not in others. The word *jeans*, for example, was rendered in italics in ten Portuguese texts (nine translations and one source text), and in normal font in three of them (one translation and two source texts). While the former are considered to have used *jeans* as a loan, the latter are regarded as having accommodated the word into Portuguese. This non-trivial example illustrates the existing divide between what different members of a given a language community consider to be a loan, and emphasizes the fact that, instead of using external parameters to establish which words should be considered loans, the present study reflects the original views of the authors and translators (and the editorial policies) represented in the corpus.

Another point that must be made is that although it is common practice for translators not to translate the titles of literary works, plays, films, songs, names of institutions and so on when these do not have a recognized translation in the target language culture (Newmark 1988), untranslated titles like *L' année dernière à Marienbad* and named entities such as *Radio One* and *Snakes and Ladders* (untranslated in the Portuguese) were not counted as loans. In other words, only the words in a language other than the main language of the text that do not qualify as titles or named entities were treated as loans. Although the Complex Search interface of COMPARA allows one to retrieve concordances containing loans automatically, concordances with foreign names and titles had to be filtered out manually in the present study.

2.3. Quantifying loans

In addition to clear and unambiguous criteria for determining what would count as a loan, it was also necessary to establish criteria for quantifying the loans identified in the corpus. According to Chesterman (1997:94), the concept of loan “covers both the borrowing of individual items and the borrowing of syntagma”. In the present study, expressions consisting of more than one foreign word were counted as a single loan in the same way as an isolated word. For example:

EBJB2

...he was going to get the best *quid pro quo* out of God in the forthcoming negotiations.

= 1 loan

EBJT2

'I shall bring *tapas* also,' José said, moving towards the door.

= 1 loan

EBDL4

Between the chicken *alla cacciatore* and the *zabaglione* he reached across the table and covered her hand with his.

= 2 loans

Direct speech quotes in a foreign language were also counted as a single loan:

EURZ1

"*Sente-se bem?* , do you feel all right?" I ask Gemila in Portuguese.

= 1 loan

EBJB1

...he found himself constantly irritated by a parrot which screamed, '*As-tu déjeuné, Jako?*' and '*Cocu, mon petit cocu.*'

= 2 loans

However, foreign words appearing as list items were counted as separate loans. For example:

PBPM1

Urutus , *jararacas* , *cascavéis* , *jararacuçus* , *surucutingas* , *cotiaras* - I saw these and many other serpents in the slides that Melissa projected during her talk.

= 6 loans

Repetitions were also counted separately:

EBJT2

'The little eggs of the *codoniz* , what is the *codoniz* ?'

= 2 loans

2.4. The language of loans

The loans identified in the corpus were sorted according to language of origin. For this purpose, it was determined that the classification would be based on etymology. The word *robot*, for example, was classified as Czech (from *robota*). Even when a loan may have entered the borrowing language indirectly, via a pivot language, it was still classified according to the etymological criterion.

In order to resolve potential ambiguities regarding the classification of loans per language of origin, it was crucial to read the concordances containing the loans rather than just list them. A word like *lei*, for example, which at first sight could have been classified as Italian, was classified as Hawaiian once the co-text enabled one to establish that it referred to the flower necklace used in Hawaii.

3. RESULTS

This section begins by reporting on the distribution of loans in the four sectors of the corpus depicted in figure 1. Then it will compare these sectors from four complementary angles: (1) non-translational English and Portuguese, (2) translational English and Portuguese, (3) non-translational and translational Portuguese, and (4) non-

translational and translational English. Next, the analysis will focus on what happens to loans from source to target text from a bidirectional perspective, i.e, when English source texts are translated into Portuguese and when Portuguese source texts are translated into English. Finally, a closer look will be taken at the loan languages in each sector of the corpus.

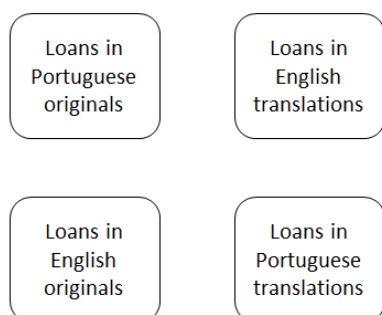


Figure 1. Loans examined in different sectors of the corpus

3.1. Distribution of loans in the corpus

The distribution of loans in the Portuguese and English originals and translations analysed are presented in tables 3 to 6. As the corpus excerpts are of unequal length, normalized frequencies are also provided. The figures in tables 3 to 6 indicate that the Portuguese translations exhibited the highest number of loans. Next came the English originals, then the English translations. Finally, the Portuguese originals contained the fewest loans.

Portuguese originals	Loans	Loans in 10,000 words
PPJS1	1	0.2
PBRF2	0	0.0
PBRF1	1	0.4
PBMR1	22	11.9
PPMC1	0	0.0
PBPC2	1	0.5
PMMC2	0	0.0
PBPM1	10	8.1
PPCP1	7	4.7
PPJSA1	0	0.0
PBPC1	0	0.0
PMMC1	0	0.0
PBCB1	0	0.0
PAJA1	0	0.0
PBAD2	0	0.0
Total	42	1.5

Table 3.
Distribution of loans in Portuguese originals

English translations	Loans	Loans in 10,000 words
PPJS1	3	0.6
PBRF2	26	7.7
PBRF1	16	5.1
PBMR1	16	7.4
PPMC1	0	0.0
PBPC2	0	0.0
PMMC2	10	7.8
PBPM1	20	14.1
PPCP1	14	10.9
PPJSA1	0	0.0
PBPC1	0	0.0
PMMC1	14	10.9
PBCB1	0	0.0
PAJA1	2	10.8
PBAD2	7	3.6
Total	128	4.1

Table 4.
Distribution of loans in English translations

English originals	Loans	Loans in 10,000 words
EURZ1	117	32.5
EBJT2	19	5.9
EBDL1	18	4.8
EBJT1	0	0
EBDL3	6	2.4
EBDL5	17	6.2
ESNG2	6	1.7
EBDL2	14	5.7
EBJB2	66	23.4
EBDL4	12	4.1
EBJB1	32	17.3
ESNG3	13	9.0
ESNG1	4	2.9
Total	324	16.9

Table 5.
Distribution of loans
in English originals

Portuguese translations	Loans	Loans in 10,000 words
EURZ1	150	40.4
EBJT2	37	12.5
EBDL1T2	155	39.6
EBDL1T1	130	33.4
EBJT1	54	19.9
EBDL3T1	28	11.5
EBDL3T2	42	16.0
EBDL5	75	26.7
ESNG2	58	15.6
EBDL2	62	25.4
EBJB2	82	27.4
EBDL4	40	14.5
EBJB1	40	22.5
ESNG3	57	37.9
ESNG1	2	1.5
Total	1012	24.3

Table 6.
Distribution of loans
in Portuguese translations

3.1.1. Loans in non-translational English and Portuguese

The figures in tables 3 and 5 suggest that original English fiction seems to be more permeable to loans than fiction originally written in Portuguese. As can be seen, all but one of the original English texts examined contained at least one loan, whereas more than half the Portuguese originals examined did not contain any loans at all. The non-translational English texts exhibited on average over eleven times more loans than the non-translational Portuguese texts.

3.1.2. Loans in translational English and Portuguese

In direct contrast to the figures presented in the previous section, translational Portuguese appears to accept more loans than translational English. Tables 4 and 6 show that while all translated Portuguese texts examined contained at least one loan, one third of the translated English texts contained no loans at all. The Portuguese translations had on average almost six times more loans than the English translations.

3.1.3. Loans in non-translational and translational Portuguese

Tables 3 and 6 show a very noticeable contrast regarding the use of loans in non-translational and translational Portuguese. The translations contained on average over 16 times more loans than the originals. These figures suggest that Portuguese readers will notice the difference between original and translated texts very clearly with respect to the use of foreign words, with translated texts having a distinctively foreign feel.

3.1.4. Loans in non-translational and translational English

In contrast to what is happening in Portuguese, tables 4 and 5 indicate that translational English actually contains fewer loans than non-translational English. There are on average over four times more loans in the texts originally written in

English than in the English translations. Thus, unlike Portuguese readers, English readers could actually be more exposed to loans when reading originals than when reading translations.

3.2. Loans in source texts and translations

The overall findings so far suggest that loan words tend to enter the Portuguese language more through translated fiction than through original fiction, and that the opposite occurs in English. It would be tempting to claim that Portuguese literary translators tend to foreignize translations, exposing readers to loans, while English translators tend to domesticate translated fiction, sheltering readers from loans. However, it is not possible to make these assumptions without comparing the loans introduced in translations with the ones already present in source texts. Tables 7 and 8 focus on the shifts that occurred from source texts to translations regarding the use of loans. Note that computing just the total number of loans in each source text and target text does not necessarily represent the whole picture. As shown in tables 7 and 8, translators may not only add, but also remove loans, which affects the overall number of loans in the target texts.

The figures in tables 7 and 8 indicate that on average there were three times more loans in the Portuguese and the English target texts than in their respective source texts in English and Portuguese. Looking at individual texts, these overall results show that 14 out of 15 Portuguese translations had more loans than their respective source texts (only one Portuguese translation contained fewer loans), and that 9 out of 15 English translations also had more loans than their corresponding source texts (4 translations had the same number of loans and two contained fewer loans).

Text ID	Total ST loans	Total TT loans	Net loan diff.	Loans in common	Loans added	Loans removed
EURZ1	117	150	33	98	52	19
EBJT2	19	37	18	13	24	6
EBDL1T2	18	155	137	17	138	1
EBDL1T1	18	130	112	16	114	2
EBJT1	0	54	54	0	54	0
EBDL3T1	6	28	22	6	22	0
EBDL3T2	6	42	36	4	38	2
EBDL5	17	75	58	15	60	2
ESNG2	6	58	52	6	52	0
EBDL2	14	62	48	12	50	2
EBJB2	66	82	16	65	17	1
EBDL4	12	40	28	9	31	3
EBJB1	32	40	8	31	9	1
ESNG3	13	57	44	13	44	0
ESNG1	4	2	-2	2	0	2
Total	324	1012	664	307	705	41
Mean	21.6	67.5	44.3	20.5	47	2.7

Table 7. Distribution of loans in English>Portuguese bitexts

Text ID	Total ST loans	Total TT loans	Net loan diff.	Loans in common	Loans added	Loans removed
PPJS1	1	3	2	0	3	1
PBRF2	0	26	26	0	26	0
PBRF1	1	16	15	1	15	0
PBMR1	22	16	-6	2	14	20

PPMC1	0	0	0	0	0	0
PBPC2	1	0	-1	0	0	1
PMMC2	0	10	10	0	10	0
PBPM1	10	20	10	10	10	0
PPCP1	7	14	7	5	10	1
PPJA1	0	0	0	0	0	0
PBPC1	0	0	0	0	0	0
PMMC1	0	14	14	0	14	0
PBCB1	0	0	0	0	0	0
PAJA1	0	2	2	0	2	0
PBAD2	0	7	7	0	7	0
Total	42	128	86	18	111	23
Mean	2.8	8.5	5.7	1.2	7.4	1.5

Table 8. Distribution of loans in Portuguese>English bitexts

Next, if one analyses the loans that the source texts and translations had in common, the loans added by translators, and the loans they removed, there seems to be a tendency for translators of both language directions to preserve the loans originally present in source texts, add more loans of their own, and remove very few of them. However, there are two translations in the sample - EURZ1 and PBMR1 - that stand out in that they are the only texts where a substantial number of loans originally present in the source texts disappeared in the translations. A closer analysis of those texts reveals that EURZ1 (ST in English) contained a number of loans from Portuguese, and that PBMR1 (ST in Portuguese) contained many loans from English. As shown in the concordances below, in both cases, many loans from the translation language originally present in the source text ended up being effaced in the process of translation. More details about the language distribution of loans will be seen next.

EURZ1

ST “*Sente-se bem?* , do you feel all right?” I ask Gemila in Portuguese.

TT - *Sente-se bem?* - pergunto a Gemila, em português.

PBMR1

ST Esse *unhappy end* traumatizou-me.

TT This unhappy ending left me traumatized.

3.3. Language distribution of loans

A more complete picture of the use of loans in the four sectors of the corpus can be obtained by analysing their distribution in terms of loan language. Tables 9 to 12 summarize the results obtained.

Text ID	Loans languages			
	Fr	En	Lt	De
PPJS1	1			
PBRF2				
PBRF1	1			
PBMR1	1	21		
PPMC1				
PBPC2		1		
PMMC2				
PBPM1			10	
PPCP1	1		5	1

PPJSA1				
PBPC1				
PMMC1				
PBCB1				
PAJA1				
PBAD2				
Total	4	22	15	1
No. texts	4	2	2	1

Table 9. Loan languages in non-translated Portuguese

Text ID	Loan languages													
	Fr	Lt	Es	It	De	Gr	Af	He	Pt	Haw	Jp	Zh	sa*	ob*
EURZ1			5					98	14					
EBJT2	1		18											
EBDL1	11	1	1	3		2								
EBJT1														
EBDL3	4				1					1				
EBDL5	2								14					1
ESNG2	1				1		2					1	1	
EBDL2	10	3				1								
EBJB2	55	10		1										
EBDL4	4	4		4										
EBJB1	28	2	1	1										
ESNG3	1						1						11	
ESNG1		2		2										
Total	117	21	25	11	2	3	3	98	14	14	1	1	12	1
No. texts	10	6	4	5	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1

sa* = unspecified language from South Africa

ob* = word of obscure origin

Table 10. Loan languages in non-translated English

TEXT ID	Loan languages														
	En	Fr	Lt	It	Es	De	He	Af	Haw	Gr	Jp	Cz	Zh	Yi	sa*
EURZ1					5			145							
EBJT2	17	4	1		14								1		
EBDL1T2	129	14	4	5	1					2					
EBDL1T1	85	36	2	5						2					
EBJT1	27	19		1	1						1			5	
EBDL3T1	17	7	2			1					1				
EBDL3T2	34	6	1			1									
EBDL5	35	19		1					19			1			
ESNG2	25	5		1		1		23					1		2
EBDL2	33	19	7	1		1						1			
EBJB2	13	59	9	1											
EBDL4	15	17	3	4		1									
EBJB1	5	30	3	1	1										
ESNG3	40	3						1							13
ESNG1			2												
Total	475	238	34	20	22	5	145	24	19	4	2	2	2	5	15
No. texts	13	13	10	9	5	5	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2

sa* = unspecified language from South Africa

Table 11. Loan languages in translated Portuguese

	Loan languages in translated English								
	Fr	Pt	Es	Lt	mz*	De	It	Yi	Ru
PPJS1	3								
PBRF2	4	7	1	3		2	7	2	
PBRF1	15								1
PBMR1	15	1							
PPMC1									
PBPC2									
PMMC2		5			5				
PBPM1		10		10					
PPCP1	5		2	6		1			
PPJSA1									
PBPC1									
PMMC1		5			9				
PBCB1									
PAJA1		1	1						
PBAD2	1	6							
Total	43	35	4	19	14	3	7	2	1
No.texts	6	7	3	3	2	2	1	1	1

mz* = unspecified language from Mozambique

Table 12. Loan languages in translated English

3.2.1. Loan languages in non-translational English and Portuguese

Tables 9 and 10 show that the texts originally written in English borrowed words from many more languages than the texts originally written in Portuguese. The English originals analysed exhibited foreign words in as many as thirteen identified languages, whereas in the Portuguese originals there were only four loan languages.

In the English originals, there was a marked preference for loans from the French, which appeared both more frequently and in a greater number of texts. Another loan language that was noticeable was Spanish. The high number of loans from Hebrew do not appear to be representative, as they were all concentrated in just one text.

In the Portuguese originals, on the other hand, none of the loan languages used - English, Latin, French and German - seemed to prevail.

3.2.2. Loan languages in translational English and Portuguese

If one looks at translational language, in turn, table 11 shows that the Portuguese translations in the sample contained loans from fifteen different languages. The most prevalent one was unsurprisingly English, the language of the source texts. The second most noticeable foreign language was French. Also noticeable in at least one third of the translations were loans from Latin, Italian, Spanish and German.

On the other hand, table 12 shows the English translations analysed contained loans from only eight different languages, with a preference for loans from the French, which is interesting, because French was not the source language of that gave rise to those texts. Still, there was also a noticeable number of loans from the Portuguese.

3.2.3. Loan languages in non-translational and translational Portuguese

Tables 9 and 11 display a massive contrast between non-translational and translational Portuguese in terms of loan languages, with only four loan languages being used in originals and as many as fifteen loan languages present in the translations. While no single language prevailed in the loans present in the texts originally written in Portuguese, in the Portuguese translations there was a solid presence of English and also an impressive amount of French. What was also interesting was the occurrence of loans from relatively exotic languages for Portuguese readers of translations, such as loans from Hebrew, Hawaiian and unspecified languages from South Africa.

3.2.4. Loan languages in non-translational and translational English

Tables 10 and 12 show that translational English exhibited fewer loan languages than non-translational English. French was the main loan language in both original and translated English. While Portuguese as a loan was quite noticeable in English translated from the Portuguese, it only appeared in one text originally written in English. Also noticeable in a couple of English translations were loans from unspecified languages from Mozambique, which were not loan languages in non-translational English.

3.2.5. Loan languages in source texts and translations

When cross-comparing the above results, the figures presented in tables 9 and 12 show that, in the Portuguese to English translations, the texts acquired more loan languages and were considerably frenchified, to the point of receiving more loans from the French than from the source language. Also interesting was the use of Italian and Spanish in the English translations, since none of these languages figured in the source texts that gave rise to them. As exemplified below, this strategy was used to refer to culture-specific items that would be hard for English audiences to grasp if left in Portuguese, but which could be communicated economically by using French, Spanish or Italian as pivot languages.

PBRF2

ST Tem café com queijo de Minas.⁴

TT There's coffee and *campesino* cheese.

With regard to the large number of English loans in one Portuguese source text in particular, the translator effaced many, but cleverly compensated for a few by introducing loans from French, as shown below.

PBMR1

ST Sim, *ladies and gentlemen*; eu disse fome.

TT Yes, *mesdames et messieurs*, I said hungry.

Tables 10 and 11 focus on the opposite, English to Portuguese direction, and indicate that the Portuguese translators generally maintained the loan languages present in the originals, and anglicized and frenchified the translations by incorporating a substantial amount of loans from English and French. In the only English source text that contained loans from the Portuguese, these were effaced in the translation and not compensated with another loan language. Another notable finding is that Spanish figured less prominently in the Portuguese translations than in the English source texts

⁴ *Queijo de Minas* is a non-matured white cheese traditional from the state of Minas Gerais in Brazil.

that gave rise to them. Because many Spanish and Portuguese words are homographs, some loans from Spanish in English originals were effaced in Portuguese translations, as exemplified in the concordance below.

EBJT1

ST You must look after yourself, *querida*.

TT Deves olhar por ti, querida.

4. DISCUSSION

The analysis carried out in the present study suggests that loan words tend to be used very differently in original and translated fiction in Portuguese and English. While in non-translated literature English seems to be by far more open to the use of loans than Portuguese, in translated fiction Portuguese translations appear to be more receptive to loans than English translations.

The contrast is not, however, indicative of two radically opposing translation traditions, for the present study showed that both the Portuguese and the English translators on average tripled the number of loans present in the source texts that gave rise to them.

However, the Portuguese translators borrowed more liberally from the source language than the English translators. This could suggest that Portuguese translators are more open to preserving the source culture. Another possibility, however, is that Portuguese translators might not be as reticent about using loans from English because English is a well-known language among Portuguese speakers. On the other hand, because Portuguese is a comparatively exotic language among English speakers, English translators may monitor the amount of loans from Portuguese more carefully. This finding seems to add strength to Toury's (1995) suggestion that a 'minor' language can tolerate a 'major' language more easily than the other way round. Indeed, Venuti's (1995) claim that Anglo-American fiction is often 'domesticated' may have more to do with this major/minor culture issue than with a deliberate attempt to efface the source culture. The presence of Portuguese in translational English can in fact be very conspicuous and confer a particularly foreign ring to the translations, for Portuguese does not seem to be a common loan language in non-translational English. This in fact ties in with the way English translators resorted to loans from French, Spanish and to a lesser extent Italian as a substitute for using loans from Portuguese.

Finally, in both language directions, the removal of loans occurred mainly when the source-text loans belonged to the target language, and to a lesser extent when the source-text loans happened to be homographs of existing words in the target language. One translator, however, was able to compensate for this inevitable loss by using French as a replacement loan language.

4. CONCLUSION

Commentaries about how loan words are used by members of different language communities are often controversial and full of allegations based on anecdotal evidence. Without proper empirical investigation, it is not possible to make any claims about the use of loans. The present study examined some hard data on how loans were utilized in original and translated fiction in English and Portuguese. Thanks to a bidirectional parallel corpus and corpus techniques, it was possible to investigate the use of loans in an unprecedentedly detailed and systematic way. It is believed that the observations made can shed some light on a few of the broader aspects of how loans tend to be used in translational and non-translational language, with particular reference to fiction in

contemporary English and Portuguese-speaking worlds. The present data suggested that (a) there is a general tendency for there to be more loans in translations than in source texts; (b) the superimposition of languages in source texts tends to be maintained in translations, but loans from the translation language tend to be effaced; (c) it is not so much the amount of loans present in the translations, but the choice of loan languages used that tends to be affected by the relative status of the source language and culture; and (d) translators sometimes use loans from other languages to bridge the source culture and the target culture or to compensate for the loss of loans from the target language.

While it is hoped that these findings can inform translator education when it comes to strategies for dealing with loans and loan languages present in source texts, it is important to remember, that in order to come to a better understanding of the relationship between loans in original and translated texts, in the future it would be necessary to carry out additional comparisons using more texts, different genres and other language pairs.

References

- AIXELÀ, J.F., 1996. Culture-specific items in translation. In: R. Álvarez and M.C-A. Vidal, eds.. *Translation Power Subversion*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp.52-78.
- CHESTERMAN, A., 1997. *Memes of Translation. The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- COMPARA CORPUS, 2001-2008. [online] Available at: <<http://www.linguateca.pt/COMPARA>> [Accessed 19 October 2015].
- CRYSTAL, D., 2003. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge university Press.
- FRANKENBERG-GARCIA, A. 2009. Compiling and using a parallel corpus for research in translation. *International Journal of Translation*, XXI(1), pp. 57-71.
- FRANKENBERG-GARCIA, A. AND SANTOS, D., 2003. Introducing COMPARA: the Portuguese-English Parallel Corpus. In: F. Zanettin, S. Bernardini and D. Stewart, eds. *Corpora in Translator Education*. Manchester: St. Jerome. pp.71-87.
- LEI ALDO REBELO, 1999. [online] Available at: <<http://www.camara.gov.br/>> [Accessed 26 October 2015].
- LOI BAS-LAURIOL. 1975. [online] Available at: <<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr>> [Accessed 26 October 2015].
- LOI TOUBON. 1994. [online] Available at: <<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr>> [Accessed 26 October 2015].
- NEWMARK, P., 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. London: Prentice Hall.
- NORD, C., 2005. *Text Analysis in Translation. Theory, Method, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- SAPIR, E., 1949. *Selected Writings in Language, Culture and Personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SCHLEIERMACHER, F., 1813/2004. On the Different Methods of Translating. In: L. Venuti, ed. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London/New York: Routledge. pp.43-63.
- TOURY, G., 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- VENUTI, L., 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: a History of Translation*. London/New York: Routledge.
- VINAY, J-P. AND DARBELNET, J., 1958. *Stylistique Comparée du Français et de l'Anglais: Méthode de Traduction*. Paris: Didier.