

DOES TRANSLATION HAVE A SAY IN THE HISTORY  
OF OUR CONTEMPORARY LINGUACULTURES?  
SOME FIGURES ON TRANSLATION IN PORTUGAL

Resumo

No enquadramento da Teoria dos Polissistemas e dos Estudos de Tradução, o presente artigo tem por finalidade apresentar e analisar um conjunto de dados sobre a relevância assumida pela tradução no sistema português durante as últimas décadas – considerando volumes publicados, listas de *bestsellers*, televisão, cinema, filmes em vídeo e DVD, teatro, ópera e música –, de modo a permitir uma reflexão sobre a importância deste canal de interferência indirecta de outras línguas e culturas na nossa linguacultura.

1. Introduction

Translation is, by definition, one of the indirect channels of a usually invisible process of interference of other linguistic, cultural and literary systems (Even-Zohar 1990: 57), and research carried out since the 1970s within the framework of (Descriptive) Translation Studies, under the influence of polysystem theory, is said to have taken us beyond the need to prove its historical importance for the development of cultures, literatures and societies (Zurbach 2001: 93). However basic these remarks seem to be for researchers of translation studies, they still need to be restated and stressed when we reflect upon the current nature of our language, culture and literature.

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Historiography tends to disregard the quantitative and qualitative historical importance of translation in linguistic cultural and literary systems. As James Holmes stated on the subject of literary history: «For all their prime importance in the history of European literature, translations have by and large been ignored as bastard brats beneath the recognition (let alone concern) of truly serious literary scholars.» (Holmes 1978: 69)

Nevertheless, this trend seems to be changing for, as Anthony Pym states, «Rapid and radical changes in international relations have helped make interculturality a privileged object of historical research. At the same time, new emphasis has been placed on the history of translation as an important intercultural activity about which there is still much to learn.» (Pym, 1992: 221)

Once it is acknowledged that translation is an important intercultural activity, research can move on to consider the degree of exposure of a given target system to such a form of indirect interference. This paper attempts to present a provisional collection of data in order to contribute to the assessment of the current importance of translation as intercultural activity in Portugal. We, therefore, aim to appraise the degree of interference of other cultures in the contemporary linguistic and cultural input of the Portuguese, bearing in mind that this may contribute to profile the importance this translated input may have on the contemporary Portuguese repertoire. We shall do this by analysing figures for some categories of interference through translation, so far unaccounted for, partly due the unavailability of systematic data.

## 2. Profiling indirect interference through translation

### 2.1. Contemporary Portuguese repertoire

Even-Zohar defines repertoire as «the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product. These rules and materials are thus indispensable for any procedure of production and consumption.» (Even-Zohar 1990: 39). This extensive definition of the repertoire is openly imported and adapted from linguistics: «Using traditional linguistic terms, a repertoire is thus a combination of 'grammar' and 'lexicon' of a given 'language'» (Even-Zohar 1990: 39). The inverted commas signal the adaptation because these terms are henceforth meant to embrace linguistic and communicative-pragmatic competence, in other words, the whole cognitive framework needed to function as producer or receiver in a sociocultural context. This time – and place-dependent competence is closely related to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, since it is «acquired, adopted (as well

as adapted) by individuals in a given milieu, and under the constraints of the prevailing system relations dominating this milieu» (Even-Zohar, 1990: 42).

Within this framework, we will try to assess the degree of indirect interference through translation in our target system and repertoire by considering a wide range of actual textual input from which this competence may be, though not exclusively, abstracted.<sup>1</sup>

Let us then analyse data available on contemporary Portuguese linguistic and cultural input for the purpose of ascertaining the importance of translation in several of its categories. To this effect, we might consider: what is borrowed from Public Libraries, what is published, what is bought and potentially read most, what is published in periodicals, broadcast in television, cinema, radio, theatrical and opera performances, home video, music, video games, the internet, etc. For lack of available data on all these direct or indirect channels of interference for current Portuguese receivers, we have to concentrate on only some of the above-mentioned categories.

### 2.2. Public Libraries

Statistics regarding cultural evolution in Portugal during the last four decades are difficult to obtain and are not totally reliable. However, this does not prevent Barreto and Preto from verifying a dramatic drop of illiteracy levels as well as the development of the middle class, accompanied by a generalised increase of standards of living and consumption in the last 35 years 1960-1995 (Barreto and Preto 1996: 51; see also Barreto 1996).

According to Barreto and Preto, despite discrepancies in statistics, Portugal showed a gradual increase in the number of libraries, additionally there was also an increase in the number of registered readers, which is particularly noticeable for the years of 1975 and 1976 (Barreto and Preto 1996: 50). According to figures provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2004: 70), the number of libraries grew from 288 in 1970 to 1917 in 2002; in 1970, there were 319 registered library users for each 1000 inhabitants; in 2002, this number had risen to 1143. Unfortunately, due to the unavailability of data on Public Library use and borrowings, although pertinent it was not possible to assess the percentage of translated and non-translated items as well as analyse text types most borrowed from Public Libraries in the past decades.

<sup>1</sup> We are well aware that this means giving certain prevalence to texts/products, a prevalence to which Even-Zohar would object.

### 2.3. Books published in Portugal

According to Anthony Pym (1999), the percentage of translated books amounts to 2 to 4 percent of books published in the United States or the United Kingdom, and the figures rise to «15 to 18 percent for France, 11 to 14 percent for Germany, some 25 for Italy, 25 to 26 for Spain (...) between 1985 and 1992». One of our aims was to compile similar quantitative data about Portugal.

Concerning book publication in Portugal, Barreto and Preto (1996: 50) only provided data for the decade of 1986-1996. They mention a slight increase in the number of titles published, and a decrease in the number of items printed by each edition.

The Portuguese Association of Publishers and Booksellers (APEL) supplied data on the number of titles published in Portugal between 1985 and 1999. These figures were analysed and Table 1 shows the annual percentages of translated vs. non-translated titles published in Portugal 1985-1999.<sup>2</sup>

Year	Percentage of Translated Titles	Percentage of Non-Translated Titles
1985	40.75%	59.25%
1986	40.64%	59.36%
1987	35.24%	64.76%
1988	38.21%	61.79%
1989	35.02%	64.98%
1990	37.17%	62.83%
1991	43.69%	56.31%
1992	38.55%	61.45%
1993	36.59%	63.41%
1994	38.14%	61.86%
1995	39.84%	60.16%
1996	35.89%	64.11%
1997	37.42%	62.58%
1998	35.4%	64.6%
1999	33.72%	66.28%
Average Percentage 1985-1999	37.75%	62.25%

Table 1 – Percentage of translated vs. non-translated titles in the total number of books published in Portugal, 1985-1999

<sup>2</sup> These figures include schoolbooks, which considerably increase the percentage of non-translated titles since they represent 21% of titles published in this time span (APEL 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001).

According to the data shown in Table 1, the average percentage of translated titles published annually in Portugal is 37.75% of the total number of titles published. These data concerning book publication represent a 37.75% chance that part of the repertoire of current average Portuguese readers may be abstracted from translated texts. In order to further profile this translated input as indirect channel of interference it is also important to mention that, still according to data published by APEL for 1985-1999, 17.14% of this reading input is translated from English, 10.72% from French, 2.32% from Spanish, 1.95% from Italian and 1.08% from German, with a total of 4.72% from other source languages.

### 2.4. Book reading habits and bestseller lists.

According to Freitas, Casanova and Alves's (1997: 272) recent work on reading habits, in the year of 1988, among thirteen different book types, novels by foreign authors were the second most frequently read genre, only surpassed by novels by Portuguese authors. Unfortunately, there seem to be no further statistics available regarding book reading habits in the last decades.

Given the unavailability of systematic data on reading habits in Portugal, the analysis regarding this category proceeds with the examination of bestseller lists, since they enable us to move one step closer to reading habits by providing information about the books current readers seem to be buying, and therefore potentially reading, most.

The data included in the following tables have been provided by three different Lisbon bookshops and may be considered illustratively.<sup>3</sup> These tables cover a time span of nine years (1994-2002) in the case of Livraria Barata; and refer only to the years of 2001-2002 in the case of Livraria Bertrand, and to the year 2001 in the case of FNAC.

<sup>3</sup> Thanks are due to Ana Filipa Virgílio (Bertrand Livresiros) and Anabela Gonçalves (FNAC) for making these bestseller lists available. To Cristina Ferreira and Graça Didier (Livraria Barata) the author is particularly indebted for kindly providing the most important nucleus of data: the annual bestseller lists of Livraria Barata for nine years. Part of these data have been more thoroughly analysed in Rosa (2003) as part of ongoing research about current Portuguese readership and translation.



Years / Bookshop	Percentage of Translated Titles	Percentage of Non-Translated Titles
1994-2002 / Barata – Percentage of Total:	55%	45%
2000/2001 Bertrand Livres – Percentage of Total:	52,3%	47,7%
2001 FNAC – Percentage of Total:	66,7%	33,3%

Table 2 – Translated vs. Non-Translated Titles in Livraria Barata's, Bertrand Livres' and FNAC's Bestseller lists

Livraria Barata supplied a considerable nucleus of data spanning over the last nine years (1994-2002), as shown in Table 2. These data corresponded to their weekly list of initially six and from 1996 onwards nine bestselling titles. These weekly lists were then compiled annually and analysed in terms of the number and percentage of translated vs. non-translated titles sold most. If we take these data globally, the percentage of translated titles in this list amounts to a significant 55% of titles in the bestseller lists of Livraria Barata.

Bertrand Livres supplied the list of twenty to twenty-four bestseller titles for the years of 2001-2002, which was again analysed in terms of the percentage of translated vs. non-translated items, as represented in Table 2, above. Again, translated titles amount to more than 50% of bestselling titles on this list, which again suggests a considerable presence of translations in the current habits of book purchase and potentially also in the reading habits of current Portuguese readers.

FNAC supplied the 52 weekly bestseller lists for the year of 2001. These 520 entries were re-organised in one annual list of 95 bestselling titles and the table considers the number and percentage of translated vs. non-translated items in the 24 list heads. In this case, the percentage of translated titles amounts to an even higher 67% of the 24 bestselling titles on this list.

If we consider these data globally, they allow us to speculate that translated titles may have represented an average 58% of bestselling book titles in these three Lisbon bookshops for the time span considered. Given that these lists include mostly literary works and mainly novels, it may be argued that there is a close to 58% chance that a current Portuguese reader's textual and literary competence is abstracted from translated books. Therefore, despite the fact that these data call for a more sophisticated qualitative analysis, and for the addition of further data, one may hypothesise that the current

historical importance of translated books may be indeed considerable for the repertoire of current Portuguese readers. Not only do translated books amount to an average 38% of book offer in Portugal (1985-1999) but the few data that could be obtained on book demand point to a percentage of between 52% and 67% of translated books among the titles sold most.

Given the unavailability of data on the percentage of translation in periodicals and radio, for the time being the analysis of these categories proved impossible.

## 2.5. Television

During the last three decades, television seems to have become a major influence in the input from which the Portuguese population may abstract its repertoire. The drop of illiteracy levels, the development of the middle class and the generalised increase of standards of living and consumption that Portugal has witnessed in the last three decades is usually accompanied by an increase in the regular reading habits of periodicals. Apparently, this did not take place because by that time television was already providing for the expanding need for information (Barreto and Preto 1996: 51).

Since 1960 the number of TV sets and daily hours of emission have increased regularly. Statistics for 2000 show that 98% of Portuguese households own at least one TV set (INE, 2003a). According to data included in *Inquérito à ocupação do tempo, principais resultados 1999*, carried out by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2001), when asked the question about how they occupy their leisure time in their homes, only 35% answered reading books, whereas 99% replied watching TV.

According to data supplied by the private Portuguese television network TVI, for the total Portuguese population of TV viewers (living in Continental Portugal, over four years of age, amounting to approx. 8 900 million), the average number of minutes spent watching TV daily during the year 2002 was: 179:15:00, which means almost three hours a day.<sup>4</sup>

In terms of television demand, we are intuitively well aware that football matches, Brazilian or Portuguese soap-operas or contests top the list. TVI also supplied data enabling the analysis of the current Portuguese viewer ratings by producing a list of the 80 programmes most watched in Portugal in 2001, which were broadcast by the four national television channels, two public (RTP1

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank Dra. Rosário Viegas Ribeiro, Dr. Paulo Santos and Dr. Bernardo Bairoão for kindly making these data available for my current research.

and RTP2) and two private networks (SIC, TVI).<sup>5</sup> This list of television programmes was re-organised according to the percentage of viewers for each programme, and the analysis of the 20 list heads is summarized in table 3, below. From the 20 programmes most watched in 2001, not a single one has been translated. However, 30% correspond to imported formats produced nationally (such as Big Brother or Video Bloopers), and may therefore be considered channels of interference.

	Portuguese Programmes	Translated Programmes	Imported Format	Total Number of Programmes
Total Number:	14	0	6	20
Percentage:	70%	0%	30%	100%

Table 3 – Percentage of Translated vs. Non-translated Programmes most watched in 2001 (RTP1, RTP2, SIC, TVI)

Given the lack of systematic data on television offer in Portugal, which might be used to calculate the percentage of translated programmes, we analysed the programmes broadcast by RTP1, 2, SIC and TVI on November 14 2005. In a total number of 77 programmes, 13 are translated which amounts to 17%; in terms of total hours of television broadcast, in a total of almost 88 hours, 19 have been taken up by translated programmes.

We should also add that the National Institute of Statistics also mentions that in 2003 there were 3,487,000 Portuguese homes equipped with cable television, and 1,333,000 cable television subscribers. This figure means that 1,333,000 Portuguese homes are accessing an offer of a high percentage of translated, subtitled or dubbed, or non-translated programmes, thus being exposed to a considerable channel of both indirect and direct interference (INE, 2003a).

## 2.6. Cinema

Movie theatres have witnessed a considerable reduction in number over the last four decades, which, however, corresponded to a proliferation of theatres including several smaller rooms showing different films. However, the trend has been altered since 1998 with an increase in the number of theatres and screens (INE 2003b: 417).

<sup>5</sup> We do not consider here the additional Sic News channels since it is impossible to ascertain the percentage of translated information aired; it is simpler to speculate that a given programme is translated and imported or non-translated.

According to Barreto and Preto (1996: 49) in the sixties each individual would go to the movies at least twice or three times a year, whereas this number has currently decreased to only once. Figures published by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) show that the number of movie goers decreased from approx. 28 million in 1970 to approx. 20 million in 2002 (INE, 2003b: 417; INE, 2004: 71). Regarding the degree of exposure of Portuguese viewers, the INE states that in 2002 the cinema attracted 82% of public show audiences, which means a significant relative importance.

In terms of cinema offer, for our current purpose, a list of the 4,165 films that premiered in Portugal 1985-2001 was obtained from the Ministry of Culture. This list was then analysed in terms of the total number and percentage of translated vs. non-translated films shown, and Table 4 shows the results of this analysis

Year	Translated Films	Non-Translated Portuguese Films	Total Number of Films
1985	247	3	250
1986	245	4	249
1987	280	3	283
1988	342	7	349
1989	373	4	377
1990	291	4	295
1991	282	9	291
1992	243	11	254
1993	195	6	201
1994	172	9	181
1995	180	10	190
1996	200	6	206
1997	193	6	200
1998	199	13	212
1999	170	9	179
2000	230	11	241
2001	199	8	207
Total Number of films premiered 1985-2001:	4041	123	4165
Average Number:	237.71	7.24	245
Average Percentage:	97.02%	2.98%	100%

Table 4 – Films premiered in Portugal, 1985-2001

Considering the data available, in an average of 245 films that premiered in Portugal per year (1985-2001), only 3% were produced either in Portugal or Brazil and were therefore shown in their non-translated versions. Consequently, the percentage of translation in this category is indeed a considerable 97% of the total input.

The data supplied by the Ministry of Culture did not allow for an analysis of the percentage of subtitled vs. dubbed films premiered in the time span covered. Consequently, we shall take as a mere illustrative example the list of films that according to the weekly magazine *Visão* were shown in Lisbon during the months of October, November and December 2002 (*Visão*, 499-512).

	Translated Films			Non-Translated Films	Total Number of Films
	Total	Subtitled	Dubbed		
Total Number	88	86	2	7	95
Percentage of Total	93%	91%	2%	7%	100%

Table 5 – Translated (Subtitled and Dubbed) vs. Non-Translated Films shown in Lisbon cinemas, October-December 2002

As shown in table 5, in a total number of 95 different films, 88 were translated; of these 88 translated films, 86 were subtitled; this list includes 12 films for children, of which only 2 were dubbed. As suggested by these data, cinema is overwhelmingly translated (approximately 93%) and subtitled (approximately 91%), since it is traditional to subtitle films in Portugal.

## 2.7. Theatre

Barreto and Preto (1996: 49) claim that there was a slight increase in the number of plays produced and in the number of theatregoers during the sixties; and a reduction in the number of theatres, sessions, audience and profit since the seventies. According to data provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), despite considerable variation between the figures regarding the two main cities of Lisbon and Oporto against the rest of the country, the number of theatregoers has dropped steadily since 1970. However, since 1998 this trend has been inverted, with an increase in numbers (INE 2004: 71). According to the National Institute of Statistics, theatre has attracted 5.3% of public show audiences.

Regarding the percentage of translated vs. non-translated plays in the theatrical offer in Portugal, the predominance of the former has been mentioned in a few studies.<sup>6</sup> For the purpose of analysing the theatrical offer during the last decades, the Centre for Theatre Studies – Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, provided us with a list of titles of plays that premiered in Portugal during the last fifty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> Based on the information supplied, each one of the 5,142 plays that premiered in Portugal 1950-1999 was then classified as translated vs. non-translated and Table 6 summarises the results of our analysis for each decade considered.

Decade	Translated Plays	Non-Translated Plays	Unknown*	Total Number
1950-1959	102	90	0	192
1960-1969	204	158	5	367
1970-1979	412	421	21	854
1980-1989	594	619	29	1242
1990-1999	1068	1047	35	2150
Total Number 1950-1999	2547	2500	95	5142
Percentage 1950-1999	49.53 %	48.62 %	1.85 %	100 %

Table 6 – Percentage of translated vs. non-translated plays premiered in Portugal, 1950-1999 (\*unknown includes theatrical performances which have not been included in one of the remaining categories since the information supplied did not allow it)

<sup>6</sup> Zurbach (2001: 246) affirms that the repertoire of Portuguese professional theatre companies shows a very high number of plays imported from other cultures and languages. This trend is confirmed by Carvalho (2001: 279), who comments on the particularly vigorous importance of translated literary drama in Portugal, and states in another study that almost two-thirds of the circa 160 theatrical shows staged in Portugal in 1997 were productions of foreign plays (Carvalho 1999: 58).

<sup>7</sup> We would like to thank Prof. Maria Helena Serôdio, co-ordinator of CETbase, who, in record time, kindly made available the list of data used here for the purpose of analysing theatrical offer in Portugal. This list was extracted from the extensive and remarkably comprehensive database CETbase, which is one of the projects of the Centre for Theatre Studies of the Faculty of Arts University of Lisbon – a research centre founded in 1994 which was the first to delve into the history of Theatre in Portugal, from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. (further information is available online at: [http://www.fl.ul.pt/centros\\_invst/teatro/pagina/centro-estudos-teatro800.htm](http://www.fl.ul.pt/centros_invst/teatro/pagina/centro-estudos-teatro800.htm)). The data kindly provided by the Portuguese Ministry of Culture only included data on 829 plays staged in a period of four years (1999-2002), of which 44% were by foreign authors and translated into Portuguese.



The data presented in Table 6 show that in a total number of 5,142 plays that premiered in Portugal between 1950-1999, 49.53% were by foreign authors, translated into European Portuguese, against 48.62% of non-translated texts. Therefore, on the one hand, these figures confirm theatrical performances as a considerable channel of indirect interference from other cultures since translation amounts to nearly one half of the theatrical offer; on the other hand, however, the fact that only 5.3% of public show audiences attends theatrical performances means a low rate of exposure to this channel of considerable interference through translation.

### 2.8. Opera

According to data supplied by Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, in Lisbon, all performances have been translated and subtitled since 1993, the National Opera Theatre publishes a bilingual edition of each performance staged since 2001.<sup>8</sup> Data published by the National Institute of Statistics show, however, that opera caters for a mere 0.4% of public show audiences (INE 2004: 71).

### 2.9. Home Video and DVD films

The presence of at least one TV set in 98% of Portuguese households, and one video player in 50% of Portuguese homes, as well as the proliferation of home video and DVD rental clubs are probably to blame for the current drop in figures of movie and theatre goers, especially since 1986, according to data by INE (INE, 2004: 71). The Portuguese Federation of Video Editors (FEVIP) did not make any information available, so it was not possible to carry out an analysis either of the percentage of translated vs. non-translated video and DVD film titles available in the Portuguese market or of such percentages in the list of video and DVD films most rented by home video clubs. Faced with the unavailability of systematic data needed to carry out such an analysis, however, we decided to illustratively examine the top-twenty list of home video and DVD films most rented by one main Portuguese franchise home video and DVD rental club: Blockbuster, holding 20 clubs all over Portugal.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Thanks are due to Paula Vilafanha, of Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, for kindly providing these data.

<sup>9</sup> We would like to thank João de Vallera who kindly made these data available in time for publication.

Year	Translated Films			Non-Translated Films
	Total	Subtitled	Dubbed	Total
1998	20	20	0	0
1999	20	20	0	0
2000	20	20	0	0
2001	20	20	0	0
2002	20	20	0	0

Table 8 – Top 20 List of Home Video films most rented by Blockbuster 1998-2002

According to data supplied by this company, in a total number of 20 video and DVD film titles in the annual top list of titles most rented 1998-2002, 100% were translated and subtitled. This allows us to speculate that this growing market is indeed a potential channel for substantial interference from other cultures also indirectly through translation.

### 2.10. Recorded music

According to UNESCO's World Culture Report (2000: 311) the analysis of distribution by type of music in Portugal shows that in 1998 international popular music amounts to 65%, whereas domestic popular music represents a more modest 31%, and classical music only 4%. These figures therefore suggest that recorded music may also represent a major channel of direct interference in Portugal.

## 3. Profiling contemporary Portuguese repertoire and lingua-culture

The clearly unsystematic nature of these data precludes any descriptive statement, illustrates how difficult it still is to obtain information needed to profile current input and proves that much remains to be systematised and researched in this regard.

Additional caution in the analysis of these data must also be exerted since these categories are not equally represented in the input of receivers or, in Even-Zohar's words, in the current readership's degree of exposure to this translated input. According to the National Institute of Statistics 99% of informants state that they watch television during their leisure time whereas only 35% mention reading books (INE 2001). Additionally, the number of movie and theatre goers is known to have been decreasing for the

last decades with the opposite trend since 1998; cinema attracts 82% of public show audiences whereas theatre only caters for 5.3%, and opera for a mere 0.4% (INE, 2004: 71). No corresponding data could be obtained on home video and DVD borrowing or recorded music purchase.

Their unsystematic nature notwithstanding, the data that could be obtained for our present purposes may still function as a starting point and allow us to infer that the percentage of translation in the offer and demand in Portugal for each of the categories considered above may be of significance. We may therefore hypothesise that the contemporary Portuguese repertoire is likely to depend on an input that includes a variable but always substantial percentage of translated items, both in terms of what is offered but also (or even especially in the case of books) in terms of what is preferred by readers/consumers, as summarised in table 9.

	Percentage of Translated Items	Percentage of Non-Translated Items
Book Offer 1985-1999	38%	62%
Book Demand 1994-2002 (approx.)	58%	42%
Television Offer	17%	83%
Television Demand 2001	0-30%	70%
Cinema Offer 1985-2001	97%	3%
Cinema Demand***	—	—
Theatrical Offer 1950-1999	50%	49%
Theatrical Demand***	—	—
Recorded Music Offer 1998	65-69%*	31%**
Recorded Music Demand***	—	—
Home Video Offer***	—	—
Home Video Demand 1998-2002 (approx.)	100%	0%

Table 9 – Percentage of Translated vs. Non-Translated Items in all categories considered (\* represents international popular music and classical music; \*\* represents domestic popular music; \*\*\* no data available)

Let us now discuss the results for Portuguese contemporary repertoire.

As Even-Zohar claims, to study translation as communication in context also means, in some cases, to consider a repertoire of background knowledge that may be built to a considerable extent by indirect interference through translation. This fact is not always clearly stated in studies of translation in sociocultural contexts in which interference may indeed be a major occurrence (Even-Zohar 1990: 59), as suggested by the data presented and analysed. What we are trying to suggest is that, in view of the percentage of indirect interference through translation, we need to redefine our own linguaculture, to use the term coined by the linguist anthropologist and poet Paul Friedrich (1979) to mean the complete integration of language and culture.

Surely, this interference is indirect since it is mediated by our perception and sense of self, in the words of Theo Hermans:

If it were a matter of technical code-switching only, translation would be as exciting as a photocopier. Translation is of interest because it offers first-hand evidence of the prejudice of perception. Cultures, communities and groups construe their sense of self in relation to others and by regulating the channels of contact with the outside world. (Hermans 1999:95)

However, in view of the data presented here we would suggest it is perhaps this collective self that needs redefining. Translations are indeed facts of target cultures, as Toury stated (1995: 29). However, in some cases, target cultures and repertoires also seem to be, to a certain extent, translated facts. Once we acknowledge the quantitative importance and the role played by translation in the cultural dynamics of the contemporary Portuguese context, the way is open to consider the relevance of further research in Translation Studies as another contribution to the history of our collective repertoire and linguaculture. Amassing further information on the offer and demand of translation in book publication, bestseller lists and public library use, periodicals, radio, television, cinema, theatre, opera, home video, DVD, recorded music, video games, the internet, downloaded music and films, etc. is of major importance. Equally pertinent is compiling information needed to answer questions such as: what are the works and who are the authors translated? Who are the translators? What is their style? Which institutions produce them (editors, publishers, free lance translators, in-house translators)? How, when and why?

Moreover, it is not only our collective self and linguaculture that seem to be significantly shaped by the interference of translation. If,



as cognitive anthropologist Robert Schrauf suggests (2000): «The language in which a memory is encoded is a stable feature of the memory», human experience is shaped by linguaculture and most autobiographical memories are encoded in one natural language and retrieved in language-specific form, then these data may also be used to suggest that our own autobiographies may be considerably influenced by indirect interference of other cultures through substantial percentages of translation in our linguacultural input.

No reader is impervious to the influence of translation; no linguaculture seems free from this indirect channel of interference of other linguacultures. One should, then, consider and try to ascertain the historically variable but present significance of this interference, and to profile interference through translation in our current linguaculture.

Researchers in Translation Studies have been amassing information necessary to answer some of the above mentioned questions, fill some of the gaps left open by the ongoing study presented in this paper and thus profile the importance of translation for contemporary repertoires and linguacultures.

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