The Negotiation of Literary Dialogue in Translation: *Forms of Address in* Robinson Crusoe *Translated into Portuguese*[1]

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Abstract: *Focussing on the pragmatic dimension of literary dialogue in narrative fiction, this paper analyses: (a) the negotiation of power carried out by characters and the way it is relayed in the text as signalled by forms of address; and (b) the negotiation performed by the translator in order to reproduce a power relation when dealing with the cultural and social environments of the source- and the target-language texts. By analysing one hundred years of* Robinson Crusoe *translated into European Portuguese (189– to 1992) the paper will attempt to reveal a possible historical development of translational norms and the way in which the historical, cultural and social environments may have influenced them.*

Résumé: *S'attachant à la dimension pragmatique du dialogue littéraire qui apparaît en fiction narrative, l'article analyse successivement: (a) la négociation du pouvoir engagée par les personnages, ainsi que la manière dont elle est gérée par les formes d'allocution; (b) la négociation mise en œuvre par le traducteur lorsqu'il prend en charge l'environnement culturel et social de la langue-source et de la langue-cible afin de transposer une relation de pouvoir au sein du texte-cible. L'examen de cent ans de traductions de* Robinson Crusoe *en portugais d'Europe (elles s'échelonnent de 189– à 1992) vise à montrer le développement historique des normes de traduction, ainsi que l'influence qu'a pu exercer sur celles-ci l'environnement à la fois historique, culturel et social.*

1. Introduction

The dialogue in narrative fiction includes several dimensions that may be relevant for its translation. These include the poetic, linguistic and pragmatic

dimensions. The translation of literary dialogue raises special problems, and the pragmatic dimension appears to be particularly prone to be the first to be lost or altered in translation (Ben-Shahar 1994: 197).

In this paper, I propose to focus on the pragmatic dimension of translated fictional dialogue, by analysing it as a dynamic process between participants, following a statement by Hatim and Mason:

> Once a written text is seen as an act of communication, negotiated between producer and receiver in the same way as conversation is, the way is open to regarding text as process rather than product, and translation as an operation performed on a living organism rather than on an artefact as lifeless as the printed word on the page appears to be. (1990: 80)

The source-language text (ST) chosen is *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), which was first published in London in 1719 under the title *The Life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, Written by Himself*. I take twelve Portuguese translations of *Robinson Crusoe* published between 189– and 1992 as a starting point, and I propose to analyse the interaction that takes place between characters — the conversation between Robinson and Friday — and also that which takes place "as a conversation" between the translator and the implied reader of the target text, as participants in "an act of communication". I decided to focus on these two and leave out the other dyads of "as-conversation" interaction.

In order to analyse the interaction between characters, I chose to examine the choice and use of forms of address to determine how the power relation between participants is signalled. To study the interaction between the translator and the implied reader of the target text I first analyse the status assigned to the translator in the graphic outline of the title and copyright page, and then analyse the way in which the translator relays the relations between characters as expressed in the use of forms of address. In doing this, I would like to pay special attention to the translator's negotiation of different social environments, namely those implied by the ST and those belonging to the target-language culture.

In (re)creating the target language text's (TT) fictional social context, the translators may negotiate between several social environments. On the one hand, when analysing the fictional social context generated by the ST, they may consider the social environment of the historical period in which it was published (in this case 1719), or that of the historical period recreated by the ST (in this case, the second half of the seventeenth century). When consider-

ing the culture for which they are creating the TT, the translators may take into consideration the social environment of the historical period in which the TT will be published; and/or they may also consider the possibility of "flavouring/colouring" their texts by including some elements recognisable as belonging to an earlier historical period (either real or fictional).

I will start by stating a few taken-for-granteds that have led me to undertake this sort of descriptive study. Then, after a summary of the theoretical framework put forth by Brown and Gilman in their 1960 article, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", I will proceed with a brief outline of modes of address in Modern English and Modern Portuguese. Finally, after presenting the hypothesis underlying the analysis, I will conclude with some comments on its results.

1.1. *Taken-for-Granteds*

This study proceeds from a few taken-for-granteds about the relationship between language, interaction and social structure:

(a) In its ideational function as defined by Halliday (1970), language both creates our view of reality and of ourselves and results from it. Therefore, texts produce a context, a view of reality that relates to their social, political, cultural and historical environments.

(b) In its interpersonal function, language builds the interaction that arises between participants. Verbal interaction implies both choosing a role for the addresser and addressee (which both result from and create the micro-social environment) and negotiating a power relationship with the other participant or participants, within a given social structure (the macro-social environment). The relative social status of the participants will be marked linguistically by several features, including modes of address. Therefore, an analysis of the forms of address used by participants in a text will reveal part of its context. The view of reality and of social structure generated in and by that text is revealed by comparing the choices made with the possibilities offered by the system but rejected.

(c) Different cultures display different patterns of modes of address. These patterns are therefore culture specific, and they display historical, social, regional and situational variation.

(d) When trying to relay the interactional component of a text, the translator mediates between and may be influenced by different social and cultural environments: those implied by the ST and those pertaining to the target culture. The already mentioned interactional component of the ST may, in turn, be considered yet another context: the social context it generates.

(e) All these taken-for-granteds apply to texts in general, among them literary texts.

The main purpose of this paper is then to detect how historical, social and cultural changes in the culture in which and for which the TT has been created may influence the way a translator constructs and conveys the social relations signalled by modes of address in a literary fictional text. In doing so, the translator will reveal his/her relationship with the social and cultural environments of the source- and target-language texts, and ultimately with the implied reader as well.

2. Choice of Corpus

The corpus analysed includes all Portuguese versions of *Robinson Crusoe* listed in the Portuguese National Library catalogue, irrespective of the type of Portuguese text produced. It includes direct and indirect translations, full-text translations and adaptations (whether explicitly presented as such or not) involving in some cases a change of medium, i.e. from verbal to mainly visual, in the case of comic books. The heterogeneity of the corpus is a possible problem I decided to leave unsolved, in order to avoid limiting the time scope of this analysis. This enabled the descriptive study of approximately 100 years of Portuguese translations of *Robinson Crusoe* (189--1992) as well as an attempt to delineate a possible evolution of translational norms with respect to the issue at hand (Toury 1995).

Two dialogue excerpts were chosen for this analysis,[2] depicting the beginning of the relationship between Robinson and Friday and the way it is negotiated. In these excerpts, Robinson Crusoe is basically attempting to ascertain where Friday's allegiance lies — with his people or with Crusoe, who saved his life.

The twelve Portuguese versions of *Robinson Crusoe* I have come up with may be organised in a cline extending from full text translations to adapta-

tions. The analysis too had to be adapted to the types of clues to the interactional component of the dialogue present in the excerpts. Since in some cases the translations entail extensive condensation, the only possible way to determine the relationship between participants in the dialogue seemed to be by analysing their use of modes of address.[3]

3. Problems in Studying the Translation of Forms of Address

As mentioned by Baker, the interactional component of a text as signalled by the choice of forms of address, among other features, creates specific problems of translation:

> The familiarity/deference dimension in the pronoun system is among the most fascinating aspects of grammar and the most problematic in translation. It reflects the **tenor** of discourse . . . and can convey a whole range of rather subtle meanings. The subtle choices involved in pronoun usage in languages which distinguish between familiar and non-familiar pronouns is further complicated by the fact that this use differs significantly from one social group to another and that it changes all the time in a way that reflects social values and attitudes. (1992: 98)

In addition to the problems of synchronic social variation, in covariation with social values and attitudes mentioned by Baker, which in themselves raise considerable difficulties for the description of the modes of address of only one language, there are those created by diachronic and diatopic variation. Taking into consideration the "subtle choices" analysed by cross-cultural studies of forms of address, one could add further difficulties arising from:

(a) **Formal differences**. One language may display an exclusively pronominal system and another a formally variegated system of forms of address (pronouns, nominal forms, exclusively verbal forms); i.e. in some languages the forms of address are marked grammatically, in others they are marked lexically.

(b) **Grammatical differences**. Even when two languages have a formally similar system of forms of address these items may differ in terms of syntactical behaviour. In Portuguese, for example, nominal forms function in subject position or as vocatives, whereas in English they function as vocatives only. As mentioned by Lyons (1983), V forms in Italian and Spanish are third-person singular forms, whereas in French and Russian they are second person

plural; they, therefore, display a different syntactical behaviour.

(c) **Frequency differences**. Even if two languages display systems both formally and syntactically similar, the frequency of use of forms of address may differ as may the meanings attached to the different frequencies.

(d) **Different illocutionary objectives/modes of address**. The number and type of contrasts of illocutionary objectives/modes of address in each language may differ. Some language systems do not display ways of grammatically coding the difference between modes of address (e.g. English only has the pronoun of address *you*). Other languages portray dyadic systems, which may fall within the T/V opposition proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960). Some are said to display triadic systems, with an intermediary mode of address between two extremes of familiarity and politeness; others may include an even higher number of contrasts.[4]

(e) **Different components subjacent to illocutionary objectives/modes of address**. Different languages may present different components subjacent to the use and evaluation of the system of forms of address (such as topic, formality, relative age/generation, social status of participants), or they may present a common system of components which however come together differently to determine each mode of address.

(f) **Switching and progression of address in time**. The frequencies and meaning of occasional switching between symmetrical and asymmetrical pronoun use, or between a familiar and a polite mode of address, and the context in which this happens, may differ between languages; the components determining this behaviour may vary too. Similarly, the progression of address in time between two speakers may display different stages, may proceed at diverse speeds, and may be determined by disparate components.

Finally, in trying to delineate a uniform approach to the languages in question, one is liable to obliterate certain language-specific features or to calque the system of one language onto another. Jakobson refers to this as the "great danger of reinterpreting the data of one language from the point of view of another pattern" (1960: 278).

It is not the purpose of this paper to provide solutions to all of these problems, but it is important to keep them in mind when analysing the translation of forms of address.

4. The Brown and Gilman Model

For lack of a model especially designed for the study of translation of forms of address, I propose to analyse their translation as textual clues to the interactional component of a text, based on the well-known model by Brown and Gilman (1960). Before moving any further, I will summarise what the authors call the "general semantic sequence" of the history of T and V pronouns in certain European languages.

Brown and Gilman's model is based on the fact that, contrary to English, the French, German, Italian and Spanish languages (among others) still have two singular pronouns of address. These are familiar and polite pronouns of address linked to two dimensions, which are said to be essential for the analysis of social life: power and solidarity. The authors therefore analyse the semantics of the pronouns of address, that they explain as "covariation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 253).

Their study departs from the historical evolution of the use of Latin pronouns of address. Initially only the second person singular pronoun *tu* was used to address a single addressee. However, the second person plural pronoun *vos* started to be used to address the Roman emperor around IV AD. The use of this deferential plural form of addressing a single addressee later expanded to include other powerful people besides the emperor.

What the authors call "the nonreciprocal power semantic" (1960: 255), i.e. a non-reciprocal use of pronouns of address expressing an asymmetrical power relationship, is said to have crystallised in Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. It determined the use of a polite pronoun by the less powerful to address the powerful and the use of a familiar pronoun by the powerful to address the less powerful. Among peers, the upper classes would reciprocate the polite pronoun and the lower classes the familiar one. The components subjacent to asymmetrical power relations are said to be: "physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 255).

Brown and Gilman use the first character of the Latin pronouns *tu* and *vos* to designate familiar and polite pronouns, respectively. Combining the symmetrical and asymmetrical use of T and V, they therefore propose a two-dimensional semantic model that produces four categories of address to describe this stage of equilibrium: two power-coded categories of asymmetri-

cal use: the T of condescension and the V of reverence; and two categories of symmetrical use: the (solidary) T of intimacy and the (weakly solidary or not solidary) V of formality.

This equilibrium changed, according to the two authors, in the nineteenth century: "However, all our evidence consistently indicates that in the past century the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy" (1960: 259). The interference of solidarity in power-coded relations is said to have resulted, after an intermediate period of conflict, in a contemporary one-dimensional system of mutual solidary T or mutual not solidary V. Solidarity is explained in terms of a symmetrical relationship developed due to certain similarities, especially those "that make for like-mindedness or similar behavior dispositions" (1960: 258).

In a very clear table reproduced below (Table 1), Peter Trudgill (1974) summarises the four stages in the general evolution of pronoun use sketched by Brown and Gilman.

Table 1. Four Stages in the Evolution of Pronoun Use (Trudgill 1974: 104)

	Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3		Stage 4	
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS
a) + P → + P	T	T	V	V	T	V	T	V
b) - P → - P	T	T	T	T	T	V	T	V
c) + P → - P	T	T	T	T	T	*T*	T	V
d) - P → + P	T	T	V	V	*V*	V	T	V

Stage 1 only distinguished singular and plural pronouns; so for a single addressee the T form applied. In Stage 2, with the introduction of the power factor, non-reciprocal usage for power-coded relationships applies: the less powerful use the polite pronoun to address the powerful, and receive a familiar pronoun in return. In Stage 3 the introduction of the solidarity factor creates points of conflict between the two factors, which are shown in italics. Finally, Stage 4 corresponds to the current resolution of the conflict in favour of the solidarity factor, with reciprocal use of either T or V pronouns of address.

So, Brown and Gilman present a sequence of four stages which, though not exactly isochronous for the languages and cultures studied by them, are nevertheless said to be applicable to European languages and cultures "most

nearly related to English" (1960: 253). Their chronology is mainly based on the relationship which developed between social structure, ideology and the pronoun semantics:

> The nonreciprocal power semantic is associated with a relatively static society in which power is distributed by birthright and is not subjected to much redistribution. The power semantic was closely tied with the feudal and manorial systems. . . . The reciprocal solidarity semantic has grown with social mobility and an equalitarian ideology. (1960: 264)

In this way the authors stress the importance of social structure and ideology as factors determining the semantics of forms of address.

5. Brief Outline of Modes of Address in Modern English and Modern Portuguese

Keeping in mind the difficulties facing any attempt to cope with the translation of forms of address (mentioned in Section 3), I will give a brief description of the systems of modes of address involved in this study, applying and when necessary adapting the model by Brown and Gilman.

In order to identify the systems of address to be outlined, one must first identify the periods of the evolution of both Portuguese and English corresponding to (a) the ST and its social context and environment; and (b) the TT-culture social environments that may intervene in the configuration of the TTs. All Portuguese translations fall within the period in the history of the Portuguese language generally referred to as Modern Portuguese (1750 onwards), and the English ST belongs to Modern English (1660 onwards) — and so does its fictional context.

The systems of modes of address in these two languages and diachronic varieties display different degrees of complexity. The main distinction lies in the fact that in subject position English does not display any possibility of familiarity/deference contrast, though this does exist in the choice of nominal forms of address as vocatives. In English in subject position the only second person pronoun used is *you*, and the verb does not mark any contrast either. The Portuguese language shows a familiarity/deference contrast marked primarily by the verb form and a complex familiarity/deference cline of forms of address in subject position.

5.1. *The Modern English System of Modes of Address*

The English system of modes of address does not currently display any possibility of grammatically coding different modes of address. In subject position the pronoun *you* is currently the only one used in speech and writing. The use of *thou* is circumscribed to "prayer and naive poetry" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 253), to non-standard dialects, and to the use of members of the Society of Friends (Quakers).[5] Different modes of address are, therefore, lexically coded. Nominal forms function as vocatives and the basic choice in English will be between first name (FN) or title + last name (TLN), although other conventions are also applicable.

5.2. *Evolution of Pronominal Forms of Address in English*

Historically, before the thirteenth century, only a distinction between singular and plural forms of address applied: *thou-thee* (singular) and *ye-you* (plural). By the end of the thirteenth century, *ye-you* was already used as the polite, deferential and singular pronominal form of address. By the sixteenth century, *you* replaced *ye* in subject position in the standard and by the eighteenth century *thou* had disappeared from the standard, and was also replaced by *you* (Alexander 1982; Strang 1991; Leith 1993; Pyles and Algeo 1993; Barber 1993; Baugh and Cable 1994).

5.3. *The Modern European Portuguese System of Modes of Address*

Due to its complexity the European Portuguese system is often referred to as antiquated, conservative and intricate. Carreira (1997) underlines the especially complex nature of European Portuguese when compared to the other main national norm, Brazilian Portuguese, and to other national norms which display a much simpler system.[6]

The following outline only considers items that occur in subject position to identify a single addressee. It is, therefore, a simplified version of the patterns of modes of address in Modern European Portuguese, designed solely for the purpose of the present analysis.[7]

The Modern European Portuguese system of modes of address includes the use of different types of formal items: pronouns or nominal forms in subject position followed by a verb. To address a single addressee the in-

flected verb marks a basic difference between 2nd person singular and 3rd person singular forms of address, and the pronoun or nominal form in subject position may be omitted. Therefore, in this model the inflected verb is identified as signalling the major frontier in a dyadic system of familiar and polite forms of address, the use of which is expressed in a few languages by delocutive verbs such as French *tutoyer/vouvoyer* or German *duzen/siezen*, or by paraphrases such as Portuguese *tratar por tu/tratar por você*.

I shall refer to these familiar and polite forms of address as T and V forms respectively, expanding the application proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960: 254), who use these symbols to designate familiar and polite pronouns.

In Portuguese, the current possibilities of addressing a single addressee involve a choice among five basic alternatives (the brackets indicate the implicit form, and marked/unmarked are used in the broad sense of not-neutral/neutral):

T Address forms:
T1. *Tu* + Verb marked for second person singular: *Tu vais*. (marked for contrast)[8]
T2. ø + Verb marked for second person singular: *(Tu) Vais*. (unmarked)

V Address forms:
V1. *Você* + Verb marked for third person singular: *Você vai*. (marked as less-V mode)
V2. ø + Verb marked for third person singular: (Nominal form/*Você?*) *Vai*. (unmarked)
V3. Nominal Form + Verb marked for third person singular: *O Pedro/O senhor vai*. (marked as polite not-intimate 1–5 or polite and deferential 6–16, below)

Nominal forms are said to be the most frequent forms of address in Portuguese (Lindley Cintra 1986). In subject position, they are always preceded by a definite article marking gender and number, and include different combinations, which signal various degrees of social closeness or distance. In the list below, I chose not to include reference to the definite article, because it is present in all forms of address that occur in subject position. The most common feminine forms of address are implicitly included, and they are only mentioned explicitly when no masculine correlate form of address exists.

The list below includes the most common nominal forms of address, classified in a cline from the less to the most distant. If we exclude the ones numbered 1–5 below, which do not express deference, all the other nominal forms of address do, with the most deferential numbered 16.

1. First Name: *o Pedro*.
2. Last Name: *o Queiroz*.

3. Kin/Correlate: *o tio/menino*.
4. Kin + First Name: *o tio Pedro*.
5. *Menino* + First Name: *o menino Pedro*.
6. *senhor: o senhor*.
7. *senhor* + First Name: *o senhor Pedro*.
8. *D.* + first Name: *a D. Maria*.
9. *senhora D.* + First Name: *a senhora D. Maria*.
10. *senhor* + Title: *o senhor doutor*.
11. *senhor* + Title + First Name: *o senhor doutor Pedro*.
12. *senhor* + Title + Last Name(s): *o senhor doutor Queiroz de Barros*.
13. Title + First Name: *o doutor Pedro*.
14. Title + Last Name(s): *o doutor Queiroz de Barros*.
15. Names that specifically characterise addresser/addressee relations: *o patrão/ meu amigo/cavalheiro* 'Boss, my friend, gentleman' etc.
16. *Vossa Excelência, Vossa Senhoria,* 'Your Excellency' etc.

Carreira (1997: 68), in a study dedicated to what the author defines as "verbal proxemics" of European Portuguese, as I see it, also uses the solidarity/power semantic dimensions. The author recovers two dimensions from Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992): the horizontal and vertical axes. In my view, what the author refers to as the horizontal axis — representing the degree of familiarity vs. distance — corresponds to solidarity, whereas the vertical axis corresponds to the power dimension, since the author defines it as representing hierarchies determined by social/professional/cultural status, family kinship and age (Carreira 1997: 19–20). Carreira classifies Portuguese forms of address in a cline extending from +familiar and -distant, to -familiar +distant, identifying a triadic system.[9] The author stresses the complexity of the Portuguese system and identifies social status as the main component determining the choice of forms of address (Carreira 1997: 29).

The particular circumstances in which each of these forms of address is preferred have been thoroughly described by Carreira (1997). Given the number of symmetrical (20) and asymmetrical (theoretically 190!) pairs of address, a description of each one of them would certainly fall beyond the scope of this article. They will be mentioned only in connection with the actual forms used in the Portuguese translations under consideration.

The main problem in combining the description suggested by Brown and Gilman with the Portuguese system lies in the fact that there seem to be more factors at stake than just power or solidarity, and more classifications possible than just T or V. The formal complexity of the Portuguese system entails subtleties of address not describable by the Brown and Gilman model.

Paul Friedrich, encountering a similar problem when analysing the Russian system of forms of address, remarked: "the correlation between pronouns and solidarity is complicated, and it is difficult to predict behaviour within an actual system in terms of a simple continuum between the *ty* of 'like-mindedness' (Brown and Gilman 1960) and the *vy* of 'weak solidarity'" (1966: 231). The author therefore proposed ten components, subjacent to Russian pronominal use and evaluation.[10] However, this more complex scheme is developed within the framework of the Brown and Gilman model for, as stated by Friedrich: "The relation of any variable in any given case to one or both of Brown and Gilman's macro-discriminations has been left implicit" (1966: 231).[11]

The difficulties in applying Brown and Gilman's model to the Portuguese system of modes of address seemed to be similar, and a similar solution was adopted. I have therefore kept the general framework of the Brown and Gilman model and have added more specific sub-categories for the analysis of Portuguese. These took the form of a numbered cline for familiar (T1–2) and polite (V1–3) forms of address, and within nominal polite forms of address 16 possibilities were discerned (V3: 1 to 16). The different modes of address were thus connected to the actual formal system; the higher the number of the classification the greater the distance implied — as determined by social status, family kinship and age. This solution allows for retaining the general framework of the Brown and Gilman model, which has proven to be particularly insightful when applied to cross-cultural analysis, including translation.

Another difficulty in the application of the Brown and Gilman model of pronominal usage to the Portuguese system of modes of address is formal. It results from the fact that nominal forms are necessarily present as one of the basic alternatives for V forms of address in subject position. The V pronoun *você* is not an acceptable pro-form for other V forms of address. The nominal forms may be omitted in an exclusively verbal form of address but cannot be replaced by the V pronoun *você*, because of its marked less-V nature. The disappearance of the polite second-person plural pronoun *vós* has left a gap in the system of pronouns of address, which was not filled by *você*. When the verb marked for third person singular is used alone, the nominal form is usually inferred, though some speakers also use this structure as an alternative to the explicit *você* + verb. The V forms may be classified in a cline: from the less-V form *você* (V1), to the more-V nominal forms in general (V3).

Therefore, since the Portuguese language does not have an exclusively

pronominal system, I would say that the only Portuguese parallel for T and V pronoun usage as defined by Brown and Gilman are the exclusively verbal forms of address: T2 and V2. This fact also compelled me to expand Brown and Gilman's use of the symbols T and V. The authors use them to describe pronouns of address only and I use them to describe forms of address in general, so as to render this model applicable to the Portuguese system.

In the analysis I shall therefore classify Portuguese forms of address as either T1–2 or V1–3, and identify the type of nominal form of address by including the number of the above list (1–16) between brackets.

5.4. *Evolution of Pronominal Forms of Address in European Portuguese*

For the purposes of this analysis, I will not attempt to outline the evolution of nominal forms of address, first because of the complexity of this issue; second, because it is not essential to my analysis; and third, because it has already been carried out elsewhere (see Lindley Cintra 1986). However, in order to understand the forms of address of Modern European Portuguese (1750 onwards), the period which encompasses all the Portuguese translations analysed, it is important to give a very brief description of the evolution of the system of pronominal forms of address in Prtuguese. This will also help in identifying the circumstances in which each of them is preferred.

The singular T form was and continues to be *tu*. The singular V form was *vós* (second person plural) until the first half of the eighteenth century (in Old Portuguese, Pre-Classical and Classical Portuguese), but in Modern Portuguese its use has become very rare. As mentioned by Casanova: "The form *VÓS*, however, is less and less used, and corresponds nowadays to a very restricted use. It is very limited to certain regional usage, to pompous speeches addressed to a plural addressee and to literary speech of an archaic nature, and still survives in religious discourse" (1989: 181; my translation). Its use is so restricted that Dias Ferreira, in an article dedicated to the study of modes of address in the work of the Master of Wakefield, does not mention it when identifying pronominal T and V forms for Modern Portuguese: "Portuguese *tu/você*" (Dias Ferreira 1987: 11; my translation).

There is nowadays a new V pronoun *você* (third person singular), which according to Lindley Cintra (1986: 27) was first used in writing in 1666 and has become very frequent. The appearance and spread of *você* is interesting,

and may explain its less-V or almost borderline nature. Historically, it is an abbreviation of an originally deferential and later degraded nominal form of address: *Vossa Mercê* > *Vossancê* > *você* (Lindley Cintra 1986: 27). It probably retains part of its V character from the originally deferential nominal form of address, used for royal address (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), then for noblemen, and later extended to other people not so highly ranked. It thus implies social distance, but not deference, and therefore contrasts with the T form *tu*.

It has, however, a less-V or even close-to-T character, which probably results from its use of abbreviation, particularly abbreviation of a form of address recognised as degraded since the 17th century. The use of *você*, where a full nominal form is expected, functions historically as well as currently as disrespectful when used by the less powerful to address the powerful.[12]

5.5. *Brief Historical Background: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Portugal*

At the serious risk of gross simplification, I will give a brief outline of the major tendencies of social structure and ideology of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portugal which are considered essential to providing a basic historical framework for the study of forms of address in the corpus (189--1992).[13]

Nineteenth-century Portugal is characterised by "an ancien régime society only slightly embourgeoisé" (Godinho 1979: 50; my translation). A constitutional monarchy from 1834 onwards, Portugal survived nearly fifty years of political instability (involving strife between Absolutists and Constitutionalists, which led to a dynastic civil war) and lived from 1847 onwards in a system of rotating governments of two political parties.

As for social structure, in the nineteenth century the population remained mainly agricultural (around 75%). The industrial revolution did not succeed both because the privilege-based agricultural structure and the profits of commerce, especially with Brazil, functioned as very strong obstacles to industrialisation. A timidly emerging bourgeoisie was also reduced in number because the number of cities was low: in 1864, Portugal had 19 cities, inhabited by only one tenth of the population. By 1900, the global rate of illiteracy was still around 80%. Only the middle class and part of the urban population, therefore, had access to the information circulating in the form of daily newspapers, which in the second half of the nineteenth century had

become less political and more informative. For these reasons, the subject did not become a citizen.

In the twentieth century, Portugal witnessed the revolution of 1910 that put an end to the constitutional monarchy, and proclaimed the first Republic (1910–1926), a very unstable parliamentary regime marked by factionalism, labour unrest and public violence. This first democratic experience came to an end with a coup in 1926, which declared a military dictatorship. In 1933, the proclamation of the new Constitution ended the military dictatorship and started another authoritarian regime to be known as "Estado Novo" ('New State' 1933–1974).

During the "Estado Novo", political parties were banned, the opposition was clandestine, the censorship of the military dictatorship was not lifted, and propaganda and political imprisonment were used to enforce "order". The regime was characterised by extreme conservatism. A few movements of political opposition did not have immediate political consequences besides exposing the rising discontent with the authoritarian regime.

During the first eight decades of the twentieth century, the Portuguese workforce changed, although never at the pace of its European neighbours. In 1900, more than half of the active population was working in agriculture; by 1981 this declined to only one fifth. The transfer of the workforce from agriculture to industry and services was slow during the first two decades of the dictatorship but intensified during the last two (Cabral 1999: 331).

By 1970, industry produced 46.4% of the national product while agriculture accounted for no more than 19%. Portugal was no longer an "essentially agricultural country". By 1970, 77% of the population was living in urban centres. However, there was an "urban gap" between the two main cities — Lisbon and Porto — and the rest of the country due to the almost complete non-existence of medium-sized urban centres. The 1960 census data reveal a very stratified society, in which approximately 80% of the population was performing menial work, and what we usually identify as the middle classes were hardly noticeable. By 1960, despite the rise in school attendance, only 1% of men in the workforce had a university degree, only 5% had attended high school, 37% had not gone beyond primary school and 57% were illiterate. These figures account for the limited possibilities of social mobility (Cabral 1999: 331).

Notwithstanding the slow pace of industrialisation, portuguese society was becoming increasingly polarised. The expansion of the salary-dependent

middle class as well as the growing political organisation of the rural and industrial proletariat provided initial support to the overthrow of the regime. The "Estado Novo" would end in 25th April 1974 with a military revolution caused to a great extent by an opposition to the colonial war started in 1961. The Revolution was followed by the proclamation of the third Republic, which in a way brought with it the restoration of the political plurality of the first Republic (1910–1926).

The fall of the dictatorship entailed a search for new forms of social, economical and political organisation. The former ideology based on "Portugalidade" and colonial expansion, family values and the Catholic religion — enforced by propaganda, censorship and secret police — gave way to one based on glorification of the working classes, on the ideal of a society without classes, on what was then referred to as an "exemplary de-colonisation", on freedom of speech, feminism and an alteration of family relationships. The politically motivated ideal of neutralisation of hierarchies, and the proclamation of freedom as the number-one value, supported by the influence of media, generated a major change of values.

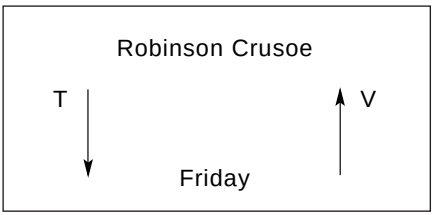
The initial influence of the Communist party and radical leftist groups in post-revolutionary Portugal gave way to Socialist, Social Democratic Centre (conservative) and Popular Democratic (centre-right) minority and coalition governments. In 1980, with the Democratic Alliance (centre right) government constitutional reforms, Portugal entered full civilian rule. From the eighties onwards, the growing power of the media and an increasing verbalisation of all issues brought by freedom of speech also originated the decline of interest in political issues among the youth. In 1986 Portugal became a member of the EEC. This decade proved very important for the general evolution of Portuguese society in the direction of growing openness to foreign influence, increasing support for a free-market economy, and for general improvements in welfare, education and health. It also marked the end of a very serious economic recession.

6. Hypothesis for the Analysis of the Translation of Forms of Address

Applying the four stages of the Brown and Gilman model to the description of *Robinson Crusoe*, the relation depicted in the eighteenth century novel is

expected to correspond to Stage 2 — the non-symmetrical use of the V of reverence and T of condescension. In the social and cultural environment of the novel as well as in the fictional context generated by it, the power factor determines an asymmetrical use between master and servant/slave. Thus, the interaction between Robinson Crusoe and Friday, in terms of narrative clues to their relationship, is expected to be of the type represented in Table 2.

Table 2. The Expected Interaction between Robinson Crusoe and Friday



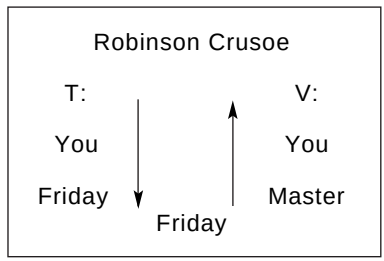
If we analyse the English text, the power relations are signalled by the use of nominal forms of address. In English the asymmetry is created by Robinson's use of First Name to address Friday, and Friday's use of the deferential *Master* to address Robinson. This precludes the analysis of their common fate as a solidarity-generating factor, and marks a social distance also present in the forms of reference used by Robinson.

The analysis of forms of address also reveals an interesting fact about the novel: it mirrors the pronominal use of its implied reader — the novel was published in 1719 — and not that of the historical period corresponding to its fictional context. The fictional context configures the second half of the seventeenth century, for Robinson states: "I came on Shore here on the 30th of Sept. 1659" (64[14]). At that time, *thou* was still in use, and Robinson might have addressed Friday using this T pronoun. However, Robinson always uses *you* to address Friday, and only uses *thou* to address his conscience and God. Only once does he use it to address Friday, and this signals a shift of register by Robinson Crusoe which corresponds to a mocking allusion to religious discourse: "Alas! Friday, (says I) thou knowest not what thou sayest!" (226). Due to its exceptional nature and primary function, this instance was not included in the analysis.

As stated above, Robinson always uses *you* in subject position and the first name as vocative to address Friday: "You always fight the better said I,

How came you to be taken Prisoner then, Friday?" (214). Friday, in what Robinson describes as "broken Words" (218) or "broken English" (222), either uses the noun *Master* in subject position to address Robinson or *you*: "Yes, yes, says he, wish be both there, no wish Friday there, no Master there" (226), "You do great deal much good, says he, you teach wild Mans be good" (226), "What you send Friday away for?" (226). The asymmetrical relationship created by the use of these forms of address is outlined in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Asymmetrical Relationship between Robinson Crusoe and Friday

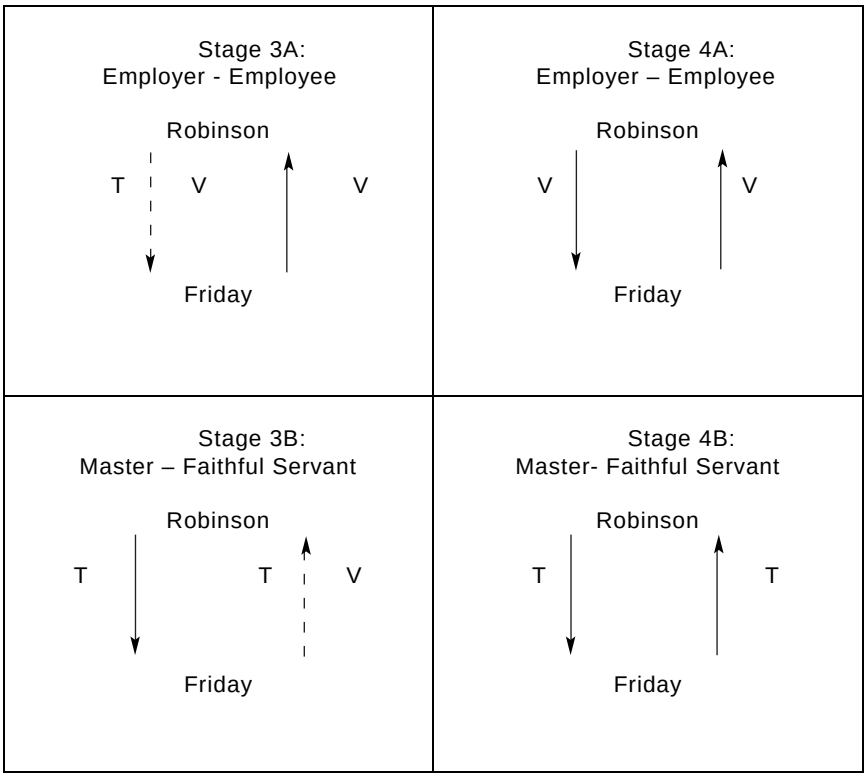


The Portuguese translations range from the last decade of the nineteenth century until the last decade of the twentieth. However, it is not easy to relate the social and cultural environments of the different translations and of their implied readers to the stages suggested by Brown and Gilman (1960). Given the ideological, social and political evolution of the Portuguese society, Brown and Gilman's identification of Stage 3 — the interference of the solidarity factor in power-coded relationships — with the nineteenth century may be arguable for the case under consideration. Therefore, the social and cultural environments of the Portuguese translations may in fact correspond to either Stage 3 or Stage 4 — following Brown and Gilman's proposals. Nevertheless, they may also correspond to power-coded explicit asymmetrical use (i.e. Stage 2 as in Table 2), given the historical evolution outlined above, the conservative political environment and the highly stratified society, with scarce possibilities of social mobility until the mid-1970s.

Slavery was abolished in Portugal in 1869, after an initial ban on trading in slaves south of the equator in 1836. Consequently, the social relations available in the social environment of the implied reader that may conform to the one depicted in the novel are either of the employer-employee or of the master-faithful servant type, referred to by Brown and Gilman (1960: 260).

So, in the social and cultural environment of the Portuguese texts, the interpreter/implied reader/translator can be regarded as likely to draw a parallel between the Robinson Crusoe-Friday interaction and one of the types in Table 4, following Brown and Gilman.

Table 4. Possible Types of Interaction between Robinson Crusoe and Friday



In Stages 3A and 3B, the solidarity factor has already been introduced and causes tension (depicted as dotted lines) because the power factor suggests one use and the solidarity factor another. In Stages 4A and 4B, this tension has been resolved, and the solidarity factor determines a reciprocal use of either T or V.

In Stage 3A, the tension in the employer-employee relation is caused by the introduction of the solidarity factor in a relationship determined by the

power factor. This tension is resolved in Stage 4A by making the employer shift from the power-coded T form of condescension to the V form of formality, suggested by the solidarity factor. In Stage 4B, making the faithful servant shift from the non-solidary V form of reverence to the solidary T form of intimacy solves the tension in the master-faithful servant relation.

Considering the social and cultural environment of the Portuguese texts produced after 1960 (the date of publication of the Brown and Gilman article) it is also important to consider the possibility of a further evolution. This is mentioned by the authors as "the direction of current change" (1960: 261) and is extrapolated from the data provided by their informants on the pronoun use of young people as opposed to that of older people:

> Once solidarity has been established as the single dimension distinguishing T from V the province of T proceeds to expand. The direction of change is increase in the number of relations defined as solidary enough to merit a mutual T and, in particular, to regard any sort of camaraderie resulting from a common task or a common fate as grounds for T. (Brown and Gilman 1960: 261)

The likelihood of perceiving this evolution in contemporary Portuguese is further reinforced by a comment in the preface to a work on modes of address by a famous Portuguese linguist. In his second edition of 1986, Lindley Cintra mentions the need to update his account of the modes of address used at the time of the first edition of 1972. The reason for this lies in

> the significant changes which have occurred in the system of modes of address, related to the transformations which have been operating in Portuguese society since 25th of April 1974 (a great expansion of the area of use of *tu* and *você*, and an even greater reduction in the use of *V.Exa*.). (Lindley Cintra 1984: 7; my translation)

In other words, the author refers to an expansion of the use of T and V pronouns and a dramatic reduction in the use of the deferential nominal form of address *Vossa Excelência*.

The political, cultural and social consequences of the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal have left their imprint on the system of modes of address. Accordingly, we may expect Stage 4B to be the most available model of forms of address for Robinson Crusoe and Friday in the social and cultural environment of Portuguese translations published after the mid-seventies. Before this, Stages 2, 3 or 4 are possible.

7. Results of the Analysis

The results of the analysis are shown in Table 5. The corpus was narrowed down to twelve translations, and excludes different editions of the same translation as well as two conspicuous cases of word-for-word copying.

Table 5. The Results of the Translation Analysis

Year of Publication	189-	1937	1959	1975	1975	1977	1980	1984	1986	1988	1989	1992
Type of version	(A)	A	A	FT	FT	(A)	(A)	(A) (A of 189-)	(A)	A	A A of 189-	(A)
Reference To Translator	TP3 Ø author	TP6	CP4	CP1	CP2	—	CP4	—	CP1	CP1	CP2	—
Stage of Forms of Address	2	3B	2	3B	2	(none)	4B	2	(none) Robinson T2	4B? Friday T1	2	4B

A: Adaptation explicitly mentioned as such
(A): Adaptation not explicitly mentioned as such
FT: Full-Text Translation
TP: Title Page
CP: Copyright Page
N: Position in TP or CP

If we analyse the credit given to the translator, we notice that until 1937 the name of the translator is mentioned on the title page, and in the special case of the well-known author Pinheiro Chagas, in the 189- translation, his name is mentioned but Defoe's is not.

After 1937, the name of the translator only appears on the copyright page. In most cases of explicitly mentioned adaptation (1959 and 1980), the name of the translator is included only after the title, the author or the adapter and the illustrator. In two translations (1977 and 1984), it is not mentioned at all. Omitting their names from the title page therefore graphically signals the translators' second-rank status. This is further weakened by the position occupied on the copyright page, or even pushed to the extreme of omission.

This fact might be indicative of the translators' submission to the source text, and to its implied social environments. Actually, the opposite is true: in

the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth, the translator's appearance on the title page seems to correspond to a strong allegiance towards the patterns of modes of address typifying the source text's social environment (i.e. Stage 2, an asymmetrical power-coded use of forms of address). Nevertheless, the use of Stage 3 modes of address (i.e. tension between symmetrical and asymmetrical use of polite/familiar forms of address) is already noticeable. As the decades go by, the translator is relegated to a graphically secondary position. However, his allegiance to the implied reader's social environment in terms of modes of address is revealed by the use of Stage 4B modes of address, i.e. reciprocal use of familiar forms of address, which are the ones more likely to be found in the implied reader's social environment.

Table 6 outlines the forms of address used in the twelve Portuguese versions of *Robinson Crusoe* included in the corpus. Each translation is classified according to the stage of the general semantic sequence of forms of address that corresponds to the ones used by Robinson and Friday.

Table 6. The Forms of Address Used in the Twelve Portuguese Versions

Year of Publication	189-	1937	1959	1975a	1975b	1977	1980	1984	1986	1988	1989	1992
Stage 2 	Robinson T2 Friday V2/V3 (6)		Robinson T1/T2 Friday V3 (15)		Robinson T1/T2 Friday V3 (15)			Robinson T2 Friday V3 (15)			Robinson T2 Friday V3 (15)	
Stage 3A 												
Stage 3B 		Robinson T2 Friday T1/ V3 (15)		Robinson T2 Friday V1/V2/ V3 (15)/ T2								
Stage 4A 												
Stage 4B 							Robinson T2 Friday T1/ T2			? Friday T1		Robinson T2 Friday T2

The corpus includes five cases of Stage 2 forms of address, indicating a clear parallel to the power-coded asymmetrical relationship depicted in the source text. This may also result from the social environment of the TT, in view of the reasons explained above.

In the 189– translation, Robinson addresses Friday using the familiar verbal form of address marked for second-person singular (T2): "Como foi então que foste preso?" ('How were you then arrested?' 189–: 273) and Friday replies with either an infinitive omitting subject (V2) — also including an oblique form of the third person singular pronoun: "Porque estar em colera contra Sexta-Feira? O que mim fazer contra si?" ('Why you angry with Friday? What me do against you?' 189–: 281); or with the use of the deferential nominal form of address *senhor*: "Senhor tomar, senhor matar Sexta-Feira, não enviar Sexta-Feira para sua patria" ('Master take, Master kill Friday, no send Friday away to his home country'. 189–: 282). In the 1959 translation, Robinson uses either the explicit familiar second-person singular pronoun *tu* (T1) or the verb marked for second person singular (T2) to address Friday: "Não tenhas medo. Aproxima-te! Quero salvar-te!" ('Do not be afraid. Come closer! I want to save you!' 1959: 117) "Mas neste caso o batido foste tu" ('But in this case, you were the one who was defeated'. 1959: 122–3). Friday, in turn, uses the deferential nominal form of address *amo* 'Master' followed by an infinitive verb form (V3–15): "E porque estar Amo enfadado com Sexta–Feira?" ('Why Master be angry at Friday?' 1959: 128). In one 1975 (identified as 1975b) translation, Robinson again uses either the explicit familiar second-person singular pronoun *tu* (T1) or the verb marked for second person singular (T2) to address Friday: "Se a tua nação peleja sempre melhor do que as outras, porque foste feito prisioneiro?" ('If your nation always fights better, why were you made prisoner?' 1975b: 205), "Tu partirás sozinho, Sexta-Feira" ('You will leave alone, Friday'. 1975b: 214). Friday uses the deferential nominal forms of address *meu amo* or *senhor* 'Master' followed by an infinitive verb form (V3–15): "Não querer Sexta-Feira lá e meu amo cá" ('No want Friday there and my Master here'. 1975b: 213), "Senhor ensinar eles bem" ('Master teach they well'. 1975b: 214).

In all of the above translations, the asymmetrical relationship is clearly marked by Robinson's use of a familiar form of address marking a power-coded relationship (T1 or T2 of condescension) and Friday's use of a deferential form of nominal address (V3–6 or 15 of reverence) which lexically marks the power difference between both participants: *senhor* and *amo/meu amo*

'Master/my Master'.[15] It is also worth pointing out that the use of the first name as a form of self-reference, as well as the use of the infinitive (instead of the correct inflected form) and of the nominal form of address not preceded by an article occurs throughout the corpus as a means of conveying Friday's form of English, which Robinson often calls "broken English".

These five cases of Stage 2 forms of address include two adaptations of the 189– translation which were published in the 1980s. Given the prestige of Pinheiro Chagas, the translator of the 189– version, I have interpreted the use of clearly power-coded forms of address as a result of the negotiation between adapters whose name is not even mentioned and the prestige attached to a translation produced by a very well known nineteenth-century author. In the 1984 translation, no name is mentioned for the adaptation of this translation; in the 1989 translation, one can read in very fine print that the adaptation was carried out by the "Serviços Editoriais" (the 'editorial department' of the publishing house). The forms of address of the 189– translation are kept, in my opinion, due to the prestige of this translation.

Interestingly enough, there are two cases of Stage 3B: the 1937 and 1975 translations. In the 1937 translation — published almost forty years before the Revolution — Friday uses both the familiar T of intimacy (T1) and the polite V of reverence (V3–15: *amo*) to address Robinson: "Porque tu tão zangado com Sexta-Feira? Se amo ir, Sexta-Feira ir. . . . Tu matar Sexta-Feira!" ('Why you so angry with Friday? If Master go, Friday go. . . . You kill Friday!' 1937: 112) and receives the familiar verbal form of address (T2: verb marked for second-person singular).

In one 1975 translation (identified as 1975a), Robinson also uses the familiar verbal form of address (T2: verb marked for second-person singular): "Sexta-Feira, não disseste que querias ir para lá?" ('Friday, didn't you say that you wanted to go there?' 1975a: 216). Friday uses several polite forms of address when talking to Robinson: (a) the less-V pronoun *você* (V1): "Porquê você zangado, aborrecido com Sexta-Feira?" ('Why you angry, upset with Friday?' 1975a: 216); (b) the third-person singular verbal form of address (V2): "porquê manda Sexta-Feira casa para meu povo?" ('Why send Friday home to my people?' 1975a: 216); and (c) a deferential nominal form of address expressive of the power relations between them (V3–15: *patrão* 'boss'): "não querer Sexta-Feira lá, não patrão lá" ('No want Friday there, no boss there'. 1975a: 216). In two very emotional lines, Friday uses the familiar T2 form: "Porque mandas Sexta-Feira longe?" ('Why do you send Friday

far?' 1975a: 216) and the second-person singular imperative: "Agarra, mata Sexta-Feira" ('Grab, kill Friday!' 1975a: 216).

I believe this use of a variety of either polite/deferential or familiar forms of address by Friday to be indicative of the tension introduced by the solidary factor in the TT's social environment, since it is not present in the forms used in the ST.

Three adaptations published in the eighties and nineties display a radical change in the power relations depicted in the ST. In the 1988 translation Friday addresses Robinson using a familiar T1 form but, since Robinson's speech is summarised, one does not have access to the form of address used by him. If we consider that this allows us to presume a 4B type of address, then we have three cases of solidarity-coded reciprocal use of T forms of intimacy.

In these three versions, whenever Friday addresses Robinson he uses a familiar form of address explicitly present either in the pronoun *tu* or in the inflected second-person singular verb: "Porquê tu zangado com o pobre Sexta-Feira? … Porque queres mandá-lo embora?" ('Why you angry with poor Friday? … Why do you want to send him away?' 1980: 23), "Porquê tu zangado triste com Sexta Feira, que eu fazer?" ('Why you angry sad with Friday? What I do?' 1988: 44) and "Gostariam de ti porque salvaste a minha vida" ('They would care for you because you have saved my life'. 1992: 27). Robinson, in turn, addresses Friday using the familiar verbal form of address marked for second-person singular (T2): "Gostavas de estar na tua terra, entre os teus?" ('Would you like to be back home, among your people?' 1980: 23).

For the translations that maintain the power-coded asymmetrical use of forms of address, it is not easy to determine whether this results from closeness to the power relations of the ST or from its plausibility in the TT's social environment. However, since the ST's asymmetrical power relationship is the same for all translations and since only the translators and their social environments change, I believe it is possible to interpret the results of this case study as indicative of the tendency to bring the text closer to the implied reader and to his social environment. This may also be corroborated by the fact that none of the translations analysed displays any attempt at historical "colouring/flavouring" by including any items that might be indicative of the social environment and context implied by the ST.

In the case analysed, the translation of forms of address seems to have been influenced by the social environments of the translator and the implied reader. This is especially flagrant in the case of translations published in the

eighties and nineties. They radically change the power relations manifest in the forms of address used in the ST and obliterate the open expression of power by depicting a relationship that is both symmetrical and familiar in terms of forms of address. It seems that the "politically correct" environment influences the way of doing translations: they are domesticated, by reflecting the implied reader's social environment in which the solidarity factor determines the patterns of forms of address.

Appendix: Excerpts of *Robinson Crusoe*

Excerpt I

«I had a Mind once to try if he had any hankering Inclination to his own Country again, and having learn'd him *English* so well that he could answer me almost any Questions, I ask'd him whether the Nation that he belong'd to never conquer'd in Battle, at which he smil'd; and said; yes, yes, we always fight the better; that is, he meant always get the better in Fight; and so we began the following Discourse: You always fight the better said I, How came you to be taken Prisoner then, *Friday?*

Friday, My Nation beat much, for all that.

Master, How beat; if your Nation beat them, how come you be taken?

Friday, They more many than my Nation in the Place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me; my Nation over beat them in the yonder Place, where me no was; there my Nation take one, two, great Thousand.

Master, But why did not your Side recover you from the Hands of your Enemies then?

Friday, They run one, two, three and me, and make go in the *Canoe*; my Nation have no *Canoe* that time.

Master, Well, *Friday*, and What does your Nation do with the Men they take, do they carry them away, and eat them, as these did?

Friday, Yes, my Nation eat Mans too, eat all up.

Master, Where do they carry them?

Friday, Go to other Place where they think.

Master, Do they come hither?

Friday, Yes, yes, they come hither; come other else Place.

Master, Have you been here with them?

Friday, Yes, I been here; [points to the N.W. Side of the Island, which it seems was their Side.]

By this I understood, that my Man *Friday* had formerly been among the Savages, who us'd to come on Shore on the farther Part of the Island, on the same Man eating Occasions that he was now brought for;» (214)

Excerpt II

«Upon the whole, I was by this Time so fix'd upon my Design of going over with him to the Continent that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answer'd not one Word, but look'd very grave and sad: I ask'd him what was the matter with him? He ask'd me again thus; *Why, you angry mad with* Friday, *what me done?* I ask'd him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all. *No angry! No angry!* says he, repeating the Words several Times, *Why send* Friday *home away to my Nation?* Why (says I) *Friday*, did you not say you wish'd you were there? *Yes, yes*, says he, *wish be both there, no wish* Friday *there, no Master there*. In a word, he would not think of going there without me; *I go there!* Friday, (says I) *what shall I do there?* He turned very quick upon me at this: *You do great deal much good*, says he, *you teach wild Mans be good sober tame Mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new Life. Alas!* Friday, (says I) *thou knowest not what thou sayest, I am but an ignorant Man my self. Yes, yes*, says he, *you teachee me Good, you teachee them Good. No, no*, Friday, (says I) *you shall go without me, leave me here to live by my self, as I did before.* He look'd confus'd again at that Word, and running to one of the Hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, comes and gives it me, *What must I do with this?* says I to him. *You take kill* Friday; (says he.) *What must I kill you for?* Said I again.He returns very quick, *What you send Friday away for? take, kill Friday, no send Friday away.* This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw Tears stand in his eyes: In a Word, I so plainly discover'd the utmost Affection in him to me, and a firm Resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.»(206)

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Notes

1. This paper was first presented at the International Pragmatics Conference on Pragmatics and Negotiation, Pragma99, Tel Aviv-Jerusalem, 13–16 June 1999. It was included in the panel "Negotiation and Argumentation in the Context of Translation Theory and Practice" organised by Dr. Christina Schäffner. I thank Prof. João Flor for the careful supervision of my work and Prof. Gideon Toury for the helpful comments on this paper. Needless to say, all remaining flaws are my responsibility only.

2. The ST version of these excerpts is included in the Appendix.

3. In other cases, the translations are, in varying degrees, close to full translations. Thus, it would have been interesting to add the analysis of the interactional characteristics of the conversational exchanges between Robinson Crusoe and Friday, against the backdrop of the power relations set by the forms of address taught by the former to the latter and those

actually used in the dialogue. However, given that this analysis of the conversational behaviour of participants was not applicable to the whole corpus, I decided to confine this study to the analysis of modes of address.

4. Some, like Russian (Friedrich 1960), may portray subtleties not clarified by any of these systems but still functioning within one of these frameworks, which means that the macro-distinctions apply, but sub-distinctions must be added to the model. For other language pairs, different models may be required.

5. Of course, *thou* is still to be found in literary works produced either in historical periods prior to its disappearance from the standard or as voluntary recreations of the modes of address of such periods.

6. "L'évolution de la langue portugaise au Brésil vers une simplification du système de *tratamento*, rapproche cette variété du portugais de celles de l'Angola et du Mozambique, où la tendance vers une simplification se dessine clairement. Le portugais du Portugal, par contre, plus conservateur en ce qui concerne le système des formes d'addresse, garde une gamme diversifiée, complexe et très vivante, de possibilités de modulation de la distance interlocutive. En cela, … il se rapproche des langues orientales avec leurs systèmes honorifiques et s'éloigne des langues européennes voisines" (Carreira 1997: 36–37).

7. This does not imply unawareness of the complexity either of the issue of forms of address as referred to by Jakobson (1960) and Friedrich (1966), or of its translation as mentioned by Lyons (1983: 237–239), Hatim and Mason (1990: 67) and Baker (1992: 98).

8. I thank Prof. Leo Hickey for the suggestion of contrast instead of emphasis (see Hickey 1995).

9. The actual forms thus classified, following this cline, include: [+familiar, –distant]: *tu, você, o-a* + first name; [+– familiar, +–distant]: *o senhor* [first name/[first name] name], *a senhora/Dona* + first name; [–familiar, +distant]: *o* + title, *a senhora Dona* + first name, *o menino* + first name, *a menina* + first name, *o senhor* + title, *a senhora* + title, *Vossa Excelência, Vossa Senhoria*.

10. These are: "the topic of discourse, the context of the speech event; then age, generation, sex and kinship status; then dialect, group membership and relative jural and political authority; and finally, emotional solidarity" (Friedrich 1966: 229).

11. In the final section of the article, Friedrich explicitly comments on this procedure as follows: "… Roger Brown's model of power and solidarity is very valuable, but perhaps more at a comparative level, because if you say that usage in Russian was based on greater solidarity, then you have to explain what you mean by solidarity to account for it. So you end up with the ten components anyway. This is a bit like a phonemic problem in which you can have one phoneme with several allophones and several rules, or you can have two phonemes with fewer rules and allophones. Something like the latter may be much simpler for certain purposes, and that's why I like this ten component system" (Friedrich 1966: 257–258).

12. This may be the reason why Carreira 1997 describes the Portuguese system of modes of address as triadic: *tu/você/o senhor*. I believe the Portuguese to be a dyadic system displaying two unmarked exclusively verbal forms of address, namely the familiar

unmarked form — verb marked for second-person singular, and the polite unmarked form — verb marked for third-person singular. The former co-occurs with the explicit subject *tu* + verb marked for second-person singular (marked for contrast). The exclusively verbal form of polite address co-occurs with either the marked less-polite polite form of address: *você* + verb marked for third-person singular, or the generally marked more-polite polite forms of address: Nominal form + verb marked for third person singular.

13. The main sources for this outline are the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (Joel Serrão, ed., Vols. 1–6; António Barreto and Maria Filomena Mónica, eds., Vol. 7) and *História de Portugal* (José Mattoso, ed., 8 vols.).

14. Quotations from the English version of *Robinson Crusoe* will be identified by page numbers. Quotations from Portuguese translations of *Robinson Crusoe* will be identified by date and page numbers.

15. After finishing this paper, I have found two other previous translations of *Robinson Crusoe*. These versions, which are not listed in our National Library Catalogue, have been mentioned by Isabel Lousada (1998) in *Para o estabelecimento de uma bibliografia britânica em português (1554–1900), Lisboa FCSH Universidade Nova de Lisboa*. The first one is *Vida e Aventuras Admiráveis de Robinson Crusoé, que contem a sua tornada á sua ilha, as suas novas viagens, e as suas reflexões*, Traduzidas da lingoa franceza por Henrique Leitão de Mascarenhas. Lisboa, off. Francisco Borges de Souza, 1785–1786, of which I have consulted a 1816 version re-edited by Typografia Rollandiana; the second is *Vida e Aventuras de Robinson Crusoé*, Versão livre da edição completa ingleza pelo distincto jurisconsulto Dr. Agostinho Barbosa de Sottomayor Juiz de Direito de Primeira Instancia. Lisboa: Empreza Litteraria Fluminense, 1900.
The translation first published in 1785 reveals that Robinson and Friday address each other using the singular polite pronoun *vós*, currently only rarely used but which according to the bibliography was used until the first half of the eighteenth century. In the two excerpts analysed, Robinson does not use any nominal form of address and Friday uses *Senhor* (V3–6) only once. Since this is an indirect translation from a French version, one cannot discard a possible interference of the French pronoun *vous* in the choice of the Portuguese pronoun *vós*. In the 1900 translation, Robinson addresses Friday using the familiar pronoun *tu* (T1) and the verb marked for second person singular (T2). Friday addresses Robinson using the polite form of nominal address *o senhor*.
Therefore, in the first case the two excerpts analysed reveal a pronominally symmetrical relation, possibly influenced by the French version, and portray a nominally asymmetrical one, since Friday uses the deferential *Senhor* to address Robinson. The second translation reveals a clearly asymmetrical relation. Therefore, I would say that they basically corroborate the general tendency present in the twelve versions analysed. Though much more clearly so in the second case, they portray Stage 2 forms of address.

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