

THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF FREUD IN PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT: The first translation of Freud published in Portugal appears to have been a version of the 1905 text *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, which came out in November 1932 named *Sexualidade*. Published by the *Ática Press* in a collection entitled *Scientia Vitæ*, the translator's name – Osório de Oliveira – was, surprisingly, displayed in a prominent position on the title page. A comparison between this translation, Freud's original and a French version by Blanche Reverchon, that had come out shortly before, shows that it was a case of indirect translation, which reproduced many of the characteristics of the intermediary version. For example, while Freud's original enables the reader to follow the thought processes behind his hypotheses and scientific conclusions, both of the translated texts are much less tentative. This paper explores the circumstances surrounding the production of this Portuguese translation at that moment, the translational options made, and the effect of both on the text's reception. Particular attention is given to the domain of lexis – creation of neologisms, terminological consistency and coherence – and modalization, and whether the terminological options caught on and were reproduced in subsequent translations and commentaries.

KEYWORDS: Freud, Translator's Visibility, Manipulation, Vocabulary Creation, Translation Norms

1. Introduction

Sigmund Freud is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the first half of the 20th century. This study of the first translation in Portugal of one of his works has been undertaken out of a desire to stimulate a field of research that is yet to be explored in this country,¹ and which has become particularly pressing in the light of the so-called “return-to-Freud” movement first instituted by Lacan.²

The very first translation of Freud to be published in Portugal was a version of the 1905 text *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. It came out in November 1932 under the

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¹ Freud's work came out of copyright and into the public domain on 1 January 2010, giving rise to multiple editions and translations into a variety of languages, including many critical and/or commented editions. In Brazil, which has a much more intense tradition of psychoanalytic practice than Portugal, there was a broad movement in the first decade of this century, led by Luiz Alberto Hanns, to translate Freud into Portuguese with the aim of producing versions that satisfied contemporary criteria. Hanns refers back to the international discussion that took place in the 1970s: “At that time, the criticisms centred on the psychoanalytic terms used in James Strachey's prestigious English translation, the so-called *Standard Edition, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, which had established a standard for international terminology” (Hanns, 2005, p. 202). See also the account by Birman (2005), who locates the start of the debate a decade later. The English translations are the responsibility of the authors.

² Arguing that Freud's radical insights had been universally betrayed by the International Psychoanalytic Association working with poor translations, Lacan (1977) advocated a return to Freud's original texts and to the essence of his work. In the light of this, see the positions taken by the French translator Gillibert (1983) and by Grubrich-Simitis (1993) in a work suggestively entitled *Zurück zu Freuds Texten: Stumme Dokumente sprechen machen*, translated into English in 1997 as *Back to Freud's Texts: Making Silent Documents Speak*, as well as Hanns (2005), mentioned in Footnote 1 above.

title *Sexualidade*, in a collection entitled *Scientia Vitæ* published by Ática.³ Surprisingly, the translator's name – Osório de Oliveira – is displayed in a prominent position on the title page.

Let us begin by trying to understand why this work was published on this date. The catalogue of Portugal's national library (Biblioteca Nacional, or BN) reveals that in France there was a succession of translations of isolated works by Freud throughout the 1920s and 30s. At the BN there is one copy of a French version by Blanche Reverchon, entitled "Three essays on the theory of sexuality"⁴ (our translation) published by *Nouvelle Revue Française / Gallimard*, which had already been through 23 editions by 1925.⁵

At that time, Portuguese intellectual and editorial circles were very receptive to French culture,⁶ and so it would have been natural for there to have been interest in such a successful work. Most probably, the Portuguese translation was undertaken precisely because of the warm reception that the work had had in France, raising the expectation of profits from sales. The initiative probably came from the publisher, *Ática*, as indeed is suggested by the opening sentence of the preface, "Nota explicativa da intenção do tradutor":⁷

Many would perhaps have been content to merely mention a publisher's commission as a justification for undertaking the translation of a book of this kind. (...) But reasons of a practical nature are not enough, no matter how pressing they might seem, for anyone with a sense of intellectual morality. (Freud, [1905] 1932)

This preface deserves more attention. Far from seeking invisibility, the translator – who liked to espouse worthy causes – is here clearly marking an ideological stance, an attitude of condemnation and repudiation of Freudian pansexualism, which he considered to be "against our spiritual conception of life, which is the child of Platonism, of Christianity and Romanticism (Freud, [1905] 1932). So, if he found Freud's work so offensive to his feelings and moral convictions, why did he accept the commission? Realistically, financial concerns were probably not absent from his decision. However, they may not have been the only reason. At the end of the 1920s, Osório de Oliveira wrote a regular column in the militant magazine *Seara Nova* entitled "Cultura estrangeira" which bore the motto "É preciso

³ Colophon: "Acabou de se imprimir este livro, edição da "Editorial Ática", Rua do Crucifixo, 102 – Lx^a, durante o mês de Novembro de mil novecentos e trinta e dois, nas oficinas gráficas da empresa do Anuário Comercial, Praça dos Restauradores, 24 – Lisboa".

⁴ Original title: *Trois essais sur la théorie de la sexualité*.

⁵ In a note to this edition, the French translator says: "This translation has been done from the text of the fifth German edition. We give below the two prefaces that Professor Freud used at the start of the third and fourth [1920] edition" [La présente traduction est faite d'après le texte de la cinquième édition allemande. Nous donnons ci-après les deux Préfaces que le Professeur Freud mit en tête de la troisième et de la quatrième [1920] édition.] (Freud, [1920] 1925, p. 7).

⁶ With regard to the various languages that have nurtured Portuguese cultural heritage over the centuries and on the various languages/cultures that have simultaneously or alternately influenced our cultural universe (see Hörster, Verdelho, and Verdelho, 2007).

⁷ Henceforth we will indicate only the page number when quoting this work.

europizar Portugal”.⁸ Translating Freud was perhaps one of many attempts to put this motto into practice. In his preface, Oliveira took care to present as a motive for his intervention as a translator the need to disseminate the truth:

Although Freudian theories, and particularly those concerning child sexuality, go against our moral sensibility, causing hurt and offence, we must acknowledge that they clearly contain a grain of truth. Many will argue that we do not need to know all truths, nor are there advantages in it. We, on the other hand, believe that all truths are useful and necessary. (Freud, [1905] 1932)

Who was this translator? José Osório de Oliveira (1900-1964) was the son of writers Paulino de Oliveira and Ana de Castro Osório; his mother was actually one of the first authors of children’s literature in Portugal and a prominent feminist. He himself was a man of letters and a cultural mediator, promoter and disseminator *par excellence*. Self-taught, he entered journalism at the age of 17, and became active in the domain of letters, publishing criticism and essays in the most reputable magazines and newspapers of the period.⁹ He created, directed and copyedited, contributing to numerous literary magazines, journals and supplements, and editing anthologies of poetry, fiction and essays. He wrote a well-known history of Brazilian literature (*História Breve da Literatura Brasileira*), and passionately promoted Iberian cultural dialogue and Luso-Brazilian exchange, giving special (pioneering) attention to the arts and literatures of the Portuguese ex-colonies. He also wrote prefaces for many books, gave talks, made radio programmes and organized cultural events. Though his background was in French culture⁹ and he knew no German, he was interested in German literature, which he encountered through French, and actively participated in the reception of Rilke, Goethe and, later, Kafka in Portugal.¹⁰ In short, he was, in today’s terms, a man of *Lusofonia*, though also a firm devotee of Europeanism. In addition to this activity as a cultural disseminator, he also wrote poetry and fiction, though recognised rather sadly that he did not have the spark of genius.

He also engaged in translation, but without marking out a specific field (such as a particular author, literary genre or thematic area) for himself. Particularly in the 1930s and 40s, he translated historical and adventure novels, classics, and essays, particularly left-wing political essays. He seems to have responded to publishers’ solicitations from all sources, and this may have been the case with the work that concerns us here. The fact

⁸ Cf. *Seara Nova*, nº 130, 27 September 1928, p. 195.

⁹ As well as contributing to cultural journals like *Contemporânea*, *Seara Nova*, *Claridade* (Cape Verde), *Revista de Portugal*, *Quatro Ventos*, *Rumo* and *Cadernos de Poesia*, Osório de Oliveira was a copyeditor, administrator and general editor of *Descobrimento*, copyeditor for *Atlântico*, copywriter for *O Século*, director of *Diário Ilustrado*, frequent freelance contributor to *Diário de Lisboa* and *Diário de Notícias*, and correspondent for *El Sol*, for which he wrote “Letters from Portugal”, to mention only some of the many publications to which he contributed.

⁹ In the 1953 text “O que a França me deve”, he describes “o francesismo da minha formação cultural” (Oliveira, 1957, p. 62).

¹⁰ On 23 December 1956, he published, for example, “Peça em um acto para ser lida” entitled “A visita inesperada”, in which he transported the tragedy of Faust to 1950s Portugal (Hörster, 1985). Concerning his reception of German authors like Rilke or Kafka, see also Hörster (2001, pp. 32-45; 2003).

that his name figures on the title page of *Sexualidade* reflects the prestige that he enjoyed in Portuguese literary circles.

Thus, it is easy to deduce that Oliveira would have translated Freud from French.¹¹ As often occurs with second-hand translations, this one also reproduces most of the denotative shifts in the intermediate version, including some resulting from the translator's interventions in the target text.

He was, therefore, no invisible translator (Venuti, 2008). In addition to the preface mentioned above, which he ostentatiously took advantage of for ideological purposes, he also inserted various translator's notes, sometimes using them to manifest a personal position. For example, when the Freudian text claims that "some of the most notable men were inverted, and even, possibly, complete inverts"¹² (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 80), he comments in a footnote: "Only thus can we understand the cases of Oscar Wilde and André Gide, to name only the two most well-known, prominent and regrettable cases of our time. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 9).¹³

Let us now analyse the translation with reference to both the original and to the mediating French version. This should allow us to glean a better idea of Oliveira's translation tendencies and provide us with data to enable us to answer the questions laid down by Gideon Toury (1995, p. 3) in the context of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) (see Section 6 below). Our analysis will be restricted to three aspects: terminology, modalization processes, and certain ideological markers contained in the target text.¹⁴

2. Terminology

As regards terminology, we will limit ourselves to a few examples, focusing on the following aspects:

¹¹ Evidence of this occurs, for example, in the context of translation of the Freudian term "Verdrängung". In a footnote, Oliveira explains that he chose "compressão", justifying it as follows: "We believe this to be the best way of translating what in French is called «refoulement» and which is also known internationally by this name." (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 42). Another example is the translation of "Schaulustige", for which Osório de Oliveira proposed "voyeur", alleging: "We cannot see any way of translating what the French word expresses so well except by paraphrasing" (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 46).

¹² From the original: "einige der hervorragendsten Männer [...] Invertierte, vielleicht sogar absolut Invertierte waren" (Freud, 1905)

¹³ When Freud speaks of contact with buccal mucosa, saying that "it has acquired a high sexual value amongst many people, included the most civilized" [Eine bestimmte dieser Berührungen, die der beiderseitigen Lippenschleimhaut hat ferner als Kuß bei vielen Völkern (die höchst zivilisierten darunter) einen hohen sexuellen Wert erhalten (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 12)], Oliveira adds in a footnote: "Let us be permitted to note here that the Japanese people, who are also civilized, do not practise kissing and do not make use of it in love." (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 23). When Freud inserts a two-line quotation from *Faust*, also translated into two lines in French, Oliveira not only extends the quotation to six lines, but also adds a footnote: "Quotation from *Faust* by Goethe. We use here Castilho's translation, as is only right." (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 28). There is another case where he recognises a literary quotation in the French text without being able to identify its source, introducing the following note: "This is evidently a literary quotation, though we do not know its source." (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 39). The reading of the German text shows us that this is also a quotation from *Faust I*, verse 239ff., 1988.

¹⁴ Following van Dijk (1998, p. 8ff.), "ideology" is here understood to refer to the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of an individual and the society in which that individual operates.

- 1) concepts that were central to Freudian theory, such as “Abweichung”, “Trieb” and “Verdrängung” (cf. table below);
- 2) examples of terminological creation, required by the newness of the area, such as “libido”, “erotogéneo”, “neurópata”, (cf. table below);
- 3) inconsistency in the use of many of these terms, such as “Abweichung” and “Trieb” (cf. table below).

In many cases, all three of these aspects can be found in a single term.

The following table, which shows the terms chosen by various translators, gives an idea of the extent to which Oliveira’s options caught on. The first column gives Freud’s term or expression (1905); the second, the intermediate version by Reverchon (¹1923, 1925); the third, Oliveira’s options (1932); in the fourth and fifth, subsequent Portuguese versions by Fonseca (1966) and Busse (2000) respectively; in the sixth, the most recent Portuguese version, translated directly from the German by Batalha (2009); and finally a seventh column, with the terms that appear in Laplanche’s *Vocabulário de Psicanálise*, translated into Portuguese with an appendix by the Portuguese Psychoanalysis Society (1985).¹⁵

Freud (1905)	Reverchon (1925)	Osório (1932)	Fonseca (1966)	Busse (2000)	Batalha (2009)	Laplanche (1985)
Abirrungen (p. 1)	aberrations (p. 17)	aberrações (p. 1)	aberrações (p. 22)	aberrações (p. 17)	aberrações (p. 15)	x
Abweichungen (p. 1)	déviations (p. 20)	desvio (p. 4)	desvios (p. 24)	desvios (p. 18)	desvios (p. 15)	x
Abweichungen (p. 4)	tares (p. 24)	taras (p. 9)	desvios (p. 29)	desvio (p. 20)	desvios (p. 18)	x
Ansatz (p. 75)	jeu (p. 174)	jôgo (p. 151)	jogo (p. 185)	começo (p. 112)	instauração (p. 96)	x
Ansätze (p. 12)	tendances (p. 38)	tendência (p. 22)	germes (p. 46)	rudimentos (p. 31)	adições (p. 25)	x
Ansätze (p. 69)	directives (p. 161)	directivas (p. 135)	direcções (p. 172)	pontos de partida (p. 105)	pontos de início (p. 88)	x
erogene Zonen (p. 26)	zones érogènes (p. 64)	zonas erotogéneas (p. 48)	zonas erógenas (p. 72)	zonas erógenas (p. 48)	zonas erógenas (p. 39)	zona erógena
Knabe (p. 9)	jeune garçon (p. 33)	rapaz (p. 17)	homem (p. 37)	rapaz (p. 26)	rapaz (p. 23)	x
Knabenliebe (p. 9)	recherchait l’adolescent (p. 33)	procurar o adolescente (p. 17)	procurava o adolescente (p. 38)	amante de rapazes (p. 26)	amar rapazes (p. 23)	x
Libido (p. 1)	Libido (p. 19)	libido (p. 3)	libido (p. 23)	libido (p. 17)	libido (p. 15)	libido <i>f</i>
Libido (p. 2)	désir (p. 22)	desejo (p. 6)	libido <i>f</i> (p. 26)	a libido (p. 19)	a libido (p. 16)	libido <i>f</i>
Libido (p. 3)	la Libido (p. 23)	o “libido” (p. 7)	libido <i>f</i> (p. 27)	a libido (p. 19)	a libido (p. 17)	libido <i>f</i>
Lust (p. 12)	plaisir (p. 39)	prazer (p. 22)	prazer (p. 12)	prazer (p. 31)	prazer (p. 25)	desejo, but Lustprinzip:

¹⁵ These examples use Oliveira’s spelling, though the emphasis (underlining) is ours.

(continues)

						princípio do prazer
Neigung (p. 16)	tendance (p. 46)	tendência (pp. 29, 33)	tendência (p. 55)	tendência (p. 37)	tendência (p. 30)	x
Neigung (p. 18)	désir (p. 49)	desejo (p. 32)	desejo (or tendência oposta) (p. 57)	desejo (p. 39)	tendência (p. 31)	x
Nervenkrankheit (p. 3)	névropathes (p. 23)	neurópatas (p. 8)	nevropatas (p. 28)	peçoas que sofram de doenças nervosas (p. 20)	doentes nervosos (p. 17)	Neurose = neurose
Neurotiker (p. 22)	névropathes (p. 57)	neurópatas (p. 40)	nevrosados (p. 65)	neuróticos (p. 44)	neuróticos (p. 35)	Neurose = neurose
Nervöse (p. 22)	névropathes (p. 58)	neurópata (p. 42)	nevrosados (p. 66)	neuróticos (p. 44)	nervosos (p. 36)	x
Reiz (p. 50)	excitation (p. 120)	excitação (p. 98)	excitação (p. 133)	estímulos (p. 83)	estímulo (p. 67)	x
Reizung (p. 55)	(cet) excitant (p. 132)	(esse) excitante (p. 109)	excitante (p. 143)	estimulação (p. 87)	estímulo (p. 73)	x
Sexualhemmungen (p. 34)	digues de la sexualité (p. 80)	diques da sexualidade (p. 61)	inibições sexuais (p. 60)	inibições sexuais (p. 57)	inibições sexuais (p. 46)	x
Tasten (p. 17)	impressions tactiles (p. 47)	impressões tácteis (p. 31)	tocar, contacto (p. 55)	contacto (p. 37)	tocar, toque (p. 30)	x
Tasten (p. 17)	attouche-ment (p. 47)	contacto prévio (p. 30)	impressões tácteis (p. 55)	tocar (p. 38)	toque (p. 30)	x
Trieb (p. 1)	instinct (p. 19)	instinto (p. 3)	instinto (p. 23)	pulsão (p. 17)	instinto (p. 15)	pulsão (SPPA: instinto ou impulso)
Trieb (p. 25)	désir (p. 62)	desejo (p. 46)	impulso (p. 70)	pulsão (p. 46)	instinto impulso (p. 25)	pulsão (SPPA: instinto ou impulso)
Triebe (p. 7)	tendances (p. 31)	tendências do carácter (p. 14)	impulsos (p. 34)	pulsões (p. 24)	instintos (p. 21)	pulsão (SPPA: instinto ou impulso)
Überschreitungen (p. 12)	transgressions (p. 39)	transgressões (p. 23)	transgressões (p. 47)	extensões (also estender-se) (p. 32)	extensões (p. 26)	x
Überschreitungen (p. 14)	transfert (p. 43)	transferência (p. 26)	transgressão (p. 50)	extensões (p. 34)	transgressão (p. 28)	x
unbewußt (p. 23)	obscur (p. 59)	ininteligível (p. 43)	escondidas no inconsciente (p. 66)	inconsciente (p. 45)	inconsciente (p. 36)	inconsciente

(continues)

verdrängen (das Normale) (p. 20)	écarter (la vie normale) (p. 55)	afastar (a vida normal) (p. 39)	afastar (a vida normal) (p. 62)	desalojar (p. 42)	expulsar (a normalidade) (p. 34)	(recalcar)
verdrängen (Sexualziel) (p. 17)	détourner (l'acte sexual) (p. 48)	afastar (do acto) (p. 31)	desviar-se (do acto) (p. 56)	suplantar (p. 38)	suplantar (p. 31)	(recalcar)
Verdrängung (p. 23)	refoulement (p. 58)	compressão (p. 42)	recalcamento (p. 66)	recalcamento (p. 45)	recalcamento (p. 36)	recalcamento ou recalque

Table 1. Overview of the translations of key terms in selected versions.

As can be seen in many cases, terms have been suggested that are very different from Oliveira's,¹⁶ the most obvious being "Verdrängung", which is usually translated today by "recalcamento".¹⁷ The word "Trieb", for its part, continues to arouse heated debates. Osório de Oliveira proposed three solutions: "instinto", "desejo" and "tendências de carácter". In the language of psychoanalysis, the term "pulsão" has tended to prevail, as it is the most used in Brazil but, surprisingly, the appendix of the Portuguese Psychoanalysis Society has proposed "instinto" or "impulso". The table also shows terminological fluctuation well exemplified in the case of "Trieb". Finally, as a consequence of that fluctuation, the internal relations between the various phenomena and mechanisms are largely contrived and distorted as, on the one hand, the same German term leads to various solutions in Portuguese, while a single Portuguese term is used to translate various German ones.

3. Freud's scientific attitude: modalization and other aspects

Freud's text offers an interesting example of scientific thinking in a still inchoate and flexible form. His discourse is carefully hedged, moving from observation to the formulation of hypotheses. Indeed, the hypothetical nature of the claim is often emphasised. One sign of this caution is the frequent use of modal verbs, such as "sollen", "müssen", "können", "pflegen" and "scheinen"; the subjunctive mood; modal adverbs and particles such as "wohl" and "vielleicht", and intensity adverbs and particles like "völlig". Freud also made express reference to specific clinical cases, which he used to support his reasoning process. In the Portuguese text, however, many markers of modalization (such as adverbs and phrases of frequency or intensity) are often modified or even eliminated. When we

¹⁶ We should, however, be careful with the scientific appropriation of the works of Freud. Condemning the autonomization of psychoanalysis, Gillibert (1983, pp. 1243-1246) criticises the tendency to make totalizing conceptualizations, which he believes fail to do justice to Freud's literary use of language.

¹⁷ Freud himself discusses the problems raised by the German term "Lust", acknowledging that it fuses two overlapping moments, desire and satisfaction, which in other languages are expressed by distinct terms: "'Lust' ist doppelsinnig und bezeichnet ebensowohl die Empfindung der Sexualspannung (Ich habe Lust = ich möchte, ich verspüre den Drang) als auch die der Befriedigung" (Freud, 1905, p. 83, Note 21).

compare this with the French text, we find that in most of these cases, the tendency derived from there:¹⁸

sollen

Die populäre Meinung macht sich ganz bestimmte Vorstellungen von der Natur und den Eigenschaften dieses Geschlechtstriebes. Er soll der Kindheit fehlen (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 1)

O vulgo tem certas idéias preconcebidas sôbre a natureza e os caracteres do instinto sexual. Assim, está estabelecido que a infância não tem êsse instinto (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 3)

L'opinion populaire se forme certaines idées arrêtées sur la nature et les caractères de l'instinct sexuel. Ainsi, il est convenu de dire que cet instinct manque à l'enfance (...). (Freud [1905] 1923, 1925, p. 21)

The epistemic dimension of “sollen”, with which the speaker relegates responsibility for the content of his utterance to third parties, disappears, producing a formulation in Portuguese that not only eliminates the epistemic dimension but also introduces an assertiveness that leaves no room for doubt.

müssen

Wenn sie [die Perversionen] eine Analyse – Zersetzung – zulassen, müssen sie zusammengesetzter Natur sein. (Freud, 1905, p. 21)

Essas perversões resistem à análise e são de natureza complexa. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 40)

Supportant l'analyse, elles sont de nature complexe. (Freud [1905] 1923, 1925, p. 56)

While the German presents the claim as the result of a deductive process (the second clause is a response to the condition expressed in the first), the Portuguese text makes two distinct claims that are independent of each other.

This example also shows one of the occurrences of denotative shifts introduced in the passage from French to Portuguese: “zulassen” is translated by “resistir” through a misinterpretation of the French “supportant”. This actually distorts the clinical practice, as it suggests that these perversions are resistant to analysis, undermining Freud's whole argument.

können/scheinen

Daß die Sexualerregung in beachtenswertem Grade unabhängig von der Produktion der Geschlechtsstoffe sein kann, scheinen die Beobachtungen an männlichen Kastraten zu ergeben (...). (Freud, 1905, pp. 59-60)

¹⁸ Our commentaries focus upon the aspect under analysis without considering other issues. The numbers in brackets indicate the pages of the editions quoted. Quotations are reproduced in the following order: 1. German source text; 2. Portuguese target text; 3. intermediate French version.

O que prova que a excitação sexual é, num grau apreciável, independente da formação dos produtos genitais, são as experiências feitas sobre os castrados machos (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 116)

Ce qui prouve que l'excitation sexuelle est, à un degré appréciable, indépendante de la formation des produits génitaux, ce sont les expériences faites sur les châtres mâles (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 140)

Freud uses two different modalizing verbs to mark the hypothetical character of his claims: “können” (to be able) and “scheinen” (to seem). Once more, the translation converts the hypothesis into a fact: “could be” becomes “is”.

Verbal moods signalling modalization

Die Klinik hätte uns so auf Verschmelzungen aufmerksam gemacht (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 21)

A observação clínica revela, também, novas *fusões* (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 40)

L'observation clinique fait aussi connaître des *fusions* nouvelles (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 56)

The imperfect subjunctive used as a hedging device is translated by the present of the indicative, which leaves no margin for doubt.

Elimination/alteration of modal adverbs and particles, intensity and frequency markers

Die Allgewalt der Liebe zeigt sich vielleicht nirgends stärker als in diesen ihren Verirrungen. (Freud, 1905, p. 21)

A onnipotência do amor não se manifesta ∅ nunca tão fortemente como nesses desvarios. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 39)

La toute-puissance de l'amour ne se manifeste ∅ jamais plus fortement que dans ces égarements. (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 55)

Here, the modalizing adverb “vielleicht” (perhaps) is simply eliminated, which also occurs in the French text.

Bei diesen Quellen der Sexualerregung ist wohl die Qualität der Reize das Maßgebende. (Freud, 1905, p. 50)

O que importa é ∅ a qualidade da excitação (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 98)

C'est ∅ la qualité de l'excitation qui importe (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 144)

The careful insertion of a hypothesis indicated by the use of “wohl” is thus transformed into a simple affirmation.

Intensity markers

Wir haben aber allen Grund (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 1)

Nós temos Ø razões (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 3)

Nous avons toutes les raisons (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 20)

Auch wer die inzestuöse Fixierung seiner Libido glücklich vermieden hat, ist dem Einflusse derselben nicht völlig entzogen. (Freud, 1905, p. 68)

Aquele que evitou fixar a escolha do objecto por um «lívido» incestuoso, não fica, por isso, Ø liberto da influência dêste. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 133)

Celui qui a évité de fixer le choix de l'objet par une Libido incestueuse n'est pas, par cela même, Ø libéré de l'influence de celle-ci. (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 159)

In both cases, intensity markers are suppressed in the Portuguese text.

Frequency markers

Die Grenze dieses Ekels ist aber häufig rein konventionell (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 13)

Mas os limites dêsse sentimento de repugnância são Ø muito convencionais. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 25)

Mais les limites assignées à ce sentiment de dégoût sont Ø souvent conventionnelles. (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 41)

Bei näherer Prüfung zeigt sich stets, (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 16)

Um estudo mais profundo mostra Ø que (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 30)

Une étude plus approfondie montre Ø que (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 47)

Freud uses the frequency marker “häufig” (often) to hedge the claim, and “stets” (always) to intensify it, but both were eliminated in the Portuguese version.

Another way in which Freud’s discursive tone is altered is through the production of simplified summaries and interpretations:

Es gibt nur ein Mittel, (...) gründliche und nicht irre leitende Aufschlüsse zu erhalten (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 22)

Não há senão um meio de chegar a conclusões úteis (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 40)

Il n’y a qu’un moyen d’arriver à des conclusions utiles (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 57)

Die nächste Vermutung (...) ist nicht nur an sich sehr unwahrscheinlich, sie wird auch hinfällig, (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 58)

Essa hipótese não pode, porém, ser aceite, (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 114)

La première hypothèse qui se présente (...) ne peut être acceptée (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 137)

These alterations result in a discourse that is more superficial, more assertive, more positivistic and therefore less humanistic. With the suppression of nuance and the adoption of a less cautious, and therefore more radical, stance, the Portuguese text undoubtedly becomes more controversial. In each case, the tendency is present in the French mediating text but has been intensified even more in the passage into Portuguese:

(...) ist nach unseren früheren Ausführungen unstatthaft. (Freud, 1905, p. 6)

(...) o que sabemos não ser possível. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 12)

(...) ce qui, d'après ce que nous savons, n'est guère possible. (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 28)

In addition to the ideological dimension reflected in these changes of modalization, other cases of ideological implication deserve attention.

4. Other alterations with ideological implications

We have already mentioned how Freud generally tried to be objective in his discourse, carefully hedging his scientific claims. This does not mean his texts were entirely free of ideological markers. However, the translations introduce new value judgments, motivated by the mental environment of the target cultures at the time, and thus tend to be patriarchal, misogynist, homophobic and socially discriminatory:

(...) Analogie mit dem Akt beim Weibe (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 14)

(...) o acto praticado normalmente sobre a mulher (...). (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 26)

(...) l'acte normalment accompli sur la femme (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 42)

(...) auf Grund der Versicherung dieser Personen [die Klasse der absolut Invertierten]. (Freud, 1905, p. 5)

Essa afirmação fundamentava-se nos testemunhos dos próprios enfermos. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 10)

(...) on s'est fondé sur le témoignage des malades eux-mêmes (...). (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 25)

Die Erfahrung lehrt, daß man bei diesen letzteren keine anderen Störungen des Geschlechtstriebes beobachtet als bei Gesunden, ganzen Rassen und Ständen. (Freud, 1905, p. 11)

A experiência ensina-nos que, nesses casos, as outras perturbações do instinto sexual não são diferentes das dos normais. Além disso, encontram-se aqueles extravios em raças inteiras e em certas classes sociais. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 20)

L'expérience nous apprend que, dans ces cas, les autres troubles de l'instinct sexuel ne sont pas différents de ce qu'ils sont chez les normaux, et que ces perturbations se retrouvent dans des races entières et certaines classes sociales. (Freud [1905] 1925, pp. 36-37)

Amongst the ideological markers, there seems to be some reservations in the target text as to the curative efficacy of psychoanalysis. Look, for example, at how the French and Portuguese hedge the following claim:

Die Psychoanalyse beseitigt die Symptome Hysterischer (...). (Freud, 1905, p. 22)

A psicoanálise pode fazer desaparecer os sintomas da histeria (...) (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 42)

La psychanalyse peut faire disparaître les symptômes de l'hystérie (...) (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 58)

5. Denotative shifts

Mention should also be made to some cases of manifest shifts of a denotative nature, some of which actually alter the scientific content. For example, "(...) mit unheimlicher Häufigkeit" (Freud, 1905, p. 11) is translated by "com uma frequência deplorável" (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 20), which literally reproduces the French "avec une fréquence déplorable" (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 37).

In the following example, there is a claim that is completely inverted in translation:

(...) [Triebe] welche man als *perverse* (im weitesten Sinne) bezeichnen würde, wenn sie sich ohne Ablenkung vom Bewußtsein direkt in Phantasievorsätzen und Taten äußern könnten. (Freud, 1905, p. 24)

(...) instintos que deveriam ter o nome de *perversos* (em toda a extensão da palavra) se pudessem, sem pôr de parte a consciência, encontrar uma expressão em actos imaginários ou reais. (Freud, [1905] 1932, p. 45)

(...) d'instincts qui devraient être nommés *pervers* (au sens large du mot) s'ils pouvaient, sans être écartés de la conscience, trouver une expression dans des actes imaginaires ou réels. (Freud [1905] 1925, p. 61)

When Freud writes that when there is no interference from the consciousness ("ohne Ablenkung vom Bewusstsein" (i.e. when the instincts escape the control of the consciousness), the instincts may be manifested in the form of fantasies and acts that could be classified as perverted. In Portuguese we read "sem pôr de parte a consciência" (Freud,

[1905] 1932, p. 45). Therefore, while the original sees the consciousness as able to prevent manifestations of the perverse, in the translation “consciousness” seems to actively support those perversions.

6. Translation norms

This analysis enables us to respond to some of the questions that Toury ([1995] 2012, p. 81-85) laid out in his programme for DTS, namely the question of translation norms governing the habitual behaviour of translators in specific periods and contexts. As regards the preliminary norms,¹⁹ Oliveira clearly adheres to the norms of the target language and culture, producing a translation that Toury would classify as “acceptable”: in fact, on both the stylistic and ideological levels, the translator has sought to adapt his text to the expectations, values and conventions of the target culture.

Textual comparison has confirmed the hypothesis that this was a mediated translation, proving unequivocally that Oliveira had used a French text as a source. However, we have no concrete information about another preliminary norm, namely the translation policy (i.e. the agents and criteria determining the selection of texts to translate). We presume that the impulse to translate would have come from the publisher as a result of the great success of the work in the French context.

Finally, as regards the operational norms,²⁰ we could say that under the category of matricial norms, Oliveira generally respects the integrity of the text, maintaining all the chapters and paragraphs. The subtitles are also kept, though some of the margin notes (which aid reading by summarizing the main text) have been eliminated. The endnotes have also been changed into footnotes and supplemented by some additional observations which, in some cases, serve as explicit vehicles for the translator’s ideological positions.

As for the second set of operational norms, the linguistic and textual norms, Oliveira follows the French text’s example and produces a text that is rhythmically and syntactically elegant, couched in exemplary Portuguese. From the lexical point of view, his translation reveals some insecurity as regards the specific language of psychoanalysis, which is comprehensible given the innovative nature of the material, and contains many neologisms, some of which are still part of the lexis of the field today, though others failed to make a mark on the discipline.

¹⁹ These have to do with the existence and nature of a definite translation policy and directness of the translation (Toury, 2012, p. 82).

²⁰ Toury (2012, pp. 82-85) divides these into “matricial norms” (i.e. “the modes of distributing linguistic material in the text”) and “linguistic and textual norms” (i.e. the textual makeup and verbal formulations as such).

7. Conclusions

There do not appear to be any other editions of this Portuguese version, which suggests that it did not make a great impact or was deliberately silenced.²¹ A later version by Fonseca (1966), published under the title *Três ensaios sobre a teoria da sexualidade*, seems to have been more warmly received.²²

To conclude, then, we could say that at the time this translation was produced, there would have been no clear awareness in Portugal of the impact that Freud's work would have. There was no real perception of its revolutionary potential or of the vast range of applications that it would go on to have in so many scientific and cultural fields, beyond medical practice.

From the perspective of translation theory, there was, at the time, little theoretical awareness beyond the rather hackneyed and empty ideal of "fidelity", and the practice of indirect translation, via French, was perfectly commonplace and acceptable. Moreover, Oliveira had no training in the field of psychoanalysis,²³ although, as a man of letters with a solid command of French and a great deal of experience in writing, he complied with the demands of the period. He might therefore have appeared to be the ideal translator. The Portuguese version does indeed reveal an excellent command of language, and adheres

²¹ The volume *Sexualidade* went completely unnoticed by *Seara Nova*. This is as surprising as the magazine gave great publicity to this author, and published a review of his work *Diário Romântico* in precisely the same year that *Sexualidade* was published. Neither are there any references to this translation in the 1932 and 1933 issues of the *Diário de Lisboa*, to which Oliveira and other members of his family contributed, nor in *República*. The journal *Descobrimento*, edited by his brother João Osório de Castro, reproduces the preface discussed above in its winter issue of 1931 (pp. 599-600).

From 1933 onwards, censorship became official and fully institutionalised in Portugal. A book bearing a title such as *Sexualidade*, although circulating as a piece of science, was bound to be viewed with some degree of mistrust.

²² There were at least eight editions of this translation between the 1950s and 90s.

²³ After claiming that "Freud is a writer and sometimes a poet who tries to endow the new science of psychoanalysis with a dimension of *parole*, speech, in which literary inventiveness is in the foreground" [Oui, Freud est un écrivain et quelquefois un poète qui tente de donner à la nouvelle science psychanalytique une dimension de parole, de langage, où l'inventivité littéraire est au premier plan.], Gillibert, director of the *Revue Française de Psychanalyse* and himself a translator of Freud, makes a curious observation in his introduction to an issue entitled "Traduire Freud? Le 'Witz'" ["Translating Freud? The 'Witz'"] about the skills required to translate the works of the Viennese neurologist: "Marthe Robert, the first, said that to translate Freud it's necessary to be a Germanist. I am not a "Germanist" but knowing German, I have always thought her right (...) We believed that with Freud, psychoanalysis had created, invented "new" concepts and that all psychoanalytical science should highlight the scientificity of those concepts. Sheer idiocy! The semantic history of the "words" used by Freud only have meaning through the semantic career that they have in German scientific, medical and philosophical language" [Marthe Robert, la première, avait dit que pour traduire Freud il fallait être germaniste. Je ne suis pas "germaniste" mais connaissant l'allemand je lui ai toujours donné raison, ne serait-ce que dans le faux débat pulsion-instinct. On assiste depuis une trentaine d'années à une pseudo-autonomisation de la psychanalyse en science spécifique et régionale qui aurait cependant son mot à dire sur toutes les autres sciences humaines... Cette parfaite prétention relève non seulement des narcissismes exacerbés des psychanalystes, mais encore des idéologies "conceptualistes" ambiantes à notre époque. On a cru que la psychanalyse, avec Freud, avait créé, inventé des "nouveaux" concepts et que tout de la science psychanalytique devait relever de cette scientificité des concepts. Totale idiotie! L'histoire sémantique des "mots" utilisés par Freud n'a de sens que par la carrière sémantique qu'ils ont dans la langue allemande, scientifique, médicale et philosophique.] (Gillibert, 1983, p. 1244).

closely to the French text,²⁴ reproducing not only its textual conventions, graphics and terminology, but also the syntactical alterations introduced, with a frequent displacement of the emphasis.

Overall, the tendency of the Portuguese text is, rather surprisingly, to make the normally cautious and tentative Freud much more assertive (though there are some examples of the opposite tendency, when some of Freud's certainties are hedged). Comparison of the original and mediating versions show that this tendency has come from the French, where it will certainly have been due to the climate of positivism that predominated there at the time, which would have expected firm incontestable claims from science (see Bourguignon, 1983).

Another important result is that the terminology is still tentative, imprecise and inconsistent, with the frequent use of ad-hoc formulations, as can be seen in the table above. This reflects the fact that this was a scientific area under development, and may be one of the reasons why the text seems to have aged, relatively speaking. Oliveira was treading unknown ground here, a potential minefield. The translation of Freud continues to raise problems for specialists today, as in many cases it is impossible to find a single uncontested solution.²⁵ The choices made are inevitably controversial, depending upon the school of medical thought and on whether the emphasis is placed on the scientific dimension of the text or on Freud's humanistic origins, in accordance with the 'return-to-Freud' movement mentioned above.

In our first analysis, we believe that this translation's failure to make a mark upon the Portuguese culture was due to the characteristics of the text itself. However, the main reason may lay in the socio-political environment of the time. The text appeared at a time when the right-wing dictatorship was affirming and consolidating its ideological edifice, with its tripartite slogan of "God, Fatherland and Family". Even the republican sector was very prudish in the sexual domain. In such a climate, a work such as this would have been simply unacceptable.

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²⁴ Beyond the insertion of some translator's notes, deviations from the French text are rare.

²⁵ See e.g. Venuti (2008, pp. 20-25).

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