

**Jeremy Munday
and Meifang Zhang (eds.)**

**Discourse Analysis
in Translation Studies**

BENJAMINS CURRENT TOPICS

94



Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies

Benjamins Current Topics

ISSN 1874-0081

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Volume 94

Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies

Edited by Jeremy Munday and Meifang Zhang

These materials were previously published in *Target* 27:3 (2015).

Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies

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John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/bct.94

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress.

ISBN 978 90 272 4282 2 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 6491 6 (E-BOOK)

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Introduction

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It is now four decades since the publication of the first edition of Juliane House's major work *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment* (1977) and over a quarter of a century since the appearance of Basil Hatim and Ian Mason's *Discourse and the Translator* (1990), heralding the arrival of discourse analytic approaches in translation studies with particular application for translator training and translation analysis. This volume seeks to consider the evolution of the use of discourse analysis in translation studies, to present current research from leading figures in the field and to provide some pointers for the future.

An initial conundrum is a definitional one: what do we mean by 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' and how does the latter differ from 'text analysis'? Definitions abound and reflect the concerns of the different academic backgrounds of their proponents. House herself (this volume) draws on Widdowson's (2007, 6) distinction between text and discourse: text is the use of language for a specific purpose, and that communicative purpose is the discourse underlying the text. Or, as House goes on to say, "[t]he text is, as it were, the linguistic trace in the speech or writing of a person's intended discourse." In their comprehensive *Discourse Reader*, Jaworski and Coupland ([1999] 2006) discuss ten definitions of 'discourse', summarized by Schiffrin et al. (2003, 1) as: (1) "anything beyond the sentence" (from a linguistics tradition); (2) "language use" (from sociolinguistics); and (3) a broad range of social practices that construct power, ideology, etc. (from critical theory). Discourse is all these and more besides. More recently, Paltridge (2012, 1) provides a definition for 'discourse analysis' that emphasizes the object of study as the link between the language in which a particular discourse is expressed, the contexts in which it takes place and the functions it performs:

Discourse analysis examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural context in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well

as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse.

Here we see that discourse analysis is not restricted to ‘what is above the sentence’ or even to an individual text (as text analysis would be), but it is an inherent and dynamic feature of the roles played by the participants and of the worldviews (in the vocabulary of some, ‘ideologies’) and identities that underpin or are constructed by them.

While the interdisciplinary broadening of discourse analysis into areas such as social constructivist theory is well established (see Jørgensen and Phillips 2002), van Dijk (2007, xxiii) emphasizes that “the ‘core’ [of discourse analysis] remains the systematic and explicit analysis of the various structures and strategies of different levels of text and talk.” To be systematic, the analysis of the relation between form and function is crucial and must be theoretically grounded (Renkema 2004, 1). The most prominent linguistic theoretical foundation has been provided by systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday [1985] 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen [2004] 2014), which has heavily influenced critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough [1989] 2001; 2003) and, as we shall see in this volume, has been dominant also within applied translation studies. One of the reasons for this is the applicability of the Hallidayan understanding of language as ‘social semiotic’ that has ‘meaning potential’ (Halliday 1978): at each point in the text there is a meaningful systemic choice, whether it be the selection between near-synonymous lexical items, between ideologically charged naming practices, between different configurations of transitivity, modality or thematic structure, and so on. SFL provides a readily applicable and well known linguistic toolkit for its investigation in the form of register analysis based on three variables associated with simultaneous strands of meaning (Table 1):

Table 1. Register variables and their realizations.

Register variable	Associated discourse semantic function	Typical lexicogrammatical realizations
Field (what the text is about and how the experience is represented)	Ideational, enacts action	Subject-specific terminology and transitivity structures
Tenor (the relationship between participants and the expression of evaluation)	Interpersonal, enacts affiliation	Modality structures, pronoun choices, evaluative lexis
Mode (the form of communication: written or spoken, formal or informal)	Textual, distributes information	Thematic (word order) and information structures, patterns of cohesion

Importantly, register analysis fits within a systematic and stratified model of language as communication in its sociocultural context (see Paltridge 2012). The Hallidayan model uses the term ‘context of culture’ for the extralinguistic socio-cultural environment in which the text is produced and where it operates. The next level down is discourse, which is enacted by conventionalized genres of which texts are individual examples (‘instantiations’). A text is comprised of a specific register in a ‘context of situation’ in which meaning is exchanged between participants. The three strands of meaning (‘discourse semantics’) are expressed by specific lexical and grammatical choices, examples of which are given in the right-hand column of Table 1. Below lexicogrammar is the level of phonology (in spoken language) or graphology (in written language).

These choices are of course also meaningful in the process of translation; they need to be identified, interpreted and translated in an appropriate way with due consideration given to language-specific differences and genre conventions. As a method of analysis, discourse analysis is holistic, dealing with entire constituents of an act of communication. It is a method that studies a discourse in its context of culture, context of situation, its structure and individual constituents. It provides a model for uncovering patterns of choice and relating them to specific concerns and contexts in which the translator works. In preparation for this volume, Zhang et al. (2015) at the University of Macau investigated publishing trends in discourse analysis and translation during the period from the publication of *Discourse and the Translator* (1990) to the end of 2013. Articles were studied from eight prominent and internationally recognized journals of translation studies: *Across Languages and Cultures*, *Babel*, *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, *Meta*, *Perspectives*, *Target*, *The Translator*, and *TTR*. In addition, corresponding to the editorial focus of this volume, articles were also examined from ten influential Chinese journals that publish in the field of translation studies and translation pedagogy: 《外国语》 (*Journal of Foreign Languages*), 《外语教学》 (*Foreign Language Education*), 《外语教学与研究》 (*Foreign Language Teaching and Research*), 《外语界》 (*Foreign Language World*), 《外语学刊》 (*Foreign Languages Research*), 《外语与外语教学》 (*Foreign Languages and Their Teaching*), 《现代外语》 (*Modern Foreign Languages*), 《中国翻译》 (*Chinese Translators’ Journal*), 《中国外语》 (*Foreign Languages in China*), and 《上海翻译》 (*Shanghai Journal of Translators*). Altogether 126 international articles and 102 Chinese articles were identified relevant to the theme of discourse analysis and translation. There has generally been a steady increase in numbers of such articles published, most notably in the decade 2000–2010, reflecting also a growth in translation studies publications in general.

Within the overarching classification of discourse and translation, a wide range of themes and subthemes are covered in this published research. Adapting Hatim

and Mason's (1990, 58) three levels of context (communicative, pragmatic and semiotic), and expanding it to include the extralinguistic context of culture and specific sub-themes, Zhang et al. suggest the following categorization (see Table 2):

Table 2. Categorization of research in discourse analysis and translation

1st Level Category	2nd Level Category	3rd Level Category
Extralinguistic factors	Culture	context of culture and translation
	Ideology	power, ideology and translation (including a second level subtheme of CDA)
Linguistic factors	Communicative dimension	user: idiolect, dialect, etc. (including translation shifts caused by user difference; crosslinguistic difference)
		use: genre and register analysis (including field, tenor and mode and context of situation)
	Pragmatic dimension	speech act and translation
		implicatures (the cooperative principle and Gricean Maxims)
		coherence in translation
		narrative analysis and translation
Semiotic/Textual dimension	texture and textuality in translation	
	textual scale (word, clause, sentence, text) and translation units	
	cohesion in translation	
	thematic and information structure in translation	
	transitivity in translation	
	modality in translation	
	semiotics and multimodality	
	intertextuality	
	appraisal and translator attitude	
	paratexts in translation	

Although sometimes overlapping, and despite publications being categorized according to their main focus only, such divisions into levels and subthemes provide a useful taxonomy for locating and comparing research in this field. There are some evident differences in trends between the international and Chinese publications. Thus, very prominent in the international journals are extralinguistic themes of power and ideology and the analysis of the context of translation, as well as genre and register analysis; in the Chinese journals it is the linguistic (pragmatic, textual) levels of cohesion and coherence that receive most attention.

In general, of the three discourse semantic metafunctions that comprise register analysis, it seems to be the textual metafunction (realized through thematic structure and cohesion patterns) that has been the subject of most research in both sources, particularly the Chinese journals with their interest in the texture of translated texts. Also worthy of note are new themes that have begun to be treated in the international journals: semiotics, the discourse role of paratexts in translation, and, reflecting the growth of digital media, multimodality. Interestingly, the most frequently analysed text types over the course of this period are still literary texts, although there is a growing prominence towards the analysis of audiovisual translation, news translation and political translation in the international journals and news translation, advertisement translation and public notice translation in the Chinese journals. These differences may be indicative of a particular preoccupation with genre and text type and they correspond to some degree to the prominent themes noted above.

(Geographical areas of high research activity can also be tentatively identified by examining the location of the authors of these publications. Considering the international journals alone, the countries which have published the most on discourse analysis and translation are China (24), United Kingdom (18) and Spain (15). Together, these three comprise 45% of the corpus of articles on discourse analysis in the international journals surveyed. Of China's total of 24, thirteen are authored by academics based in Hong Kong, seven from the mainland and four in Macao; when we consider articles published in the Chinese journals, Sun Yat-Sen University in Guangzhou heads the list with ten publications (nearly ten percent of the total).

A study of monographs and edited volumes published in English and Chinese over the same period reveals a slightly different picture: 39 books published in English by 18 international publishers were identified, numbers which since 2000 have remained relatively steady over each five-year period of the survey. Twenty-nine books have been published in China in that time, where the development of the field started about five years later than in the West. The period from 2000 to 2010 witnessed a steep increase in the number of relevant volumes published in China, which suggests sharpened interest in the discourse approach to translation studies from Chinese scholars.

By their nature, monographs can deal with a wide range of text types and themes, and the most common themes in both English language international and Chinese publications relate to general context and to genre and register analysis. Some trends noted in the published articles are reinforced: namely, that the issues of power and ideology in translation, popular in international English-language monographs, are almost completely absent from Chinese publications, which again show a more neutral preference for the study of cohesion, coherence and textuality.

In the case of geographical location, the international monographs in English are headed by the UK and Germany, which together account for 29 of the 39 titles, while the Chinese publications are more widely distributed, the most from one province being six from Guangdong. However, the study's international concentration on English-language monographs is admittedly limited and inevitably hides and understates work going on in other languages and geographical locations.

An observation of international conferences organized by major associations during this period, such as the FIT World Congress, the FIT Asian Translators' Forum (ATF), the EST Congress and the IATIS conferences, show patchy interest in discourse and translation. Notable exceptions were the special panel session "Discourse, Ideology & Translation" at the 4th EST Congress in 2004 and the panel session "In the Footsteps of Ian Mason" at the 3rd IATIS conference in 2009. However, indicative of the growth in the popularity of discourse analytic approaches to translation have been the dedicated conferences and roundtable seminars on the subject. These have been particularly noticeable in China: the International Conference on Discourse and Translation, organized by Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, in 2002, the 1st PolySystemic Symposium on Translation, Interpreting and Text Analysis organized by Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 2012 and then the 1st International Round Table Seminar on Discourse and Translation, held at the University of Macau, Macao, in 2012, which brought together the contributors to this volume. After the Macao seminar, the 2nd Round Table took place at the University of Leeds in 2014, and the 3rd one at the University of New South Wales in 2016. Furthermore, special panel sessions continue to appear at important conferences, e.g. the special panel "innovation in discourse analytic approaches to translation studies" at the 5th IATIS conference in 2015, and the special panel "advances in discourse analysis in translation studies: theoretical models and applications" at the 6th IATIS conference to be held in 2018.

This volume

In some respects, the contents of this volume support the general findings of investigation noted above. Thus, the institutional affiliations of the authors are from Germany, Hong Kong/Macao, Spain and the United Kingdom, plus Australia (renowned for its rich research in SFL) and South Korea; there is the dual focus on Asian and European languages as well as new perspectives on textuality (House, Kim and Matthiessen, Steiner) and on manifestations of power and ideology (Munday, Zhang and Pan, and Schäffner). And there are new directions in the process of news manufacture (Valdeón) and in the construction of online reader identity (Kang).

The first article, by **Mira Kim** and **Christian Matthiessen**, reviews studies of thematic and information structure in translation, focusing very much on a Hallidayan model and its potential to assist in descriptive translation studies. The critical perspective given by Kim and Matthiessen, who combine their specialisms in TS and SFL, covers a diversity of languages and provides an excellent route map for future research into textual meaning across languages. In concluding, they make the important point that the potential of the textual model “would be more powerful when such studies use corpora consisting of authentic texts, comparable and/or parallel.”

Erich Steiner's article precisely illustrates this. Steiner contextualizes the work of his team within the extensive tradition of corpus-based linguistic work in English<>German contrastive studies and translation studies. He specifically describes the methodology of his work on two large-scale corpora developed at Saarland University: (1) the Cro-Cro corpus of multilingually comparable texts (English and German originals), monolingually comparable texts (English originals and English translations, German originals and German translations) and parallel texts (German<>English translations); and (2) the GECCo-corpus, which consists of register-comparable spoken language originals in German and English and register-comparable written-language originals and their translations. These corpora are designed for the investigation of specific linguistic features, notably cohesion. Steiner's article describes the investigation of assumptions about different degrees of local ambiguity in original texts in the two languages, register distinctions between written and spoken language, and differences in explicitness and information density.

Juliane House investigates similar questions in a forceful justification of the discourse analytic approach. She looks at linking constructions (such as after all and in addition) using contrastive discourse analysis of English and German popular science texts, part of the 'Covert Translation' project conducted over twelve years at the German Science Foundation's Research Centre on Multilingualism in Hamburg. Like Steiner, House analyses contrastive and parallel corpora to determine differences in English and German originals and to compare the findings with German translations from English. One of the most interesting features of House's study is the diachronic comparison using corpora from two different time periods. This makes it possible for her to make statements about the evolution of linking constructions in the different types of text and to interpret these within conventionalized discourse orientations in the two languages (English tending to be more interpersonally oriented, German more content oriented), part of an overall project that studies how far such conventional English patterns may be transferred through translated texts.

Three articles link linguistic choices to specific questions of extralinguistic power enactment and translator/interpreter positioning. **Zhang Meifang** and **Hanting Pan** together examine institutional power in and behind the discourse of multilingual public notices in Macao. They use a CDA model enhanced by a toolkit from SFL to reveal the different roles construed by different public institutions. These are enacted by different interpersonal patterns in terms of speech function, modality type and modality orientation. Interpersonal meanings are also central to **Jeremy Munday's** contribution. He draws further on Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory, an extension of Halliday's work on the interpersonal metafunction. Munday casts doubt on the wholesale importation of an SFL framework into translation, arguing instead for the selective use of linguistic tools, honed by their prior testing on existing source text / target text pairs. Specifically, he looks at resources of 'engagement' and 'graduation' as indicative markers of translator/interpreter positioning and 'investment' in the discourse of the target text.

Christina Schäffner uses a framework that takes CDA and socio-pragmatics as a point of departure and draws particularly on the work of Elda Weizman (2008) on monolingual media dialogue. Schäffner's corpus is of high-level interpreted press conferences involving visiting heads of state. Positioning clues between the heads of state include naming choices, formal or informal pronoun selections and turn-taking mechanisms, which are all prone to shifting in the interpreting event and to editing revisions in the published transcripts. Schäffner concludes by noting "the need to combine a discourse analysis with a sociological one, exploring agency and decision-making processes" that lie behind the linguistic choices.

The final two articles pursue this, combining the more linguistically oriented discourse analysis with a more marked, extralinguistic and sociological perspective. **Roberto Valdeón** interrogates María José Hernández Guerrero's (2009) concept of stable and unstable texts in journalistic translation, suggesting that the difference is much more subtle than a simple binary distinction. In his analysis of the translation of specific translated opinion columns in the Spanish newspaper *El País*, Valdeón draws on theory from communication studies and sociology, notably Erving Goffman's formulation of 'frame,' itself open to definitional debate. The incorporation of sociological approaches is also a feature of **Ji-Hae Kang's** contribution. Rather than comparing a source text and target text, she uses Goffman's concept of role in her examination of online readers' evaluation of the translation into Korean of the biography of Steve Jobs. Here, following Sarangi (2010), discourse is one of three types of 'role' (the others being 'social' and 'activity'); Kang studies how individuals variously perform the activity role as 'expert-judge,' 'activist,' or supposedly objective 'assessment evaluator' in their response to the translated text. Kang concludes by stressing how the discourse-based approach permits study of, in this case, translation assessment in cyberspace, "as a socially

situated act that involves an intricate negotiation of meaning, complex workings of power, and a reconstitution of local social positioning within global cultural flows.” Discourse, and the potential performance of various discourses through different interventions and meaning-making selections, is central to purposeful communication, the exercise of power and the construction of identity. We hope that this volume will indicate how discourse analysis in its various forms is a powerful tool for uncovering the processes and for explaining the motivation behind the author’s and the translator’s choices. Translation is a complex, motivated component of multilingual communication in which the translator’s various linguistic and social interventions can be systematically uncovered and explained only with the help of comprehensive discourse analysis built on solid interdisciplinary foundations.

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Ways to move forward in translation studies

A textual perspective

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Discourse analysis has grown in applied linguistics since the 1970s and its application in translation studies became prominent in the 1990s (Munday 2012, 137). One of the topics in discourse analysis that has been given particular attention by translation scholars is the translation of choices within the textual metafunction, with particular focus on the role of Theme and its impact on thematic development in text. A number of studies have generated new insights into the translation of textual choices, for example concerning failures to recreate patterns of thematic progression. The growth of this area of research is a highly encouraging development since it had previously been largely neglected in translation studies (House 1997, 31). While these studies have focused on separate micro-issues in specific language pairs, the present article attempts to conduct a comprehensive review of existing studies on this topic in order to (i) highlight major topics addressed so far and (ii) make suggestions for further studies into this important area of translation from a systemic functional linguistic perspective.

Keywords: thematic progression, Theme, textual meaning, translation choices

1. Introduction

The growth of discourse analysis in applied linguistics since the 1970s, and in the service of translation studies, has helped translation scholars to approach translation as a phenomenon that is organized multi-dimensionally (Munday 2012, Chapter 6). Interpreted in systemic functional terms (e.g., Halliday 1978), one of these dimensions is the spectrum of different modes of meaning — the different *metafunctional modes of meaning: ideational (logical and experiential), interpersonal and textual*. If we see translation as centrally involving the *recreation of meaning* through *choices* made by the translator in the interpretation of the source text

and through choices in the generation of the translated text (Matthiessen 2001), it follows that all modes of meaning are equally implicated: translation involves recreating ideational meanings of the logical kind, ideational meanings of the experiential kind, interpersonal meanings and textual meanings. Each metafunctional mode of meaning involves particular meaning-making resources — particular sets of *systems* in any language — and part of the difficulty translators face is that different languages may have evolved somewhat or even fairly different sets of systems for each metafunction. For example, translators translating between English and Chinese face the challenge of moving between two very different ideational models of time — TENSE (a model concerned with the location of a process in time; e.g., past vs. present vs. future in relation to the ‘now’ of speaking), in the case of English, and ASPECT (a model concerned with the unfolding of a process through time; e.g., bounded vs. unbounded), in the case of Chinese (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, Chapter 7; Halliday and McDonald 2004).

It is probably fair to say that traditionally the focus has been on experiential meaning, also discussed under headings such as representational meaning, denotative meaning and cognitive meaning; textual meaning certainly tended to be overlooked, no doubt partly because, while it is important, it is very subtle and it is hard to detect when the translator’s focus is on words in sentences rather than on texts. However, discourse analysis makes it possible to bring out all metafunctional strands of meaning, as shown diagrammatically in Figure 1, and to investigate if translators “shift” meanings from one metafunction to another and if they prioritize one kind over another as they translate texts from different registers (cf. Halliday 2001 on the metafunctional orientation of texts of different kinds). Here we will focus on *textual meaning* — centrally on choices within systems such as *THEME* and *INFORMATION* that provide the resources for the creation and exchange

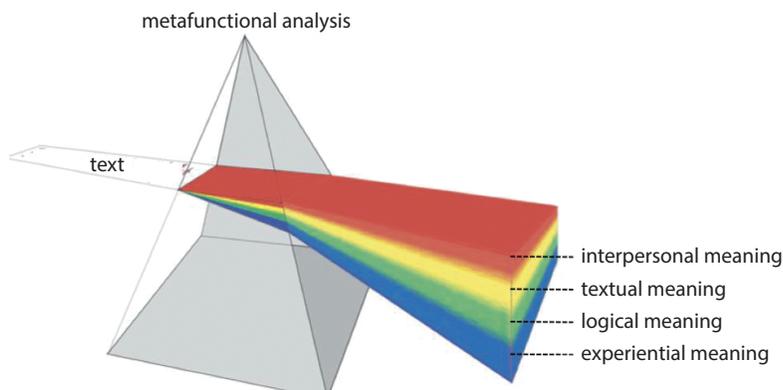


Figure 1. Modes of meaning in text revealed by the metafunctional part of discourse analysis

of textual meanings as texts unfold in their contexts. The textual metafunction is, as Halliday (1978) puts it, an enabling one (cf. also Matthiessen 1992, 1995): it provides speakers and writers with strategies for guiding their listeners and readers, helping them process and interpret a text as it unfolds.

Unlike the static rule-based linguistic approach in the 1960s, the new discourse-based linguistic approach to translation studies started to see translation as a process of producing a text within its context, which inevitably involves a constant process of making choices. As a consequence, textual meaning started to be discussed in translation studies. For instance, Baker introduces thematic and information structures at the level of textual equivalence in her seminal book *In Other Words* ([1992] 2011), discusses the significance of the distinction between marked and unmarked Themes as a meaningful choice by the speaker, and points out how important it is that the translator should be aware of this meaningful choice although it is not always possible to choose the same Theme in the target text as in the source text ([1992] 2011, Chapter 5).

After over two decades of engagement with the textual metafunction in translation studies, the discussion of textual meaning has extended to quite a few language pairs and has developed in interesting ways covering a number of practical and theoretical topics. However, the discussion appears to have been bogged down somehow with problems thrown up without finding ways of addressing them. Thus this article attempts to connect dots created in existing studies in order to make further movement in researching this important meaning domain in translation studies.

2. Studies on Theme in translation studies

In recent years, a number of studies have explored questions concerning the textual domain of meaning in translated texts in comparison with their source texts or comparable texts written originally in the target language. Researchers have investigated to what extent textual choices made in the source text are recreated in the translated text (or texts), and they have also addressed the ‘meta-question’ of the applicability of systemic functional linguistics to this area of translation studies.

2.1 Thematic progression in translations

The most dominant question explored is to what extent the patterns of thematic progression (see, e.g., Daneš 1974; Fries 1981) in the source text are recreated — and thus maintained without translation shifts — in the translated text. Thematic progression is here understood as successive selection of Themes from one clause

to another according to one of a fairly small number of motivated patterns; for example, in English, the first element (Theme in the SFL model) typically contains information already known to the reader, while the rest of the clause or sentence (Rheme) tends to contain new information. Studies have involved translation pairs of English and a number of other languages (see Table 1).

Table 1. Examples of translation studies investigating thematic progression

English	other languages	Registers	Studies
English	Norwegian	fiction: novels	Hasselgård (1998)
		fiction: a short story	Rørvik (2004)
English	Chinese	political commentary	Ghadessy and Gao (2000)
		argumentative essay	Liu and Yang (2013)
English	Chinese and Korean	fiction: short stories	Kim and Huang (2012)
English	Korean	expounding science text	Kim (2007b)
English	Portuguese	fiction and non-fiction	Vasconcellos (2008)

Limits of space mean we are only able to discuss a selection of these studies. Using an English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, Hasselgård (1998) analysed topical Themes of 150 sentences randomly selected from four excerpts from Norwegian novels and their English translations and four English excerpts and their Norwegian translations and found that the great majority of cases (83%) have the same (or an equivalent) Theme in the original and the translation and the rest have different Themes due to inevitable grammatical changes. Ghadessy and Gao (2000) undertook a detailed analysis of clausal Themes in nine English political commentaries and their translation into Chinese and found “a highly significant correlation between the themes in English texts and their Chinese translations in terms of assigned theme features and theme patterns selected” (2000, 461). With a number of translation examples between English and Portuguese, Vasconcellos also argues that professional translators choose “to preserve the original theme and focus despite the constraints of a different target-language syntax” (2008, 63).

While the studies above suggest the general tendency that translators try to retain the patterns of thematic progression of the source text, other studies show that thematic progression patterns in the translated text differ. Liu and Yang (2012) analysed patterns of thematic progression in an English argumentative essay entitled *Of Studies* and 11 translations of it into Chinese, and found that the English text has a particular tendency to favor the use of the T2R1 type (Theme of clause 2 picked up from Rheme of clause 1) while the translations prefer the T2T1 type (Theme of clause 2 picked up from Theme of clause 1), reflecting linguistic resources and means of textual cohesion in Chinese.

In a sense it is not surprising that many studies reported high similarity ratios of matching Themes between the source and translated texts especially in language pairs that have common typological and/or cultural similarities; for many, literal translation should give way to other methods of translation only when it is unacceptable (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995). But what about the cases of mismatching Themes? In fact, it is reported that target readers responded substantially differently to two versions of a short translation with the only difference being Theme choices in a few clauses (Kim 2007b; Kim and Huang 2012).

In this respect, questions that require more detailed attention and analysis, therefore, are: when do translation shifts take place, how do they affect the thematic progression in the translated texts, and to what extent is there registerial variation even within the same language pair (see Section 3.4). Such questions have been addressed in the literature to a certain degree. For instance, Rørvik (2004) found that simple linear thematic progression is more common in translations than in their source texts; Kim and Huang (2012) observed some variation in the translation of marked topical Themes. However, if we hope to explain translation features or choices more systematically in order to provide solid ground on which we can postulate a translation theory or apply it for practical purposes such as training, more needs to be done to build on existing results and to validate findings with different sets of data.

To be able to build knowledge in translation studies in such a constructive way, theoretical and methodological rigor is a crucial condition, without which we cannot make any legitimate claims that will move us forward. We will address this issue in the next section.

2.2 Choice of analytic framework: FSP and SFL

There are two main theoretical linguistic frameworks that have been drawn on in investigations of Theme in translation studies. Earlier contrastive studies of Theme and thematic progression in pairs of languages including English, Spanish, German, Russian and Finnish adopted the Prague School Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) model (see, e.g., Daneš 1974; Firbas 1992). They include Contreras (1976), Hickey (1990) and Nord (1991); for more references see Munday (1998, 186). However, more recent studies that investigate similar questions tend to draw on systemic functional linguistic (SFL) descriptions in a more diverse range of language pairs. They include — but are not limited to — those listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Examples of translation studies investigating the translation of Theme based on SFL

English	other languages	registers	Studies
English	German	tourist texts, academic texts	Ventola (1995)
English	Norwegian	fiction: novels	Hasselgård (1998, 2004)
English	Spanish	biomedical research articles	Williams (2006, 2009)
English	Spanish	fiction: a short story	Munday (1998)
English	Portuguese	fiction and non-fiction	Vasconcellos (2008)
English	Portuguese	fiction: film	Espindola (2013)
English	Chinese	political commentary	Ghadessy and Gao (2000)
English	Chinese	argumentative essay	Liu and Yang (2013)
English	Korean	expounding science text	Kim (2007b)

As Baker ([1992] 2011, 152) points out, the motivation for this increase may be this:

The attraction of the Hallidayan view is that, unlike the rather complex explanations of the Prague School, it is very simple to follow and apply. To some extent, it is also intuitively satisfying to suggest that what one is talking about always comes before what one has to say about it.

This is true to a certain extent, but the Hallidayan (SFL) model of Theme additionally explains more about paradigmatic choices available for the speaker to weave ideational and interpersonal meanings together in a flow of text. For instance, it postulates in the description of English (and certain other languages) that it is the speaker's choice whether to start a clause with a Subject (unmarked topical Theme, in a 'declarative' clause) or with a different element (marked topical Theme). The speaker also sometimes chooses to put an explicit conjunction (textual Theme) before the topical Theme along with a modal Adjunct (interpersonal Theme) to orient the reader textually and interpersonally (e.g., *however*, *fortunately*). These choices are made based on a number of textual and contextual considerations — and they vary from one register to another according to the nature of the context. As a result, this model enables researchers to explore textual issues systematically in relation to context. In addition, in SFL, grammatical features at the *clause* level are always investigated in order to understand semantic features at the *text* level. This is why clausal Theme analysis may not be meaningful from a systemic functional point of view if it is not interpreted against the background of thematic progression.

However, in spite of the fact that there are differences in the SFL and FSP frameworks, both have made significant contributions to the understanding of

how texts are developed as a flow of information — a discursive flow — and we, as researchers, need to choose one that suits our own research questions. However, when we choose SFL as the framework to be used in investigating the translation of textual meaning, there are certain theoretical and methodological implications that researchers need to take into account. We will discuss them in Section 3.

3. Implications of the choice of SFL

3.1 Implication (1): Theory and descriptions

While the metafunctional organization of language is part of the *theory* of human language in general and thus a property of any given language, the textual systems of a particular language are not ‘universal’ — they have to be motivated in the *description* of that language (Matthiessen and Nesbitt 1996). Even languages that would appear to be very close may embody differences that are challenges to translators, and how they are handled needs to be investigated through discourse analysis. For instance, among Germanic languages, English is the odd one out as far as the system of THEME is concerned (and in other areas too, of course): it has departed from the Germanic principle that there is one element in the clause that serves as Theme, and this element is followed by the Finite (in a ‘declarative’ clause), which thus serves to demarcate the Theme. An example, from a short story by Heinrich Böll, would be the German clause *Zum Glück hatten meine Eltern mir Geld hinterlassen* (‘luckily had my parents me money left:behind’), with *zum Glück* before the Finite; this was translated into English as *Luckily my parents had left me some money*, with *luckily my parents* before the Finite.¹ Unlike other Germanic languages, English has evolved a potential for multiple Themes, very much like Romance languages.

Similarly, among languages spoken in Europe, which of course often appear in translation pairs (and so in translation studies), there is considerable variation in the system of VOICE, a phenomenon to which Mathesius (e.g., 1975) had already drawn attention, noting that the ‘passive’ is relatively more frequent in discourse in English than in a number of other languages. Such differences cannot be seen in isolation; they have to be viewed in relation to other textual systems, for example the system of (topical) THEME SELECTION and the relative frequency of

1. This has been called the “verb-second constraint” in the typological literature; see also House (this volume). For discussion in relation to Norwegian, see Hasselgård (2004); she adopts a different descriptive interpretation of Norwegian from that we have hinted at here for Germanic languages in general (other than English).

‘marked’ vs. ‘unmarked’ Theme. Thus a ‘passive’ clause with an ‘unmarked’ Theme in English may be translated by an ‘active’ clause with a ‘marked’ Theme in another language such as German or Chinese.²

3.2 Implication (2): Descriptions supporting analyses

The textual analysis of both original texts and translated texts presupposes descriptions of the textual systems of the relevant languages: reliable and systematic analysis of texts in a particular language cannot be carried out until we have a relevant description of that language (see, e.g., Matthiessen 2013). The range of languages described in systemic functional terms has grown steadily (see, e.g., Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen 2004; Teruya and Matthiessen 2015). As these descriptions are based on evidence from text in context and are oriented towards meaning, they are important resources for discourse analysis in translation studies. Indeed, they include quite a few comprehensive accounts of the languages that have been the focus of translation studies (e.g., in addition to English, there is Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Telugu, Arabic, German, Danish, Swedish, French, Spanish), but there are still gaps in the availability of fairly comprehensive systemic functional descriptions of some other prominent translated languages, including Korean, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and Norwegian.

Thus researchers are faced with a challenge when they need to undertake text analysis of original texts and translated texts but without the benefit of previously developed description. This was the challenge one of us, Kim, faced in her investigation of translations between English and Korean since there was no systemic functional description of Korean. The only principled way of meeting such a challenge is, of course, to undertake the task of developing a description that can support text analysis. Thus Kim (2007a) studied how Theme works in Korean using a small-scale corpus and found that elliptical subjects play a vital role in contributing to thematic progression and creating a cohesive text. Describing how different kinds of Theme work paradigmatically in a system network, she suggests that it is not always straightforward to find clausal Themes in Korean and therefore it is crucial to identify them considering the thematic progression of the text.

2. This has often been characterized in terms of “word order” with the claim that English has relatively fixed word order whereas languages such as German, Russian and Japanese have relatively free word order; but this is a misinterpretation of the situation, as argued by Halliday (1985). The issue is not whether the “word order” of a language is free or fixed; instead it is which metafunctions use “word order” as a medium of realization (Matthiessen 2004). When a language is described as having relatively “free word order,” this tends to mean that the sequence of elements in the clause is determined by textual considerations such as the choice of Theme and of the Focus of New information.

To be able to use existing descriptions of particular languages to advance translation studies, researchers must spell out the methodology taken, such as the domain of analysis (clause complex or clause) and the method of theme identification in all the languages involved. So far it is not uncommon for a researcher not to provide a full methodological specification. In fact, it would not be easy to do so when the language concerned has not been described in systemic functional terms. However, it is disappointing when studies that deal with languages that have been described in the SFL framework do not refer to the relevant descriptions. There may of course be some variation among descriptions, arising from the nature of the data considered and the method of analysis adopted. Even so, it is still crucial to mention whether a particular model or a mixed method has been adopted and why. This is where a true collaboration can start between SFL and translation studies, which has been called for by various scholars (e.g., Taylor 1993; Munday 1998; Kim 2007b).

3.3 Implication (3): Focus on meaning

Translation is the recreation of meaning in context. Therefore it involves choices among semantic options in the first instance, and the primary unit of translation is the text since it is the basic unit of meaning. Comparable meanings in languages may be realized lexicogrammatically by different patterns of wording. Therefore, in translation it is important to focus on the recreation of meaning rather than the recreation of wording. This has been investigated in terms of the interpersonal metafunction in various linguistic traditions, including the speech-act realization project and studies of politeness (for a summary and discussion also of systemic functional work, see Matthiessen, Teruya and Wu 2008).

Although the same principle may not yet have been studied and highlighted to the same extent in relation to the textual metafunction, this principle also applies here; in fact, the early theoretical and methodological contribution by Martin (1983) was concerned with the textual semantic system of referent (participant) identification. He showed how languages may use fairly different lexicogrammatical ways of pursuing the same semantic task of introducing and tracking referents in discourse. In translation studies, there has been a concern with referent tracking since even relatively close languages have different grammatical “mechanisms,” as illustrated for the function of Subject in Table 3. For example, translators translating from languages where Subjects are obligatory in the structure of the clause into languages where Subjects are optional will always have to choose whether to leave the subject referent implicit or make it explicit, and the choice will depend on the textual status of the subject referent — whether it is identifiable or not, whether it is thematic or rhematic, whether it is given or new information, whether it is

continuous or contrastive (e.g., Munday 1998). Consideration of textual status will help determine how strong or salient the reference strategy should be (cf. Givón 1983). For example, in an English narrative with a sequence of continuous references *she ... she ... she ... she ... she ...*, which should be translated in Chinese by implicit reference (Subject structurally absent) or which (if any) by *ta* (the third person singular pronoun, ‘she/he/it’)?

Table 3. Grammatical strategies for tracking referents serving as Subject — examples of languages

	Subject obligatory ³	Subject optional
+ verb agreement	German, Dutch, English; French	Spanish, Italian; Russian; Arabic
– verb agreement	Danish, Norwegian, Swedish	Chinese; Japanese; Korean; Thai; Vietnamese

3.4 Implication (4): Focus on registerial variation in meaning

Meaning is always meaning in context, which is of fundamental importance in translation; the system of meaning, the semantic system, is the interface between language and what lies outside language in terms of content (see Halliday 1973, for a foundational characterization of semantics as an “interlevel”). Choices in meaning are made according to the context of use in which texts operate — which is a central feature of House’s (e.g., 1997) framework for the assessment of translation quality; and they vary according to the nature of the context of use. This is the kind of linguistic variation that has come to be known as register variation (see, e.g., Hasan 1973; Halliday 1978; Matthiessen in press).

A register is thus a functional variety of language, and it is a semantic variety in the first instance; it is, as Halliday (e.g., 1978) has put it, the meanings that are at risk in a particular type of context. Thus, when people translate, they translate texts belonging to (instantiating) one register or another; they focus on the meanings that are at risk in a given register, and translators prefer to specialize in some particular range of registers (e.g., literary translation, legal translation, scientific translation) if they can afford to. The importance of taking register into account in translation and translation studies has of course been spelled out by various scholars under headings such as ‘register,’ ‘text type,’ ‘genre’ and even ‘style’ (e.g., Snell-Hornby 1995); and in a series of studies, Steiner (e.g., 2004, 2005) has used the systemic functional notion of register to illuminate translation phenomena.

3. In ‘indicative’ clauses that are not open to the possibility of structural ellipsis in clause complexes.

Like the other metafunctional modes of meaning, textual meaning is subject to register variation: textual systems adapt to the nature of the context that they operate in, and the registerial conventions may have evolved in somewhat different ways for different languages. There are some fairly recent studies of relevance to registerial differences in textual systems between source and target languages. Williams (2009) has compared the “discussion” part of Spanish medical research articles and Spanish translations of comparable English texts and finds that “Spanish texts showed a highly cohesive thematic pattern [...] whereas the translations, influenced by the source texts, contained comparatively more distance links, thus creating thematic ‘jumps’” (225). Based on the findings, he suggests a series of strategies that aim to help the translator to translate in line with typical thematic development in Spanish medical research articles. Sanz (2003) focuses on the frequency of connectors, which are a kind of textual Theme, in English translations of Spanish tourist texts and finds that the frequency of connectors is higher in the English translations than in comparable texts originally written in English, but the frequency is lower when it is compared with that of its original Spanish texts. She argues that “this middle-way attitude on the part of translators may constitute an instance of what Duff (1981) and Frawley (1984) call the ‘third code,’ according to which translation creates a unique form of communication, the result of negotiation between two linguistic and cultural systems” (Sanz 2003, 304). Røvik (2004) also observes a higher portion of similar linear thematic progression in the translation than in the source text and suggests that it agrees with Baker’s view that explication and simplification are universal features of translated texts (Baker 1993, 243–244).

4. Conclusion

In this article we have discussed major issues addressed in the existing studies that investigated the choices of Theme and their impact on the thematic progression in translated texts. We have also discussed a few but important implications that follow from the choice of a systemic functional linguistic framework in exploring the topic, which used to be marginalized in translation studies.

Our comprehensive review appears to indicate that translation studies have reached a point where a branch of systematic descriptive translation studies called for by Toury ([1995] 2012) can be developed on firm ground. It is essential at this point to establish a methodology, which must be more rigorous than what Toury has proposed. Munday (1998, 183–184) points out its limitation critically:

The important consideration of the text within its culture echoes the Hallidayan notion of Context of Culture, yet Toury in many ways fails to link this systematically to the second step of methodology, since the decision of what exactly to look at and what the relationships are between the generally small ST and TT segments is done on a mainly ad-hoc basis.

Munday then explains one of his research aims and why he draws on systemic functional framework:

One of the aims of my work has been to suggest a more objective apparatus for such descriptive studies by using a systemic functional grammar approach to compare the realization of the metafunctions in the ST and TT, allied to tools from corpus linguistics, which would enable accurate and rapid analysis of many surface features. In this way, shifts at the level of the metafunctions should be identifiable and hypotheses formed as to why these have occurred. Because of the systemic link in systemic functional linguistics between lexicogrammar, discourse semantics and genre, the shifts can also be related to the Context of Culture and Context of Situation in which both the author and translator work. (184)

We certainly agree that SFL can serve as a solid theoretical framework for systematic descriptive translation studies as it has done for a number of other fields of the discipline. It would be more powerful when such studies use corpora consisting of authentic texts, comparable and/or parallel. To develop translation studies further as an evidence-based area of research, however, we need to openly and actively discuss any specific methodological difficulties as well as how they have been resolved in the study concerned and why (e.g., Munday 1998; Kim 2011). We can then add a fourth step to Toury's three steps: that is "repeating" the three steps "to build up a descriptive profile of translations according to genre, period, author etc." (Munday 2012, 170).

Manual discourse analysis is labour-intensive. Thus it is necessarily restricted to fairly small samples of text, unless we can do more to provide a framework for collective research involving teams of researchers around the world with expertise in the investigation of different translation pairs. Such a framework is in a sense already under development thanks to researchers working with computational tools designed to carry out automatic analysis of large corpora of parallel and comparable texts: there is now considerable experience with and expertise in the design and use of such multilingual corpora in carrying out systemic functional translation studies — see in particular Teich (2003) and Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner (2012). Collaboration involving research teams around the world is also supported both by ongoing efforts in internationalization and by the increasing value placed on data sharing, both by communities of researchers and by funding agencies — and in fact not only on data sharing but also on the sharing

of analyses. It is thus possible to envisage the development of multi-registerial and multilingual corpora of parallel and comparable texts where different metafunctional strands of analysis are added over time in a cumulative fashion, based on shared conventions for annotation. The analysis will involve both manual and automated analysis, ensuring a balanced complementarity (see Wu 2009). With this kind of concerted, collaborative effort, it will be possible to create the conditions for real breakthroughs in our understanding of the translation of textual meaning alongside the translation of the other metafunctional modes of meaning in an interestingly varied and large set of languages.

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Contrastive studies of cohesion and their impact on our knowledge of translation (English-German)

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This article starts from the claim that knowledge about contrastive systems of cohesion and textual instantiations of these systems between English and German is important for translation, but that this knowledge is still fragmentary and insufficiently supported by empirical studies. This claim will be followed by three generalizing assumptions about contrastive differences in English-German cohesion which relate to (1) different degrees of local encoding of ambiguity in texts in terms of co-reference, (2) different degrees of registerial distinctions along the written-spoken and formal-informal distinctions, and (3) different orientations of discourses along the explicitness and information-density dimensions. These assumptions are being tested in corpus-based work in our group, and the currently available results will be summarized. The summary will be followed by a discussion and exemplification of implications for translation in both directions between English and German. As will be seen, an awareness of the main differences between English and German cohesion, between registers within these two languages and between written and spoken modes in particular are an important background for guiding translation strategies.

Keywords: contrastive cohesion English-German, corpus-based translation studies, registers in translation

1. Introduction

An understanding of contrasts in cohesion as a core aspect of textuality is an essential prerequisite for modelling translation. Currently there are overviews of English-German contrastive grammar, some fragmentary knowledge about the lexical systems, and there is a relevant background of text linguistics available for the two languages separately. For contrastive cohesion, though, we only

find studies of individual phenomena, but with insufficient empirical foundation. There is currently no integrated picture of the contrastive linguistic facts or of the implications for translation methodology.

There is a long-standing relationship between translation studies and linguistics as one of the former's theoretical backgrounds (cf. Fawcett 1997). Contrastive linguistics has been particularly important for the language-pair English-German (Hawkins 1986; House 1997; Leisi and Mair 2008; König and Gast 2012; Fischer 2013), and quite often explicitly so for translation (Matthiessen 2001; Doherty 2002; Teich 2003; Neumann 2003; Hansen 2003; Steiner 2004; Königs 2011). Contrastive generalizations about (lexico-)grammar include a more direct mapping of semantics onto lexicogrammar in German (Hawkins 1986; with more differentiated and partly critical views in König and Gast 2012; Fischer 2013; and, from a systemic functional perspective, Steiner and Teich 2004), as well as far-reaching differences in word-order and information structure. Extending the perspective to text linguistics, there is a tradition with an orientation towards teaching applications (Siepmann et al. 2008). For translation, Blum-Kulka (1986) showed the general importance of contrasts in cohesion between different language pairs, well recognized in textbooks on translation (Hatim and Mason 1990, 192; Baker 1992, 180; Munday 2012). Some authors claim that German readers expect more explicit cohesion than English readers generally (Königs 2011, 72). Fabricius-Hansen (1996) assumes different degrees of information density between texts in the two languages, Doherty (2002 and earlier) argues for basic differences in information structure and discusses implications for cohesion in translation. Becher (2011, 125) raises questions of contrastive cohesion within a discussion of 'explicitation' in translation. Kunz (2009) focusses on cohesive co-reference in different registers. The current article continues this line of research based on recent findings coming out of our group's corpus-based studies in contrastive cohesion. Its major goal is a discussion of some implications for translation between English and German, implications which have a bearing less on the translation of individual instances and more on preferential strategies for translating cohesive patterns across entire texts and registers.

2. Some assumptions about contrastive differences in cohesion

Knowledge of contrastive cohesion yields some types of added value for translation over and above knowledge of contrastive 'lexicogrammar.' To start with, a focus is developed on *links across grammatical domains*, rather than on lexical and grammatical 'cues' as phenomena local to clause-complexes (traditionally often referred to as 'sentences'). Lexicogrammatical cues are then seen as signals

for processing the semantic (cohesive) relations across discourse units crucial for textuality. Furthermore, the resolution of antecedent-anaphor-links comes into focus, something highly important for investigating translation units in process-based studies (Alves et al. 2010). Finally, assumptions about pragmatically relevant global discourse properties can be tested directly in terms of cohesion, yielding important background information about contrasting registerial norms and thus constituting essential input in guiding translation (and evaluation) methodologies.

Our focus here will be on register and mode distinctions in terms of cohesion, on some pragmatically relevant global discourse properties, and on phenomena of ambiguity in cohesive co-referential links, all of these in a contrastive perspective. The following *three assumptions* are made:

1. Due to the more differentiated and transparent morphological encoding of the greater part of German grammar (Hawkins 1986, 16) and particularly within cohesive pro-forms and their constraining local 'predicative' contexts (cf. Eckert and Strube 2000 and Examples (3) and (4) below for illustration and discussion), fewer morphosyntactically-caused local ambiguities in antecedent-pro-form links are expected in German than in English. For translations from English into German, we expect a reduction of antecedent-pro-form ambiguity, possibly also changes in the linking itself (type of link, referents involved) — beyond possible 'explicitations' arising out of the translation process.

Assumption 1 does not claim that the *overall processing ambiguity of discourse* is higher for English than for German. The morphosyntactic encoding of cohesive devices is only one among many factors contributing to processing ambiguities (cf. Levinson 2000, 29; Ariel 2001; Eckert and Strube 2000, for accounts of inferencing and implicature). However, as Doherty (2002, 81) argues strongly, it is important to be aware of how English discourses balance out the local ambiguity caused by the weaker morphosyntactic marking of cohesive devices.

2. Distinctions along the register dimensions of *written vs. spoken*, and *formal vs. colloquial* may be weaker in English than in German (Mair 2006, 183; Leech et al. 2009, 20, 239; Collins 2012).
3. German and English vary along dimensions such as *explicitness vs. implicitness* and *information-density vs. information spreading* (cf. House 1997, 84; Fabricius-Hansen 1996; Steiner 2005), as is often suggested in contrastive and intercultural pragmatics. Information density may be spread differently across grammatical ranks and cohesion, rather than simply being globally different (cf. also Fetzer and Speyer 2012).

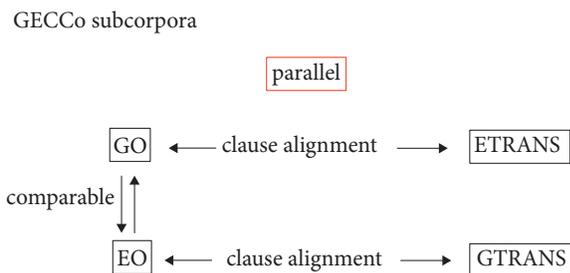
Assumption 1 will be argued for and illustrated with the help of corpus examples in Section 4.1. Assumptions 2 and 3 will be tested against the background of our results summarized in Section 3.2, with implications for translation discussed in Section 4.

3. Some results from a corpus-based study

3.1 A corpus architecture for studying contrasts in English-German cohesion

Understanding cohesion requires knowledge about texts as they are provided in text corpora. The corpus on which this article is based has been extensively described elsewhere (cf. Amoia et al. 2012 for the GECCo-corpus; for the earlier and more grammatically-oriented CroCo-corpus, cf. Hansen-Schirra et al. 2012). An outline of its architecture is given here, together with a high-level summary (3.2.) of findings relevant for our present context.

The GECCo-corpus consists of register-comparable originals of *spoken* language (approximately 0.4 million words) and register-comparable originals and their translations of *written* language (approximately 1.0 million words, see Figure 1). The spoken data are from academic registers (lectures, seminars), with data from interviews and talk shows being currently integrated into the corpus. The written data are from eight registers: Popular Science, Tourism, Prepared Speeches, Political Essays, Fiction, Corporate Communication, Instruction Manuals, Web Pages (110 English originals (EO) and their German translations (GTrans), 121 German originals (GO) and their English translations (ETrans)). The sub-corpora are all balanced for word-length. A sub-set of the CroCo-corpora is additionally aligned for translationally related units. More recently, sub-corpora of the GECCo-version have been annotated for cohesive relations, including co-referential chains. To extract frequency information on the occurrence of cohesive categories in these sub-corpora, we use all the annotations available in GECCo, including information on tokens, lemmas, morphosyntactic features (e.g., case, number, etc.), parts of speech, grammatical chunks along with their syntactic functions, clauses, and sentence boundaries. The annotation of the written sub-corpora was partly imported from CroCo, whereas for the spoken part, the Stanford Part-Of-Speech Tagger (Toutanova et al. 2003) and the Stanford Parser (Klein and Manning 2003) were used. The corpus is encoded in the Corpus Workbench format (CWB 2010) and can be queried with Corpus Query Processor (CQP; Evert 2005). The annotation levels of GECCo provide information on cohesive types, in addition to the lexicogrammatical information already represented in CroCo. A large sub-part of the corpus can be queried under <https://fedora.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/cqpweb/>.



GECCo annotation levels

- 1) word: word, lemma, pos
- 2) chunk: sentences, syntactic chunks, clauses, cohesive devices
- 3) text: registers
- 4) extralinguistic: register analysis, speaker information

Corpus size: approx. 1.4 million words

Figure 1. GECCo Architecture (modified from Kunz and Lapshinova-Koltunski 2014)

The earlier CroCo-corpus is designed as a source of empirical data on register variation language-internally, for the study of originals and their translations in both directions, and for the study of originals and translations of the same register within a language (cf. Hansen-Schirra et al. 2012). This earlier strand of work focused on lexicogrammatical features as indicators of properties of translated texts, whereas more recently our focus has shifted to contrastive studies of cohesion in English and German on the basis of the extended GECCo-corpus. Multivariate statistical analyses so far include descriptive analyses (patterns of frequencies of cohesive devices and some chains), unsupervised correspondence analyses, and finally evaluations of distinctive features through supervised classifications based on SVMs (support vector machines). Methodological details about the multivariate statistical evaluation are currently being published in Kunz et al. (2017) and in Kunz and Lapshinova-Koltunski (2014).

3.2 Some early findings

3.2.1 Systemic comparison

The major underlying framework for classifying cohesive devices and relations is Halliday and Hasan (1976). Kunz and Steiner (2012) diagnosed a more explicitly developed *system* of personal and demonstrative *reference* in German compared to

English and a tendency towards more explicitness in German *texts*. For *substitution*, Kunz and Steiner (2013) found a globally richer repertoire of the English system, and additionally higher frequencies of instantiation in texts. For *conjunctive relations*, Kunz and Lapshinova-Koltunski (2014) report substantial contrasts in the inventory of conjunctive devices (analytic vs. synthetic, demonstrative vs. other), their structural and syntactic properties, the semantic relations they trigger, and in explicitness and density of encoding. This is not (yet) the same as finding a thorough global preference for being more explicit in German than in English: at least in certain registers, English shows high percentages of additive and causal relations, yet as conjunctions (also occasionally called ‘connects’) rather than as adverbials. Our ongoing work on *ellipsis* is still at a somewhat earlier stage (cf. Menzel 2014), and work on lexical cohesion has just begun.

3.2.2 Quantitative textual findings

The findings summarized here will not be given in numeric form, as these have been recently published in Kunz et al. (2017), and Kunz and Lapshinova-Koltunski (2014). We give a summary specific enough to derive the implications for translation discussed in Section 4 below.

A first group of findings relates to distinctions between English and German globally and within the two languages to distinctions in terms of register:

- *Strength of distinctions*: As correspondence analyses based on descriptive patterns of cohesive devices and of some types of chains show, *the strongest quantitative distinction in the overall corpus is between occurrence of cohesive devices depending on language*. Note that this is not a trivially obvious result, as our descriptive analysis is based on (categories of) cohesive devices, rather than on lexical strings. *The next strongest distinction is in terms of written vs. spoken mode*, and *the third in terms of fictional texts vs. all other registers*. Again, this was far from obvious at the outset. GECCo’s results are thus in line with what Biber (1988) had already found about register distinctions in English, yet in his case based on lexicogrammatical criteria and not contrasting English and German.
- *Frequency of cohesive types*: The most frequent types of cohesion globally are reference and conjunction. Thus, relations of identity between referents and logico-semantic relations between discourse units seem to prevail over comparisons of different entities of the same denotational type (substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion). Once the current analyses of lexical cohesion are developed beyond their initial stage, this ranking may change. General nouns, the only subtype of lexical cohesion so far to have been considered in this study, seem to be strongly characteristic of English.

- *Strength of differentiation between registers and modes:* German registers in general are more strongly differentiated in terms of cohesive devices than English registers — a confirmation and even an extension of Assumption 2 in Section 2. Furthermore, both languages distinguish between the written and spoken modes, but again German more strongly than English. Assumption 2 in its specific form is strikingly confirmed for patterns of cohesion.
- *Explicitness and density of encoding:* There are implications for explicitness and density as addressed in Assumption 3. German texts seem to encode very explicitly, and also with high density, conjunctive relations at least of certain types (temporal, adversative, additive, modal), and as adverbials rather than as paratactic conjunctions, whereas English texts have as most clearly distinguishing features co-reference (demonstrative-temporal, comparative general) — yet all of this is against a background of a globally stronger differentiation within German than within English.

Let us now concentrate on the distinction between the written and spoken modes *within* the two languages:

Written vs. spoken mode within English: Spoken mode in English is strongly characterized by lexical cohesion in terms of general nouns. It is also, albeit less strongly, characterized by identity of reference compared to written English. Spoken English typically takes up longer passages by demonstrative *this* and *that*, at the same time keeping human referents at the centre of attention through the use of personal pronouns. Written English is characterized by cohesive devices referring to location and time.

Written vs. spoken mode in German: Conjunction, and additive relations in particular, are highly prominent in spoken German, whereas relations of cause characterize German writing. The latter observation may partly be due to the registers included in the written sub-corpus, because logico-semantic relations of cause also characterize English written registers and may reflect types of argumentation as a register property. Relations of identity (co-reference) are more relevant than logico-semantic relations in German written language than in spoken. Co-reference differs in the type of referent that is tracked in the textual world: spoken German realizes identity via local adverbs; written German prefers to mark relations of possession by possessive modifiers and relations between abstract entities via pronominal adverbs.

Let us finally focus on *some properties of chains* which have come into focus recently. These have so far been restricted to co-reference chains, rather than lexical chains in our project. English shows a higher number of different co-reference chains and a slightly lower number of elements per reference chain than German. This indicates a somewhat greater rate of topic change in English, with less density

in the presentation of the topic, which, if confirmed, would be an interesting finding against the background of Assumption 3 in Section 2. By contrast, topical continuity seems to be favoured in German as indicated by a lower number of different co-reference chains per text, an interesting finding in the context of assumptions relating to density and explicitness. While continuity is mainly created between referents on the experiential plane in German, English additionally creates certain types of logical continuity between propositions (causal and additive connects/conjunctions). This would seem to have implications for one aspect of information density vs. information spreading (Assumption 3). Note that this relatively high occurrence of causal and additive conjuncts in English has to be seen in contrast to the frequent occurrence of temporal, adversative, additive and modal adverbials in German as distinctive conjunctive relations. The differences with respect to these figures concern both the semantic subtypes of conjunctive relations and whether they are realized as conjunctions/connects or as the more explicit adverbials.

We have so far seen which distinctions are made contrastively in terms of cohesion. We have also seen how strongly these are made, and in which types of cohesive devices and relations. We will now proceed to discuss some implications for translation with regard to co-reference resolution, the norms for translating along the written-spoken dimension, and the handling of explicitness and density of cohesive devices.

4. Implications for translation

4.1 General

The differences in occurrence of cohesive devices and relations summarized above are based on register-parallel corpora of original texts (originals in Figure 1). As such, they can provide the profiles of language-, register- and mode-specific preferences of the two languages. Such profiles need to be approximated in cases of “covert” translation in the sense of House (1997). The CroCo-part of the GECCo corpora, though, also holds the aligned source-target text pairs for all the written registers, with all the translations being published translations. It is from these source-target alignments that the examples below are taken. But note that the phenomena *illustrated* there are representative of the findings we have *documented* in our contrastive corpora, even if for any individual source-target pair we cannot be sure what in the particular translation process caused the phenomenon in question. The examples illustrate implications for translation methodology and didactics, but they are indicative of norms emerging from the contrastive results discussed in 3.2.

A first general group of implications is that:

- a. Adequate translation strategies cannot rely on knowledge about contrastive lexicogrammar alone — which is, of course, not a new insight.
- b. However, even an awareness of contrasts in the systemic resources for creating cohesion (systems of pro-forms, cohesive conjuncts, mechanisms of forming ellipsis and of lexical chaining as in Section 3.2.), though somewhat less ‘traditional,’ is only one further step towards textually competent translational strategies.
- c. In addition to awareness of systemic contrasts in b. above, translators and evaluators need awareness of more and less preferred patterns that distinguish the languages, the registers within them and, in particular, their mode — variables in textual instantiation. This has so far largely been a matter of good textual and translational intuitions, backed up by illustrative examples. A contribution to an empirical foundation for such intuitions is being offered here, aiming at some initial progress beyond earlier well-founded programmatic statements (as in Hatim and Mason 1990, 192; Baker 1992, 180, and leading on from earlier empirical work as in Kunz 2009; House 1997, 2011; and Becher 2011).

Examples (1)–(4) below illustrate these general implications, and in particular Assumption 1 with corpus examples:

- (1) We work for prosperity and opportunity because they're right. It's the right thing to do. [EO_ESSAY_006]
- (2) *Wir arbeiten für Wohlstand und Chancen, weil das richtig ist. Wir tun damit das Richtige.* [GTrans_ESSAY_006]
[‘We work for prosperity and opportunity because that is right. We do thereby the right’]

Translations often change not only the type of cohesive device, but also the co-reference relations/chains formed by these devices (type of link, referents involved) to align with preferred patterns in the language, register or mode involved. The English original in (1) has as its first cohesive reference item *they*, which plausibly co-refers with *prosperity and opportunity* encoded through agreement in morphological number. In the follow-up sentence, some antecedent is taken up as *It* in a classifying predicate *is the right thing to do*. The *It* does not plausibly have any singular antecedent locally. The predicate of the local context *is the right thing to do* would furthermore rule out any non-propositional antecedent. There is also no possible co-reference between *they* and *It*. Hence the reader will infer an event (*we*) *working for prosperity and opportunity*, indexed lexically with the general verb *do*. The English reader has to do some active work in constructing a plausible

chain of co-reference. The German translation (2) has as its first cohesive reference item *das* [‘that’], which must co-refer with an event here, as there is no possible neuter entity-antecedent. And even if there were, the choice of the demonstrative *das* over a potential candidate *es* encodes proximity of the antecedent. The *damit* [‘therewith’] then continues that chain unambiguously and explicitly as an instrumental adjunct and maintains co-reference between *das* [‘that’] and *da-* [‘there-’] in *damit*. Hence, less decoding work for the reader. Note also that direct ‘literal’ translations between (1) and (2) would be marginally possible but very much dispreferred in terms of encoding and information structure. The translator in (2) has thus not only changed the cohesive devices, but also the cohesive co-referential chain, conforming to linguistic and registerial norms in the target languages and thereby making the cohesion more predictable. To what extent this claim of higher degrees of explicitness and of increased predictability (cf. Königs 2011, 72; Becher 2011, 55; House 2011) is more generally true is one of the questions of the current GECCo-project.

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate the *tolerance for local ambiguities in English texts* as opposed to their German translations:

- (3) And he answered them courteously that they should speak on, for he had not come so far and so wearily simply in order to turn back. Moreover he was charged by his father with a mission, which he might not reveal in that place. ‘It is known to us already,’ said the three damsels. [EO_FICTION_002]
- (4) *Und er erwiderte ihnen artig, daß sie weitersprechen sollten, denn er habe die Mühsal und Beschwerden des weiten Weges nicht auf sich genommen, um nun kehrtzumachen. Und zudem habe sein Vater ihn mit einer Aufgabe betraut, die er an diesem Ort zu enthüllen nicht gesonnen sei. ‘Dies ist uns bekannt’, sagten die drei Jungfrauen.* [GTrans_FICTION_002]

In the English Example (3) (from Byatt 1991, 152), there is substantial ambiguity about the intended antecedent of *It*. If the relative clause in the preceding sentence really is a non-restrictive one, as (wrongly?) indicated by the comma, then the antecedent of *It* will hardly be *mission* and the relative clause might not even be (indirect) speech, but rather part of the narrative and not known to the *damsels*. If, however, the agent at this place in the narrative did explicitly talk about *a mission which he might not reveal in that place* (restrictive relative clause), then this complex entity is a plausible antecedent of *It*, yet not the one encoded in the German translation. The use of *Dies* [‘this’] in German translation (4) unambiguously picks up an event (the whole of the previous sentence), rather than any entity, such as *Aufgabe* [‘mission’], which would have been referred to by a feminine pronoun *die/sie*. The German translation also unambiguously marks the entire

preceding sentence as part of the indirect speech through the use of the *Konjunktiv* (Subjunctive) verb mood (*habe, sei*). If we consider the focusing structures, the marked German sequence *zu enthüllen nicht gesonnen* [‘not disposed to reveal’] weakly suggests the word *gesonnen* (‘disposed’) as an antecedent, an encoding link absent from the English version. And finally, the German rules out the possibility of the relative clause in the antecedent structure being a sentential (appositive) relative clause, because in that case it would have to be translated as *was er ...* [‘which he ...’]. So, very clearly, the English discourse in (3) tolerates more local co-referential ambiguity/vagueness than the German in (4).

Examples in (1)–(4) illustrate the assumption that German discourses tend to exhibit less local ambiguity in encoding co-reference compared to English. Given that, overall, the processing of discourse is as efficient for interlocutors in English as in German, the question is where and how the balance is achieved between contextual information and textually encoded information. One part of the answer may lie in the smaller search space for antecedents in English due to more constrained word order and its relatively clear positional marking of basic syntactic relations (Doherty 2002, 21; Fischer 2013, 354), other parts may lie in possibly different ways in which dialogue acts and synchronizing units are established in English spoken discourse. These and other processing explanations may be sought in different applications of Eckert and Strube’s (2000, 62) “referent coercion” (English generation of event-type referents only after occurrence of a deictic pre-form, as in (1)), or in a stronger application of the “right frontier rule” (preference for recent antecedents over more distant ones). And possibly English tolerates non-resolvable/non-identifiable/vague antecedents more than German by exploiting local predictability of meanings (cf. Piantadosi et al. 2012). For translators between the two languages, this means working on the expected degrees of (under-)specification of chains, rather than on the cohesive devices as lexical elements in a translation unit. The focus of the translator thus is usually on cohesive constellations, rather than on lexicogrammatical elements.

4.2 Translation direction English > German

The empirical results summarized in 3.2 suggest that generally German translations of English originals should explicitate logico-semantic relations rather than leaving them implicit (corpus Examples 5–6 below):

- (5) Another concern is that Bangladeshis may be ingesting arsenic through a second route: the grain they eat two or three times a day. In the dry months, rice fields are irrigated with pumped underground water. EO_POPSCI_002

- (6) *Wie sich neuerlich herausstellt, enthalten in diesem Land bereits auch Grundnahrungsmittel zu viel Arsen, **denn** in der Trockenzeit werden viele Felder aus den neuen Brunnen bewässert.* [GTrans_POPSCI_002]

The first sentence in (5) is paraphrased, rather than translated in (6), but the focus here is on the explicit paratactic conjunction that has been added (*denn* ‘for’). In Examples (7) and (8) below the number of additive conjuncts increases in German:

- (7) If we are successful, commercialization of fuel-cell vehicles, hydrogen production, **and** refueling infrastructure could take place by 2015, ... [EO_ESSAY_001]
- (8) *Wenn wir erfolgreich sind, könnte **sowohl** eine Vermarktung von Autos mit Brennstoffzellenantrieb **als auch** die Gewinnung von Wasserstoff **und** eine Infrastruktur zum Auftanken dieser Autos bis 2015 umgesetzt werden, ...* [GTrans_ESSAY_001]

Examples (5) to (8) involved insertion and the increase in the number of conjunctions (*denn* ‘for’; *sowohl ... als auch* ‘both ... and’). Beyond this type of ‘explicitation’ in a loose sense, effects of ‘shining through’ may be avoided by using adverbial conjuncts in German translations whenever paratactic conjunctions (connects) are employed in English (Examples 9–10):

- (9) Patients are buoyed by reports of the cells’ near-miraculous properties, **but** many of the most publicized scientific studies have subsequently been refuted. [EO_POPSCI_006]
- (10) *Derartige therapeutische Verheißungen wecken große Hoffnungen bei betroffenen Patienten. **Leider** wurden etliche der aufsehenerregendsten Studienergebnisse in der Folge widerlegt...* [GTrans_POPSCI_006]

In this case, there is not only the move from a *connect* to an *adverbial*, but also from a semantically weak additive *but* to an interpersonal subjunct *leider* (‘regrettably’). Quite generally, translators should be aware of the option to express continuity between abstract entities in German on the basis of pronominal adverbs and to highlight referents via demonstrative or comparative-reference pronouns (11–12):

- (11) **Because** we still do not understand the signals that normally instruct these cells to choose a particular pathway during embryonic development, many researchers are studying the natural embryonic “niche” to understand possible environmental cues. [EO_POPSCI_006]
- (12) *Welche Signale embryonale Zellen während der normalen Entwicklung dazu bewegen, bestimmte Differenzierungswege einzuschlagen, ist noch unbekannt.*

Daher untersuchen viele Forscher die „ökologische Nische“ im Embryo, um solche milieubedingten Faktoren aufzuspüren. [GTrans_POPSCI_006]

The German (12) preserves the causal logico-semantic relation of its English source but additionally adds two co-referential links, by *solche* / ‘such’ and the *da-* in *daher* ‘therefore,’ possibly also because one co-referential link from (11) *these cells* has been sacrificed for the lexically explicit modifier *embryonale* / ‘embryonic’.

In none of the examples (5)–(12) is it claimed that the individual translation chosen is the only ‘correct’ translation, but rather that, out of a number of such cases and depending on register and mode, the type of solution selected here should be sought more often; the effect is thus seen across the target text as a whole rather than the individual example only.

Co-reference translations English-German may generally increase the grammatical prominence (13, 14) and specificity (15, 16) of co-referring expressions. The sheer frequencies here depend on the type of co-reference (person vs. other) and on register and mode:

- (13) We can then consider the extent of progress and determine whether on the basis of it we make a further Treasury assessment of the five tests **which** — if positive next year — would allow us at that time to put the issue before the British people in a referendum [EO-ESSAY-005]
- (14) *Dann können wir beurteilen, in welchem Umfang Fortschritte erzielt wurden, und entscheiden, ob das Schatzamt auf **ihrer** Grundlage eine weitere Beurteilung der fünf Kriterien vornehmen soll; **diese** würde, falls **sie** im nächsten Jahr positiv ausfiele, uns erlauben, das britische Volk über die Frage des Beitritts abstimmen zu lassen* [GTrans_ESSAY_005]
- (15) On the fourth night, the pollster calls another 400 voters and adds **that** to the database, dropping off the answers of those voters reached on the first night. [EO_ESSAY_020]
- (16) *Am vierten Abend ruft der Interviewer weitere 400 Wähler an und gibt **diese Ergebnisse** in die Datenbank ein, wobei er die Antworten der Wähler unberücksichtigt lässt, die er am ersten Abend befragt hat.* [GTrans_ESSAY_020]

Note that both in (15) and (16), the reader needs to do some active work after encountering the demonstratives *that* / *diese Ergebnisse* (‘these results’); in (15) they need to construct the entire referent, whereas in (16) they are given the referent *Ergebnisse* lexically and only need to identify or construct the antecedent.

4.3 Translation direction German > English

English translations from German originals may often implicate logico-semantic relations of contrast (and time), and may express more relations of addition and cause by using coordinating conjunctions instead of adverbs or particles (17, 18):

- (17) *Ähnlich geht es **allerdings auch** [‘however also’] der Gegenposition, die den Wohlstand für alle dadurch erreichen will, dass ...* [GO_ESSAY_001]
- (18) **And** the same applies to the opposite view that advocates achieving prosperity for all by ... [ETrans_ESSAY_001]

The same phenomenon, and an added weakening of the semantic type of conjunctive relation — in this case from adversative *dagegen* (‘in contrast’) to additive *moreover* — is shown in (19, 20):

- (19) ***Dagegen** ist das Gewicht der Bauwirtschaft mit 15 Prozent gegenüber Westdeutschland (4 Prozent) noch entschieden zu hoch.* [GO_ESSAY_003]
- (20) ***Moreover**, the significance of the construction industry (5 %) remains much too high when compared with western Germany (4 %).* [ETrans_ESSAY_003]

Co-reference in English translations from German may more often be created via devices of personal reference (*it*) instead of demonstratives (*das*) on the one hand, and via modifiers (*your*) rather than heads (*dich* — ‘you’) on the other, possibly in combination with general nouns (Examples 21–22). This leads to a weakening of demonstrative force and to a downgrading in terms of accessibility of referents in English — importantly, though, weakening and downgrading relative to the source text, not relative to its target language register.

- (21) *Ich kann **dich** auch umziehen, Jerzy, wenn du Hilfe brauchst.’ (...)* ‘Ich mache **das**, sag ein Wort, und ich ziehe **dich** um.’ [GO_FICTION_002]
- (22) I can change **your** clothes too, Jerzy, if you need help.’ (...) ‘I’ll do **it**, just say the word and I’ll change **your** clothes.’ [ETrans_FICTION_002]

Examples (23) and (24) below show a more complex picture, where weakening/strengthening and downgrading/upgrading go different ways locally:

- (23) *Er war ein eher ängstliches Kind, sagte **die** Mutter. Er log nicht. Er war anständig. Und vor allem, er war tapfer, sagte **der** Vater, schon als Kind. **Der tapfere Junge.** So wurde er beschrieben, auch von entfernten Verwandten. Es waren wörtliche Festlegungen, und sie werden es auch für ihn gewesen sein.* [GO_FICTION_008]

- (24) He was rather a timid boy, said **our** mother. He didn't tell lies. He was well-behaved, and above all, said **our** father, he was brave even as a child. People described him as **that** brave boy, even distant relations. **These** were verbatim observations, and **they** will have been meant for him too. [ETrans_FICTION_008]

Note also the high frequency of clause-internal position of German adverbial connectors, where the English text tends towards initial, and hence thematically prominent, placement (25–26):

- (25) *Ein zentraler Aspekt der amerikanischen Energiepolitik ist **daher** ein Bündel bahnbrechender Technologien, welche die Art der Energiegewinnung und des Energieverbrauchs grundlegend ändern sollen.* [GTrans_ESSAY_001]
- (26) **Therefore**, a central aspect of U.S. energy policy is a portfolio of breakthrough technologies that promise to alter fundamentally the way we produce and consume energy. [EO_ESSAY_001]

Our results about length and density of co-reference chains, reported at the end of Section 3, are at this point still very provisional. If they are confirmed (i.e., more lexical chains in English originals than in German originals, and more elements of chains in German originals), then the second of these is illustrated in all cases where German texts add referents which are left implicit in their English counterparts (e.g., Examples 11, 12 and 15, 16 above). The number of lexical co-referential chains as such, though, is not something to be expected to change in translation, unlike the production of register-parallel originals outside a context of translation.

5. Conclusion and future work

In this article, a summary was given of intermediate results from a corpus-based study in contrasts of cohesion in English-German texts. Attempts were made to evaluate assumptions about (1) different degrees of local ambiguity in texts (co-reference), (2) different degrees of registerial distinctions along the written-spoken dimension, and (3) different orientations of discourses along the explicitness and information-density dimensions. These assumptions, if confirmed, would be highly important for translation methodology between the two languages. Section 4 illustrated some implications for translation. None of these examples involves obligatory translation procedures. In the area of cohesion, the relevant questions are not about grammatical rules, but about cohesive strategies — and these by nature usually involve options within the area of textuality, rather than questions of lexicogrammatical ‘correctness.’ It is hoped that with further consolidation of

GEECo's empirical results, a broader perspective will emerge, including issues of ellipsis and lexical cohesion between the two languages, as well as a more comprehensive view of what such contrastive knowledge implies for translation and the evaluation of translations. Yet, beyond such implications, the findings discussed here have implications for research on often postulated translational properties ('universals'), even if the notion of 'universals' is a problematic one for several reasons. Properties of translated texts — like textual properties in general — are at the core of 'textuality,' and one of the most immediate manifestations of textuality are cohesive constellations permeating all texts and discourses. Cohesion is thus an immediate target for research into textuality of translated texts, and since a large part of the GEECo-corpora, the CroCo sub-corpora, contains originals and their translations, the road into that kind of research is open.

Acknowledgements

The work underlying this article has been carried out in GEECo (<http://www.gecco.uni-saarland.de/GECCo/Home.html>), funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) under GZ STE 840/6–1 and 6–2 und KU 3129/1–2 *Kohäsion im Deutschen und Englischen — ein empirischer Ansatz zum kontrastiven Vergleich*. A large sub-part of the corpus can be queried under <https://fedora.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/cqpweb/>. I am grateful to my co-proposer Kerstin Kunz, as well as to former and present project members Marilisa Amoia, Stefania Degaetano-Ortlieb, Ekaterina Lapshinova-Koltunski, José Manuel Martínez-Martínez and Katrin Menzel for contributions to our project.

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Global English, discourse and translation

Linking constructions in English and German popular science texts

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This paper first briefly discusses the relationship between comparative discourse analyses of original and translated texts as the basis for revealing the behavior of a particular linguistic phenomenon in context and use. Concretely, the paper examines how global English impacts on translations from English into German with regard to so-called 'linking constructions,' a hitherto rather neglected area of connectivity in discourse. The analysis focusses on the forms, functions, distribution, and the translation equivalents in parallel and comparable corpora. Results indicate that the use of linking constructions differs substantially in English and German discourse, and these differences may well block English influence on German discourse norms via translation.

Keywords: diachronic corpus study, parallel and comparative corpora, contrastive pragmatics, English-German contrastive discourse analysis, global English, linking constructions, impact of English on German discourse norms

1. Discourse analysis and translation

What is the contribution of discourse analysis to translation studies? Given that this volume is about linking discourse and translation, I want to preface the study to be reported in this article with a few general remarks about how I view the connection between discourse and translation. First of all, discourse analysis is a textual approach which sets out to elucidate the function(s) of an utterance due to its specific position in a text/discourse, or the function(s) of part of an utterance inside a larger unit. As in all text-linguistic approaches, the object of investigation is therefore twofold: looking at an utterance in (a certain) position and looking at how discourse is constructed by this utterance in combination with other

utterances. An 'utterance' is here understood as the smallest unit of speech which starts with a pause and ends with a pause or a change of speaker, and is usually represented in written language by a clause.

Since translation is essentially a text-oriented endeavor, discourse analysis can make a very useful contribution to solving translational issues (cf. House 2012). In the literature, the terms 'text' and 'discourse' are often used interchangeably or with confusingly many different meanings. Text is often said to refer to a stretch of written language, discourse to spoken language. Widdowson's (2007, 6) ideas seem most appropriate for clarifying the distinction between text and discourse. For him, text is a purposeful use of language; in a text, language is used with the intention of referring to something for some purpose; that is, texts are constructed to get messages across, express or explore ideas, get others to do things, and so on. This communicative purpose is the discourse underlying a text. In interpreting a text, readers, listeners and translators have to make the text a communicative reality by retrieving its meaning, that is, they have to interpret the text as discourse. The text is then, as it were, the linguistic trace in the speech or writing of a person's intended discourse. A discourse refers to the meaning a person intends to express when producing a text, which an addressee (and a translator) is then to interpret from the text.

Given that the function or purpose of a text has long been recognized as of prime importance in both translation theory and practice, the methodology provided by discourse analysis is highly relevant for translation. As an example, the current author's model of textual analysis, comparison and evaluation in translation is firmly based on using discourse analytic steps for determining the function of a text which may or may not be maintained in the process of translation (House 1977, 1997, 2014b). A branch of discourse analysis of obvious relevance to translation is contrastive discourse analysis.

Secondly, discourse analysis is also a performance-oriented approach to language. It examines language reality as it is, focusing on many phenomena which are not understood to be elements of competence. With the assumption that everything in language performance is meaningful in that it serves to express some function, discourse analysis even tends to collapse the dichotomy between *langue*/*parole* or competence/performance. This time-honored dichotomy rests on the observation that there are always systematic (i.e., structurally recurring) and non-systematic (i.e., randomly occurring) elements in speech. However, this assumption seems to break down because discourse analytic investigations show that there is nothing random left in performance, which means that discourse analysis must work (and does work) empirically in a very rigorous way.

Translation as an eminently practical phenomenon is undeniably a matter of performance, and the methodology provided by discourse analysis is clearly

appropriate for discovering patterns and systematicity in the choices made by a translator and for hypothesizing reasons behind these choices on the basis of detailed discourse analytic procedures.

Thirdly, discourse analysis focuses either on written or on spoken language and in doing this keeps the difference between the two modes much clearer than is the case in other linguistic approaches. In discourse analysis, this has often been done by examining the intricacies of dialogue, for instance, by showing which rules for the inner mechanics of talk need to be made explicit. As a side result, we now see how far linguistics has relied on written language or on some neutralized mode which was neither written nor spoken.

For translation, discourse analytic methods for detecting, describing and assessing the choices of linguistic tokens and sequences of tokens in terms of their appropriateness for spokenness or writtenness are highly relevant for translation (cf. Bührig and House 2004) since they not only enable the characterization of spokenness or writtenness but also a variety of interesting in-between stages.

Taken together, discourse analysis has undeniably an important role to play for the study of translation. Of particular importance seem to be approaches that combine exemplar-based discourse analysis of original and translated texts with corpus-based, quantitative and qualitative discourse analytic procedures. Such an approach will be exemplified in the following sections of this article. First, a general description of a larger ‘parent project’ will be given, followed by the presentation of a study of the behavior of a particular discourse phenomenon: extraposed prepositional phrases in parallel and comparable English and German corpora.

2. The ‘Verdecktes Übersetzen — Covert Translation’ project

The study presented in this article is part of a larger discourse and corpus-related undertaking: the ‘Covert Translation’ project conducted in Hamburg at the German Science Foundation’s Research Center on Multilingualism between 1999 and 2011. The present author was the project’s principal investigator for the entire period of the project.¹

The general hypotheses underlying this project were:

1. The status of English as today’s global and dominant lingua franca impacts on communicative preferences and norms in German (French and Spanish) through language contact in translation.

1. Research fellows involved in the project in various phases included, in alphabetical order: Nicole Baumgarten, Victor Becher, Claudia Böttger, Svenja Kranich, Demet Oeczetin, and Julia Probst.

2. The cultural filter standardly employed in covert translation (cf. House 1997) is no longer applied due to English influence on German (French and Spanish) translated and original texts.
3. Anglophone influence shows itself in quantitative and qualitative changes over a time span of 25 years in the use of certain items and structures (both in the translations from English and in original texts) in two particularly vulnerable genres: science and business, where Anglophone impact is assumed to be most marked. The researchers are able to distinguish between changes of German via translation and those due to the increasing general exposure to English by examining whether the same changes also occurred in original texts that are *per definitionem* not affected by processes of translation.

With the exception of a few studies by some of the project researchers (cf. Kranich 2011; Kranich and González Díaz 2010; Küppers 2008; Probst 2001) that are based on English, French and Spanish data, the bulk of the studies conducted in the framework of this project focused on the influence of English discourse norms on German norms, not least because of the availability of extensive German-English contrastive discourse-pragmatic research (cf. House 1996; 2003a; 2006a; 2006b). On the basis of these studies with different oral and written data, methodologies and genres, the present author hypothesized that German and Anglophone discourse preferences varied along the following dimensions: directness versus indirectness, orientation towards content versus orientation towards persons, explicitness versus implicitness, use of verbal routines versus ad-hoc formulations. These tendencies amount to a more transactional and detached communicative style in German discourse and a more interactional and involved style in English discourse in many genres.

The three project hypotheses listed above were tested using a micro-diachronic multilingual corpus which was compiled specially for this project and which consisted of the following parts: English and German original texts and their translations (French and Spanish control texts in limited numbers) in the two genres: popular science and business. The popular science texts were drawn from the journals *Scientific American* and *New Scientist* and their satellite journals in German, French and Spanish in two time frames: 1978–1982 and 1999–2002, and additionally 2002–2006 for the economic texts. The Hamburg Popular Science sub-corpus comprised about 650 000 words. The economic texts consisted of Annual Reports by globally operating companies, letters to shareholders, missions, visions, and corporate statements. The economic sub-corpus comprises some 400 000 words.

Since the study reported below will deal with the genre of popular science, some remarks about this genre and about differences in German and Anglophone contexts may be necessary (cf. also Probst 2009 for a detailed discussion). The

popular science genre has a much longer tradition in the English-speaking world; the popular science magazine *Scientific American*, for instance, appeared in the United States as early as 1845, but the first translations of its issues into German in the German sister publication *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* only appeared in 1978. So we can say that the popular science genre in the German lingua-culture is far less established than the American one. The consequence of this might be that German popular science texts tend to be less 'popular' and closer to the well-known genre of (non-popular) scientific texts. This would mean that the German popular science genre is generally less interpersonally oriented, less addressee- and more content-oriented as well as more written than spoken.

The methodology employed in this project is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (for details see also House 2014a). The qualitative part of the project work consisted of qualitative text analyses and comparisons (involving some 80 texts) using the present author's model of translation quality assessment (House 1997, 2009, 2014b). The quantitative phase of the project consisted of frequency counts of the phenomena which were found to be vulnerable to variation and change under the influence of English norms. A renewed qualitative project phase consisted of re-contextualizing all vulnerable items in order to closely examine the translation relation for these items. Manual annotation was used to locate co-occurrences of various kinds. Context was defined as five sentences before and five sentences after a particular item.

3. **The present study: Discourse and corpus analysis of linking constructions in English and German original and translated popular science texts**

The present study set out to examine the above general hypotheses with regard to the occurrence, variation and change of one particular type of so-called linking constructions (see 4 below for a detailed description of these discursive phenomena): extraposed prepositional phrases. The study can be located in Phase 3 of the project described above, a phase where the analysis focused on the translation relation of certain items.

The procedure pursued in this study involved the following steps:

1. Extraction of all occurrences of a particular type of English linking constructions, their translational structures, and their occurrence in comparable texts
2. Frequency counts in the parallel and comparative sub-corpora
3. Discourse analysis: Are equivalent items used for the same communicative purpose in the different sub-corpora?
4. Interpretation of findings

Before proceeding to describe the analysis, the results and interpretation, I will first take a closer look at the phenomenon of linking constructions.

4. What are linking constructions?

Linking constructions are multiple-word lexico-grammatical patterns used to indicate a relationship between some portion of prior and/or ensuing discourse. Examples are: *After all* or *In addition*. These markers have only recently attracted scholarly attention both monolingually and cross-lingually (cf. Siepmann 2005; Bührig and House 2004, 2007; Bell 2009; House 2011). Linking constructions share with classical discourse markers the topological position of the left periphery (in German discourse studies known as the ‘Vor-Vorfeld’) earmarking them as connective elements (cf. Doherty 2003). They can be defined as unembedded ‘orphan constructions’ that are unattached in the syntax of the clause they introduce (Haegeman 2009).

A full description and interpretation of these constructions seems only possible when they are contextualized in the discourse in which they occur. Linking constructions fulfill several different discourse functions and thus resemble the multi-functionality of classical discourse markers such as *well*, *okay*, *you know*, *I mean* (cf. Aijmer 1994; Ziv 1994; Shaer 2009): they negotiate information between writer and reader, mimic orality and interactivity in written discourse and support a writer’s strategy of identifying Theme by reinforcing or foregrounding it. Among more specific functions fulfilled by linking constructions in discourse are: exemplification, addition, contrast, temporal sequencing.

The common denominator of all these functions is their basic introductory character: they either introduce or re-introduce a referent into the discourse which is judged by writers in the on-going writing process as not being presently in the foreground of readers’ consciousness (Chafe 1976). And, according to Prince (1985), they mark an entity as already evoked in the discourse and help simplify the processing of discourse-new entities by creating a separate processing unit for readers.

In a previous study conducted with economic texts from the same project, Bührig and House (2007) identified different types of linking constructions, among them (1) extraposed absolute linking constructions and (2) extraposed prepositional phrases. Examples of type (1) extraposed absolute linking constructions are: *Given this result.... Simply put... Viewed differently....* A search in the popular science corpus showed that these constructions are highly infrequent. They only occurred in 4.4% of all utterances. Therefore they were not examined

in the current study. Only extraposed prepositional phrases were subjected to an analysis in the popular science corpus.

5. Analysing extraposed prepositional phrase linking constructions in the Hamburg Popular Science Corpus

Examples of English extraposed prepositional phrases (EPPs) in this corpus are: *After all, In particular, On the other hand, In fact, In effect, In short, In contrast, In addition*. Altogether 34 different types of such constructions were identified.

The hypothesis underlying the analysis of the behavior of such EPPs in the popular science corpus is in line with the general project hypothesis described above and can be formulated as follows:

From time frame 1 to time frame 2 there will be an increase in EPPs in the parallel and comparable corpora.

If this increase were to occur, it would reflect the impact of English discourse norms on German norms, the occurrence of EPPs being in consonance with the more interactional, involved and reader-friendly nature of English popular science texts (see the arguments presented above).

5.1 The development of EPPs in the English original texts

Looking at the incidence of EPPs in the English original texts in the two time frames, we can see that there is a substantial increase in their use over the two time frames investigated in this project:

Table 1. Development of EPPs in the English original texts (per 100,000 words)

1978–1982:	n= 354
1999–2002:	n= 675

This is an interesting result in view of the fact that Becher (2011) found a concurrent decrease of such ‘classic’ connectors such as *thus* or *so*.

Before examining the translation equivalents of EPPs in the German translated and original texts, let us look at a particularly German type of connective: composite deictics (cf. Rehbein 1995), as it will be relevant for the findings and interpretation.

5.2 German ‘Zusammengesetzte Verweiswörter’ (Composite Deictics)

Composite deictics are complex connective devices in discourse which exploit both deictic and phoric procedures. Examples are: *davon*, *damit*, *dabei*, *hierbei*, *hiervon*, *darüber*, *hierüber*, *daran*, *hieran*, *somit*, and so on. These connective devices are highly frequent in German in many oral and written genres. Due to their two morpho-pragmatic parts, German composite deictics can be said to have a dual effect:

1. Through their deictic component (*da*, *hier* — ‘there,’ ‘here,’ etc.), composite deictics cause readers to refocus their attention to the knowledge they have previously accrued in the course of reading a text.
2. On account of the phoric component (*bei*, *von* — ‘by,’ ‘from,’ etc.), composite deictics instruct readers to integrate this knowledge in a specific way into the current clause in the text.

5.3 The nature and distribution of translations of English EPP linking construction into German in two time frames

The discourse analysis of the behavior of (non-)equivalent English EPPs in the German translations in the two time frames revealed the following four choices of translation variants: an equivalent EPP alone, an EPP equivalent plus a composite deictic, a clause-initial composite deictic alone, zero EPP/Syntactic Integration. Table 2 shows the frequency of these different translational choices.

Table 2. Development of EPP Equivalent Structures in the German Translations

	1978–1982	1999–2002
EPP equivalent alone	7 (2)	10 (1.5)
EPP equivalent + composite deictic	89 (25)	95 (14)
Initial composite deictic alone	30 (8.5)	67 (10)
Zero EPP/ Syntactic integration	228 (64.5)	503 (74.5)
Total	354 (100)	675 (100)

Table 2 also shows that the distribution of EPPs in the two time frames is essentially comparable. The two most frequent translation variants are those involving a combination of some EPP equivalent token and a composite deictic, and — with overriding frequency — an omission of an EPP, that is, either without any other connective or with a non-extraposed connective that is syntactically integrated. I have here collapsed these two variants as they share the total omission of an extraposed structure.

Here are some examples of these two most frequent translation variants from the parallel corpus consisting of English original popular science texts (EO) and their German translations (GT):

English EPP translated as equivalent German EPP + Composite Deictic

- (1) EO: **In contrast**, only 2 of the 45 ultra-trace elements, cobalt and possibly tin appear to perform any biological function
 GT: *Im Gegensatz dazu haben wahrscheinlich nur 2 von 45 äußerst seltenen Elementen, Kobalt und möglicherweise Zinn eine wichtige biologische Funktion*
 (English BT: In contrast thereto, only 2 of the extremely rare elements, cobalt and possibly tin, have presumably an important biological function).

In Example 1 we can see how the English EEP is rendered in the German translation not only by an equivalent EEP token *Im Gegensatz* ('in contrast'); it also features an additional composite deictic *dazu* ('thereto'). This addition has the effect of making the translation more in line with German connectivity routines while at the same time remaining close to the English original through upholding the use of an EEP. But notice that this type of rendering occurs in only 25% of all German translations of English EEPs, as Table 2 above shows.

English EPP translated into German as Zero EPP

- (2) EO: **In contrast**, nearly 90% of people with hepatitis C have it for years or decades
 GT: *Rund 90% der Infizierten schleppen den Erreger über Jahre oder sogar Jahrzehnte mit*
 (English BT: About 90% of those infected carry the virus for years or even decades).
- (3) EO: Nevertheless, advances in brain imaging are permitting a more complete view of the condition, and a long-standing theory of left-hemispheric damage has found support in these imaging studies. **In addition**, new reports of the sudden appearance of savant syndrome show that...
 GT: *Die Fortschritte bei den bildgebenden Verfahren erlauben nun eine umfassendere Beschreibung. Zugleich stützen die Ergebnisse eine lange diskutierte Theorie, wonach eine Schädigung der linken Hirnhälfte mitspielt. Noch faszinierender sind Berichte über plötzlich auftretende Inselbegabungen...*
 (English BT: Progress in brain-imaging procedures now permits a more comprehensive description. At the same time, results support a

long-discussed theory according to which damage to the left hemisphere is involved. Even more fascinating are reports on suddenly-occurring savant syndromes).

Examples 2 and 3 show the non-translation of an English EEP. In Example 3, the EEP *in addition*, while not translated, is transformed in German into a comparative, which may be seen as another form of connecting this clause to the previous one. However, the point to be made here is that an English EEP is not translated in kind.

English EPP translated into a German connective with syntactic integration

- (4) EO: **So far**, neither drug has caused serious side effects
 GT: *Ernsthafte Nebenwirkungen waren **bisher** bei keinem der beiden Wirkstoffe zu beobachten*
 (English BT: Serious side-effects could so far not be observed in either of the two active ingredients).
- (5) EO: Most medical research tries to explain the causes of an individual's disease and seeks therapies to cure or relieve deleterious conditions. These effects are traditionally based on considerations of proximate issues. **In contrast**, Darwinian medicine asks why the body is designed in a way...
 GT: *In der medizinischen Forschung geht es größtenteils darum, die Ursachen einer Erkrankung zu erkennen und auf Heilung oder Linderung abzielende Therapiemöglichkeiten zu finden. Dabei stützt man sich auf die direkte Untersuchung. Die darwinistische Medizin **dagegen** fragt: Warum ist unser Körper so konstruiert...*
 (English BT: Medical research mostly deals with attempts to recognize the causes of a disease and to find a cure or possible therapies that aim at alleviation. In this goal one aims at direct examination. Darwinistic medicine on the other hand asks: Why is our body constructed in a way...)

Examples 4 and 5 illustrate the translational variant of rendering English EPPs in the form of a German connective that is however *not* an EPP as it is not extraposed, but syntactically integrated, thus lacking the discourse functions listed above as characterizing extraposed linking structures.

In the following, I will present the findings of an analysis of (non)equivalent EPPs structures in the German original texts. This analysis will be useful in determining how the German translations follow or deviate from what happens in German texts 'unfiltered' by translation.

5.4 The nature and distribution of EPP linking constructions in the German Comparable Corpus in two time frames

Table 3. Development of EPP (non-)equivalents in the German original texts

	1978–1982	1999–2002
EPP alone	4 (1)	10 (1.5)
EPP equivalent + composite deictic	38 (9.5)	52 (7.5)
Initial composite deictic alone	95 (24)	125 (18)
Zero EPP/ Syntactic integration	261 (65.5)	505 (73)
Total	398 (100)	692 (100)

As was the case with the parallel English-German sub-corpus, the comparable German original texts also do not feature any substantial change of connectivity choices over the two time frames. We can also see that there is an essentially similar distribution in the two sub-corpora across the various connective choices, the most frequent choice involving again non-extrapolation or syntactic integration.

Here are two examples from the comparable corpus designed to illustrate the preferred, markedly frequent use of German Zero EPP and syntactic integration:

- (6) (GO) *Im täglichen Leben nehmen wir die Gravitation am unmittelbarsten wahr. In der Teilchenphysik hingegen, in der die Wechselwirkungen subatomarer Partikel untersucht werden, spielt sie kaum eine Rolle, weil sie weitaus schwächer ist als die anderen drei Grundkräfte.*

(English BT: In our daily life we perceive gravitation most immediately. In particle physics on the other hand, in which the interactions of subatomic particles are examined, it hardly plays a role, because it is substantially weaker than the other three basic forces).

- (7) (GO) *Die derzeit einzig wirksame Hilfe, was das langfristige Überleben anbelangt, bietet eine teilweise oder vollständige Transplantation. Da jedoch ein eklatanter Mangel an Spenderorganen besteht, sterben viele Patienten noch während der Wartezeit. Die rechtzeitig operierten Empfänger wiederum sind in ihrer Lebensqualität eingeschränkt..*

(English BT: The presently only effective aid for long-term survival is a partial or complete transplantation. Since there is however a substantial lack of donor organs, many patients die already during the waiting period. The recipients operated on in time on the other hand are limited in the quality of their life).

Examples 6 and 7 illustrate the typical German way of embedding a connective element into the clause — a very different way of managing clause linkage compared to the extraposition that is frequently favored in the English popular science texts corpus examined in this study.

6. Interpretation and discussion of findings

From the findings listed above, we can conclude that EEPs as one type of linking construction examined in this corpus seem to be typical of English, but not of German texts in the popular science genre. In German, different connectivity-creating devices seem to be preferred, such as composite deictics integrated in different syntactic slots. Over the two time frames investigated in this popular science corpus, these preferences did *not* change as a consequence of the direct (translation-mediated) and the ubiquitous indirect contact with global English in the contemporary world. The hypothesis of the present study is therefore *not* confirmed.

The general hypothesis underlying the project *Verdecktes Übersetzen — Covert Translation* is also *not* confirmed. What is confirmed, however, are the results of a previous study on the discourse and translational behavior of two frequent EEPs: *for example* and *for instance* in the same project corpora (cf. House 2011). To interpret the findings of the present study, let us look again at the functions of linking constructions briefly adumbrated above. This may help us interpret the markedly different ways of managing connectivity in German and English discourse as these are reflected in the parallel and comparable corpora examined in this study.

The function of extraposed prepositional phrases as one type of linking construction can be said to set the Theme (and the scene) of the clause “as it were the peg on which the message is hung” (Halliday 1970, 161). And Theme/scene setting acts like a frame (frame in the sense of Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974; Gumperz 1982, and Tannen 1993). Such framing in discourse achieves not only strong cohesive effects, it also functions *interpersonally*: it is a sign of writers imagining potential readers’ current states of attention and awareness, manipulating these into particular, expected and desired ways of readers’ processing the message that follows the frame.

Another interpretation of the differences between English and German preferences for linking devices found in this study has to do with deep-seated syntactic differences discussed, for instance, by Hawkins (1986, 121). Hawkins has pointed to the generally greater freedom of word order in German, a consequence of which is a tendency towards less extraction than is the case in English. One of the important word order constraints in German relates to the verb-second requirement. And German verb-second requirement plays a key role in forcing an integration of EPPs into the clause. Such a requirement exerts a kind of ‘gravitational pull’ on left-edge phrases (such as EPPs), thus creating a strong tendency toward integration (cf. also Frey 2005; Haegeman et al. 2009).

The German dispreference for framing via adjunctival extraposition (as happens in the use of EPPs) in favor of syntactic integration and the employment of composite deictics also follows deep-seated differences vis-à-vis the exploitation of phoric and deictic procedures (Ehlich 1982; Rehbein 1995) as well as

communicative and stylistic preferences (House 2006b). Perceived formal and functional differences in the use of extraposition in English and German may have influenced translators acting against the English impact on German discourse norms, leaving ‘cultural filtering’ (House 1977; 1997) intact.

Adjectival extraposition and composite deictics seem to make very different demands on readers’ attention, awareness and cognitive processing: the presence of composite deictics causes readers to re-focus the knowledge they have accrued during the reading of the text. This makes readers’ processing in German more abstract, more concept-related and more convoluted than seems to be the case in the ‘simpler’ linear arrangements in English via the extraposition of elements. Extraposed linking constructions seem to be beneficial for readers’ processing efforts: syntactic detachment from the host clause reflects a certain informational detachment providing the reader with smaller chunks for more gradual processing. The use of EPPs can thus be interpreted as essentially reader-oriented.

In German, the verb-second requirement — decisive in licensing syntactic integration and blocking extraposition — can be interpreted as in essence less reader-friendly. The German preference for syntactic integration functions to tighten up discursive connectivity, presumably helping writers to organize their text by tying together bits of knowledge discussed so far. In a sense then, German texts can be said to be more writer-oriented.

In English, which lacks verb-second requirement, the integrated counterparts of EPP linking constructions in canonical positions, while certainly possible, seem to be dispreferred in the corpus here examined. Framing via extraposition, often preferred in the genre examined in this study, might well help readers along by breaking down the reading task into smaller, more easily manageable portions.

Linking the results of this study to the differences of the popular science genre in the two lingua-cultures involved, we can say that the German popular science genre is indeed conceived differently from the English genre in the ways predicted above (Section 2): the German popular science texts are more writer-oriented and more written, they are less reader-oriented and thus presumably closer to scientific texts. We can assume that these features of the German popular science genre reflect the expectations of the German readers of popular science texts, but in the absence of empirical reception research this is no more than an assumption.

The findings of this study can be interpreted as confirming conventionalized differences of interpersonal orientation versus content orientation between English and German discourse established by the present author on the basis of a variety of contrastive discourse analyses with different data and methodologies conducted over the past thirty years. As the above results have shown, the differences in preferred writer and reader orientation have a firm basis in language-specific differences in syntactic constraints and information distribution.

7. Concluding remarks

German verb-second requirement and its absence in English, as well as their respective repercussions in writer-oriented versus reader-oriented tendencies, may explain why extraposed linking constructions, and here in particular extraposed prepositional phrases, are so much more common in English than in German.

Since the study described in this article has focused on one particular phenomenon related to connectivity, I have not dealt with the more far-reaching question of the influence of English upon German in the genres examined in the *Verdecktes Übersetzen — Covert Translation* project and in other domains. However, there are a number of other publications which cover these broader issues (cf., e.g., Baumgarten and Probst 2004; Bührig and House 2004; House 2003b, 2010, 2014a; Becher et al. 2009; Kranich et al. 2012).

Findings of the study presented in this article confirm earlier research with different data that point to differential distribution of linking constructions in English and German (cf., e.g., Schmid 1999) as well as empirically derived English-German discourse preferences (House 2006b). Much more discourse-based and corpus-assisted research with different genres and larger quantities of data are, however, necessary if we wish to get a full picture of communicative preferences in the production of original and translated texts.

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Institutional power in and behind discourse

A case study of SARS notices and their translations used in Macao

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This article takes a critical approach to the study of the SARS notices and their translations from the perspective of discourse analysis. Drawing upon the insights of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study explores how language is used by different governmental institutions in shaping their social power and hierarchy. By conducting a comparative study of the SARS notices and their translations, focusing on speech roles, speech functions, modality types and modality orientation, the authors argue that choices made in producing the texts reflect the institutions' social roles and their relationship with each other and with the audience. They also argue that the application of concepts from SFL in detailed text analysis and from CDA in the overall discussion may better reveal how different models of discourse analysis can supplement each other and be applied to translation studies.

Keywords: discourse analysis, translation studies, language, power

1. Introduction

Ever since the early 1990s discourse analysis approaches to translation studies have become extremely popular among linguistics-oriented translation scholars. Of the different theoretical models, Halliday's systemic functional linguistic (SFL) model is considered the most influential because in this model "there is a strong interrelation between the linguistic choices, the aim of the form of communication and the sociocultural framework" (Munday 2012a, 137). In recent years, however, newly developed linguistic theories such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) and appraisal theory have been employed in translation studies as well. For example, Kang (2007) applies the CDA model in the study of institutional discourse, Schäffner (2012) employs concepts from CDA for her analysis of political

discourse and translation, and Munday (2012b) conducts a critical study on translator decision making with reference to appraisal theory and Fairclough's critical views on discourse. Previous studies of this type have to a certain extent supported van Dijk's argument that "both discourse studies and critical discourse studies make use of a vast amount of methods of observation, analysis and other strategies to collect, examine or evaluate data, to test hypotheses, to develop theory and to acquire knowledge" (2008, 4). Van Dijk also points out that one of the crucial tasks of CDA is "to account for the relationship between discourse and social power" (65). However, although discourse analysis approaches to translation studies have underpinned many projects and publications, relatively few studies have directly addressed the issue of discourse and power. Therefore, the present research is carried out to address this important issue — how discourse is used to help in shaping social power and hierarchy.

When discussing discourse and power, Norman Fairclough (1989, 36) stresses two major aspects of the relationship, namely, power *in* discourse, and power *behind* discourse. Power in discourse is concerned with discourse that is "a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted," while the power behind discourse may be explored via orders of discourse and social orders. We can see that CDA is "not interested in investigating a linguistic unit *per se* but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-method approach (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 2). However, as a newly developed multidisciplinary approach, CDA has its limitations, as described by Fairclough (1989, 10), namely that its contributions "remain theoretical — they are not operationalized in the analysis of particular instances of discourse." Fairclough himself, as well as other scholars in CDA, considers Halliday's SFL to be the most influential theory of language and most applicable to CDA because it "theorizes language in a way which harmonizes far more with the perspective of critical social science than other theories of language" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, 139) and "provides insights into the ways in which language is socially constructed and embedded in culture" (Mayr 2008, 16–17).

In what follows, we adopt a critical discourse analysis approach and apply it to the study of SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) notices and their translations. This investigation into institutional power in and behind discourse is conducted through an analysis of speech roles and speech functions in four public notices and their translations used in Macao during the SARS crisis period that covered the first half of 2003. The notices under examination were produced by three different institutions in Macao to inform the public of the epidemic situation in the neighboring regions and to call for cooperation in the prevention effort against the SARS virus. The rationale for choosing this type of public notice as our object of study overlaps with our assumptions that: (1) the SARS notices

released by different institutions may be considered as a communicative event, or in Fairclough's (1989, 18) term, "a piece of social practice," in which relations of power are exercised and enacted; (2) the language choice in producing the notices should reflect the institutions' social roles and their relationship with each other and with the audience; (3) the discourse of the SARS notices should reflect the sociocultural conditions in the context of Macao, and therefore reflect the power behind discourse.

Halliday's (1978; 1994) theory of the interpersonal function, especially the concepts of speech roles, speech functions, modality and modal orientation, will be employed as a theoretical framework for the analysis. It is hoped that by introducing the concepts of discourse and power from CDA in the discussion, the research will better reveal how different models of discourse analysis can supplement each other and be applied to translation studies.

2. Interaction in the discourse

Following Martin and White (2008, 7), SFL is a multi-perspective model for interpreting language in use, and one of its most important notions is that language is a resource for making three types of meaning, or metafunctions, simultaneously in every act of communication. The ideational resources are concerned with constructing experiences; the interpersonal resources are concerned with negotiating social relations, how people are interacting and how they share their feelings; and the textual resources are concerned with information flow in the text. In this study we are mainly focusing on the interpersonal meaning carried by the SARS notices and the interpersonal function they are expected to play in the context of Macao.

2.1 Speech roles and speech functions

When discussing the role language plays in an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience, Halliday considers the clause as exchange: "In the act of speaking, the speaker adopts for himself a particular speech role, and in so doing assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his turn" (1994, 68–105). In order to make useful statements about grammar, Halliday classifies all interactions into two fundamental types of speech roles: (i) *giving* and (ii) *demanding*. Cutting across this basic divide between giving and demanding is another distinction, equally fundamental, that relates to the nature of the commodity being exchanged. This may be either (a) *goods-&-services* or (b) *information*. The two variables, when taken together, define the four primary speech functions of *offer*, *command*, *statement*, and *question* (see Figure 1): "These,

in turn, are matched by a set of desired responses: accepting an offer, carrying out a command, acknowledging a statement and answering a question” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 108). But in real life situations, we may demand goods-&-services by means of a clause which is grammatically declarative, that is, a statement: “You’d better come in” (Thompson 1996, 40). The semantic system of speech functions may be further elaborated in delicacy via the metaphors of mood, a strategy that should be understood together with the concept of modality.

Four basic speech functions	Definitions	Examples
Offer	Giving goods-&-services	<i>Would you like a cup of tea?</i>
Command	Demanding goods-&-services	<i>Give me a cup of tea!</i>
Statement	Giving information	<i>He made a cup of tea.</i>
Question	Demanding information	<i>What is he doing?</i>

Figure 1. Four basic speech functions (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 107)

2.2 Modality types and modal orientation

Modality is the intermediate ground of the polarity (*is/isn't, do/don't*) of each speech role. Halliday (1994, 88–99) classifies modality into two types: if the commodity being exchanged is information, the message being made is a *proposition*. If, on the other hand, the commodity is goods-&-services, the message being conveyed is a *proposal*. The first type of modality is called *modalization*, and the second is referred to as *modulation*. Proposition and proposal, as types of mood metaphor, are realized by a clause nexus of projection (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 630). In a proposition, there are two kinds of intermediate possibilities between the polarity: probability and usuality. Therefore, these are the two subcategories of modalization. In a proposal, there are also two kinds of intermediate possibilities: obligation and inclination. Therefore, these are the two subcategories of modulation. Both obligation and inclination may be expressed in either of two ways or by both together: (a) by a finite modal operator, for instance, *you should know that*; (b) by an expansion of the Predicator, for instance, *You're supposed to know that; I'm anxious to help them*.

Besides expanding the meaning potential via mood metaphor, “the semantic domain of modality is also extended through grammatical metaphor to include indications of subjective and objective orientation” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 626). This “modality orientation” (*ibid.*) or “modal responsibility,” as Thompson (1996, 60) puts it, is used to examine how far the speaker overtly accepts responsibility for the attitude being expressed. Expressions such as *it is certain (that) that*

is true and *I'm certain (that) that is true* might be regarded as free variants or different ways of saying the same thing, but they are not: *it is certain...* indicates an objective orientation while *I'm certain...* presents a subjective judgment on the speaker's part. The system of orientation is expanded by the addition of a systemic comparison in the source of conviction between 'explicit' and 'implicit' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 626). Wordings such as *I think* and *I believe* are explicit while *you are supposed to* is implicit.

In a word, interpersonal metaphor, including speech roles and functions, modality types and modality orientation, grants us a perspective into the social distance between the speaker and the addressee. The analysis of all these elements will help to answer our research question concerning how the discourse of the SARS notices reflects the institutions' social roles and their relationships with each other and with the audience.

3. Data and method

This study draws on the abovementioned concepts to analyze four Chinese public notices and their English translations released by three institutions in Macao: the Health Services of the Macao SAR Government (MHS), the Civic and Municipal Affairs Bureau (IACM) and the Museum of Macao (MOM). Macao official public notices normally appear in two official languages, namely, Chinese and Portuguese. An English version is added when there is a need to inform international tourists of something urgent or important. The public notices under investigation were produced and released at a special moment when SARS was rampant in the neighboring regions. Therefore, these notices were found in three language versions: Chinese, Portuguese and English. According to our pilot study in this project, which involved a telephone interview with a translator in the Health Services of the Macao SAR Government, the SARS notices were first written in Chinese, then translated into Portuguese and English. The written texts of the notices, together with warning or instructive illustrations, were printed in posters to be put up in tourist attractions and in public places such as parks, streets and plazas. They were also printed in pamphlets which were placed at the entrance of public buildings, museums and border check points for people to pick up.

The current study only centres on the Chinese and the English versions of the four public notices. The fact that the Portuguese version is not included in the analysis is mainly due to two reasons: the authors' inadequate knowledge of Portuguese and the limited space for the present paper.

In the analysis, the notice by MHS and its translation are respectively referred to as Source Text MHS (ST-MHS for short) and Target Text MHS (TT-MHS).

Likewise, the notices by IACM and their translations are referred to as ST-IACM and TT-IACM, the notice by MOM and its translation as ST-MOM and TT-MOM. IACM is the official abbreviation of the institution's name, based on the Portuguese *Instituto para os Assuntos Cívicos e Municipais*. The MHS notice contains 274 Chinese characters, its translation 161 English words. The IACM notices contain 18 and 90 Chinese characters respectively, their translations 24 and 67 English words respectively. The MOM notice contains 280 Chinese characters, its translation 149 English words. Since the two notices produced by IACM are much shorter than the other two, we consider them as one in order to make the three texts comparable in word count.

Halliday's theory of interpersonal function informs the core analytical model of this study, as shown in Figure 2. Following this model, the investigation sets out to identify features of the interpersonal patterning in each sample in respect of speech roles and speech functions, modality types and orientations, and to analyze how these interpersonal patterns are translated. In the process of analysis, QSR International's Nvivo10 analytical software was used to tag the linguistic features and quantify the results of comparison. The unit of tagging was the main clause, since interpersonal metaphors are mostly manifested at that level. For example, the clause "consult a doctor immediately" is coded as a 'command,' one of the four speech functions. This clause is also coded as an 'obligation,' one of the modality types, as well as 'implicit' and 'objective' orientation in modal responsibility. Thus, in the first stage, we examine each clause and tag the main clauses for the

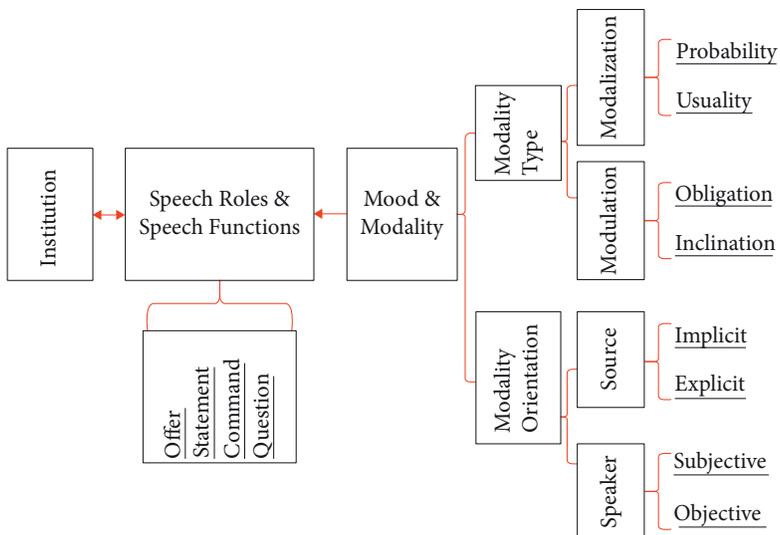


Figure 2. Analytical framework for this study

different types of interpersonal features reviewed in Section 2. In the next analysis, we query the occurrence of the types of features via Nvivo10 and conduct a series of quantitative comparisons. The comparisons are based on a calculation of the so-called ‘coverage rate,’ which indicates the percentage of a text dedicated to the particular interpersonal feature. This is calculated by counting the number of words per clause with a particular tag as a percentage of the number of words per text. Since the word count for the three texts is not identical, this coverage rate allows us to identify the relative weightings of the particular interpersonal feature in a given text. The qualitative analysis was conducted via the grammatical analysis of the identified clauses.

4. Results and sample analysis

This section presents the results of the comparison between the three samples and their translations with regard to the linguistic features under investigation, namely, speech roles and functions as well as modality types and orientations, with the hope of identifying the institutional power reflected *in* discourse. There is no room to present the analysis of all the analytical categories. In the following, a selection of analyses is presented as a means to illustrate the utility of the analytical framework and the main characteristics of the texts under investigation. In each analysis, the source texts (STs) are analysed first and then the translations are analysed and compared.

4.1 Speech roles and speech functions

The distribution of speech roles across the STs is demonstrated in Figure 3. The percentages in the figures presented in this section are all coverage rates, as explained in Section 3.

In comparing the three STs, we find that the speech function ‘statement’ is used most frequently in ST-MOM (48.49%), and ‘command’ occurs most frequently in ST-MHS (64.48%). The purpose of ‘statement’ is to give information and the receiver is not required to respond. By contrast, ‘command’ requires the audience to respond by taking actions. This implies that the speaker of ‘command’ is in a higher social position and plays a more authoritative role in the communicative event. The notice by MHS, in this case, uses the most authoritative voice with the highest coverage of ‘command’ clauses in the text.

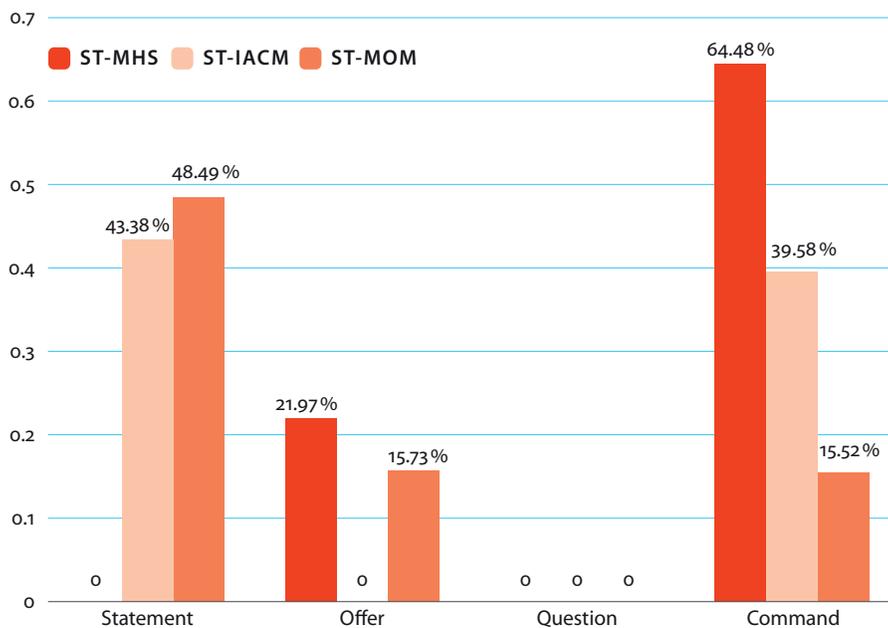


Figure 3. Comparison of speech functions across the STs. Coverage rate per text.¹

Figure 4 illustrates the coverage of the frequent speech function of ‘command’ (as a percentage of that speech function per text) in the source texts and translations. As shown there, the same ranking of coverage of ‘command’ clauses across the three texts is found in the translations and the source texts. Furthermore, the coverage rates of ‘command’ clauses in the TTs are all higher than in the STs. This shows a trend towards reinforcement of ‘command’ in the translations.

The qualitative analysis of the material reveals that the increased percentage of ‘command’ in the TTs was found to be due to the use of certain translation methods. One is amplification. For instance, the word *properly* is added to the translation of the clause 經常洗手 (LT: ‘frequently wash hands’) as shown in Example 1.² The adverb *properly* implies the speaker’s judgment of what is correct, and therefore projects an upgraded authoritative voice of the clause. Another is what we term ‘conversion.’ Conversion, like ‘transposition’ (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995), is a translation method in which a grammatical category, e.g., a verb, is rendered by another category, e.g., a noun. Here we use the term ‘conversion’ in its metaphorical

1. Please note that the coverage rate compares word counts in main clauses of a particular type with the total word count per text. As the total word count per text also includes subclauses, which are not coded here, the percentages do not add up to 100.

2. In the examples given, items under discussion are highlighted by underlining for the sake of clarity.

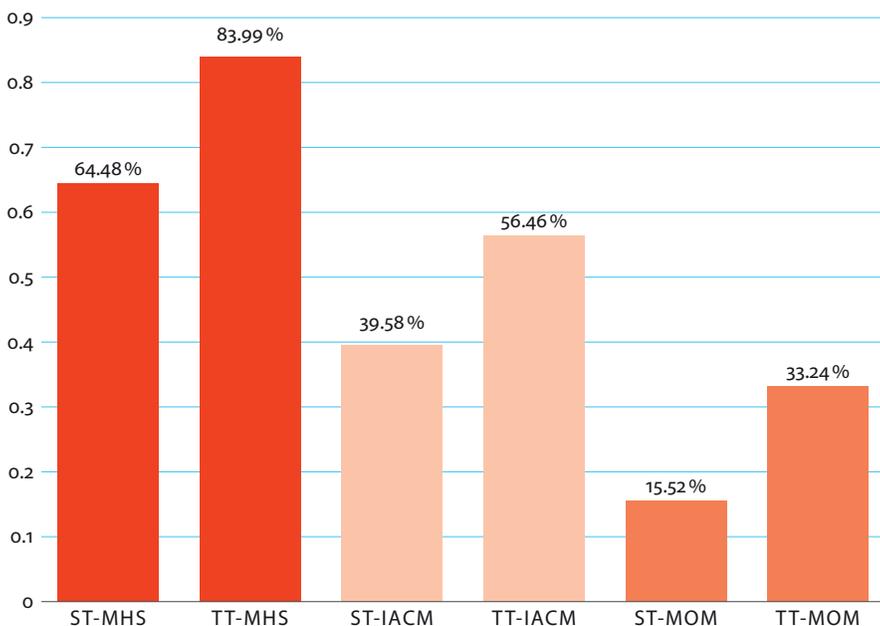


Figure 4. Speech function ‘command’ in the STs and TTs. Coverage rate per text.

sense to refer to a particular speech function or a discourse category being converted to another function or discourse category, resulting in a shift of the projection of the discourse. For instance, in Example 2: the clause “CDC特發出下列指引 (LT: CDC issues the following guidelines)” in ST-MHS functions as an offer of the guidelines. However, in the translation, the verb *advise* is used to indicate this command, although the clause form is declarative rather than imperative.

- (1) ST: 經常洗手。 (ST-MHS)
(Literal translation: Frequently wash hands.)
TT: Wash hands properly and frequently
- (2) ST: 鑑於鄰近地區目前不斷發生急性呼吸道綜合徵 (Severe acute respiratory syndrome, SARS) 的個案，為預防有關疾病在本澳發生及傳播，疾病預防控制中心(CDC)特發出下列指引。 (ST-MHS)
(LT: In view of an outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome in our neighboring areas, in order to prevent the occurrence and spreading of mentioned infectious disease, CDC (Center for disease control and prevention) hereby issues the following guidelines.)
TT: In view of an outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome in our neighboring areas, CDC (Center for disease control and prevention) advises institutions and general public on the following precautionary measures for the prevention of occurrence and spreading of mentioned infectious disease.

4.2 Modality types and orientations

As mentioned in Section 2.2, there are two major modality types, modalization and modulation. Modulation is an important parameter to indicate the social position of the three institutions, in which ‘obligation’ shows the degree of authority of the speaker and ‘inclination’ reflects the speaker’s willingness to do things or to offer certain services. With regard to linguistic features, ‘obligation’ is associated with the speech function ‘command,’ and ‘inclination’ is associated with ‘offer.’ The relationships are reflected in the results of the comparison of modality types across the three STs (see Figure 5); there we can see that ‘obligation’ is used most frequently in ST-MHS (63.86%) and least in ST-MOM (21.77%), corresponding to the results that ‘command’ is used most frequently in ST-MHS (64.48%) and least in ST-MOM (15.52%). Although the percentages are not identical, the rankings are the same.

An analysis analogous to that shown in Figure 4, which illustrates an increase in the coverage rate for ‘command’ in all three translations, reveals that also the coverage rate for ‘obligation’ is expanded in the TTs. For this feature the MHS notice shows an increase from 63.86% to 86.18%, the IACM notice from 49.65% to 57.51%, and the MOM notice from 21.77% to 33.96%. Our qualitative analysis of the ST and TT shows that the translation method of amplification is closely associated with the expansion.

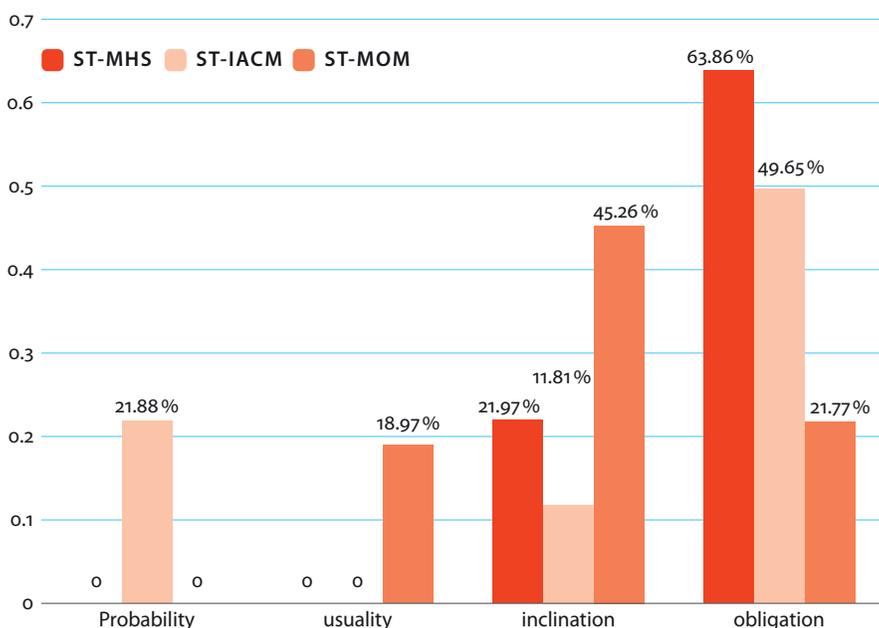


Figure 5. Comparison of modality types among the STs. Coverage rate per text.

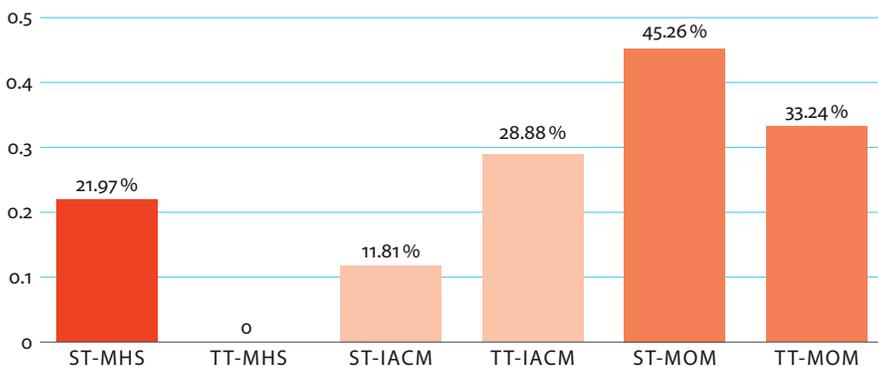


Figure 6. Modality type ‘inclination’ in the STs and TTs. Coverage rate per text.

Figure 6 presents a modality type in which the pattern in translation is slightly different from that demonstrated previously. Unlike the increased coverage rate for ‘obligation’ in the TTs, the coverage rate of ‘inclination’ decreases in two of the three texts: TT-MHS (from 21.97% to 0%) and TT-MOM (from 42.26% to 33.24%). This might be due to the conversion of the speech function ‘offer’ to ‘command,’ as in Example 2, or, additionally, to the omission of content, as in Example 3 where ‘command’ is again introduced and where the second half of the Chinese clause 已加大館內抽氣機強度 (LT: has already increased the capacity of dehumidifier) is absent from the translation.

- (3) ST: 為確保博物館內有空氣流通, 已加大館內抽氣機強度。(ST-MOM)
 (LT: In order to ensure air ventilation inside the museum, (the museum) has already increased the capacity of dehumidifier.)
 TT: Maintain good indoor ventilation.

However, the coverage rate for ‘inclination’ in the third text, TT-IACM, is doubled (originally 11.81%, now 28.88%), which accords with the increasing coverage of speech function ‘offer’ in the text.

The subjective dimension of modality orientation implies the commitment the speaker aims to make. The higher the coverage percentage of subjective orientation, the more determinedly the speaker intends to fulfill the commitment. In comparing the three STs, we find that ST-MOM has the highest coverage rate for subjective orientation (43.75%, see Figure 7), which indicates that the Museum of Macao actively responds to the instructions from the Macao Health Services through the use of subjective orientation in the clauses that offer the preventative measure of SARS. For instance, Example 4 uses the active voice to bring out the subject of the modal verb 建議 (suggest) so as to acknowledge that the advice and the attitude come from the museum.

- (4) ST: 為預防呼吸道傳染性疾病感染, 本館建議參觀者自備口罩, 並多洗手。(ST-MOM)
 (LT: To prevent Respiratory Tract Infection contamination, the museum suggests that visitors wear masks, and frequently wash their hands.)

The writer of ST-IACM, on the contrary, tries to avoid subjectivity. It seems that IACM wants to build an impartial and distant image in front of the public. Example 5 thus shows that the use of passive voice can avoid the subjectivity of the commitment by omitting the operator of “fining”:

- (5) ST: 隨地吐痰可引致傳染散播, 同時可被重罰。(ST-IACM)
 (LT: Spitting can cause diseases transmission, and at the same time can/may be severely fined.)
 TT: Spitting can cause diseases transmission. Violator[s] will be severely fined.

The feature of subjective modal orientation is reinforced in all three translations (see Figure 7). The reinforcement is particularly dramatic in the translations of the IACM notices, where the coverage rate for subjective clauses in the translations is almost three times greater than in the originals (28.88% in the translations compared to 11.81% in the originals). Conversion once more is found in the translation. This time, the converted discourse category is modality orientation, e.g., a shift from an objective to a subjective modality orientation. As shown in Example 6, the source text is a clause with objective orientation, since the subject of the clause is missing. However, a first-person plural subject identity is given back to the clause when translated into English, and hence the speaker admits

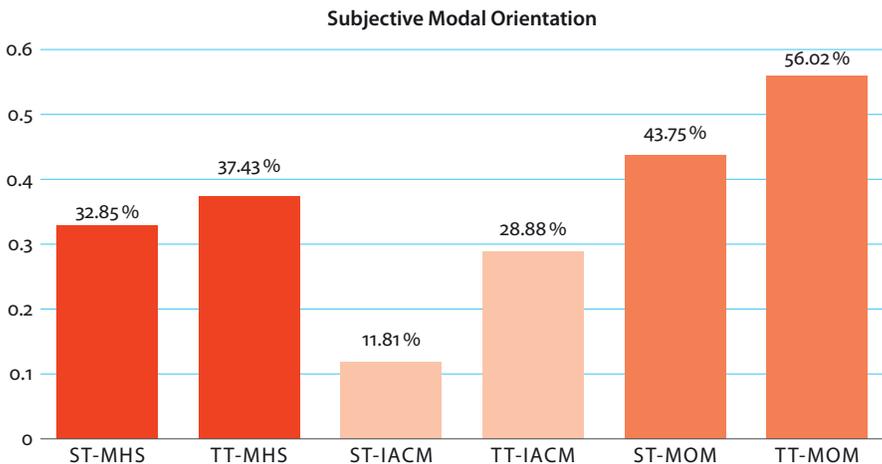


Figure 7. Speaker’s commitment (subjective modal orientation) in the STs and TTs. Coverage rate per text.

the statement as the projection of personal attitude, which indicates the speaker's willingness to accept responsibility for the statement. It is worth noting that this finding may also be the result of a difference between the two language systems. Although Chinese is regarded as a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976; 1981), the subject of a sentence is often omitted, especially in dialogues, while in English this is very rarely the case.

- (6) ST: 不便之處,敬希見諒。(ST-IACM)

(LT: (For) the measures that cause inconvenience, (we) hope (you) can understand.)

TT: We are sorry for any inconveniences caused.

In addition, another system of modality orientation, namely explicit and implicit, is related to the source of conviction. Our results show that ST-MHS has the highest percentage coverage of implicit source (85.83%, compared to 85.07% in ST-IACM and 75% in ST-MOM), and ST-MOM has the highest percentage coverage of explicit source (10.43%, compared to 0% in both ST-MHS and ST-IACM). MHS is expected to have expertise in health services and to have the status to issue regulations regarding disease control and prevention. On the other hand, MOM is under the supervision of Macao governmental institutions such as MHS and IACM, particularly during the SARS crisis. This explains why, when offering preventative measures, MOM explicitly cites the authority of MHS (see Example 7):

- (7) ST. 按澳門特別行政區政府衛生局的指引, 本館對於預防呼吸道傳染性疾病採取以下措施。

(LT: Following Macao SAR Government Health Bureau's guidance, the Museum's measures against the Respiratory Tract Infection illness are as follows.)

TT: In accordance with the instructions from the Macao Health Services, the Museum is taking the following measures against the Respiratory Tract Infection illness.

Reinforcement of these modality orientation features is also found in the TTs. The sources of conviction thus become even more implicit in TT-MHS than in ST-MHS, and a similar pattern occurs with strengthened explicitness in TT-MOM. Take Example 2, cited in Section 4.1. The identity of CDC (a subsidiary of MHS) is revealed immediately in the position of the clause subject and no separate clause is needed to specify the source of this statement. The coverage percentage of implicit source increases in the translation due to the amplification of the clause content in which the translator gives more information on the measures to be taken. Example 7 extracted from the notice by MOM shows how the higher authority, MHS, is

cited in the ST explicitly and faithfully highlighted in the translation by the use of a separate clause.

To sum up, the three samples display different interpersonal patterns in terms of speech function, modality type and modality orientation. The public notice by MHS prefers to use the speech function ‘command,’ the modality type ‘obligation’ and an implicit modality orientation, while the public notice by MOM tends to use the speech functions ‘statement’ and ‘offer,’ the modality type ‘inclination’ and a subjective, explicit modality orientation; the IACM notice plays an intermediary role in terms of the linguistic parameter index. In the translations, the dominant linguistic features in each public notice are reinforced and translation shifts such as amplification and conversion are found in different discourse categories, e.g., speech function and modal orientation.

5. Concluding discussion: Power behind discourse

The assumption for all the above grammatical analysis is, as suggested by Halliday (1994, 70), that “language is functioning simply as a means towards achieving what are essentially non-linguistic ends.” The non-linguistic ends, in this research, are considered to be linked with the power behind the discourse, which, as quoted from Fairclough in the Introduction to this article, can be explored via orders of discourse and social orders. In what follows, we will discuss the power behind discourse in relation to our findings.

5.1 SARS notice discourse as a social practice

Drawing on Fairclough (1989; 1992), we regard the SARS notices under investigation as a social practice because they were not produced at random and in a social vacuum but arose from the outbreak of SARS in Asia, especially in the Greater China Areas, and were shaped by situational, institutional and social structures. Although there was a lack of effective medicine to cure the disease, it was reported that the SARS virus is mainly air- and water-borne and the spread of the disease can be avoided by a good hygiene environment. In order to enhance the public’s awareness of the importance of taking preventive measures against the disease spreading in the community, the Health Services of Macao (MHS), a governmental institution whose main functions are to provide services and advice in the prevention of diseases and to coordinate different medical institutions in providing services for the health and hygiene of the Macao citizens, took the lead in producing and posting the notices. The Civil and Municipal Affairs Bureau, another governmental institution, followed suit in requesting the citizens to take preventive

actions and warned the public that “violators will be severely fined.” And the Museum of Macao, a government cultural institution, appeared as a strong supporter of MHS by quoting from its instructions on taking preventive measures. Thus, the social structure conditions discourses, and at the same time, discourses reflect the voices of institutions and “their capacity to produce and disseminate discourses with institutional values, meanings and positions” (Mayr 2008, 1).

5.2 SARS notice discourse reflecting social relationships

The result of our analysis on the speech roles and speech functions in the SARS discourse indicates that the MHS notice mostly uses ‘Command’ to request action from the public while MOM mostly uses ‘Statement’ to give information to the public. And the IACM notice is somewhat in between, namely, it has both the speech functions ‘Command’ and ‘Statement.’ The finding accords with the social status of the three institutions in Macao. Although all of them are governmental institutions, MHS and IACM are divisions respectively under the Department of Social Affairs and the Department of Administration and Justice, while MOM is a museum under the sub-division of Cultural Affairs. Furthermore, MOM is not at all an authority in the area of health and hygiene. This observation draws our attention to the concept of “intertextuality” in CDA which refers to the way in which discourses are “always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier as well as those which are produced synchronically or subsequently” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 276). Intertextuality also helps to explain the social relationships or the relationship in the communicative event. For instance, when MOM begins its notice by saying “in accordance with the instructions from the Macao Health Services, the Museum is taking the following measures against the Respiratory Tract Infection illness,” it not only connects to the measures issued by MHS but also reveals its own subordinate status and its willingness to cooperate with the other two governmental institutions. The result of the analysis regarding the modality types and orientation can further confirm the above argument. “Obligation” has been identified as being most frequent in both the source text and the translation by MHS and “inclination” occurs most often in the source text and the translation by MOM. This suggests that the MHS notice has a higher degree of authority while MOM indicates willingness to support and to implement the measures against SARS.

Another interesting point to note is the relationship between MHS and IACM, which are on equal footing in the Macao Government Structure. The former has expertise in health and hygiene, and the latter is like a city council whose responsibilities are to organize and manage a large variety of public activities. Normally, IACM is much more active in social events and in communicating with

the local citizens about various activities being organized in the Macao Special Administrative Region. In the SARS crisis, however, IACM is obviously not an authoritative institution in the area of disease prevention. But in producing its public notice, it does not, like MOM, refer and defer to the instructions issued by MHS. Instead, it tries to bring its power into full play by saying that “the Civil and Municipal Affairs Bureau warns everyone that spitting in public places will cause diseases transmission. Violators will be severely fined.” The last clause, though a statement in speech function, is of course a warning of the severe consequence of spitting, rather than just a piece of information. Through discourse, the dominant groups such as the MHS and IACM are able to gain a more stable position for themselves in this special communicative event. On the other hand, subordinate institutions, such as the Museum of Macao, and educational institutions consent to the existing social order by echoing the guidelines of the authoritative institutions. This discourse phenomenon is in agreement with Mayr’s (2008, 14) point that discourse “as a practice of power, hegemony operates largely through language: people consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural groups generating the discourse represent them as ‘natural.’”

We found that the translation of the SARS notices plays an important role in reinforcing the institutional power and social relationships. The quantitative results show that the coverage rates for ‘command’ and ‘obligation’ are expanded in the translations of all the public notices under investigation. This suggests that translation reinforces the voice of the authority. Translation also emphasizes the relationships of the institutions involved in this communicative event. Example 7 is a case in point in showing that the faithful translation of the ST can restate the supporting part of MOM in the SARS crisis, while Examples 2 and 5, with small changes in modal operators, have reinforced the social status of MHS and IACM. The ST of Example 2, the MHS “特發出下列指引” (LT “gives the following guidelines”) has been translated into “advises institutions and (the) general public on the following precautionary measures.” The same can be found with the IACM notice, which says “隨地吐痰可引致傳染散播，同時可被重罰” (LT “Spitting can cause diseases transmission, and at the same time may be severely fined”). The Chinese word “可” is equivalent to the English modal verb “may” or “can,” indicating a possibility or likelihood. Whereas the English version uses a more determined modal operator “will” (“Violators will be severely fined”). The choices made in producing the translated texts have reinforced the institutions’ social roles and their relationship with each other and with the audience.

5.3 SARS notices reflecting social change

Another aspect of the notices that has not been attended to is the inclusion of English in the SARS notices. English is not an official language of Macao; therefore, most public notices released by governmental institutions are not written in English, but only in the two official languages, Chinese and Portuguese. Interestingly, however, in the SARS notices English has become an essential language. Why does English assume such an importance in this discursive event? This, to our understanding, is not simply a matter of lingua franca, but a matter of social change in Macao. Macao was under Portuguese administration for more than four hundred years (1557–1999). Portuguese is legalized as one of the two official languages in the Macao Basic Law, and used in all governmental documents. However, with the opening of the Macao markets to the outside world, a large number of investors from neighboring regions and from the whole globe were attracted to Macao and English has become a working language for many enterprises and institutions. Moreover, with increasing inward investment and a growing number of immigrants and foreign labor, as well as millions of tourists coming to Macao, English has become one of the most popular languages in daily communication.

6. Concluding remarks

To sum up, we have combined theoretical concepts from CDA and SFL in our research to explore the relationships between discourse and power. Specifically, we have applied these concepts to the examination of SARS notices released by three institutions in Macao, with a focus on the speech roles, speech functions, as well as modality types and modality orientation. The results support our assumption that language choices in producing the notices reflect and construe the institutions' social roles and their relationships with each other and with the public (see examples in Section 5.2); the discourses of the notices are also a function of the sociocultural conditions in the context of Macao, and therefore further reveal the power behind discourse. Translation, as a form of discourse practice, is influenced by the sociocultural conditions and reinforces the power across languages. The analysis of the translations of the public notices in Macao contributes to the understanding of the way of power transmission in this context.

Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inevitable limitations of this research: the size of data for analysis is relatively small and the methodology of combining the quantitative comparison with qualitative comparison is still at its experimental stage, awaiting further improvement in the future; space constraints also

precluded the citing of more examples. Despite all the limitations, however, we believe this case study provides a model that usefully entails the social context via the investigation of linguistic patterning and translation shifts. We hope it will be a useful addition to the corpus of research that adopts a discourse analytic approach to translation studies.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by the University of Macau [grant number: MYRG103(Y1-L2)-FSH12; MYRG2015-00234-FAH]. It is part of the interim results of the authors' research project "Functional Approaches to Translation Studies: Theories and Applications."

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Engagement and graduation resources as markers of translator/interpreter positioning

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This article examines the application of appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005) to the analysis of translation. It develops the findings in Munday (2012), which focused on attitudinal meanings, and explores the potential for the use of engagement resources and graduation as a means of determining translator/interpreter positioning. Using a range of examples from texts of international organizations, it discusses the translation of reporting verbs and intensification as a signal of the translator's/interpreter's degree of 'investment' in a proposition and control over the text receiver's response. This is framed within the concept of 'discourse space theory' (Chilton 2004) to provide a reference for future work in this field.

Keywords: discourse analysis, translation, evaluation, appraisal theory, reporting verbs, translator positioning

1. Introduction

In this article my main concern is the linguistic modelling of translator positioning through applications of appraisal theory. I draw strongly on a systemic functional linguistic (SFL) model of language in which the actualization of 'meaning potential' expresses and constructs a certain discourse and view of reality. Following Halliday (1978, 109), 'meaning potential' refers to the range of lexicogrammatical and other choices open to the text producer at all points in a text, constrained by genre and text-type conventions. There is always meaning behind these mainly paradigmatic selections (O'Grady 2013, 2), but we need to be aware of the choice available in order to reliably evaluate the text producer's, and the translator's, interventions (Munday 2007).¹

1. Throughout, the term 'text producer' is used to refer to the writer/speaker and 'translator' is employed as a generic term for translator/interpreter.

2. Systemic functional linguistics and appraisal theory

In the SFL model, the semantics of discourse is conveyed through three metafunctions or strands of meaning: the ideational/experiential, the interpersonal and the textual. The bulk of corpus-based work on translation in this tradition has focused on the textual, realized by the thematic and information structures and cohesive devices (see Kim and Matthiessen, this volume), and the ideational, expressed by denotation and transitivity choices, which is the most obvious expression of power and ideology (Fairclough 2001, 94–95; see also Calzada Pérez 2007). By contrast, the more subjective interpersonal function, which is central to ‘meaning as an exchange,’ has been relatively overlooked, despite being crucial for the relative positioning of text producer and receiver (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 106) and, by extension, of the translator/interpreter who intervenes in the communication. The interpersonal function serves to construct or negotiate solidarity and value judgements between participants, typically through the use of mood, modality, forms of address, pronoun choice and ‘evaluative’ or ‘interpersonal’ epithets (318–319).

The system of interpersonal meaning has been developed in a highly detailed way in ‘appraisal theory’ (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005).² The configuration of appraisal meanings is what gives a text its ‘value orientation,’ conveying an axiological judgement from the producer towards an object or phenomenon and at the same time positioning the receiver in relation to that judgement. Appraisal theory provides an intricate taxonomy of lexical realizations of evaluation as can be seen in simplified form in Table 1.

The main domain of ‘attitude’ is divided into three main categories: ‘affect,’ ‘judgement’ and ‘appreciation,’ each graded on a cline from positive to negative and each corresponding to reactions which are respectively emotional, ethical and aesthetic. Previous case studies (in Munday 2012) have suggested that, though omissions may occur, translation shifts between attitudinal categories are often relatively minor unless there is a high degree of manipulation, or the value is contested or in some way ambiguous. In this article I want to begin to explore the potential of the other two important areas of appraisal: the resources of ‘engagement’ and of ‘graduation.’

2. Others (notably Hunston and Thompson 2000; Hunston 2011) use the general term ‘evaluation’; Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014, 10) differentiate between the broader concept of ‘stance’ (or ‘attitude’ or ‘subjectivity’) and the specific linguistic and other semiotic realisations, ‘evaluation,’ which may occur at any level of the system.

Table 1. Appraisal resources (adapted from Martin and White 2005, 38 and Munday 2012, 24)

Domain of appraisal	Category	Value	Illustrative realization
Attitude	Affect	Feelings and emotional reactions	<i>happy, sad</i>
	Judgement	Of ethics, behaviour, capacity	<i>wrong, brave</i>
	Appreciation	Of things, phenomena, reactions	<i>beautiful, authentic</i>
Engagement	Monogloss	Single-voiced	Categorical assertion
	Heterogloss	Contractive Expansive	<i>show, certainly claim, nearly, possibly</i>
Graduation	Force	Raise	<i>totally extinct</i>
		Lower	<i>slightly worried</i>
	Focus	Sharpen	<i>a true champion</i>
		Soften	<i>kind of blue</i>

2.1 Engagement

Engagement draws on the Bakhtinian concept of ‘dialogism’ and is defined as follows:

Broadly speaking, engagement is concerned with the ways in which resources [...] position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position. (Martin and White 2005, 36).

In other words, a producer indicates his/her position towards the attitudinal value expressed and in some way endeavours to condition the receiver’s response by reducing or expanding the possible range of responses. These two basic choices in the system of engagement are known as ‘monogloss’ or ‘heterogloss.’ ‘Monogloss’ uses categorical assertions to build shared values with the receiver by presenting an idea as being common-sense and having no alternative. ‘Heterogloss,’ by contrast, acknowledges the possibility of alternative viewpoints, responses and/or truth values. Heterogloss itself may be either ‘dialogically expansive’ (opening up to other voices) or ‘dialogically contractive’ (restricting possible responses), as depicted in Table 1 above (see also Martin and White 2005, 102). The range of resources, and their use in communicating real-life values, can be seen in Example 1, taken from a United Nations Security Council report on illegal mining in the Democratic Republic of Congo:

- (1) Sanctioning one or two of these illegal *négociants* who fraudulently export cassiterite **may possibly** demonstrate to others that punitive measures can

be taken. However, most economic operators in the area know that these measures are rarely applied. Even if sanctions target one or two notorious operators with financial or travel restrictions, this would **most probably** not effect a change in overall behaviour, since the elimination of one makes room for others.³

The epistemic modals highlighted in bold give an evaluation of probability that entertains alternative positions (cf. Martin and White 2005, 108–109) while the underlined discourse markers (*however, even if*) are counter-expectancy indicators that rhetorically deny the previous proposition (*demonstrate ... taken*). In this way the text engages with the audience and builds solidarity for its tentatively expressed argument, namely, that sanctions against a few individuals are probably not effective.

The relatively small number of studies which have hitherto adopted aspects of engagement for the analysis of translation have produced differing results. Epistemic values and expressions form the core of Vandepitte et al.'s (2011) very insightful examination of two Dutch translations (from 1860 and 2000) of Charles Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859). Using Martin and White's (2005, 17) framework of value and orientation with its two axes of subjectivity–objectivity and high–low certainty, the study analyses shifts in epistemic modals in the two translations. The results show a definite pattern of shifts towards higher degrees of certainty (e.g., *might*>*may*, *might be*>*are*) in the target texts, particularly the earlier translation, and the authors posit that this stronger alignment with the truth values of some of Darwin's assertions may be a reflection of the positivistic scientific ideology of the time. We shall return to the strength of alignment in our consideration of reporting verbs below.

By contrast, Qian's (2012) analysis of a Chinese translation of a question-and-answer session with the then US Vice President Dick Cheney, finds that the target text reduces some explicit indicators of engagement (*I think, certainly, of course*) and leaves the position of the speaker somewhat vaguer than in the source text. While Qian hypothesizes that one of the reasons is that Chinese prefers tighter semantic cohesion, it is also quite possible that some of these omissions are due to text mode: the source text, simply because it is unscripted spoken language, is inevitably less cohesive, more staccato, as Cheney resorts to these typical patterns of positioning to persuade his listeners. However, the formality of written trans-

3. United Nations Security Council Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 8 of resolution 1698 (2006) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 8 February 2007, p.8. <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/DRC%20S200768.pdf>

lation is more likely to reduce precisely those features because they characterize spoken language.

Assis Rosa (2009, 2013) combines appraisal theory with narrative theory and critical discourse analysis to identify linguistic realizations which construe intra-textual power relations between a narrator, the characters and narratees. She specifically maps Martin and White's engagement categories of expansion and contraction onto forms of discourse representation, ranging from the narrative report of speech acts (maximal contraction, maximal narrator power, minimal solidarity with characters) through to free direct speech (maximal expansion, minimal narrator power, maximal solidarity with characters). Her corpus consists of 14 Portuguese translations of extracts of Charles Dickens novels and her findings suggest a move in translation towards complying with the target readers' customary poetic norms. While this sheds light on the abstract narratorial positioning through a classification of different forms of reporting (e.g., *I mentioned what they had said, ... said/asked Mrs Betsey*), my interest here is more clearly in the attitudinal value connoted by the reporting verbs themselves, which are covert indicators of the stance of the authorial voice (Martin and White 2005, 112).

2.2 Reporting verbs

In translation studies, apart from a very descriptive contribution from Ardekani (2002), who considers them as culture-bound items, and Winters' (2007) study of speech-act verbs as a feature of translator style, reporting verbs have often been overlooked. In applied linguistics, however, they are the key element in research into academic and other writing. A classic study, Thompson and Ye (1991), modified by Hyland (2004, 28), classifies reporting verbs into three rhetorical functions: research (e.g., *observe, show*), cognition (e.g., *believe, consider*) and discourse acts (e.g., *discuss, state*) together with three categories of verbs for expressing evaluative potential: factive (e.g., *point out, establish*), counter-factive (e.g., *fail, ignore*) and non-factive. Non-factive verbs give no clear signal of evaluation, but, as we shall see below, may indicate the degree of positiveness, neutrality, certainty or tentativeness ascribed to the source author. In terms of engagement, reporting verbs indicate a particular stance towards a proposition and can be situated along the monoglossic — heteroglossic cline in the following way:

non-factive, opens up many alternative views and even suggests that the leaders' expressed intent may not be true. When we look at the official translations of (4), we see various resources used in the different languages to render the expansive reporting verb: Spanish uses *sostienen* ('they sustain'), French *disent* ('they say') and Arabic *yaqūlān* ('say-they'). The latter two certainly adopt a more neutral form than the English, allowing a different interpretation of the rhetorical force of the verb. This shift is emphasized by a particularly sensitive example later in the debate in the statement from the ambassador for Lebanon, who attacks what he perceives to be the hypocrisy of the Israeli Prime Minister. It is translated into English as follows:

- (5) The Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, **claims** that he is ready to resume negotiations without preconditions. At the same time, he prejudices their outcome by sticking to what he considers to be constants, thus undermining the very basis of negotiations as such.

On this occasion, the Arabic original of the reporting verb is *yadda'ī* ('claim'), similar in force to the English; the French employs the very sceptical *prétend* ('claim/allege') while the Spanish uses the more neutral *asegura* ('assures').⁵ Comparison of the whole extract with the Arabic source text shows that the English translation standardizes the voices. The Arabic places quotation marks around the word *musallamāt* ('postulates,' rendered by the TT as *constants* above) to signal another voice, whether it be Netanyahu's own or the Lebanese ambassador's interpretation. It is unclear at what point the punctuation was added to the Arabic. We are dealing with a spoken intervention from the ambassador, but it is not impossible that it featured in a prepared written text — or it was added later in the process of transcription. What is clear is that this acknowledgement of the other voice is absent from both the French and Spanish versions of this extract. Such apparently minor linguistic shifts in translation play a potentially important role in positioning the speaker in respect of the statement and at the same time in activating reader response.

The transcript of the meeting is rich in the number of reporting verbs, for example:

- (6) the Palestinian leadership **maintains** that peace negotiations cannot resume while Israeli settlement activities continue.
- (7) let me **state** here clearly, as I have **stated** in numerous letters of complaint...

5. Here and below I am indebted to Komail Al-Herz and Bader Altamimi for help with the Arabic.

In both sentences, the French uses the calque *maintenir*, while the Spanish uses *sostener* ('sustain') for *maintains* followed by *señalar* ('indicate') and *afirmar* ('affirm') for the *state/stated* example. These choices correspond to the category of non-factive verbs with generally neutral evaluation, with the exception of the intuitively more positive *afirmar*. However, the subjectivity of the assessment of such evaluation requires further investigation in order to understand the rhetorical shifts of positioning that may occur in translation. Let us take the example of *afirmar* in the last example. The Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy (*DRAE*) defines its reporting sense as: "To assure or give something as certain."⁶ Prominent bilingual dictionaries give a range of possible translation equivalents: *assert*, *state*, and *affirm that* (*Collins Spanish Dictionary* 2009, 47) and *state*, *declare*, *assert*, along with examples with *say* and with *confirm* (*Oxford Spanish Dictionary* 2003, 21); all, with the exception of the more neutral *state* and *say*, seem to be non-factive and positive. Moving beyond the traditional dictionary to look at a parallel-text resource such as *Linguee*, often used by translators in their search for equivalents, gives a wider list of possible candidates, in order of presentation as follows: *claim*, *affirm*, *assert*, *confirm*, *assure*, *establish*, *maintain*, *contend*, *attach*, *submit*, *protest*, *aver*.⁷ The striking inclusion is the verb *claim*, a very tentative non-factive. This is thrown into starker relief when the *Linguee* sample of this sense of *afirmar* is subjected to more detailed analysis. In 52 sentence pairs containing *afirma/afirmar* in a reporting sense, the English equivalents are as follows:⁸

say 22, *claim* 12, *affirm* 6, *state* 4, *omission* 4, *declare* 1, *adverb* 3 (*arguably*, *purportedly*, *reportedly*).

So, there seems to be a clear split between the more positive equivalent *affirm*, the neutral (*say*, *state*) and the tentative (*claim* plus the three adverbs). The examples below serve to illustrate different interpretations and positionings. Example 8 is from the website of a major Spanish bank:

- (8) a. *No obstante, seis meses después de la adquisición ya se puede afirmar que ha sido muy positiva para el valor de la franquicia.*
 b. However, six months after the acquisition, it is safe to say that it has been very positive about the franchise.

6. <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=afirmar>, my translation.

7. <http://www.linguee.com/spanish-english/translation/afirmar.html>

8. The analysis is based on a corpus of sentence-aligned correspondence pairs in Spanish and English; it is often not clear which entry in each pair is the source text, but this should not overly concern us given that our goal is simply to start to map the meaning potential of *afirmar* through its suggested English equivalents.

In an otherwise literal translation, the phrase *ya se puede afirmar* ('now one may affirm') is rendered explicitly by *it is safe to say* that adds very positive attitudinal colour to the neutral *say*. Contrast this with the Example 9, from a UN document:

- (9) a. Japan has **claimed** that it has done everything it had to do in terms of apologizing for its past crimes.
 b. *El Japón afirma que ha hecho todo lo posible para disculparse por sus crímenes pasados.*
 ('Japan affirms that it has done everything possible to apologise for past crimes')

The example clearly shows that the two text producers/translators adopt significantly different stances through their choice of reporting verb. While the English opens up Japan's claim to challenge, the Spanish could be read either neutrally as a statement of fact or even positively as an affirmation of appropriate ethical behaviour to apologize for past wrongs. Furthermore, the use of the present tense *afirma* ('affirms') in the Spanish together with the phrase *todo lo posible* ('everything possible'), in place of the more distancing English present perfect (*has claimed*) and the rather grudging modal of obligation (*everything it had to do*), form a very different evaluative prosody.

A further example of *afirmar* probes the area of evidentiality and investment in truth, along the lines of Vandepitte et al.'s study (2011). Here the original is English with simultaneous publication in French for UNESCO and later translation into Spanish.⁹

- (10) a. This testing initiative is **arguably** the most significant educational reform in the recent history of Kyrgyzstan.
 b. *Cette initiative a été saluée comme la réforme éducative la plus significative de l'histoire récente du Kirghizistan.*
 c. *Cabe afirmar que esta iniciativa ha sido la reforma educativa más importante de la reciente historia de Kirguistán.*

Once again, target texts (10b) and (10c) are literal translations except for the indicator of engagement carried out by the reporting verb. The Spanish *cabe afirmar que* ('it is appropriate to affirm that') here translates the English modal adverb *arguably* and the French passive construction *a été saluée comme* ('has been greeted as'). In Martin and White's typology of value and orientation (2005, 17), *arguably*

9. Hallak, Jacques, and Muriel Poisson. 2009. *Corrupt Schools, Corrupt Universities: What Can be Done?* Paris: Unesco. French version entitled *Écoles corrompues, universités corrompues : que faire ?*; Spanish translation *Escuelas corruptas, universidades corruptas: qué hacer?*

would be located as an expression of moderate subjectivity-objectivity and medium intensity, similar to *probably*; *arguably* is a form of dialogic expansion, or hedging (Hyland 2005), the writers wishing to distance themselves from categorical assertion for which they have insufficient evidence. They do this with the addition of this single adverbial, giving space for alternative voices in the text. In this case, the French performs this function by attributing the statement to unnamed third parties (thus reducing the translator's own investment in the statement) but any hedging in the Spanish would depend on the reader's doubtful identification of *afirmar* as being constrictive rather than expansive.

This same problem may become clearer if we consider it in reverse, that is, when it comes to translation from Spanish. What would a translator do if faced by a headline such as the following:

- (11) *Microsoft afirma que el big data podría generar 13.000 millones en España.*¹⁰
 ('Microsoft *afirma* that big data could generate 13 billion [euro] in Spain').

Most of the translation equivalents listed above could plausibly be used to render the Spanish source. But the selection of *say*, *claim*, *affirm*, *argue*, etc. depends on the translator's interpretation of its rhetorical function. That interpretation in turn constrains the target text receiver's reading of the statement. Since translators often operate to minimize risk (Pym 2015), it may be hypothesized that for such examples the most likely translation would be the most neutral one (cf. the popularity above of *say* as an equivalent) or one which calques the source text (*affirms*). To choose the equivalent *claim* would involve the translator's very heightened investment in constrictive evaluation since it would carry with it an implicit questioning of the plausibility of Microsoft's statement. The choice of *affirm* would also indicate greater investment, but would perhaps be less risky since the implicit connotation is positive and thus not challenging to the proposition.

3. Deictic positioning

Importantly, evaluation occurs not just as an individual lexical item but as part of a complex, as the final example of the verb *afirmar* shows, again from the UN Security Council meeting. The words are spoken in English by the Brazilian ambassador, translated into Spanish:

- (12) a. Israeli security concerns can and must be reconciled with the suspension of the blockade of Gaza. **In fact**, it has been **argued here** that Israeli

10. <http://noticias.infocif.es/noticia/microsoft-afirma-que-el-big-data-podria-generar-13000-millones-en-esp>

security stands to gain from the lifting of the blockade, and we **certainly** believe so.

- b. *Las preocupaciones israelíes respecto de la seguridad deben y pueden ser conciliadas con la suspensión del bloqueo de Gaza. De hecho, se ha afirmado que la seguridad de Israel se va a beneficiar con el levantamiento del bloqueo, y nosotros ciertamente creemos que es así.*

All the highlighted elements contribute to the positioning of the ambassador in respect of this argument. *In fact* intensifies the evaluation of the first sentence, and the hedging in *argued*, which attributes the assertion to other voices in the meeting, is countered by the monoglossic ending with the upscaled intensifier *certainly*. This generally positive complex of evaluation might explain why the rhetorical force of *argued* is rendered by the slightly stronger *afirmado* ('affirmed') in the target text. But, in addition, we should note the omission in the translation of the circumstantial adjunct *here* (*it has been argued here*). Such elements are part of what, in discourse space theory, Chilton (2004, 58) calls 'deictic positioning.' *Here* is an example of positioning at the deictic centre (Stockwell 2002, 47; Hermans 2014, 298), as can be seen in Figure 2, which maps the dimensions of evaluation onto Chilton's graphic depiction of deictic positioning.

Chilton's original diagram was oriented towards the representation of political stance; in a speech, the speaker will typically locate him/herself in the centre and opponents/enemies/dispreferred values at a distance on the three axes of (1)

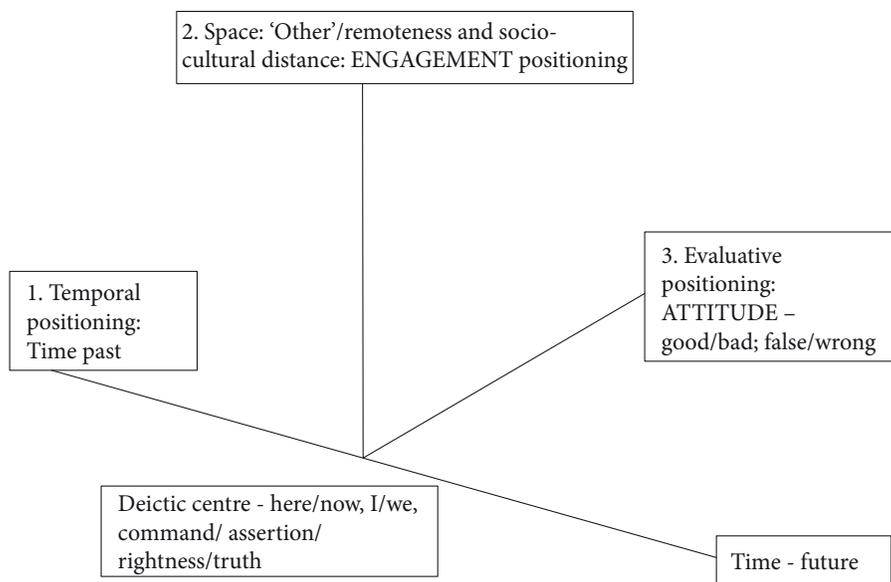


Figure 2. Dimensions of evaluation (adapted from Chilton 2004, 58)

time, (2) space, and (3) modality. The new adaptation of the diagram in Figure 2 incorporates the appraisal realizations: the modality axis is expanded to include all expressions of attitudinal value in what I have termed ‘evaluative positioning’; and the space and social distance axis represents ‘engagement positioning.’ The time axis would relate to the time difference between publication or utterance of the source text and translation. In the case of simultaneous interpreting, the difference would be almost indistinct, while the translation of a classic literary text may be very distant from the publication of the original. Translators, of course, may consciously or subconsciously distance themselves from the deictic centre at the macro or micro levels depending on how far they articulate the speaker’s degree of investment in the proposition. Variation in degree would be indicated by a shift in location along the axes or a highlighted or diminished strength. This is the realm of graduation.

4. Graduation

The graduation system is realized by the scalable axes of force and focus: focus relates to prototypicality of phenomena, which can be upscaled such as *true champion*, or downscaled *kind of blue*, in which the focus may become sharper or more blurred, which would explain some of the findings in Qian (2012; see 2.1 above). ‘Force’ relates to the degree of quantification (*many tears, small businesses*) or intensification (*totally extinct, slightly worried*) (Martin and White 2005, 154). In this way, the author, and the translator, may indicate higher or lower degrees of attitudinal meaning and engagement, including through the selection of figurative language, non-core words and, as we saw above, reporting verbs.

Intensification is directly linked to writer and reader positioning, as Martin and White explain: “upscaling of attitude frequently acts to construe the speaker/writer as maximally committed to the value position being advanced and hence as strongly outlining the reader into that value position” (152). This ‘community of shared value’ should be rhetorically coherent in the source text if the writer’s intention is to function effectively. However, I suggest that the translator’s intervention in a text may disrupt this community since the translator mostly has less investment in the text. To illustrate this, Example 13 is the concluding statement in the European Parliament debate of 24 November 2014 on a controversial motion of censure on the European Commission. This occurred following leaks about alleged tax avoidance schemes set up by multinational companies in Luxembourg during the earlier premiership of Jean-Claude Juncker, the recently elected Commission president. The polyglot Juncker ends his intervention in the debate with an impassioned plea, beginning in French and concluding in German:

- (13) a. (ST) *J'ai été élu sur un projet de règles fiscales que je compte mettre en application et je voudrais que tous ceux qui connaissent le sujet — et ils sont nombreux car ils ont été premiers ministres, ministres des finances, députés nationaux — m'appuient dans cette démarche. Je le dis très solennellement...*

Hören Sie bitte auf, mich zu beleidigen! Ich bin noch jemand, den man beleidigen kann. Es gibt einige hier, die kann man überhaupt nicht mehr beleidigen. Mich kann man noch beleidigen. Ich tue das, was ich hier im Hause versprochen habe. Ich tue das zu hundert Prozent und mit aller Kraft!¹¹

(I was elected on a proposal on tax rules that I intend to implement and I would like all those who know the subject — and they are many because they were prime ministers, finance ministers, national parliamentarians — to support me in this move. I say very solemnly... Please stop insulting me! I'm still someone one can insult. There are some here who one can really no longer insult. Me one can still insult. I'm doing what I promised here in the house. I'm doing that one hundred percent and with all my strength!)

- b. (Interpreted TT) I was elected on the basis of the fiscal rules that I wish to bring into operation and ... erm ... there are many ... erm ... erm ... people I know in ... who operate in this area and I would call on all of those ... erm ... ministers and others to support me in so doing. So may I ask you to stop ... erm ... insulting me ... you know ... I may be thick-skinned ... you can feel free I suppose to ... erm ... cast aspersions about me but ... erm ... I would rather get on with my job. Thank you.¹²

However high the calibre of linguist in such conference settings, the very process of interpreting inevitably causes some shift in positioning. Here, at the macro-level, the English language interpreter seamlessly deals with both source languages (French and German) in such a way that the listeners would most probably be unaware of the dialogic contraction of voice into a single target language. At the same time, they would be accepting an expansion in voice produced because Juncker is being interpreted by a female voice. When it comes to the micro-level, the constraints under which interpreters work inevitably mean that there is some omission of detail in pursuit of the overall goal of a coherent discourse. In this

11. The verbatim transcript of the session is available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-%2f%2fEP%2f%2fTEXT%2bCRE%2b20141124%2bITEM-015%2bDOC%2bXML%2bV0%2f%2fEN&language=EN>

12. Transcription made by the author from the video archive available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ep-live/en/plenary/video?debate=1416846711653&streamingLanguage=en>

particular example, I would argue that the omissions and changes generally reduce the intensity and directness of the source text: thus, the distinguished list of experts whom Juncker calls on for support (prime ministers, finance ministers, national parliamentarians) is reduced to simply *ministers*, the omission of the qualifiers *prime* and *finance* reduces their value; the direct, though polite, *Hören Sie bitte auf, mich zu beleidigen!* ('Please stop insulting me!') is translated with the modal interrogative *May I ask you...* and hedging is introduced through indicators of solidarity and entertainment of other opinions (*you know ... I suppose*). The prominent markers of intensity in the source text (in the gloss: 'I say **very** solemnly' and 'I'm doing that **one hundred percent** and **with all my strength!**') are notable by their omission or total standardization. All in all, this example is a remarkable instance of downscaled graduation that affects the attitudinal values of judgement presented by Juncker in his spirited defence.

5. Concluding remarks

Martin and White (2005, 159) conclude their discussion of engagement and graduation with the important point that "appraisal meanings do not operate as isolated values but rather as elements in integrated complexes of meaning where the ultimate rhetorical effect is an artefact of which meanings have been chosen, in which combinations and in which sequences." The examples we have studied show that the introduction of the translator/interpreter into the situation runs the risk of jolting or blurring these complexes and affecting the overall rhetorical effect. Although much more work needs to be done in this field, my tentative hypothesis for future research is that engagement resources may be modified in translation towards a distancing from the deictic centre and, more generally, the intensity of graduation of both attitudinal and engagement values may tend to be downscaled. As Vandepitte et al. (2011) showed, there may be socio-historical conditions where the opposite occurs, but the question will be to test this hypothesis and to understand how and under what conditions such variation may obtain.

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Speaker positioning in interpreter-mediated press conferences

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This article investigates potential effects which (the recontextualisation of) interpreted discourse can have on the positioning of participants. The discursive event which forms the basis of the analysis are international press conferences which bring politicians and journalists together. The dominant question addressed is: (How) do interpreter-mediated encounters influence the positioning of participants and thus the construction of interactional and social roles? The article illustrates that methods of (critical) discourse analysis can be used to identify positioning strategies which are employed by participants in such triadic exchanges. The data come from press conferences which involve English, German, and French as source and target languages.

Keywords: press conference, positioning, interactional role, social role, recontextualisation

1. Introduction

Political communication across national borders often involves translation and interpreting. Discursive practices in the domain of politics (e.g., election campaigns) result in institutional types of political discourse (e.g., coalition treaty). Some of these discursive events (e.g., bilateral meetings of heads of government, international press conferences) are mediated by an interpreter, or texts which are the outcome of meetings (e.g., agreements) are translated.

In disseminating politics to the public, mass media play an important role. Media, however, do not purely disseminate information about political events, but critically engage with them (e.g., Ekström and Patrona 2011). Some discursive events are actually constituted by the interaction of politicians and media representatives, with interviews and press conferences as typical examples. Both of these discourse types have been analysed from the point of view of (critical)

discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, (socio)pragmatics, and dialogue studies (e.g., Bhatia 2006; Clayman and Heritage 2002a; 2002b; Fetzer and Bull 2013; Weizman 2008). In most of these studies, monolingual interaction was analysed. In this article, I will illustrate how interpreter-mediated interaction between politicians and journalists can contribute to role positioning and thus to the construction of politics and politicians. The focus will be on press conferences, and the investigation is conducted from the perspective of translation studies, although concepts of discourse analysis are employed.

2. Discourse analysis and interviews

Discourse analysis as “a domain of scholarly practice” (van Dijk 2008, 2) for the examination of the structure and function of language in use adopts a variety of methods, depending on the aims of investigation (see, e.g., Wodak and Meyer 2001). Critical discourse analysis is “a way of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective” (Baker et al. 2008, 273), for example, explaining under which circumstances specific linguistic choices have (not) been made by text producers and examining what kinds of power relations such choices reflect. Scholars in translation and interpreting studies have also frequently drawn on (critical) discourse analysis frameworks (e.g., Hatim and Mason 1990; Munday 2012). A more extensive analysis of methods adopted in (critical) discourse analysis, or of translation studies research using such methods, cannot be undertaken for the purpose of this article. Only a brief overview of some research on political interviews which particularly inspired this specific study (esp. Weizman 2008) will thus be provided.

Scholars who draw on discourse analysis, and also on (socio)pragmatics, for the investigation of monolingual news interviews, have highlighted, for example, turn-taking mechanisms, face work, shifts of footing as well as genre conventions and deviations from such conventions (e.g., in respect of coherence between questions and answers). Clayman and Heritage (2002a) investigated openings and closings, types of questioning (i.e., defensible questioning and adversarial questioning), answers and evasions. They showed, for example, how these types of questioning are related to neutralism, credibility, legitimacy and how they function in setting agendas and exerting pressure, respectively. Based on the analysis of political interviews in British public service broadcasting, Montgomery (2011) illustrates discursive changes in the accountability interview, reflected, above all, in departures from the canonical question-answer structure to a turn-taking structure of assertion (by the journalist) — counter-assertion (by the politician). This discursive change in the structure also reflects a change from deference to adversarialism in attitude and role perception. A changing tenor of questioning

is also identified by Heritage and Clayman (2013) for American journalists, illustrated with the use of the negative interrogative question form. Fetzer (2007) added a comparative perspective to the analysis of challenges in political interviews by investigating culture-specific differences, involving interviews with British and German politicians and journalists. Such studies go beyond the analysis of discourse internal structures and features, and reveal institutional power and (more or less) hidden agendas, as well as role perceptions.

Role positioning in media interviews is the main focus of Weizman (2008). Her corpus consisted of news interviews in TV studios, an institutional setting which includes a journalist as the interviewer, a politician as the interviewee, and the audience. She illustrates how this co-presence of the audience influences the discursive strategies in positioning and identity construction. Weizman analyses news interviews as dialogic interaction and as instances of institutional discourse. She argues that participants “constantly position themselves explicitly and implicitly, and by so doing reciprocally position their interlocutors and their audiences” (3). In this way, a “complex system of interactional and social roles and identities is established through negotiations” (*ibid.*). Positioning is mutual; that is, a journalist can position a politician by assigning a role or an identity to him or her, and vice versa. Either participant can of course also position himself or herself in a particular way. Weizman points out that roles are social constructs, and this applies equally to interactional and social roles. Interactional roles have to do with the speakers’ roles and obligations in the interaction, whereas social roles have to do with the “social obligations involved in the speakers’ roles outside the interaction itself” (26).

Participants normally have several roles, and any role can become or can be made relevant as it suits the interaction or the interactional partner. For example, an interviewee can be a cabinet minister and at the same time a wife, a mother, and a football fan. In an interview about, let’s say, a government’s plan to raise taxes, the politician can position herself as a strong supporter of tight budget control and immediately switch into the role of a housewife who is conscious of the family budget when she does the weekly shopping. Participants also position themselves in terms of power. In respect of the interactional roles, power — or more precisely, an asymmetry of power — can be seen in the length of turns, in interruptions, topic initiation, agenda management, etc. (*ibid.*). Power asymmetry is also evident when a participant positions him- or herself as confident, apologetic, dominant, submissive, etc. (14). Weizman argues that either role can be challenged and in her analysis of political news interviews she illustrates the challenge potential of, among others, irony and framing through terms of address.

Positioning in news interviews thus “involves assignment, shaping and negotiations of reciprocal relations between all parties involved in the interaction”

(16). The majority of the news interviews Weizman analyses involve only two participants: a politician and a journalist (although a few of her cases are multi-party interviews with two or three interviewees). In each case, the interaction is monolingual (mostly Hebrew). Political interviews, however, may be mediated by an interpreter. They are therefore not only dialogic, but triadic exchanges (Mason 2001). The same applies to press conferences, which are also a case of interaction between journalists and politicians. The main difference is that there are always several journalists asking questions and each of them is usually allowed only one turn (which often leads to complex questions).

Among the few cases which focus exclusively on the analysis of interpreter-mediated interviews in the context of politics are the studies by Wadensjö (2000; 2009) and Baker (1997). In their interactionistic approach to interpreter-mediated encounters, both make use of concepts from discourse analysis, such as turn-taking and face work, revealing, among others, links between the interpreted utterances and the ideological positioning of the speakers (further explained in Baker 2006 with reference to power-sensitive definitions of context). In focussing on press conferences, this article is another contribution to analysing the complexity of such triadic exchanges in the field of politics. The main question I want to address is as follows: (How) do interpreter-mediated encounters influence the positioning of participants and thus the construction of interactional and social roles? This question will be investigated with reference to interpreter-mediated press conferences conducted in English, German and/or French.

3. Corpus and method

The discursive event of a political press conference following a state visit shows a specific pattern: initial statements by the politicians, starting with the host, followed by questions from the journalists and answers by the politicians. Journalists subsequently report about press conferences in articles which usually include extracts of statements presented in direct or indirect speech. Interpreting at such press conferences is more frequently provided in the simultaneous mode, which, however, makes the triadic exchange less visible. Depending on circumstances and/or previous agreements, the consecutive mode is also sometimes practised. Complete transcripts of press conferences are often made available on the websites of both governments as monolingual texts in each case. It is now also becoming more common that video recordings of the press conference are made available on the host's website. They can also often be accessed from YouTube.

The data used for this article are the transcripts as available on the respective government websites and the video recordings, if provided. As a first step, the

different language versions of the transcripts were compared in order to identify any differences, such as omissions or noticeable shifts. These transcripts, however, are already the result of recontextualisation processes which often include transformations carried out by political advisors or government officials, depending on the practices in the respective countries (Schäffner 2012a). As a second step, the video recordings were used to identify the actual words of all participants and compared to the transcripts. Since we are dealing with interpreter-mediated events, the actual voices of the participants are not always audible, which puts limits to the analysis. Watching the video, however, also allows, up to a point, to incorporate other semiotic codes (such as body language and pauses) into the analysis.

This study is part of a wider project to investigate the role of translation and interpreting in political discourse and political institutions (e.g., Schäffner 2012b). Although it is informed by discourse analysis, the focus is on the interpreter-mediated press conference as a situated practice. This means that it does not take concepts from discourse analysis, such as speech acts or turn-taking, as its starting point in order to find examples of them in the corpus. Nor is it intended to identify typical patterns solely in the interpreting strategies. The aim of the analysis is rather to investigate if and how the very fact that the press conference is mediated by interpreters impacts on the way politicians are positioned, thus also testing the applicability of Weizman's model in a multilingual and mediated context. Attention was paid above all to discursive features which signal or problematize speaker positioning.

4. Interpreter-mediated press conference: Positioning the other's social role

In press conferences, politicians address the journalists present in the first instance, but they also refer to themselves and to the other politician who is taking part in the discursive event. References to participants can be expressed by various forms of address, including proper name, title, and personal pronouns. Forms of address are connected with expressions of power and solidarity and are thus of importance for the construction of discursive roles and identities. How references to co-participants can pose a challenge to interpreting is illustrated in the first example, which comes from a joint press conference between the German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the British Prime Minister David Cameron. It was held on 21 May 2010 in Berlin, on the occasion of the first visit of the newly elected Prime Minister to Germany. A complete transcript of the press conference, including the questions and answers, is available in German on the website of the German government, and a transcript of the statements only is available

in English on the website of the British government. A video on YouTube (indicated as ‘Uploaded on 21 May 2010’) includes only the statements (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EK6nGWSjvo>). This video recording shows that simultaneous interpreting was provided, with Cameron wearing headphones while listening to Merkel’s speech, whereas Merkel did not use headphones when listening to Cameron’s statement. This video is a monolingual one in English. That is, viewers can hear Cameron’s English voice and the voice of the simultaneous interpreter, but not Merkel’s own voice in German.

Chancellor Merkel opened the press conference as follows:

- (1) a. **Merkel:**¹ *Meine Damen und Herren, ich freue mich, dass David Cameron, der neue britische Premierminister, uns sehr schnell hier in Berlin besucht hat. [...]*
Das erste Thema, über das wir uns ausgetauscht haben, ist das Thema Koalitionen. Darüber habe ich noch nie mit einem britischen Premierminister geredet, aber ich habe den Eindruck, dass dieses Gespräch sehr gut war. [...]
Ganz herzlichen Dank, David, dass du heute nach Berlin gekommen bist!
 (<http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2010/05/2010-05-21-statement-bk-cameron.html>)

The transcript of the interpreter’s rendering reads as follows:

- (1) b. **Merkel:** I am delighted to be able to welcome David Cameron, the new British Prime Minister and to see that he has come here so quickly [...] [...] first we actually swapped news about coalitions and that is something that is certainly new with the British Prime Minister at least, but I have the very clear impression that this part of our conversation was very good and fruitful. [...] Thank you, David, for coming here today.
 (<http://downingstreetsays.com/briefings/0110/04/22/8388>)

What is noticeable in this extract is that Merkel used the informal ‘du’ and the first name ‘David’ when she addresses him directly at the end of her statement.

1. The various websites of national governments have their own conventions for indicating the speaker in respect of their title. On the website of the German government we find the shortened forms ‘BK’in’ and ‘PM,’ for *Bundeskanzlerin* (Federal Chancellor) and Prime Minister, respectively. The website of the British government uses capital letters and bold, adding the name only for the visitor (e.g., **CHANCELLOR MERKEL, PRIME MINISTER**); similarly for the website of the French government (**M. CAMERON, LE PRÉSIDENT**). For the sake of simplicity and consistency, I use only the surname of the politician in bold in each example, not copying the original format and layout.

Languages like German (and French) differentiate between the second-person non-deferential pronoun *du* and the deferential pronoun *Sie*. In English, the pronoun *you* can be used both deferentially and non-deferentially. As argued by Bull and Fetzer (2006, 11), “forms of address play an important role in negotiating social status in interaction.” By opting for the *du* and the first name, Merkel positions Cameron not only in his official political role (as is done indirectly with reference to the title in the very first sentence), but also as a political friend. The use of *du* signals that Cameron is being welcomed into the fold of political leaders who represent conservative political parties.

Cameron’s response and the interpreted version as published in the transcript are given below:

- (2) a. **Cameron:** Thank you very much, Chancellor, for inviting me here today and thank you for what you have said. [...] As you said, we started with an interesting conversation about how you best operate a coalition, something you have great expertise in. Like you, we are in partnership with Liberals and we are working out how best to make that work for our country.
- b. **Cameron:** *Herzlichen Dank, Frau Bundeskanzlerin, dass Sie mich eingeladen haben, und auch vielen Dank für Ihre freundlichen Worte. [...] Natürlich haben Sie mir ein bisschen etwas darüber gesagt, wie man mit einer Koalition am besten umgeht. Wir in Großbritannien haben damit relativ wenig Erfahrung, aber Sie haben damit sehr große Erfahrungen und haben eine sehr gute Partnerschaft mit der liberalen Partei hier im Lande. Wir werden versuchen, das in Großbritannien nachzuahmen.*

Cameron does not reciprocate the informal form of address, which of course would not be revealed in the use of the personal pronoun *you*. The interpreter too opted for the formal *Sie* instead of the *du*, probably because the official title *Bundeskanzlerin* (as used by Cameron: ‘Chancellor’) would not fit with the informal *du*. Having used the *Sie* in the first sentence, the interpreter continued with this decision for the remaining part of the turn. What is more interesting, however, is the second part of Cameron’s comments. The interpreter’s rendition back-translated into English would be as follows:

- (2) c. Of course, you have told me how best to operate with a coalition. We in Britain have relatively little experience with this, but you have great experience and you have a good partnership with the Liberal Party here in your country. We will try to imitate this in Great Britain.

An analysis of the German transcript alone (2b) suggests that Cameron comes across as positioning himself in an inferior role as a newcomer, as lacking in

experience, and willing to learn from his more experienced German counterpart ('you have told me,' 'we will try to imitate'). In his own words, however, he does stress British independent action ("we are working out how best to make that work for our country"). His "as you said" is a cohesive device establishing coherence to a topic of Merkel's previous turn and not an acknowledgement of who said what to whom, as the interpreter's rendition suggests. The patronising perception of Merkel by a British audience is thus the result of the interpreter's rendering. Also the use of 'that' in "that is something that is certainly new with the British Prime Minister" in (1b) makes the rendition ambiguous (Merkel herself simply said that it was the first time she had talked about coalitions with a British Prime Minister).² Cameron himself, however, does not seem to have had problems in disambiguating the reference of 'that' since in his own words he refers to the conversation they had, obviously also as a result of his knowledge of the prior discourse of the bilateral meeting.

Such interpreting errors are extremely rare in my corpus of interpreter-mediated press conferences, since the interpreters who work at such a high level of political interaction are very experienced and competent. It is difficult to judge how this error had come about, but the interpreter had surely been involved in the bilateral discussions before the press conference and it may be that such a knowledge of the wider context and discourse may have influenced his or her³ rendition — or it may have been a matter of his/her own spatial position at the press conference (i.e., whether he/she was able to see and hear Cameron clearly).

Forms of address thus function as a framing device and contribute to positioning a participant in a discursive event. Highly conventionalised formulations are employed for opening press conferences, with politicians often using role-oriented terms of address, thus also contributing to positioning their counterpart in their social role as a politician. This use of the title is normally reciprocated in the first turn of the visiting politician. This was seen in (1a) and (2a) above and can be illustrated further from a press conference held by Angela Merkel and the Italian Prime Minister Enrico Letta (30 April 2013) on his first state visit to Berlin after taking power:

- (3) **Merkel:** *Meine Damen und Herren, ich freue mich, heute Abend den neuen Ministerpräsidenten Italiens, Herrn Enrico Letta, bei uns zu seinem Antrittsbesuch in Berlin empfangen zu können. Ich heiße ihn ganz, ganz*

2. I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing this out.

3. Since in the video we cannot hear the voice of the interpreter who rendered Cameron's words into German, the interpreter's gender is unknown. The interpreter who rendered Merkel's words into English was female.

herzlich willkommen! Ich gratuliere zu den gewonnenen Abstimmungen und freue mich, dass Ihr Weg Sie gleich nach Berlin geführt hat.

(<http://www.bundestkanzlerin.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2013/04/2013-04-30-merkel-letta.html;jsessionid=0026717E9205D0B1D9F46A8B3C49882C.s3t1>)

[Literally: Ladies and Gentleman, I am happy to welcome tonight the new Italian Prime Minister, Mr Enrico Letta, on his first visit to Berlin. I welcome him very, very warmly! Congratulations on the votes won, and I am happy that your path has led you so quickly to Berlin.]

In this press conference, Merkel shifts from the third person to the second person, but this time she uses the formal *Sie* form. Letta represents a political party whose ideological position differs from that of Merkel's Christian Democratic Union party. However, political differences do not seem to be the decisive criterion when it comes to positioning through forms of address; cultural conventions also seem to play a role. This can be illustrated with a press conference between David Cameron and François Hollande held on 11 July 2012 in London, where Cameron welcomes his counterpart using the first name, although both politicians represent parties of opposing political orientations. We see a similar strategy of switching between third and second person in the extract of the opening statement by Cameron below:

- (4) a. **Cameron:** Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I'm delighted to welcome President Hollande to Downing Street on his first presidential visit to Britain. *Bienvenue, François.* It's been great to have you here today. [...] And I'm delighted that François will be coming to see some of the Games for himself. [...]. François, over to you.
(<http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/pm-david-cameron-and-president-hollande-press-conference/>)

In the French interpreted output, the formal *vous* has been used, illustrated in the transcript below and also confirmed by watching the video (see <http://www.elysee.fr/videos/conference-du-president-avec-m-david-cameron-a-londres/>):

- (4) b. **Cameron:** *Bonjour Mesdames et Messieurs. Je suis ravi d'accueillir le Président HOLLANDE⁴ à Downing Street lors de sa 1ère visite présidentielle en Grande-Bretagne, bienvenue à François, c'est très agréable d'avoir votre visite. [...] et je suis ravi de savoir que François HOLLANDE va venir assister à certaines épreuves. [...] François, vous avez la parole.*

4. In the transcripts, capital letters are used for the proper names of the politicians participating in the press conference. Since this is a direct quote, I have not changed the format.

(<http://www.elysee.fr/conferences-de-presse/article/conference-de-presse-conjointe-de-m-le-president-de-la-republique-et-m-david-cameron-premier-ministre-du-royaume-uni-de-grande-bretagne-et-d-irlande-du-nord/>)

Forms of address can pose a challenge for the interpreter, as we have seen above. If interpreters know that politicians are addressing each other in an informal way, they also opt for the *du* form in German. This can be illustrated with another press conference of Merkel and Cameron, held on 7 June 2012 in Berlin, where Cameron's words to Merkel are rendered into German in the informal way (*Angela, du* — a transcript of this press conference is not available on the website of the British government):

- (5) **Cameron:** *Herzlichen Dank, Angela, für die warmherzige Gastfreundschaft, mit der du mich heute in Berlin willkommen geheißen hast. [...] Wie du gesagt hast, [...]*

(<http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2012/06/2012-06-07-merkel-cameron.html?nn=391778>)

The fact that at press conferences politicians tend to refer more often to each other by using the third person and the official title is due to the nature of this discursive event. As already said, politicians speak not normally to each other but above all to the journalists present. These journalists are their addressees, indicated by the 'ladies and gentlemen' at the very beginning. By extension, however, politicians also have each other and other politicians in mind as auditors. The politicians are the addressees of the journalists and they are normally addressed by their title (see Examples 6 and 7 below). The politicians become each other's immediate addressee most explicitly when they change turns, as illustrated in Example 4 above. It is in these phrases which indicate turn-taking that the form of address chosen by one politician for the other is also a signal for the type of interpersonal relationship entailed. Forms of address as interactional devices at the beginning and end of a turn also function for positioning interactional roles, which will be illustrated in the next section.

5. Interpreter-mediated press conference: Positioning the other's interactional role

The next example comes from the joint press conference by the then French President Nicolas Sarkozy and Chancellor Angela Merkel, held on 6 February 2012 in Paris. After the initial statements, the first question from a journalist refers to the financial crisis in Greece. The transcript on the website of the German government reads as follows:

- (6) a. *Frage*:⁵ Herr Präsident, Sie haben es schon angesprochen: Die Griechenland-Krise spitzt sich wieder bedrohlich zu. Sie haben gesagt, dass sich die griechischen verantwortlichen Politiker wie auch die Opposition ihrer Verantwortung stellen müssen. Was machen Sie, wenn sie dies nicht tun? Sind Sie bereit, inzwischen einen Austritt Griechenlands aus der Eurozone in Aussicht zu nehmen? Wie stellen Sie sich die weiteren Tage vor, wenn Griechenland sich weiter Zeit auserbittet?
- Sarkozy*: Zunächst einmal ist Frau Merkel genau wie ich der Ansicht, dass man sich noch nie so nahe war, was eine Einigung anbelangt, was die Privatgläubiger als auch die öffentlichen Gläubiger anbelangt. Niemals waren wir einer Einigung so nahe. Aber die Bundeskanzlerin hat recht, wenn sie sagt: Wir müssen zum Abschluss kommen.
- (<http://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2012/02/2012-02-06-merkel-sarkozy.html?nn=74446>)

[Literally: **Question**: Mr President, you already mentioned it: the crisis in Greece is getting dangerously acute. You have said that the responsible Greek politicians as well as the opposition have to take responsibility. What will you do if they don't do this? Are you willing to consider a temporary Greek exit from the euro-zone? How do you imagine what will happen in the coming days if Greece requests to be given more time?

Sarkozy: First of all, Mrs Merkel exactly like me is of the opinion that we have never been so close to achieving a solution in respect of the private creditors as well as the public creditors. Never before have we been that close to an agreement. But the Chancellor is right in saying that we have to come to an agreement.]

Reading this extract we may wonder why President Sarkozy would start his answer by commenting on the opinion of Chancellor Merkel and saying that she shares his own opinion. In terms of social roles, it seems that Sarkozy positions himself as an authority and Merkel is positioned as somewhat inferior to him, and with Sarkozy's expressing his appreciation of what she did ('the Chancellor is right in saying'). On the website of the French government, we get a complete transcript of the press conference in French and also access to a video (also accessible on

5. The transcripts record just *Frage* ('question') and journalists are usually not identified, neither by name nor by mentioning the newspaper they represent. At the actual press conference, they do introduce themselves, and it is by watching the video recording that it is possible for a researcher to find out who had asked the question and in which language. These self-presentations are often not interpreted.

YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7cWvZRtS3w>). This complete French text reveals that the question-answer sequence was in fact more complex:

- (6) b. **Question:** *Monsieur le Président, Madame la Chancelière, comme vous le disiez, la crise grecque menace à nouveau. Monsieur le Président de la République, vous avez dit que les responsables politiques grecs de la majorité et de l'opposition doivent assumer leurs responsabilités, qu'allez-vous faire s'ils ne le font pas? [...]*

Merkel: *Je crois que la question était adressée au président de la République ... Ah, c'était à nous deux? Ah bon, d'accord. Alors que le Président commence.*

Sarkozy: *Bon, d'abord, Madame MERKEL comme moi, nous pensons que les éléments de l'accord n'ont jamais été aussi proches. Jamais. Que ce soit pour les créanciers privés que pour les créanciers publics. Jamais nous n'avons été aussi proches d'un accord. Mais la Chancelière a raison, il faut conclure.*

(<http://www.elysee.fr/president/les-actualites/conferences-de-presse/2012/conference-de-presse-conjointe-de-nicolas-sarkozy.12958.html>)

As we can see from this transcript, the journalist initially addressed both Sarkozy and Merkel (using the second person plural: *comme vous le disiez*) before asking questions specifically to Sarkozy. The question initially resulted in some confusion about who the journalist's addressee was, noticeable in Merkel's *Je crois que la question était adressée au président de la République* ('I think the question was addressed to the President'). The video shows the two politicians looking at each other and into the audience before Merkel's intervention. We can hear some voices from the audience (indicated by the three dots after *République* in the transcript above), which leads to Merkel's confirming that this brief exchange had clarified the speaker roles (*Ah, c'était à nous deux? Ah bon, d'accord. Alors que le Président commence* — 'Ah, for both of us? Well, good. Then the President begins.'). Sarkozy's initial *bon* can also be interpreted as a signal that he is willing to take on the speaker's role.

In this exchange then, the participants negotiated their interactional roles, asking for clarification concerning the addressee, acknowledging an intended speaker role, and accepting a speaker role. This negotiation of the interactional roles, however, goes hand in hand with a positioning of the social roles: by passing on the speaker role to Sarkozy, Merkel positions herself as the more senior politician who has the power to allocate speaking rights. This interpretation also requires a reinterpretation of Sarkozy's first sentence. As the French original text shows, he actually answered on behalf of both Merkel and himself, stressing that they share a specific point of view (using the first person plural: *nous pensons*) and

not so much positioning Merkel in relation to himself, as the German transcript implies.

At this press conference, simultaneous interpreting was provided (the video shows both politicians using headphones). For Merkel's turns, only the interpreter's rendition into French is audible. To access the original German text, we need to rely on the German transcript on the website of the German government. In the process of recontextualising the actual discursive event of the press conference to a transcript of this event on the website, some transformations occurred, such as omissions and grammatical and stylistic enhancements. Small talk and meta-communicative comments as in the extract above are typical features which are deleted before the transcript is released on the German government website. This, however, also means that a part of what the interpreter said is inaccessible to the general public and to a researcher. It is thus impossible to investigate whether the confusion about who should take on the role of the respondent was caused by the interpreter's formulation or not. Judging by the body language and facial expressions, both politicians seem to have been genuinely confused as to who was supposed to answer.

Later in this press conference, a question addressed in French to Chancellor Merkel led to an exchange between Sarkozy and the journalist (11 turns in total), which is reproduced in a shortened version below (for a more detailed analysis of this extract for the investigation of follow-ups, see Schäffner 2015):

- (7) a. **Question:** *Madame la Chancelière, pour suivre la question de ma consœur, vous avez laissé bercer votre intention de soutenir la candidature du président de la République. Pouvez-vous nous dire pourquoi ?*
Sarkozy: *C'est vous qui annoncez ma candidature ce matin.*
Question: *Non, pas du tout. [...]*
Question: *C'est vrai que l'on a tous ressenti, ici, que cette émission de télévision que vous faites en commun ce soir est peut-être aussi une preuve du soutien que Madame la Chancelière vous apporte, peut-être que je me trompe?*
 [Literally: **Question:** Madam Chancellor, to follow on from my colleague's question, you have expressed your intention to support the candidacy of the president. Can you tell us why?
Sarkozy: It is you who announced my candidacy this morning.
Question: No, not at all. [...]
Question: It is true that we have all felt that you doing a joint TV programme tonight is probably also proof that Madam Chancellor is supporting you, or am I perhaps mistaken?]

Since the initial question was explicitly addressed to the German Chancellor, Sarkozy's intervention is, strictly speaking, not in a coherent relationship to the preceding turn. In terms of interactional roles, he assumes speaking rights which are not motivated by the questioner's communicative intention. By doing so, he positions himself in his social role as an authority, as the only person authorised to declare his candidacy. Although such longer exchanges between a politician and a journalist are rather untypical of press conferences, they too contribute to the positioning of the participants. At press conferences, journalists have their own social roles and their own aims, which can be reflected in complex question forms which may incorporate previous discourse (which too is a case of recontextualisation). Sarkozy did not object to the question as such, but rather its formulation. He challenges the journalist, positioning her as having overstepped her role, which can be seen as face-threatening. By interrupting the expected question-answer sequence, he interferes in terms of agenda management. The journalist in turn positions herself partly as apologetic (using *excusez-moi* during the exchange) and hedging her words in the justification she provides for the formulation of her question.

The whole exchange was very rapid, which must have caused problems for the simultaneous interpreter. The German version of the transcript is significantly shorter, with the exchange between Sarkozy and the journalist condensed to six turns (and words by Sarkozy wrongly attributed to the journalist):

- (7) b. *Frage: Frau Bundeskanzlerin, ich schließe an das an, was meine Kollegen gefragt haben. Sie haben gesagt, dass Sie die Kandidatur des französischen Präsidenten unterstützen möchten. Können Sie uns sagen, warum Sie das tun?*
Sarkozy: Sie haben jetzt meine Kandidatur angekündigt, wenn ich das richtig verstehe. [...]
Frage: Sie machen heute ein gemeinsames Fernsehinterview. Das ist vielleicht auch ein Beweis für die Unterstützung der Bundeskanzlerin in Ihre Richtung.

The voice of the German interpreter cannot be heard in the video, and Merkel is not visible during this exchange sequence. It is therefore impossible to say whether the German transcript records everything the interpreter had said or only part of it. It is equally difficult to judge whether Merkel succeeded in realising who had said what, although she surely realised what was going on in terms of positioning. After the journalist managed to resume her initial line of questioning, Merkel at first elaborates more generally on good traditions in Franco-German cooperation and concludes her turn by saying:

- (8) a. **Merkel:** *Ich unterstütze Nicolas Sarkozy in jeder Fassung, weil wir einfach miteinander zu befreundeten Parteien gehören egal, was er tut.*
 [Literally: I support Nicolas Sarkozy in every respect, simply because we belong to parties that are close friends, irrespective of what he does.]

The complete French transcript has one additional sentence at the end (literally: ‘This is in respect of the candidacy’):

- (8) b. **Merkel:** *Je soutiens Nicolas SARKOZY sur tous les plans, parce que nous appartenons à des partis amis, de toute façon.*
Cela, c’était par rapport à la candidature.

This last sentence is formally set off from the preceding statement in the French transcript and appears on a new line. A more detailed analysis is again possible by including the video which shows that Merkel had actually finished her statement with the words *egal, was er tut*. This statement led to some murmur and laughter in the audience, which prompted Merkel to add the clarifying comment, uttered with a smile, and interpreted as seen in the transcript. Her own words (*In Bezug auf die Kandidatur, wollte ich nur sagen*) are difficult to hear in the video due to the simultaneous interpreting and were not included in the transcript on the German government website. The mass media overwhelmingly evaluated Merkel’s explicit support for Sarkozy’s candidacy as inappropriate interference in the French election campaign. The recontextualisation processes from press conferences to media reports thus result in additional shifts in the positioning of politicians.

6. Conclusion: Scope and limitations of discourse analysis for analysing interpreter-mediated encounters

Research in discourse analysis (e.g., Weizman 2008; Clayman and Heritage 2002b) has shown that political interviews and press conferences are more than information and opinion-gathering events. They are also sites where participants are positioned and their identities constructed. When press conferences are mediated by an interpreter, they turn into triadic exchanges, which makes positioning and identity construction more complex. In this article, empirical data are provided which indicate discursive features of speaker positioning at interpreter-mediated press conferences. The qualitative study of a small set of examples has also illustrated that including a variety of sources can enrich the analysis, which, moreover, may lead to different interpretations.

The very fact that a press conference is mediated by an interpreter does not significantly impact on the aims and the conventions of this discursive event, but

on the dynamics of the exchange. The presence of interpreters can have a subtle impact on negotiating speaker roles, agenda management, and interactional organisation. However, actual changes in the positioning and representation of a politician are only rarely the result of the interpreter's rendering (as in Example 1) and may be caused by contextual factors. That changes in speaker positioning may occur as a result of the arrangements for providing interpreting has been illustrated elsewhere (Schäffner 2012c) with a press conference of US President Obama and the Chinese President Hu. In that case, a change from simultaneous to consecutive interpreting resulted in an extension of the scheduled time and led to interpreting itself becoming a topic, both in the journalists' questions and in subsequent media reports. Additional changes or modifications in the positioning of a politician can occur in the context of recontextualisation processes (providing a transcript on a government website and/or reporting in the mass media), thus also affecting the construction of politics and politicians. This, however, also happens with press conferences without interpreting.

For this article, published transcripts of press conferences were used, complemented by video recordings, and the analysis has drawn on discourse analysis. I have tried to illustrate that the various levels subsumed in (critical) discourse analysis and sociopragmatics, such as turn-taking mechanisms, face work, discursive role performance and identity construction can also be employed for investigating interpreter-mediated encounters. However, the analysis has also been limited by the fact that the discursive events themselves were not directly observed. Even if video recordings were available, they did not allow the voices of all participants, including the voice of the interpreter, to be heard, nor did they give insight into the spatial arrangements. There are thus methodological limitations to revealing correlations between a discursive practice and its institutional setting. For a more comprehensive understanding of interpreter-mediated press conferences we would therefore need to combine a discourse analysis with a sociological one, exploring agency and decision-making processes behind press conference arrangements and the subsequent steps in putting transcripts on websites. At international press conferences, politicians "perform political actions in the public, mediatized arena" (Fetzer and Bull 2013, 85). Interpreters too, perform in such an arena. An analysis of interpreter-mediated press conferences can thus give more visibility to this significant role of interpreting for constructing politics and politicians.

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(Un)stable sources, translation and news production*

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This article discusses the distinction stable versus unstable sources, which Hernández Guerrero has suggested in her book on news translation. It starts with a short overview of news translation as a subfield within the discipline of translation studies, emphasizing the role of translation in news production since the emergence of the journalistic profession. The next section discusses the concepts of 'stable' and 'unstable' sources, and moves on to introduce framing, a key concept in communication studies, defined as the central organizing idea that allows news consumers to make sense of events. The term will be related to the mechanisms that journalists resort to in order to produce source texts, which, in turn, can also affect the selection and de-selection processes undertaken by news producers when relying on articles published in other languages. The final sections will consider the translated economic columns of Paul Krugman, originally published in the *New York Times* and in Spanish by the daily *El País*, to reflect on the usefulness of the binary opposition stable versus unstable sources, and will show that, in some media, certain unstable texts can turn stable.

Keywords: news translation, stable and unstable sources, framing

1. Translation and the news

Over the past decade news translation has increasingly attracted the interest of translation studies researchers. Two major books, one in Spanish by Hernández Guerrero and one in English by Bielsa and Bassnett, were published in 2009. An edited collection with articles in French, English and Spanish came out the following year (Valdeón 2010). Special issues of two major translation journals have

* This paper has been partly supported by a project funded by Spain's Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (Reference number FFI2012-31024).

also been devoted to news translation, namely, 11 (2) of *Across Languages and Cultures* (2010) and 57 (4) of *Meta* (2012). Additionally, researchers in Europe, North America and Asia have published their findings in major journals. The approaches and the topics covered in these publications are very diverse, ranging from ethnographic studies to translation practices and conventions.

On the other hand, as news consumers we tend to be unaware of the origin of news texts (written or multimodal), even though translation has always been at the base of news production. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, news pamphlets were transported and translated across Europe. Dutch corantos were rendered into English, French news translated into Catalan and Spanish, and German papers into Scandinavian languages (Valdeón 2012). In the United States, newspapers in port cities obtained international news from “periodicals aboard incoming ships” (Hamilton 2009, 37), often from French, German and Spanish newspapers. Hamilton mentions the interesting case of James G. Bennett (1795–1872), the founder of the *New York Herald*. To compete with other publications, Bennett had a very inventive way of accessing foreign news:

The Herald’s first issue contained two columns of “LATE AND IMPORTANT FROM EUROPE.” He sent news boats to meet ships farther out than his competitors did; the boats took the news to Montauk Point, where news messengers boarded a locomotive bound for New York. (Hamilton 2009, 37)

Then, as the publications were taken inland, the “plagiarized reports from abroad were, in turn, plagiarized” (ibid.). Notice here the use of the word “plagiarized” to refer to the process of copying and editing newspaper reports published by other companies, a practice that still characterizes news production today.

However, although translation was and remains part and parcel of the news production process, journalists rarely regard themselves as translators: “When journalists talk about ‘translation,’ they tend to be thinking of what others might term ‘literal translation’” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 1). Despite this, translation is a lynchpin of news production as a globalized commodity. It is globalized in the sense that information is distributed worldwide, but globalization comes hand-in-hand with localization, as “the local can be so strong that the global itself becomes localised in the course of production, marketing and distribution” (Gambier 2006, 16), perhaps because localization and globalization “work together to expand a global network” (Castells 2009, 84).

These two processes can be traced in news production, for instance, in the multi-lingual web-based services of the BBC and of Euronews. In this context, as Orengo (2005, 169) argues, “the opposition between globalising, localising and tribalising forces, constitutes a paradox that at first seems to contradict the global nature of news translation.” In fact, Orengo continues, news translation can shed

light on the complex nature of globalization as news events become global not because news texts are aimed at the international readership but because they are adapted to “infinite numbers of different cultural and social contexts” (ibid.).

This is probably the reason why journalists reject the term ‘translation,’ even if they are actually “effecting a transfer between languages” (Conway 2010, 980). For news producers, translation is a second-rate activity within the news writing process, because news outlets do not normally employ trained translators: translation is carried out by journalists (Gambier 2010, 16), often in an invisible manner. In fact, it can be argued that news translation is indeed much more invisible, both as a process and as a product, than literary translation (Venuti 2008). In canonical texts, readers usually take for granted that linguistic and cultural mediation has occurred between the source text and themselves. Translators can even become very visible figures; take, for example, John Rutherford, the translator of Leopoldo Alas’s classic novel *La Regenta* into English, who has received honorary doctorates for his work. However, not all news translators are invisible.

2. Stable and unstable sources

In her book *Traducción y periodismo*, Hernández Guerrero proposes the binary opposition ‘stable’ versus ‘unstable’ sources in order to differentiate translational approaches to source texts (2009, 43–46). She draws on Pym’s discussion of unstable sources in the days prior to the introduction of the printing press, when scribes rarely copied the original texts without adding modifications: “The medieval texts were in fact constantly being rewritten, and translation was frequently perceived as another step in the chain of rewritings” (Pym 2004, 175). The printing press eventually turned those texts into something more stable.

By contrast, in the twenty-first century, digitalization has allowed the producers of a variety of electronic texts to return to the age of instability. In fact, it is now possible to talk of a dual system where certain texts, usually canonical ones, occupy the more stable part of the continuum, whereas news texts are positioned on the opposite side as “in the era of electronic communication, texts are constantly subject to updating and adaptation” (Pym 2004, 175). Stetting (1989, 377) coined the term ‘transediting’ to refer to some extent to this process, which should be understood in three different ways: adaptation to a standard of efficiency in expression (‘cleaning-up transediting’), adaptation to the intended function of the translated text in its new social context (‘situational transediting’), and adaptation to the needs and conventions of the target culture (‘cultural transediting’).

Although the features of the communication age have certainly facilitated this process (Castells 2009), the fact is that, historically, news texts have been unstable

(Valdeón 2012). In the case of present-day news texts, opinion columns and editorials could be regarded as stable sources, whereas most other news articles are more likely to be unstable sources (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 45). Hernández Guerrero, who has studied the major Spanish print newspapers, has stressed that editorials and opinion columns are stable sources (45–46, 104–106). These texts are stylistically more elaborate than their more informative counterparts, “en algunas ocasiones muy próximas a los textos literarios” [in some cases very close to literary texts]¹ (106). They are also strongly dependent on the source culture and on certain specialized fields, which poses additional problems for the translators. Hernández Guerrero further claims that

nos hallamos, en líneas generales, ante textos que estilísticamente están más elaborados, escritos por firmas conocidas y cotizadas, cuya opinión se valora. En el proceso de traducción, estos textos reciben la consideración de fuente estable: se respeta su contenido y su integridad, se reproducen fielemente. El producto resultante suele ser equivalente al original, dando lugar a traducciones *strictu sensu*. (45)

[Generally, we find ourselves with texts that are more sophisticated stylistically, written by recognized and respected authors, whose opinion is valued. In the process of translation, these texts are deemed to be stable sources: their content and integrity are respected, and they are faithfully reproduced. The resulting product tends to be equivalent to the original, giving rise to translations in the strict sense of the word.]

In other words, these texts are not merely more elaborate than purely informative ones; it is noteworthy that they are written by prestigious specialists and, therefore, translators need to respect the content and the length of the originals. One could say that the reputation of the writers as well as copyright issues have a great impact upon the textual features of the documents in both their original and translated forms.

On the other hand, news genres such as interviews can be considered unstable sources, particularly in written media (print, digital) as journalists can implement several changes to the original questions and answers, both in their source and target versions. Hernández Guerrero mentions an interview with Luca Cordero di Montezemolo, Ferrari’s chairman, by the Italian sports newspaper *Gazzetta dello Sport*. The interview was heavily edited and reorganized before it was published in the Spanish *El Mundo* (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 62–63). In the original text, Cordero makes several references to Spanish F1 driver Fernando Alonso, which became the focus of the Spanish version. However, the situation may vary

1. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

in audiovisual media. The pan-European channel Euronews offers its subscribers interviews with well-known international personalities. Here, interviews are generally treated as stable sources both in television and Internet formats, as the translated versions are rendered through the voice-over mode, which almost compels the translators to remain close to the original.

This seems to suggest that Hernández Guerrero's initial binary opposition (that is, opinion columns and editorials as stable versus most other journalistic genres as unstable sources) might not be sufficient to account for all the different processes in news production that involve translation, since interlinguistic transfer can become a very visible activity, in the case of both argumentative journalistic genres and also the Euronews interviews.

2.1 Translation in communication studies

On the other hand, communication studies scholars have also begun to probe into the role of translation in news production. In 2011 a special issue of *Journalism* was devoted to translation practices in the international service of the BBC, the editors pointing out that media studies has largely neglected the role of translation in news production (Baumann et al. 2011a, 135). Their initial assumption is that "all forms of representation are forms of translation" (2011a, 135–136), but they also stress that one of the aims of the volume is to provide a framework for future work on the politics of translation in news production (Baumann et al. 2011b, 237). Little attention is paid to publications by translation scholars, except for brief references to Conway and Bassnett (2006), while they claim to have "separated out interconnected processes usually captured by the single term 'translation'" (Baumann et al. 2011b, 237) by dividing them into 'transporting,' 'translating,' 'transposing/transediting' and 'transmitting' (Baumann et al. 2011a, 137). It is indeed a praiseworthy attempt to bridge the gap between the two disciplines, and it is also highly relevant that the articles in the special issue explore the importance of translation in a reputable corporation such as the BBC, which has traditionally devoted so much time and effort to reaching world audiences. Particularly interesting for news translation research is the fact that, originally, the BBC World Service recruited nationals and ex-nationals from the regions to which it broadcast and that "for many years, diasporic broadcasters simply translated or ventriloquized news [...] They had no editorial independence and little creative freedom" (136). In fact, language specialists, who controlled their output, normally monitored these translators.

Baumann et al. use 'translation' to refer to word-for-word transfer (or 'ventriloquation,' as they call it), but they also hint at the subversive nature of the translators as agents of resistance or change. However, the limitation of the approach is reflected in the use of the terms 'translation' and 'transediting,' defined respectively

as “the techniques, crafts, and possibly grafts, of language-to-language transformations” and “the simultaneity of translating and editing processes” (2011a, 137) respectively. Baumann et al., who recycle the term originally coined by Stetting, present transediting as one of the processes that make news available worldwide. They attempt to provide a more precise definition, but the distinction between ‘transediting,’ as proposed by Stetting and used by other translation researchers (van Doorslaer 2010), and ‘translation’ has never been very useful. In fact, authors like Schäffner (2012, 881) have challenged it on the grounds that

the term *transediting* was useful at the time it was introduced in its own context. However, if *transediting* is used as a substitute to and/or in opposition to the term *translation*, there is the danger that *translation* continues to be understood in a narrower sense of a purely word-for-word transfer process.

2.2 Frames and (un)stable sources

At this time I would like to introduce the concept of *frame*, widely used by communication scholars, as it can inform our discussion about stable versus unstable sources. The term has been used in several disciplines, including linguistics, communication studies, anthropology, sociology and psychology. This has led many authors to speak of a “fractured paradigm” (Tannen and Wallat 1993, 51) and in the twenty-first century it remains very much a concept without a stable definition (Borah 2011, 257). Framing has been understood as the prior knowledge that the speaker needs to have in order to understand even the most literal meaning of an utterance (Tannen and Wallat 1993, 61). Whereas frames would allow individuals to make interpretations about the world, Tannen and Wallat (60–62) use the term *schema* to refer to pre-existing knowledge, that is, the expectations we have about objects, events, settings and, of course, speakers. Both notions are considered interactive.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989, 3) view frames as a “central organizing idea” that contributes to make sense of relevant events, while Reese (2001, 11) has defined frames as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.” This would characterize framing as a very dynamic process in which meaning is negotiated and relationships highlighted.

Goffman has noted selection, emphasis and exclusion as characteristic features of frames (1974, 21). Therefore, if framing is instrumental in highlighting “some aspects of reality while excluding other elements, which might lead individuals to interpret issues differently” (Borah 2011, 48), the process will inevitably occur in news translation. Translation can certainly highlight those aspects,

particularly (but not exclusively) in the case of unstable sources. In fact, several authors have examined textual strategies such as selection, exclusion and elaboration (Tsai 2005; Hernández Guerrero 2010; Károly 2013; Zhang 2013), providing details on the shifts of this type of interlinguistic transformation but also hinting at the ideological bias that may influence text producers and translators. For her part, Baker, who has also used the concept of framing (although from a more sociological tradition), stresses that translators collaborate with publishers, editors and other agents to “accentuate, undermine or modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance” (2006, 105).

Thus, to encapsulate the discussion, news translation research needs to consider textual factors, translational shifts, cognitive aspects as well as the social agents involved in the production process. In fact, a consideration of the five W’s characteristic of journalistic production can prove an appropriate starting point: What is translated? Why is it translated? Who translates? Where is it published? When is it published? To these initial enquiries we should add a sixth one, which is more text-based: How is it translated? Schäffner (2012, 121–122) has suggested a similar proposal in her study of the translation of political discourse because this line of questioning can provide insights into the “agents who have an impact on the realisation of the complex discursive events, not only the translators and interpreters as agents” (122). While at a textual level the decisions might be made by translators/journalists, it is factors such as the alliances between news media, their editorial line and the selection of news stories for translation and publication that are fundamental in the production process.

3. Opinion columns and editorials as an example of stable sources

This section presents a brief look at examples of stable sources. To begin with, let us consider the columns authored by Paul Krugman, a Nobel laureate and a Princeton Professor of Economics and International Affairs, who has been writing opinion columns for *The New York Times* since 1999. His articles, many of which are published in Spanish by the newspaper *El País*, can be considered final texts (Hernández Guerrero 2010, 218) in that they may not be modified without the author’s permission, except for the translation process required for a non-Anglophone target audience. Unlike most other journalistic texts, the Spanish versions of the Krugman columns are presented as “Traducida por Newsclip” [translated by Newsclip], a translation agency that specializes in news texts (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 108–109). Below is a short extract:

- (1) Stable source: Extract of a Paul Krugman column and its Spanish version
 Another Bank Bailout (*The New York Times*)
 By PAUL KRUGMAN
 Oh, wow — another bank bailout, this time in Spain. Who could have predicted that?
 The answer, of course, is everybody.

Otro rescate bancario (El País)

Vaya, otro rescate bancario, esta vez en España. ¿Quién lo habría imaginado? La respuesta, por supuesto, es que todo el mundo.

The short extracts show that the target version follows the original very closely, not only as regards its content but also its form, including the conversational tone of the columns. I surveyed a total of eighteen columns in English and their corresponding Spanish versions, and have not found any significant deviations from the source texts (for a closer analysis of these texts, see Valdeón 2016). This seems to suggest that translation plays a secondary role in the transmission of opinion columns and editorials as stable sources: the aim of the process is to facilitate understanding of these texts by a target readership.

However, looking beyond the texts can provide additional information about the framing processes involved here. For instance, selection and de-selection processes at a macro-level are of the utmost importance to understand the rationale behind media decisions. At this point the ‘how,’ which informs us of the textual transformations as translation *stricto sensu* (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 45), might be less relevant. I will focus on the following five W-questions:

- What is translated? Opinion columns about economic and political issues.
- Why are they translated? *El País* has a business partnership with *The New York Times*. They are prestigious texts, more economical to translate than if commissioned from the columnist directly, and particularly relevant for Spain and Europe.
- Where are they published? They can be read both in print and digital form.
- When are they published? On average it takes between one and three days for the Spanish version to appear after the original is published.
- Who translates? Unlike most other articles, the columns are clearly labelled as translations. The name of the company is provided, although the translator remains anonymous.

This brief look at the questions hints at how the framing process begins to work in translated journalistic texts before we reach the textual level. The connections between the two news organizations, their editorial stance, the ideological position of the columnist, and the choice of texts for translation and dissemination

shape the “centrality” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, 3) of the economy as a media frame with which the readership of both outlets can identify. Additionally, in his columns Krugman highlights the factors that, in his view, have caused the first financial crisis of the twenty-first century, that is, the ultra-conservative economic and political measures that have benefited the wealthy to the detriment of the middle and working classes. Krugman opposes the official, austerity-oriented frame — supported by conservative governments, media and international institutions — that has served as the basis for the reforms carried out in the West, and suggests an anti-austerity frame characterized by more public spending. That is, he favours some elements and excludes others (Borah 2011, 48). Both the source and target news media promote this framing process, while *El País* selects the columns particularly relevant for Europe in general and Spain in particular. Finally, the Krugman columns show that texts written for a major news outlet hold a copyright that, in principle, cannot be infringed (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 108–109); that is, the only transformation allowed is a close translation of the original. Additionally, the holder of the copyright and the author need to be duly acknowledged.

However, this does not necessarily mean that their texts will not be linguistically manipulated to support the editorial line of a different company and its target readership. Krugman, who is often either supported or criticized by international media, used at one point the phrase “the pain in Spain” to refer to the economic situation in Spain. The expression soon gained prominence in the Spanish media via its translation “El dolor en/de España,” and has been recycled by other global media, including London’s *Financial Times*. In February 2012, the latter newspaper published an editorial entitled “The Pain in Spain,” which was translated and published in Spain by the conservative newspaper *Expansión*. As an editorial, one might expect a translation *stricto sensu*. Yet, the target text included a number of significant changes. Here follow an extract from the original editorial and the translated text:

- (2) Stable source? Extract of *Financial Times* editorial and Spanish version
 Spain’s rules for loss provisioning left it better equipped than other countries with similar housing bubbles. Even so, banks’ losses have been underestimated. The worsening recession, **partly self-inflicted by Spain’s effort to outdo the general eurozone fiscal masochism**, will make them worse still.

The new **centre-right** Spanish government is wise to tighten the screws on the banks. In this it follows the good work of its **socialist** predecessor, which in 2010 pushed for tougher stress tests than the rest of Europe wanted.

Aunque la normativa del sector bancario español fue más rígida que la del resto de Europa en provisiones, las pérdidas de los bancos se subestimaron. Y la recesión podría empeorar las cosas.

El nuevo Gobierno hace bien en apretar las tuercas a los bancos. Ahí ha seguido el ejemplo de su antecesor, que en 2010 defendió que sus test de estrés fueran los más rigurosos en Europa.

Except for the items in bold, which were omitted in Spanish, the rest of the text remains close to the original, supporting the claim that editorials are stable sources. However, the omissions cannot be explained only in terms of the different conventions of the two languages and/or the two media. By omitting the bold phrase in the first paragraph (that is, the fact that the Spanish government is partly to blame for the current economic situation of the country), the journalist has toned down the critical component in the original, whereas the omission of “centre-right” and “socialist” dilutes the original message that a socialist government could have started the banking regulations that the English newspaper deemed necessary to improve the situation. Besides, the elimination of the term “centre-right” in *Expansión* can be understood as part of the framing strategy of the newspaper towards the very conservative Spanish government, which *Expansión* prefers to situate in the centre of the Spanish political spectrum. Finally, it is worth noticing that the Spanish newspaper states that the source of the column is an opinion article, while in the *Financial Times* the text came under the heading “editorial.” Thus, the article does not only go through textual changes but also through a change of genre status.

This points to the fact that, as Baker (2006, 105) has indicated, translators/journalists collaborate in one way or another with publishers, editors and other agents to “accentuate, undermine or modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance.” In the case of the Krugman columns, translation is commissioned by the news outlet in order to capitalize on the prestige of the author as a world authority on the economy. Conversely, in the *Expansión* column the source medium provides the prestigious component, but the content can be modulated to accentuate the pro-conservative frame of the outlet. The agents of translation may, therefore, be professional translators (*El País*) or journalists performing the role of translators (*Expansión*). Additionally, the resulting article will not necessarily fully respect the integrity of the source text. This proves that the binary opposition of stable versus unstable sources requires further modulation, as the former can become very unstable. Now, what about unstable sources? Are they always *that* unstable?

4. Unstable sources in news translation

In her 2009 book, Hernández Guerrero uses numerous examples of informative texts treated as unstable sources. Thus, journalists, who do not consider themselves translators because their job does not involve what they consider “translation pure and simple” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 15), base their own texts on the many unstable sources available to them (agency wires, reports available to them through media alliances, other published texts, etc.). Generally speaking, the resulting product makes it difficult to trace the original text. But, in the same way as stable sources can be manipulated as part of news-framing processes, unstable sources can become surprisingly stable. Let us consider an example from the Internet version of BBC News, which provides ‘regional’ markets as large as Latin America with international news items. On April 25, 2013, BBC Mundo posted “La espía de Corea del Norte que derribó un avión” by Rupert Wingfield-Hayes, the translation of a report published in English four days earlier. In order to offer background information about the threat posed by North Korea to its southern neighbour, the article reminded its readership of an event that occurred before the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul:

(3) Unstable source? BBC News report and BBC Mundo Spanish version

The North Korean spy who blew up a plane

By Rupert Wingfield-Hayes

BBC News, Seoul

Kim Hyun-hui certainly doesn't look like a mass murderer. The 51-year-old mother of two has a gentle smile and soft voice.

La espía de Corea del Norte que derribó un avión

Rupert Wingfield-Hayes

BBC, Seúl

Kim Hyun-hui no parece una asesina de masas. La norcoreana de 51 años, madre de dos hijos, tiene una sonrisa dulce y una voz suave.

The headlines, the leads and the opening paragraphs point to very few localization strategies. Additionally, translation becomes a very visible process as the name of the source-language journalist is maintained in the Spanish version. As regards the answers to the W-questions, we can point out that the BBC decides what is relevant for an international audience, and also that the news medium opts for treating informative texts as stable sources, as this is more economical than commissioning entirely new articles. Here, the news outlet is the initiator and publisher, while the ideological impact upon the source and target cultures is not relevant. Nor is the time span between the publication in English and in Spanish so important: rather, the point is to provide the staple diet of daily news texts. It

could certainly be argued that word-for-word translation of informative texts is less frequent, but further research is needed into the reasons why certain texts (and which ones) remain stable.

5. Final comments

Translated news stories allow media companies to reduce costs, as they do not require the economic investment of sending reporters to investigate facts (Hamilton 2010, 652). In the current information society, news producers draw on agency wires, correspondents' reports, and articles published by associated media or simply by other outlets. Only a small proportion of the news texts published worldwide are syndicated (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 101), perhaps because "facts cannot be copyrighted. This means that [...] once the story is published the details can be quickly circulated in other outlets" (Hamilton 2010, 652) in a more or less manipulated form. Consequently, translated texts are difficult to trace, which renders research into news translation a difficult activity. Although the initial distinction stable versus unstable sources seemed to be operational to facilitate research, after considering some of its features and a few examples, the distinction has not proved effective.

Translation contributes to the open nature of news stories as unstable sources, as articles are transformed in many ways for a new audience: different journalistic conventions and ideological interests are bound to affect the final product, i.e., headline structure varies across languages, direct speech has a different status in the different news cultures (see Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 12–13), and so on. This means that decisions will depend on many factors (social, economic, political, religious, and so on). Since the inception of translation studies as a discipline, this process has been studied in a variety of genres (literary, economic, historical, etc.), whereas translation in news production is far more invisible than in more canonical texts. This certainly problematizes empirical studies: we need to go beyond textual features, as several authors have claimed, but we also need to go beyond binary oppositions of the type "stable versus unstable sources." Communication studies, where a number of concepts have proved useful in news production research, may provide complementary tools to help us establish connections between news production in a source language and news translation. And, although the stable/unstable distinction might be a good starting point, the variety of texts we are likely to encounter in news media will probably give way to a larger and more flexible taxonomy. Frame/framing is one of the many tools worth exploring in order to map a more comprehensive classification, despite the rather unstable nature of the concept itself.

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Conflicting discourses of translation assessment and the discursive construction of the ‘assessor’ role in cyberspace

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This article explores the ways in which translation assessment is discursively constructed by readers participating in an online translation debate. Focusing on a controversy over the Korean translation of Walter Isaacson’s 2011 biography of Steve Jobs, it examines how readers participating in a translation debate in Daum Agora, the largest online discussion forum in South Korea, enact the ‘assessor’ role in evaluating the translation. Drawing on the concepts of ‘social role,’ ‘activity role,’ and ‘discourse role,’ I argue that online translation assessors perform the discourse roles of ‘expert-judge,’ ‘activist,’ and ‘assessment evaluator.’ The findings suggest that translation assessment in cyberspace is a subjective, contextualizing process where value, meaning, and function are often a matter of uptake. Furthermore, discourse-based approaches may play critical roles in examining translation assessment in cyberspace as a socially situated act that involves an intricate negotiation of meaning, complex workings of power, and a reconstitution of local social positioning within global cultural flows.

Keywords: translation assessment, digital media technology, translation quality, social activism, translation reception

1. Introduction

While systematic models and persuasive discussions have led to many fruitful research projects related to translation assessment, especially in the field of translator training, many translation scholars still consider assessment as subjective, controversial, and/or ad hoc (cf. Nord 1997; Maier 2000; House 2001; Colina 2013). Translation quality has been regarded by many as elusive, making it extremely difficult for any researcher to define in concrete terms what a ‘good’ translation is. The divergence in opinion may also be related to different conceptualizations or

theorizing of translation. As House (2008, 222) convincingly argues, “[t]ranslation quality assessment presupposes a theory of translation” and “[d]ifferent views of translation itself lead to different concepts of translational quality, and hence different ways of assessing it.” Furthermore, the distinct contexts in which assessment occurs add to the complexity of the discussion. Assessment research typically addresses one of three areas: criticism of published translations, assessment of professional translation work, and evaluation in a teaching environment (Martínez Melis and Hurtado Albir 2001). Different types of assessment are often grouped under the single category of ‘translation assessment.’

This article explores the assessment of published translations by analyzing the ways in which assessment is discursively constructed by readers participating in an online translation debate. Focusing on a controversy over a bestselling translation that developed in the largest online discussion forum in South Korea, the present study examines how Korean readers assess a published translation in cyberspace. A study of assessment via analysis of online reviews is not without problems, given that online evaluation is regarded with suspicion and as possessing questionable value (Kang 2013, 3). Online assessment is typically carried out by individuals with varying degrees of knowledge of languages, texts, and translation; thus, assessors with the ability to systematically evaluate translation will most likely be limited in number. If the argument is made that only those assessments made by evaluators possessing in-depth knowledge of different systems of verbal signs, genres, and texts, as well as of distinct ways in which a target text (TT) may be reconstituted (cf. Munday 2012, 37–40), are worthy of examination, an analysis of online evaluations may not be of much value.

However, the value of examining translation assessment in an online discussion forum lies in the role of such assessments as potential interpretative resources for uncovering people’s assumptions, perceptions, and even stereotypes associated with translation. Considering Toury’s remark that an important descriptive-explanatory goal of translation studies is to supply “exhaustive accounts of whatever has been presented/regarded as translational within a target culture” (2012, 20), the ways in which people in the target culture approach and evaluate translations is a crucial topic of scholarly research. This, of course, does not imply that the present article subscribes to the view that what is expressed online is a pure reflection of offline opinions, perceptions, or identities. The position of those who claim that online communication “is not ‘communication’ at all, but rather ‘connectivity,’ ‘social presence’ or ‘play’” (Caldas-Coulthard 2005, 28) is recognized; nevertheless, the argument in the present article is based on the assumption that online assessment is a social practice within the virtual context and, as such, messages and postings may be regarded as potentially important resources for tracing people’s sense-making about translation and its assessment.

The significance of online assessment of published translations in a culture may vary depending on technological and social factors. For a country such as South Korea, which has a tech savvy population and where virtually no one is without access to broadband (OECD 2015), the effects of assessment in cyberspace may be considerable. Furthermore, published translations play an important role in the culture. During 2001–2011, translated books accounted for 26% of all books published and for 50% of bestsellers (Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism 2012). The increase in the use of blogs, reader comments on publisher websites, and Internet forums to comment on and assess translations has significantly enhanced the visibility of translations and translators, and influenced the ways in which translation is viewed in society (Kim 2011, 31). Cyberspace is increasingly becoming not only a major source of information and a crucial site of participatory communication regarding translation, but also an arena for forming, contesting, and negotiating perceptions about translation and its quality.

While this article sets out to examine the ways in which translation assessment is performed in cyberspace, it also considers the use of discourse-based methods in assessment research. The body of scholarship related to discourse-based translation assessment has mostly focused on analyses of parallel texts (source text and target text) or comparable texts (translation and non-translation, translations of the same source text). The use of discourse analysis in this article, however, aims at showing the positioning of assessors regarding notions of translation quality and translator competence. In other words, discourse analysis methods are here used to explore the kinds of roles that assessors discursively adopt as they enact assessment, uncovering the assessors' assumptions and beliefs concerning translation and issues of power and accountability.

2. Translation receivers, digital technology, and translation assessment

The development of digital technology has given a new prominence to the role of translation receivers. New forms of translation practice, including crowd-sourced translation and open translation projects, such as Project Lingua, Worldwide Lexicon, Wiki Project Echo, or TED Open Translation Project, have underlined the fact that potential readers of translations are those that also produce translations (O'Hagan 2011). From the point of view of "translation presumption" (Cronin 2013, 100), which involves potential translation receivers/consumers utilizing Web 2.0 tools to make online content accessible in different languages, translation receivers exploit today's digital technology for translation production purposes. This implies a striking departure from the traditional understanding of the translating agent who produces a translation for reception by the target readers.

According to Cronin, unlike the “production-oriented model of externality” that forms the basis of the traditional conceptualization of translation, the notion of translation presumption depends on a “consumer-oriented model of internality” where producers of translations generate “their own self-representation as a target audience” (100, 102). Furthermore, these receivers-as-producers often engage in activist forms of mediation in cyberspace, where self-reflexive political agency is an important feature of the translating act (Pérez-González 2010, 283–284). The state-of-the-art media technology and the category of reader-turned-translator are increasingly problematizing the traditional conception of “passive or unknowable translation recipients” (Cronin 2013, 100).

In the case of online translation assessment, the role of the assessor is most likely taken up by a TT reader with access to the Internet. In existing research on assessment, the assessor role is assumed to be taken up by someone who possesses expert knowledge; an “evaluator is therefore a judge, while the person evaluated has to submit to the evaluator’s authority” (Martínez Melis and Hurtado Albir 2001, 275). But when assessment occurs in cyberspace, an evaluator’s knowledge and experience regarding translation may vary considerably, which may lead to different assessment methods and consequences (cf. Lauscher 2000, 162–164).

I use ‘assessment’ in the present article as a cover term that encompasses the varying ways in which the quality of a translation is established. Although ‘assessment’ has typically been used in translation studies to refer to a more systematic or formal process by which textual details of ST and TT are collected, compared, and determined with the goal of describing the quality of translation (e.g., House 2001), the description and evaluation of translation quality in cyberspace will entail different levels of systematicity, specificity, and formality. Thus, ‘assessment’ in this study is used as a term that includes diverse methods of describing translation quality and placing a value on its appropriateness, based on the use of such means as making broad statements about the accuracy and readability of a translation, as well as providing a detailed analysis of translation errors and translator competence.

The development of descriptive translation studies and systematic approaches to translation assessment has emphasized the distinction between describing and explaining textual features of a source text (ST) and comparing them with the relevant features in the target text (TT), on the one hand, and judging the quality of a translation on the other. House (2001, 255) states that it is not the task of the assessor to make “prescriptive, apodictic and global judgements” about translation. However, the division between “(linguistic) analysis and (social) judgement” (254) is blurred in many instances of situated assessment. As Colina (2011, 45) suggests, translation scholars who see translation as a social activity do not share House’s view about the need for a distinction between analysis and social judgment in assessment. In fact, empirical research often shows that in the real world

the “comparative method advocated by many translation specialists as a more effective and objective way of judging quality of a translation is not compatible with the constraints of reviewing” (Vanderschelden 2000, 288). The issue of ‘who’ is evaluating and ‘how’ the assessment is enacted in a specific context will have an important impact on how an assessment is portrayed.

3. Discourse analysis of the ‘assessor’ role

3.1 Data and method

In what follows, I examine how translation assessment is discursively constructed in an online debate related to translation. The controversy concerns the Korean translation of *Steve Jobs*, Walter Isaacson’s biography of Steve Jobs, co-founder of Apple (Isaacson 2011a). The debate surrounding *스티브 잡스* [Steve Jobs] (referred to hereafter as *SJ*), translated by Jin-Hwan Ahn (Isaacson 2011b), started with an online post by Deok-ha Yi, a translator himself, who called the Korean translation “riddled with errors” (Choi 2011) shortly after the translation’s release on 24 October 2011. *SJ* had become a record-breaking bestseller following its publication in South Korea, and the translation arguments that began online captured people’s attention offline as well when media outlets covered the controversy.¹ In response to Yi’s criticism in Daum Agora, the largest online discussion forum in South Korea, veteran translator Seung-Young Noh fired back, setting off a major debate in which over 900 reply messages were posted by readers in response to postings by the two translators.² On the surface, the debate centered on the accuracy of the translation; however, an extensive discussion took place relating to translation methods and quality, translation competence, and the role of translation assessment.

1. The biography was originally planned to be released simultaneously in 28 languages on 21 November 2011, but the date was brought forward to 24 October 2011 in the wake of Jobs’ sudden death.

2. Agora is serviced by Daum, the second largest portal provider in South Korea. On the main page of Agora, a list of message titles is shown, along with the name or alias of the writer. Since any Internet user with a Daum ID may post a message of interest, a wide range of topics is discussed on the forum. Yi’s two main messages (YM1, YM2) are available online respectively at <http://bbs1.agora.media.daum.net/gaia/do/debate/read?bbsId=D109&articleId=664910> and <http://bbs1.agora.media.daum.net/gaia/do/debate/read?bbsId=D109&articleId=665801> (last accessed 10 December 2012). Noh’s message (NM1) is available at <http://bbs1.agora.media.daum.net/gaia/do/debate/read?bbsId=D109&articleId=665073> (last accessed 10 December 2012).

In the midst of the controversy, Minumsa, the South Korean publisher, and Jin-Hwan Ahn, the translator of the book, respectively posted official statements on the Minumsa website (Minumsa 2011). Minumsa, one of the leading publishing houses in the country, stated that many of the critical remarks regarding the translation were based on a comparative analysis of the Korean translation and the “American version” — the version sold in the U.S. market. However, the ST with which the Korean translator worked was an “international manuscript” — a version that functioned as a ST for translators working in 27 other languages (Minumsa 2011). The original manuscript was further edited even after translation had begun and this development was not notified to the Korean publisher or translator. When Minumsa inquired about this matter after the controversy erupted in South Korea, the American licensing company’s response was that the changes in the “American version” were mostly minor and stylistic and that “there were not any substantive changes that would materially affect the meaning of the book” (Minumsa 2011). Although the differences between the “international manuscript” and the “American version” are fairly self-evident (e.g., the “American version” contains 42 chapters, compared to 41 chapters in the Korean translation), the differences, according to Minumsa, are mostly inconsequential changes in wording or formatting (breaking up one chapter into two) and not related to content. Furthermore, Minumsa claimed that the ST for the Korean translation should not be viewed as problematic in any way, since both the “international manuscript” and the “American version” were “authorized” by the ST author. Meanwhile, in his statement posted on Minumsa website, the translator claimed that many comments concerning translation errors originated from a lack of understanding of the translation method or the translator’s choice (Ahn 2011). Stressing that he had not been informed of the changes added to the original manuscript, the translator suggested that additional editing might be the reason for many instances of ST and TT mismatches. The statement closed with a promise to take responsibility for any translation errors and to keep communication open with the readers.³

In the present study, I analyze three main messages (two by Yi, one by Noh) and 908 reply messages posted on Agora from the perspective of social constructionist theory.⁴ The reply messages consist of 628 posts in response to Yi’s two

3. Deok-ha Yi, however, argued that translation errors mentioned in his postings have little to do with stylistic changes or minor alteration in wording. He called on Minumsa to disclose the “international manuscript” so that readers could compare it with the Korean translation.

4. There is no consensus among scholars on ethical questions associated with the gathering and use of information from publicly open online communities for research purposes (Hookway 2008). Positions range from the view that archived material on the Internet is publicly available and thus should be approached as any ‘real world’ or ‘naturally occurring’ data (Walther

messages and 280 posts in response to Noh's message. Yi's first message, which ignited the controversy, is based on a comparative analysis of ten pages of ST and TT, from which Yi claims that 21 instances of "serious mistranslations" and "20 relatively less-serious looking cases" can be found, prompting him to give a highly critical overall assessment of *SJ*. In response, Noh posted an evaluation in which he presented a categorical rebuttal of Yi's source-oriented assessment and argued for a recognition of the translator's choices. Shortly after Noh's message appeared, Yi posted another message, condemning Noh's approach to translation.

Based on a discourse analytic approach and drawing on the concept of 'role,' this article examines how translation readers' online postings formulate discourses about translation assessment and assessors. 'Role' is used here to make a "distinction between an individual or person and a capacity, namely, a specialized function which the person may perform during a given series of occasions" (Goffman 1974, 128). A speaker can "alter the social role in which he is active [...] what in committee meetings is called 'changing hats'; [...] to select the capacity in which we are to be active is to select (or to attempt to select) the capacity in which the recipients of our action are present" (Goffman 1981, 145). Thus, for Goffman, 'role' is not a rigid category of everyday activity, although its link to a relatively stable social reality is not denied. In this study, I make use of three types of 'role,' namely, *social role*, *discourse role*, and *activity role* (following Sarangi 2010, 45). 'Social role' refers to the social relationship between the participants (e.g., mother, teacher, lawyer, etc.), whereas 'activity role' describes the role that is dependent on the type of activity the individual is participating in (e.g., chairperson, news interviewer, assessor, etc.). 'Discourse role,' on the other hand, concerns the relationship between the participants and the message (is X receiving the message, transmitting it on behalf of another person?). By analyzing the messages posted in terms of the roles assessors adopt, this article focuses on how translation readers in cyberspace perform specific roles and how the role enactment impacts on the ways in which assessment is carried out.

3.2 Analysis

An analysis of messages posted suggests that assessors assume the role of 'expert-judge,' 'activist,' and 'assessment evaluator.' As will become clear, there are

2002; Giles 2006) to the opinion that online postings, though publicly accessible, are written with an expectation of privacy and should be treated as such (Elgesem 2002). All entries on the Agora site may be accessed by anyone with an open Internet connection, and contributors to the site are aware that their postings are publicly available. Potential ethical concerns in relation to Internet-enabled research are duly noted in this study.

occasionally overlaps among the categories and their boundaries are sometimes fuzzy.

3.2.1 *Judgment of translation quality*

In this section, online postings related to translation assessment are examined in terms of the ways in which assessors perform the discourse role of ‘expert-judge’ by speaking in a voice of knowledge concerning translation. Readers attempt to establish their legitimacy in relation to their act of judging quality and attributing values to translation by making direct references to their own experience of working as professional translators or in the publishing industry. Back-translated examples include “as a person who translates” (Sankwasan), “as a person who translated published books” (Miky the pretty), “as the translator of ...” (worldbest), and “[I’m] just a writer who translates and authors books” (crazycat). References are also made to experience in translation criticism, as in “I have so far done critiques of approximately 50 translations in a fairly detailed way” (Deok-ha Yi).

Assessors use a number of discursive strategies to authoritatively position themselves in relation to judgments regarding translation.

- (1) a. NM1, 2/11/2011
[I] will tell [you] here what the criterion is for differentiating a good book and a bad one [in the case of translation], which is something that Mr. Yi Deok-ha has bypassed. A book that endlessly orients to the source text is a bad book. (Noh Seung-Young)⁵
- b. #96-YM1, 2/11/2011⁶
That is not the same thing as this. Those small, delicate differences contain important meaning. [You] should not intentionally do away with information that exists. (Hanjokakkkwum)
- c. #1-YM2, 7/11/2011
Translation must be faithful to the content of the original text. (Mwuyengkem)
- d. #42-YM2, 3/11/2011
Whether to change difficult words into easier ones or to revise needless words is the translator’s choice. (Pwulkunhyekmyeng)

In Example (1), terms and phrases typically used in academic discourse on translation quality such as *원문을 지향하는* [orients to source text], *충실해야 한다* [must be faithful], *의역* [sense-for-sense translation], *쉬운 의미전달* [easy

5. For lack of space the author is unable to provide the original quotations. Unless otherwise stated, the translations provided in the excerpts are the author’s.

6. In referring to reader comments, the discussion will use the numbering of entries in the order as it appears online. #96-YM1 refers to the 96th comment of YM1 (Yi’s first main message).

conveyance of meaning], and 번역가 재량 [translator's choice] are also used in online assessment. In (1a), the process of saying (말씀드리겠습니다 [will tell] in 좋은 책과 나쁜 책의 기준을 말씀드리겠습니다 [[I] will tell [you] here what the criterion is for differentiating a good book and a bad one)) is attributed to the assessor (albeit implicitly since 'I' is omitted) who 'tells' the readers how translation quality is to be understood. This is achieved by the use of expressions of modality containing a high degree of certitude (말씀드리겠습니다 [will tell]) and the present tense in terms of relational process (끊임없이 원문을 지향하는 책은 나쁜 책입니다 [A book that endlessly orients to the source text is a bad book]).⁷ The present tense is not a modally neutral form but a powerful one for reflecting the speaker's "certainty, unquestionableness, continuity, and universality" (Fowler and Kress 1979, 207). Furthermore, the relational process foregrounds the objectivity of the message and has an appearance of 'just the facts.' Speaking in the voice of knowledge, the assessor in (1a) assumes a pedagogic role, instructing Yi and other message readers on what constitutes translation quality. Expressions of deontic modality (빼 버려서는 안되는 것이지요 [should not ... do away with] in (1b), 충실해야 한다 [must be faithful] in (1c)), as well as the relational process in simple present tense (그게 그거 아닙니다 [That is not the same thing as this] in (1b), 어려운 말을 쉽게 바꾸던가 필요없는 말을 수정하는 것은 번역가 재량입니다 [Whether to change difficult words ... is the translator's choice] in (1d)) contribute to the discursive construction of assessment as overall claims to 'truth,' with a general tone of 'telling-it-like-it-is.'

Assessment in cyberspace is also portrayed as a process of identifying problems in translation and explaining the possible causes, as shown in the following:

- (2) a. #313-YM1, 2/11/2011
Dissatisfaction with translations in the computer field is due to translation being carried out by those who majored in English literature, when professionals [in the subject area] should collaborate in translation work. (Cayklaen)
- b. #344-YM1, 2/11/2011
Technical terms are usually used in their original form, but the publisher absurdly and needlessly translates the terms, frequently causing confusion and difficulties to readers. Translated terms that people don't use in the real world ... (hppygl)
- c. #45-YM1, 2/11/2011
Translation is not an act of creation but an act of mirroring. If the surface of the mirror is not proper, the object will most likely look

7. All excerpts written in Korean are a literal reproduction of the text available online, complete with spelling errors and other editing infelicities.

distorted. Your logic is nothing but sophistry, which insists that your mistake is creation. (Samlippang 2Kay)

In the posted messages, motifs of ‘disappointment,’ ‘distortion,’ and ‘confusion’ are recurrently used to invoke the problematic nature of translation. This is evident in the lexical choices containing a negative evaluation concerning the translator, translation, and publishing company (불만 [dissatisfaction], 왜곡 [distortion], 혼란 [confusion], 어려움 [difficulties], 실수 [mistake], and 꾀변 (sic) [sophistry]). The cause of translation problems in (2a) and (2b) is respectively represented as the translator’s lack of computer-related knowledge and the use of an inappropriate translation method for IT terms. On the other hand, the cause of the problem in (2c) lies in the TT’s inability to fulfill readers’ expectation of instantaneous transparency. Although the causes of translation problems may vary, the anticipation of in-depth subject-specific knowledge and the invisibility of the translation process are evident in the assessment.

Assessors use not only a tone of certainty but also a conversational, dialogic style when they discursively situate themselves as ‘expert-judge,’ as shown in (3):

(3) a. #210-NM1, 2/11/2011

Is it not the proper attitude of the translator to translate in line with the translating language/culture, as long as the translator does not cause damage to the original author’s intentions.⁸ (Alkheymia)

b. NM1, 2/11/2011

[I] ask [the following] of those who are oriented towards translation criticism. [I] sincerely hope that [you] will be equipped with the competence to judge before [you] begin to critique. (Noh Seung-Young)

In (3), readers are addressed through interpersonal features such as (rhetorical) questions (... *것이 번역자의 자세 아닌가요* [Is it not the proper attitude of the translator to ...] and requests (*번역 비평을 지향하는 분들께 부탁드립니다* [[I] ask [the following] of those who are oriented towards translation criticism]). The messages posted on Agora are written in response to other messages and therefore the “ratified” and “addressed” (Goffman 1981) recipient is often explicitated in postings (“those who are oriented towards translation criticism”). However, the recipient category may also be used strategically:

(4) #379-YM1, 2/11/2011

The book arrived and [I] was surprised at its length, and expressed respect to the person for accomplishing [translation of] enormous quantity in such a short period of time, I feel that meaning changes completely due to just

8. The question mark is omitted in the original Korean message.

one letter in translation, so it is my wish that translators take special care [in their work]. Professional translators, please don’t just translate, read extensively. (Maynankwukcwuk)

In (4), the use of “professional translators” as the ‘addressed’ recipient has the effect of generalizing the attribution of agency, responsibility, and blame for a problematic translation and portraying a situation as being ‘always the case.’ This illustrates the suspicion harbored by many assessors concerning translations, and it is this distrust that eventually leads to the conflation of online translation evaluation and activist modes of resistance, which I discuss in the following section.

3.2.2 *Conflation of assessment and activism*

Online assessment is organized around the idea that translation criticism is a way to create change in the translation field. In this way, the online discussion forum becomes a discursive site for a social movement; translation readers advocate actions to challenge, contest, and correct the structural problems related to practices in the translation field and the corporate power of publishers.

- (5) a. YM1, 2/11/2011
My view is that the translation field in Korea is in such a pathetic state that it cannot reform itself. A strong shock from “outside” is necessary. I believe that translation critique may be the biggest shock. (Yi Deok-ha)
- b. #368-YM1, 2/11/2011
You are a brave person who tells hard truths to the utterly corrupt translation field. Do not compromise your principles, keep on fighting proudly. (Holangnapi)
- c. #192-NM1, #193-NM1, 2/11/2011
But why are [you] defending a translator and a publisher that is fighting with readers to win? (Ssokali)
↳ [I] am not defending [them]. [I’m] saying let’s attack in the right way. (Noh Seung-Young)

In (5), numerous strategies are used to discursively construct assessment as an activity associated with transforming translation practice and social order. The most prominent feature here is the use of highly charged lexical items. “Translation field”/“translation in the publishing field” is described in terms of *한심해서* [pathetic] and *썩어빠진* [utterly corrupt]. Evident in (5) is the use of militarized language that relies on the metaphor of war. By using *싸움* [fight], *싸우세요* [fight on], *싸워 이기려는* [fighting to win], *공격하자* [let’s attack], assessors situate evaluations as a fight against the translation field and publishing industry. The discursive strategy of polarization also situates the translation/publishing field as deserving of a linguistic barrage. Pitting these two fields against readers, assessors use

group-based attitudes to attribute blame for low-quality translations. In (5c), an assessor who refuses to condemn the translator and publisher of *SJ* is regarded as siding with “them,” suggesting that a pattern of polarizing ingroup and outgroup is at work. The enactment of social differentiation and the drawing of clear boundaries contribute to portraying the translation/publishing field as uniformly unethical and corrupt.

On a different level, activist translation assessment is also discussed in terms of consumer activism, which explicitly and implicitly collapses the distinction between ‘consumers’ and ‘readers.’

- (6) a. #441-YM1, 2/11/2011
Minumsa is disappointing ... [It seems that] Minumsa’s books will no longer give trust [to people]. (Jupiter)
- b. #14-YM1, 4/11/2011
But translations, especially bestselling translations, are purchased directly by readers who pay their money, so we consumers have the right to demand a good product, service! (tobeadrummer)
- c. #46-YM1, 2/11/2011
For those who want to protest against Minumsa, [I] believe it would be a good idea to use this ... Active protesting is needed. (Hancockkkkwum)

Assessors enact the role of activist consumers by negatively evaluating the *SJ* publisher and calling on others to engage in vigorous action. These views are represented in the expressions used to describe the publisher (실망이에요 [is disappointing], 신뢰를 주지 못할것 [will no longer give [people] reliability], and 항의 [protesting]). In (6a), the assessor expresses disillusionment with the publisher, questioning the morality of its practice. The evaluator asserts consumer rights and encourages reflexivity as consumers in (6b). The use of *우리 소비자* [we consumers] is significant in that it functions to reaffirm the collective identity of activist consumers. In an attempt to transform elements of social order surrounding consumption, readers recommend a strong form of action in (6c).

As the discussion above shows, the discourse role of ‘activist’ unfolds at two different levels. At the consumer activist level, assessors specifically target the publisher of *SJ* under the goal of asserting consumer rights and demanding responsible and ethical behavior. At a broader social activist level, the target of action is more general and the call to action is less specific.

3.2.3 Evaluation of translation assessments

Online assessors perform the role of ‘assessment evaluator’ by appraising the strengths and weaknesses of others’ assessments and presenting a ‘definitive’ position on translation quality. This is perhaps unsurprising considering that most of

the messages posted are in response to other messages; however, the ways in which assessors enact the role of 'assessment evaluator' show not only how translation readers view quality, but also how the perceptions and elaborations about quality are received and judged by other assessors.

(7) a. NM1, 2/11/2011

[I] believe there are about two mistranslations that mislead the original logic. The rest are matters of interpretation, acceptable or reader-oriented sense-for-sense translation. What is unfortunate about Mr. Yi Deok-ha's assessment is that sense-for-sense translation for the benefit of readers is judged as mistranslation based on a literal reading of the original text — I even struck my knee with my hand in amazement when I came across certain translation [choices]. (Noh Seung-Young)

b. #3-YM2, 5/11/2011

As a reader, [I] welcome this debate since it will bring growth to Korea's translation field. Translator Noh Seung-Young and Translator Yi Deok-ha clearly have their own ideas and logic about translation ... However, while Translator Noh Seung-Young argues on the basis of facts, without emotion, Translator Yi Deok-ha's writing is provocative and contains misleading aspects. [Translator Yi] chooses to exaggerate to drive a point home. (JediKnight)

As shown in (7), online assessors enact the role of 'assessment evaluator' by recognizing, examining, and judging the positionings of other assessors. Using relatively sophisticated metalanguage on translation quality, the assessor in (7a) raises the possibility that Yi's assessment may simply be wrong due to a lack of understanding of translation. It is a vivid example of how a TT that receives one evaluator's verdict of mistranslation may simultaneously be given another evaluator's praise of impressive translation. The comment in (7b), on the other hand, takes issue with the possibility that Yi's assessment may be biased and undisciplined. It reveals how assessments are critically evaluated in terms of evidence and the strength of argument. Example (7) suggests that relatively experienced translation readers may not be indiscriminately accepting of the views of others. However, assessments do have the potential to easily affect the opinions of readers, especially when readers are not in a position to judge quality.

(8) a. #316-YM1, 2/11/2011

Ordinary people like us are unable to actually differentiate the level of competence of translators. (Kapulieyl)

b. #24-NM1, 3/11/2011

I'm just someone who is considering studying translation and [I] agree with most of your assessment. (Ciphwuli)

c. #47-YM1, 2/11/2011

[I] just learned about the situation ... As someone who does not know English well, this is really shocking ... Hmm (mami)

In (8), assessors foreground that their knowledge of translation or foreign languages may be limited. This is evident in *사실 저희처럼 일반인들은 번역가님들의 실력이 정말 어느 정도인지 구분하기 어렵습니다* [ordinary people like us are unable to actually differentiate the level of competence of translators] in (8a) and *저는 그저 번역을 공부해보려고 생각 중인 사람입니다* [I'm just someone who is considering studying translation] in (8b), suggesting that a lack of understanding of translation does not function as grounds for evading or forgoing evaluation. In (8a), collective identity is invoked in the use of *저희처럼 일반인* [ordinary people like us], suggesting that the category of assessor is approached differently depending on whether the assessor is an 'ordinary' reader or an 'expert' reader. This statement, or even admission, about the inability of ordinary readers without expertise to judge translator competence is suggestive of why many translation readers choose to perform the role of 'assessment evaluator' in cyberspace.

The performance of an 'assessment evaluator' role, however, carries the possibility of an assessor unquestioningly accepting the assessment result of others. This is evident in (8c) where *영어를 잘 모르는 입장에서 이런 내용은 충격 자체네요* [As someone who does not know English well, this content is really shocking] shows that *이런 내용* [this content] is presented as a given, suggesting that the assessor is arguably accommodating of the critical evaluation of *SJ*. This suggests that enacting the 'assessment evaluator' role may have an educating function in that assessors learn about translation quality and assessment in the process of performing evaluation.

4. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of translation assessment of *SJ* in a South Korean online discussion forum suggests that translation readers write online reviews with diverse expectations and assumptions associated with quality. Their views are reflected in terms used to describe translation ranging from "literal," "sense-for-sense," "faithful," "transparent," and "readable" to "translator's choice" and "easy conveyance of meaning," all of which have traditionally, and somewhat problematically, been used within translation studies. Furthermore, some online assessors display ability to use sophisticated metalanguage on translation quality in a systematic manner. The discourses of online assessors on the surface seem to echo those of more traditional scholarly discourses of assessment. Despite differences in the level of

knowledge regarding translation and foreign languages, assessors in general do not shy away from making value judgments concerning translation quality.

The present analysis of the ways in which online assessors discursively perform their roles in the unfolding of the actual assessment reveals that the 'assessor' category is far from homogeneous or fixed. Describing or judging the quality of translation is only 'one' of the significant discursive phenomena observed in online assessment. Although people act out the 'activity role' of 'assessor,' which is indeed a significant aspect of assessment of *SJ*, the 'social role,' which seems to include students, teachers, translators, and housewives, among many others, appears to be more diverse. That such 'social roles' in cyberspace remain unverifiable is less important here; what matters is how assessors relate their 'social roles' to 'discourse roles.' Performing the 'discourse role' of 'expert-judge,' 'activist,' or 'assessment evaluator,' translation readers actively bring their expectations, assumptions, and preconceptions into the discussion of translation quality. The discourse roles are performed against the background of pervasive suspicion regarding the translation/publishing field, which may partly explain why many translation readers in this study engage in activist assessment on the basis of affinity with other readers.

The proliferation of new and more sophisticated technological platforms for translation readers to voice their opinion and engage in social interaction has enhanced the visibility of translation and translators, and has empowered readers in cyberspace. The activities of online translation assessors, in particular, have allowed urgent issues related to translation quality and production to be highlighted; what has hitherto remained the object of interest to only a small community of translators and translation scholars is now more widely discussed in cyberspace due to the conflation of online assessment and activist modes of resistance. Assessors' critiques of capitalist structures and calls to correct unethical practices in the translation/publishing field have resulted in an enhancement of social and cultural awareness regarding translation-related problems.

At the same time, online assessment is potentially dangerous in that it harbors the possibility of making translations and translators targets of irresponsible, irrevocable, and even reckless disparagement and blame. Online assessments carried out by outspoken critics without the necessary competence to properly evaluate a text can and do lead to situations where translators are unjustly stigmatized. Furthermore, diversity in translation settings may cause readers to bring misplaced assumptions to their assessments in the first place, as was the case of the Korean translation of *SJ*, which, contrary to the beliefs of many assessors, was actually based on an "international manuscript." Although the new media have a transformative impact on the production, reception, and assessment of translations, readers need to be more attentive than ever before to the potential consequences of their actions in cyberspace.

Translation assessment that disregards the complex negotiation of meaning and the intricate selection of target expressions, both of which entail a translator's reflection on cultural differences, issues of power and language hierarchies, and distinct reading positions, fails to consider critical points in the translation process. This is echoed by Mason (2009, 55) who argues that "it is impossible (or futile) to conduct analysis independently of cultural considerations, including perceptions of power, status, role, socio-textual practices, etc." Translation is a crossing of linguistic, cultural, and institutional borders, involving an interplay between global and local processes. The issue of how global cultural processes are recontextualized into the everyday life of readers is a central issue for understanding online translation assessment.

Rather than considering assessment by doing discourse analysis of the ST and TT, the present article has used discourse analysis to examine the ways in which assessors discursively perform distinct roles in cyberspace. In using this method, I have shown that, although assessors often approach assessment with an assumption that it is a neutral and objective evaluation of fixed meanings, what they actually 'do' in the act of assessing is something else. The discourse-based approach has enabled translation assessment in cyberspace to be studied as a socially situated act that involves an intricate negotiation of meaning, complex workings of power, and a reconstitution of local social positioning within global cultural flows. While the present study makes the argument that the act of translation assessment in cyberspace is a contextualizing process where value, meaning, and function are far from predetermined, many questions remain unanswered. Discourse-based approaches — whether used in the analysis of ST and TT, multiple TTs of the same ST, or translation and non-translation, in addition to the discursive construction of assessment-related phenomena — most likely are not able to answer all the questions, but they undoubtedly play a critical role in furthering our understanding of translation and its assessment.

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Discourse analytic approaches are central to translator training and translation analysis, but have been somewhat overlooked in recent translation studies. This volume sets out to rectify this marginalization. It considers the evolution of the use of discourse analysis in translation studies, presents current research from ten leading figures in the field and provides pointers for the future. Topics range from close textual analysis of cohesion, thematic structure and the interpersonal function to the effects of global English and the discourses of cyberspace. The inherent link between discourse and the construction of power is evident in many contributions that analyse institutional power and the linguistic resources which mark translator/interpreter positioning. An array of scenarios and languages are covered, including Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Korean and Spanish. Originally published as a special issue of *Target* 27:3 (2015).

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ISBN 978 90 272 4282 2



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John Benjamins Publishing Company