

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem
Bölcsészettudományi Kar

DOKTORI DISSZERTÁCIÓ

BÁNHEGYI MÁTYÁS

The Effects of Politics and Ideology on the Translation of
Argumentative Political Newspaper Articles

A politika és az ideológia hatása érvelő típusú politikai
újságcikkek fordítására

Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola

A Doktori Iskola vezetője: Dr. Bańczerowski Janusz, DSc. habil.

Fordítástudományi Doktori Program

A program vezetője: Dr. Klaudy Kinga, DSc. habil.

A bizottság tagjai és tudományos fokozatuk:

Elnök: Dr. Klaudy Kinga, DSc. habil.

Belső bíráló: Dr. Heltai Pál, CSc. habil.

Külső bíráló: Dr. Magnuczné Godó Ágnes, PhD

Titkár: Dr. Papp Andrea, PhD

Tag: Dr. Sárosdy Judit, PhD

1. póttag: Dr. Martsa Sándor, CSc.

2. póttag: Dr. Pődör Dóra, PhD

Témavezető és tudományos fokozata: Dr. Károly Krisztina, PhD habil.

Budapest, 2009

Certificate of Research

By my signature below, I, Mátyás Bánhegyi, hereby certify that this dissertation, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Translation Studies PhD Programme of the Doctoral School in Linguistics at Eötvös Loránd University, entitled *The Effects of Politics and Ideology on the Translation of Argumentative Political Newspaper Articles*, is entirely the result of my own work, and that no material is included for which another dissertation has been or is being conferred upon me. In my dissertation I have faithfully and exactly cited all the sources I have used, including books, journals and unpublished manuscripts, as well as any other media, such as CD-ROM-s, the Internet, letters or significant personal communication.

Date:

Signature:

Nyilatkozat

Alulírott Bánhegyi Mátyás, az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola Fordítástudományi Doktori Program doktorjelöltje kijelentem, hogy *A politika és az ideológia hatása érvelő típusú politikai újságcikkek fordítására* címen elkészített disszertációt önállóan készítettem el, a disszertációt más felsőoktatási intézményben, ill. az egyetem más karán nem nyújtottam még be, a disszertációban szerepeltetett – más szerzőktől származó – gondolatokat és idézeteket tudományos munkához méltóan, megfelelően jelöltem meg.

Dátum:

Aláírás:

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere and heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Dr. Krisztina Károly and to the Director of the Translation Studies PhD Programme, Dr. Kinga Klaudy for their professional support and advice, invaluable insights and informative courses, which all markedly prompted the completion of my dissertation. I am also grateful to Dr. Krisztina Szabari, Dr. Mária Gósy, Dr. György Hell, Péter Iván Horváth, Dr. Balázs Kis and Dr. Sándor Martsa, whose courses inspired many of the ideas put forward in the introduction and the theoretical chapters of the dissertation.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mona Baker (University of Manchester) and Dr. Myriam Salama-Carr (University of Salford) for arousing my interest in the topic of conflict, ideology and power, for providing me with critical comments of great value, and for a copy of their respective titles *Translating and Interpreting Conflict* and *Translation and Conflict. A Narrative Account*, which proved most useful for the chapters entitled Translation and Politics: Towards Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Science and Mass Communication: Political Reality and Bias of the present dissertation. Moreover, I owe thanks to Dr. Christina Schäffner (Aston University), whose critical comments were of vital importance and great assistance along the process of writing some of my articles contributing to the dissertation.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Central European Association of Canadian Studies, the Embassy of Canada in *Hungary*, and the organisers of the *Canada in the European Mind – Europe in the Canadian Mind* conference series, especially Dr. Judit Molnár and Dr. Péter Szaffkó for making it possible for me to deliver a presentation in the topic of my dissertation at the 2006 *Canada in the European Mind. Imaginative Spaces: Canada in the European Mind, Europe in the Canadian Mind* Conference in Hungary.

Dr. Sárosdyné Dr. Judit Szabó and Dr. Sándor Martsa, current and former heads of the Department of Linguistics Department and Dr. Tibor Fabiny, head of the Department of English Literatures and Cultures at the Faculty of Arts of Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church also deserve credit for granting support to my studies and participation at various dissertation-related conferences and for their continuous encouragement of my scholarly ambitions.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their patience, understanding and support for enabling me to complete the present dissertation, and, in particular, my wife, Dr. Judit Nagy for taking over the chores I was supposed to do around the house and for helping out with some of my academic tasks at Károli University.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	7
1.1. General introduction	7
1.2. The basic terminology and notions used.....	8
1.3. Introduction to the present analysis: starting points	11
1.4. Introduction to the current undertaking: research questions, the aims and novelties of the research, the analytical tool.....	13
1.5. Introduction to Chapters 2-9	14
1.6. Limitations of the current research	16
Chapter 2: Text function of argumentative texts – Hoey’s Problem-Solution Model.....	18
2.1. Overview.....	18
2.2. The role of superstructure and macrostructure in text comprehension.....	18
2.3. Political texts as problem-solution texts	19
2.4. Hoey’s (1994) first Problem-Solution Model.....	21
2.5. Hoey’s (2001) second Problem-Solution Model	25
2.6. Conclusion	27
Chapter 3: Text structure and translation research – the micro-, macro- and superstructure of texts	28
3.1. Overview.....	28
3.2. Kintsch and van Dijk’s Model of Text Comprehension and Production.....	28
3.3. Research applying Kintsch and van Dijk’s (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production and van Dijk’s (1980) Macrostructure Model.....	39
3.4. Translation research applying van Dijk’s (1980) Macrostructure Model.....	43
3.5. The summary of the main aims and results of the application of the macrostructure models presented	46
3.6. The relevance of previous research to the present study	47
3.7. Conclusion	48
Chapter 4: Translation and politics – towards Critical Discourse Analysis.....	49
4.1. Overview.....	49
4.2. Text, power and ideology	49
4.3. Translation, ideology power and politics.....	50
4.3.1. Translation Studies oriented text linguistic trends in the study of political discourse	51
4.3.2. Research on the translation of political discourse	53
4.4. The roots and traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis	65
4.4.1 The roots of CDA in linguistics	66
4.4.2 Current traditions of CDA and their most influential researchers.....	67
4.5. Van Dijk’s (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis	69
4.5.1 Main tenets	70

4.5.2	Van Dijk's CDA	73
4.5.2.1	Section overview	74
4.5.2.2	Definition and the main characteristics	74
4.5.2.3	The theoretical background and aims.....	75
4.5.2.4	Theoretical links between discourse and society – the Discourse–Society Interface	77
4.5.2.4.1	Discourse–Society Interface – Action	77
4.5.2.4.2	Discourse–Society Interface – Context.....	78
4.5.2.4.3	Discourse–Society Interface – Power	79
4.5.2.4.4	Discourse–Society Interface – Ideology	81
4.6.	The Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model	86
4.6.1	Action	87
4.6.2	Context	87
4.6.3	Power and ideology	88
4.6.4	Overview of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model	90
4.7.	Conclusion	91
Chapter 5: Political science and mass communication – political reality and bias		93
5.1.	Overview.....	93
5.2.	Political communication and the media	94
5.3.	Political reality	96
5.4.	Types of bias.....	99
5.4.1	The creation or distortion of reality.....	99
5.5.	The Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model	100
5.6.	Conclusion	104
Chapter 6: The analytical tool – the Political Bias Screener		105
6.1.	Overview.....	105
6.2.	The research and theories underlying the construction of the Political Bias Screener.....	105
6.3.	The theoretical background of the Political Bias Screener	106
6.4.	The Political Bias Screener.....	107
6.5.	Conclusions.....	110
Chapter 7: Research design		111
7.1.	Overview.....	111
7.2.	Criteria for selecting the source texts	112
7.3.	Description of the source and target texts submitted to analysis.....	113
7.4.	Criteria for selecting the participants	116
7.5.	Procedures of selecting the participants.....	117
7.6.	Interviews with the participants.....	119
7.7.	Description of the participants.....	120

7.8.	The translation assignment	121
7.9.	Procedures of analysis	126
7.9.1	Sample super- and macrostructure analyses.....	126
7.9.1.1	Superstructure.....	126
7.9.1.2	Macrostructure	130
7.9.1.3	Procedures of the CDA analysis.....	135
7.9.1.4	Procedures of the political mass communication analysis	136
7.10.	The reliability of the constituent models of the Political Bias Screener.....	138
7.10.1	The reliability of the superstructure analysis.....	138
7.10.2	The reliability of the macrostructure analysis	139
7.10.3	The reliability of the CDA analysis.....	142
7.10.4	The reliability of the political mass communication analysis	142
Chapter 8: Results and discussion		144
8.1.	Overview.....	144
8.2.	The results and discussion of the superstructure analysis.....	144
8.3.	The results and discussion of the macrostructure analysis	148
8.4.	The results and discussion of the CDA analysis.....	160
8.4.1	CDA analysis of Source Text 1 and its four translations	160
8.4.2	CDA analysis of Source Text 2 and its four translations	189
8.4.3	Summary of CDA results	228
8.5.	The results and discussion of the political mass communication analysis	230
8.6.	Conclusion	232
Chapter 9: Conclusions		234
9.1.	Overview.....	234
9.2.	The analytical tool	234
9.3.	Summary of the results of the analyses and limitations of the research	235
9.4.	Merits of the Political Bias Screener	236
9.5.	Conclusions regarding translator behaviour	236
9.6.	Implications for translator training and translators' awareness raising	237
9.7.	Further research	238
References		240
Appendix 1		253
Appendix 2		255
Appendix 3		259
Appendix 4		267
Appendix 5		288

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. General introduction

In several countries the interaction between Political Science and Translation Studies has created prolific new research areas and trends in the recent 15 years. As politics in Hungary was delegated to the competence of some power elites before the 1989 change of the regime, Translation Studies cannot benefit from accumulated research as such research is virtually non-existent in the Hungarian context.

On the other hand, politics in Hungary is still regarded as an awkward and taboo topic to be discussed with “good old friends”. Furthermore, some political circles still maintain the view that lay persons should not deal with politics and had better leave any political decision, activism and activity to competent, politically skilled professionals.

As a counter reaction to such elitist views, Hungary is currently witnessing the boom and flourishing of non-governmental organisations and civil movements, which oftentimes declare their opinions about high priority political issues. These organisations and movements are often seen as an opposing power to the political agendas influenced and created by political parties.

In international and sometimes, in the case of certain bilingual countries, even in national contexts, translation may play a prominent role in and be a vital vehicle and means of communication in publishing and publicising political agendas as well as in maintaining political power. In this respect, translation itself may easily become a political tool. This is especially so since translation is in fact textual “rewriting” that publicly credits the author of the text for authorship, pretending that it is the author him- or herself who has created the translated text. At the same time, translation hides the translator from the public eye, who actually has the job and the potential to effect textual changes. Translation in this respect can serve the purposes of gaining, maintaining and even abusing political power in the interests of certain political groups.

One way of avoiding such misuses of translation is to create a civilian and professional counter power in Translation Studies, which can identify and pinpoint surfacing textual features possibly supporting and/or contributing to political manipulation and power abuse. Such a counter power is in fact mental power, some kind of knowledge, capacity and skill that enables translators to spot manipulative translation practices in their own and others’ works. Usually, the pinpointing of such manipulative practices will inevitably

involve the criticism of political texts (Conover and Searing 1994) and power elites (including translators who work for such power elites) that, through political discourse, create and maintain social and political inequality and injustice and take advantage of such scenarios. Consequently, criticism of such discourse will inevitably involve social and political science as well as social and political criticism and activism.

Thus, the work of those who analyse political discourse is “admittedly and ultimately political” (van Dijk 2001: 252) and aim to achieve “a change through critical understanding” (van Dijk 2001: 252) of translations. At the same time, such work is hoped to generate increased professional awareness in translators.

The method of analysis described in the present dissertation is a further development and refinement of our proposition analysis (Bánhegyi 2006) and Critical Discourse Analysis based (Bánhegyi 2008 and 2009) previous text linguistic research of political texts within the field of Translation Studies.

It is hoped that the current undertaking can provide translators and translation scholars with a text linguistic analytical tool for both finding textual instances of political manipulation in translated texts and interpreting such manipulations. Through the current undertaking, a text linguistically based analytical tool for the fight against corruption of translation will be offered, whose social and professional purpose is to prevent translation from its abuse as a tool in power games. In line with van Dijk’s views (1993: 249), the approach presented in the dissertation “prefers to focus on the [political] elites and their discursive strategies” and the ways such strategies contribute to the maintenance of political power and political persuasion.

1.2. The basic terminology and notions used

Table 1-1 provides a definition of some of the most basic terms and notions used in the dissertation. The terminology explained below will not be defined again and will consequently be taken as explained or, alternatively, will definition-wise be further refined in the subsequent chapters. For the sake of easier referencing, this basic terminology is alphabetically arranged in the table complete with the definitions of the terms and the number of the chapter in which they first occur.

Term	Definition	No. of Chapter
bias (based on Mazzolien 2002)	preference to a particular ideology, individual or group which prevents objective consideration and assessment of a political issue or situation, or which interferes with impartial judgment with reference to political structures involved or political situations concerned	Chapter 5
Critical Discourse Analysis (based on van Dijk [1993: 253])	a systematic textual analysis extending to the “intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture”	Chapter 4
discourse (following Beaugrande [1997])	a written communicative event and act involving all textual, situational and contextual features of the given discourse	Chapter 2
discourse analysis (based on van Dijk 1993)	the analysis of any textual features of written discourse and its related situational and contextual features	Chapter 4
explicitation (based on Klaudy 1998: 80)	as the dissertation is concerned with the translation of political texts, this term will be defined here as the technique of making explicit in the target text politics- and/or ideology-related information that is implicit in the source text	Chapter 8
gist of texts (based on Tirkkonen-Condit [1985])	shortest meaningful summary of a text preserving references to all functional parts of the superstructure, text at the highest macrolevel where the superstructure effect manifests, derived through the macrostructure influenced by the superstructure	Chapter 2
ideologically charged texts	any text that contains ideology of any kind, which definition basically includes all texts as there are no texts without ideology	Chapter 4
ideology (based on van Dijk [2003] and Simpson [1993] as well as van Dijk [1998] referred to in Munday [2007])	basic and socially accepted beliefs that underlie the social representations of a social group; fundamentally ideology is constructed from the knowledge, beliefs and value systems of individuals	Chapter 4
macrostructure (based on van Dijk 1980)	a textual feature that relates to the global nature, the gist of discourse as a whole; macrostructure is, in short, the semantic structure or semantic content of a text, or, in other words, the hierarchically arranged structure of the propositional content that make up the actual text	Chapter 3

manipulation (based on van Dijk [2001])	a type of purposeful communication involving the implicit transfer of beliefs without actually asserting such beliefs, thereby creating less chance for such beliefs to be challenged	Chapter 4
political discourse (based on Wilson [2001])	any text concerned with formal or informal political contexts, institutions or actors, including especially, in our case, political discourse in the media	Chapter 4
political message	shortest possible meaningful summary of a political text, ultimately derived by Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model from the gist of texts, the highest possible macrolevel, above the level of the gist (further clarified in Section 3.6)	Chapter 2
political texts (based on Schäffner's [1997] functional definition)	a broad term including any text that is part of or the result of politics or political activism, or the topic of which is related to politics	Chapter 4
politics and political (based on Chilton and Schäffner [1997])	any linguistic and other actions involving social power	Chapter 4
superstructure	the linear structure of a text and its functional parts that affect the macrostructure of a text as suited to the actual text type	Chapter 3
text (based on Kárpáti [2007])	any expression that, in a given communicative situation cognitively functions as communicatively appropriate, appropriateness extends to both the linearly arranged linguistic signs making up the text and its context	Chapter 1
translational shift (as the dissertation is not concerned with the classification of shifts, a very broad definition focused on translational shifts in political texts is given)	functional text descriptive and research methodological category; shift is a quasi theoretical notion, which is determined with respect to some "specific translation ideal and some postulated concept of equivalence" (Bakker, Koster and van Leuven-Zwart 1998: 227); shifts are changes that are not required by grammatical, stylistic, etc. features of the target text; in our terminology, any text string of a target text that features ideological or political bias other than the original ideological or political bias appearing in the source text will be termed "translational shift"	Chapter 8

Table 1-1: Basic terminology used in the dissertation

1.3. Introduction to the present analysis: starting points

The present dissertation seeks to explore and compare ideology and political bias in two Hungarian argumentative quality newspaper articles and their English translations. In the current undertaking, three starting premises are assumed: Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional view of discourse analysis, which in our view, extends also to translation, Munday's (2007) observation that professional translators consciously use translation strategies when working with political texts and Vermeer's (1996) translation-related skopos theory.

Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional view of discourse analysis claims that discourses, also including in our interpretation translation, basically have three dimensions: the actual spoken or, in our case, written **text** describing something, the **interaction** between people as part of producing and interpreting the text and the **social action** any text is necessarily part of. This last factor can only be understood through the explanation of the relations between the text and the social action achieved by the texts in question and the characteristics of these relations. Fairclough (1992: 10-11) also notes that "[t]he relationship between social action and text is mediated by interaction: that is, the nature of the interaction, how texts are produced and interpreted, depends upon the social action in which they are embedded". In other words, texts can meaningfully be understood and interpreted in their larger social context. Fairclough (1992) visually represents this orientation to discourse analysis in Figure 1-1.

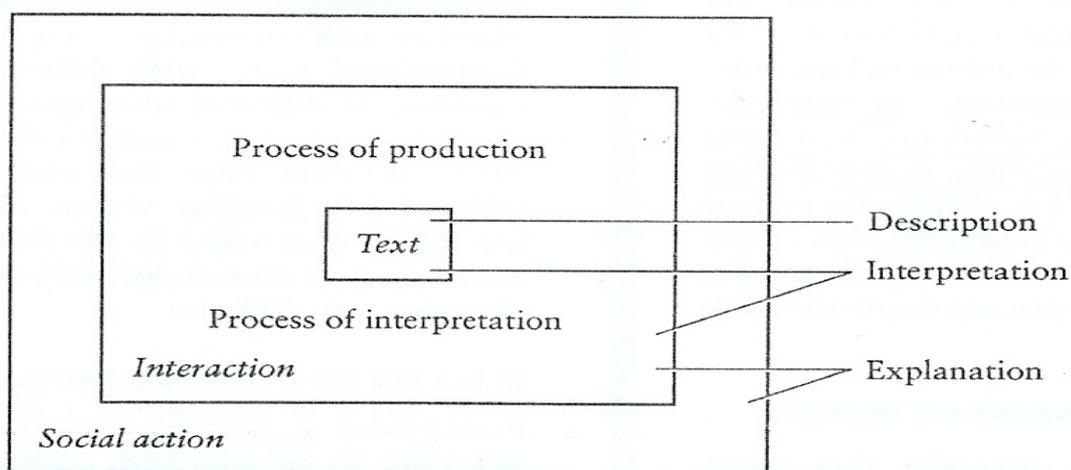


Figure 1-1: Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional view of discourse analysis (taken from Fairclough 1992: 10)

With relation to the present research, this bears the following relevance: the features of texts (both source and target texts), the interaction, i.e. the production of the texts under scrutiny both by the journalists and the translators as well as the interpretation of the texts

under scrutiny, that is, the interpretation of source texts by translators and the interpretation of target texts by the addressees must be studied in the light of the characteristics of source and target texts, respectively. Furthermore, social, or in our case, to be more precise, the political action the analysed texts are part of need to be described and explained. This reflects the need to create a many-sided, multidisciplinary approach comprising all details of the above textual features when creating the analytical tool to be used in the present undertaking.

The other starting point is Munday's (2007) observation, who concludes that professional translators' textual choices, in the case of the translation of political texts, reflect the "conscious strategy of the translator" (Munday 2007: 213), which suggests that translators construct their texts only and exclusively through conscious textual choices. It will be assumed that translators perform their assignments with this in mind and it will be presupposed that whatever textually surfaces in translations is the result of conscious professional choices.

The last starting point is Vermeer's (1996) skopos theory, which states that translation is a kind of human interaction defined by its purpose (or skopos in Greek). This, with reference to the current research, implies that from a functional aspect all translators try to perform their assignments with a view to the (perceived) purpose of communication and, at the same time, try to satisfy their clients. Theoretically, this in practice means the following: translators are likely to translate texts in a way that the resulting target texts are the closest to the political taste of their clients and that translators try to predict what target texts would satisfy their clients.

On the other hand, besides striving to come up to clients' expectations, translators' own political views and commitments should also be focused on, which may well intervene with the resulting textual end product. Consequently, it will be explored if, and to what extent, the political expectations of the clients in the translation assignment, with reference to the resulting target texts, influence translators' work. Besides, translators' own political views that may interfere with the translation process and surface in the texts created will be examined. With a view to this, the current research has been designed with these considerations in mind and the Political Bias Screener has been created to explore the effects these factors have on the resulting target texts.

1.4. Introduction to the current undertaking: research questions, the aims and novelties of the research, the analytical tool

The present dissertation features both a theoretical research question and an empirical research question. The theoretical research seeks to explore if it is possible to develop an analytical tool that is potentially capable of capturing ideological and political bias in translation and through which it is possible to compare ideological and political bias in source and target texts. The empirical research, in turn, relates to the first testing of the analytical tool through empirical means.

The objectives of the present research are also twofold: a theoretical one and an empirical one. The theoretical objective is to develop a theory-based model, called the Political Bias Screener, which is based on solid theoretical foundations and is capable of featuring as a valid and reliable analytical tool for capturing and analysing ideology and political bias in the translations in argumentative newspaper articles. The other objective is an empirical one: to provide a first testing of the Political Bias Screener on a population of texts generating preliminary data. Such a testing is to confirm the validity and the reliability of the Political Bias Screener and to demonstrate the procedures of analysis.

It must be noted at this point that several Hungarian experts have been dealing with argumentative texts. Árvay (2003 and 2004) examined how manipulation and persuasion are realised in Hungarian advertisements. Árvay and Tankó (2004) compared the rhetorical structure of Hungarian and English argumentative texts. Tankó (2005) developed a rhetorical move structure model of argumentative essays to describe the argumentation of formal essays written in English. Károly (2002) surveyed lexical repetition in argumentative EFL essays and compared the rhetorical move structure of English argumentative academic discourse produced by expert and EFL students (Károly 2006). Tankó and Tamási (2008), on the other hand, examined the nature and types of thesis statements in argumentative essays. The current research, however, is unique in its approach to argumentative texts: so far no attempt, either Hungarian or other, has been made to connect the analysis of argumentative texts with Translation Studies, text linguistics and political mass communication within one theoretical model relying on the most current findings of these three research fields.

The application of some of the theories used in the current undertaking are also novel: Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model will be applied to the text type of argumentative texts within Translation Studies and Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model will be used to establish the gists and the political messages of the source and target texts.

Van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model called the Discourse–Society Interface will be connected with Translation Studies and a translation-centred adaptation of the Interface called the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model will be proposed.

Another novelty of the current undertaking is the development and introduction of the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model. As the source and target texts (newspaper articles) exist in a political mass communication context, the results produced by the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model will be interpreted in the light of political science and mass communication with the help of the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model, which is based on Mazzoleni's (2002) bias and political reality-related theories.

In short, the Political Bias Screener is composed of the following four constituent models: Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model; Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model; the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model and the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model.

1.5. Introduction to Chapters 2-9

Below the subsequent chapters are introduced. Chapters 2-5 describe the theoretical foundations of the Political Bias Screener. Chapter 2 will describe Hoey's (1994 and 2001) two Problem-Solution Models, designed to be used for problem-solution type texts. Hoey's 2001 Model will be described in more detail, which is used to establish the superstructure of the argumentative source and target texts within the framework of the Political Bias Screener. The chapter will conclude by stating in what ways the model will be used as a constituent model of the Political Bias Screener.

Chapter 3 describes how research on text structure, more precisely on text comprehension and production, affected text construction and text comprehension related research both in the field of general linguistics with relevance to Translation Studies and in Translation Studies. The chapter begins with a short historical overview of the main studies on text processing in the 1970s, demonstrating research leading up to the construction of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production and van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model. After the introduction of the two theories, the application of these theories in recent research will be outlined. This will be followed by the description of Translation Studies specific implications of the theories including the review of Tirkkonen-

Condit's (1985) research, which adapts van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model for the analysis of argumentative texts and their translations. The chapter will conclude by stating which aspects of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model and in what ways will be used as a constituent model of the Political Bias Screener.

Chapter 4 provides a brief overview of the relationship between text (including texts created through translation), power and ideology, to be followed by a review of Translation Studies specific research on translated texts and their power, ideology and political bias related features. Since no systematic tool has been developed in Translation Studies for the description of argumentative political texts and their translation with reference to power, ideology and politics related textual features, for the sake of theoretical contextualisation, the chapter provides a brief history of Critical Discourse Analysis and describes its traditions. This will be followed by the foundations, theory and description of van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) critical discourse analytical model and the Discourse–Society Interface. The chapter will conclude by describing the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model of the Political Bias Screener developed within the scope of the present undertaking, which is a Translation Studies oriented adaptation of the van Dijkian Discourse–Society Interface for the description of the power, ideology and politics related textual features of source and target language political discourse.

Chapter 5 investigates mediatised political communication with special regard to how the media, and especially the press, can become a source of bias along the process of political mass communication including newspaper journalism and the translation of newspaper articles. Through a constructivist approach to discursive political science, Chapter 5 will centre on political reality, the presentation of political reality and bias. As a background introduction, the chapter will discuss issues related to the political influence of the media, especially by political parties. This is followed by a discussion of Mazzoleni's (2002) Mediatised Political Reality Theory, which describes how objective political reality is presented in the media. Subsequently, Mazzoleni's (2002) Theory of Bias will be introduced, which relates to journalists' personal political convictions and professional norms and standards of journalism. The chapter will conclude by describing the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model developed within the present undertaking, which relies on the theories presented above and has been devised for the interpretation of the research results obtained with the help of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model. As a constituent of the Political Bias Screener, the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model will also allow for formulating implications for the

description of translator behaviour and translators' critical awareness with reference to the translation of argumentative newspaper articles.

Chapter 6 describes the analytical tool called the Political Bias Screener developed in the scope of the current undertaking. The chapter will also elaborate on the constituent models of the Screener and detail their relationship.

Chapter 7 presents the research design detailing the methods of data collection, the selection criteria along which the texts submitted to analysis and the participants of the research have been selected. The chapter also introduces the translation assignment and provides a description of the application of the analytical tool. A sample analysis, where possible, will also be presented. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the reliability of the analytical tool.

Chapter 8 focuses on the results of the analysis of the source and target language argumentative newspaper articles and their discussion. The research results will be elaborated on along the four constituent models of the Political Bias Screener extending to the description of the properties of source and target language texts and the comparison thereof.

Chapter 9 describes the conclusions and implications of the present research, and will present possible pathways of further research.

As the Political Bias Screener is fairly complicated, the relationship of its constituent models are illustrated in Figure 1-2, which visualises the relation of these constituent models by outlining the input and output of each constituent. The focus of analysis of the constituent models of the Political Bias Screener extends to the following: superstructure, macrostructure and context.

1.6. Limitations of the current research

The current research is intended as a qualitative, exploratory study, the purpose of which is to produce a discourse-specific theory and to develop, introduce and test a text-type specific analytical tool by way of the application of the tool in a case study. Thus, especially given that the current research is based on the analysis of a limited number of source and target texts, the present research results cannot be generalized to any other text or text type, any other language pairs, any other political contexts or any other translators. At the same time, it must also be noted that the results of the current research are transferable, may show possible tendencies and may serve as a basis for further research.

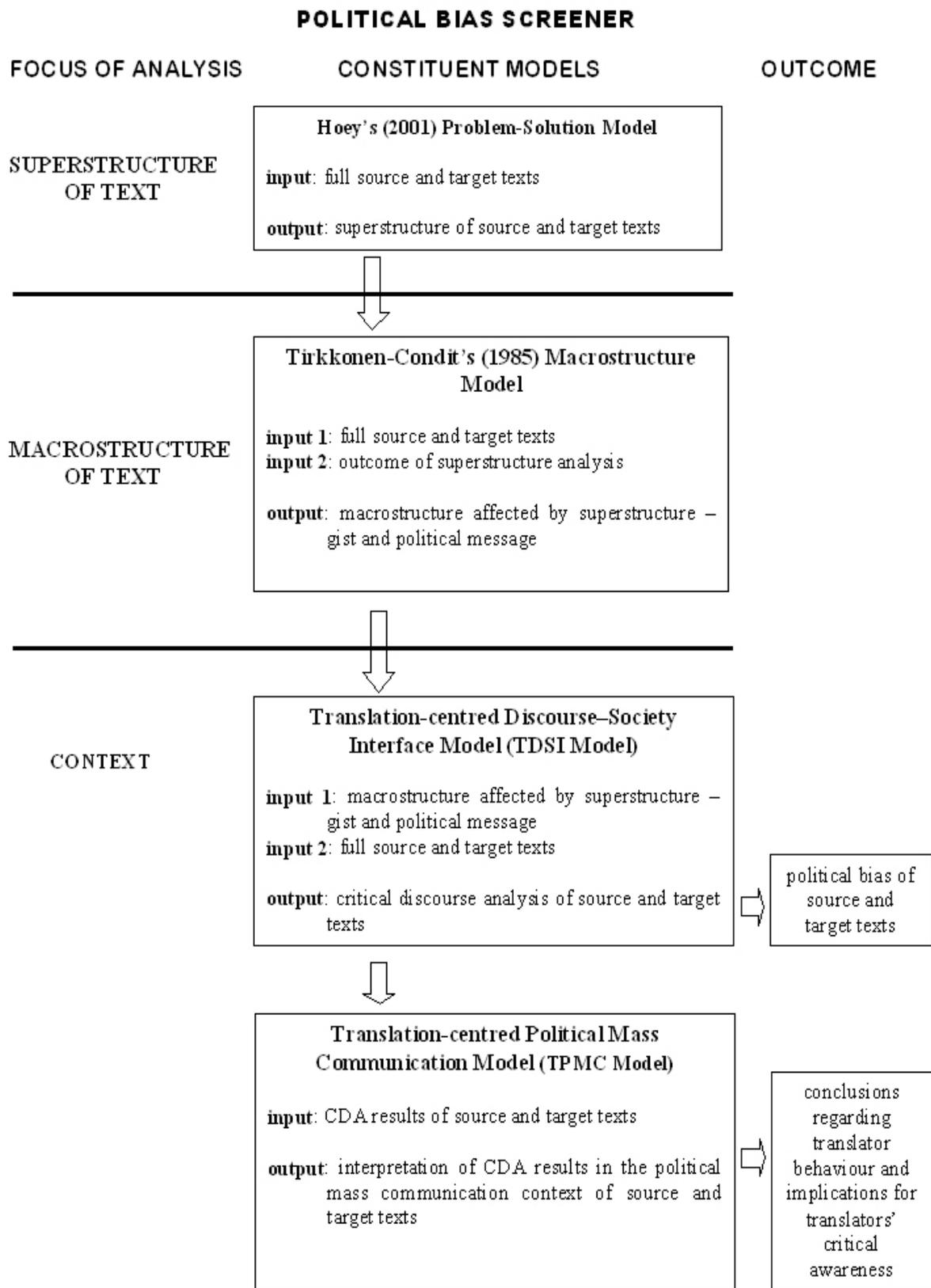


Figure 1-2: The visual representation of the Political Bias Screener

Chapter 2: Text function of argumentative texts – Hoey’s Problem-Solution Model

2.1. Overview

This chapter justifies the inclusion of Hoey’s (2001) Problem-Solution Model as a constituent in the analytical tool developed within the current undertaking and will elaborate on the development of the Model describing Hoey’s (1994) earlier Problem-Solution Model.

2.2. The role of superstructure and macrostructure in text comprehension

The main message of any text will surface in the gist of the text in question. The gist is influenced by both the superstructure and the macrostructure of the text. The superstructure of the text is composed by the linear progression of the text, which conforms to the genre of the text (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985). Macrostructure, on the other hand, is the semantic, propositional content of the text (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985).

Psycholinguistic research (e.g. Rumelhart [1977] and Schank and Abelson [1977]) has shown that superstructure has a marked role in the comprehension and recall of texts, which is due to the fact that readers have a purpose in mind when reading. Consequently, the gist is the textual realisation of the macrostructure influenced by the superstructure. In order to obtain the gist of a text, we need to obtain the macrostructure affected by the superstructure of the text in question. This approach, with reference to political texts, is also underscored, on the one hand, by Le (2004: 700), who, on the basis of van Dijk’s (1980) work, claims that “[t]he macrostructure corresponds to the semantic representation that is most likely to remain in long-term memory [...] and in this regard, it occupies a key position in the argumentation.” On the other hand, a similar argument is put forward by Kraus and Davis (1976), who talk about “injecting” political purpose messages in the brains of the receivers of political texts so that changes in the behaviour of receivers can be realised through positive reinforcement (Kraus and Davis [1976: 117] qtd. in Mazzoleni 2002: 203). Kraus and Davis (1976) also note that injecting political purpose messages and the positive reinforcement of such messages can only be realised if arguments are stored in the long-term memory. Therefore, it may be argued that political persuasion is partly realised through the

gist of the political text stored in the long-term memory. This issue will be further clarified in Section 3.6.

In order to do identify the gist of political texts, the macrostructure influenced by the superstructure needs to be obtained. The superstructure analysis will be based on Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model as detailed in Section 2.5 below. Before outlining the model, it must be shown on what grounds Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model can describe the communicative function of problem-solution type political texts. The notion of "function" is interpreted here as the author's purpose behind text construction, which is realised through the diverse parts of a text, i.e. its superstructure elements, which affect the macrostructure (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985).

2.3. Political texts as problem-solution texts

Like most genres, argumentative newspaper articles, from the point of view of their communicative function, are primarily classified as so-called **problem-solution type texts** (Hoey 2001). As far as the function of such problem-solution texts is concerned, these texts raise (a) problem(s) worthy of attention (e.g. the introduction of providing an extra monthly pension on an annual basis) and suggest possible solutions (e.g. that such a pension should be introduced but only in the case of those who ...; such a pension is not financially feasible, etc.) through argumentation. That is exactly what a political newspaper article generally does: it raises a problematic issue to be discussed in the article and the article raises arguments to convince the reader to support or reject the solution offered by the article.

Schäffner (2001: 135) attests to the classification of political newspaper articles as problem-solution type texts when describing the genres of political texts and claims that "some political texts belong to the argumentative text type and, in such cases, text typological conventions apply (e.g. **problem-solution structure**, contrastive evaluations)" (highlights by the author). Consequently, political texts may be regarded as typical problem-solution type texts that are built on argumentation (Mazzoleni 2002: 14-17; Adamik, Jászó and Aczél 2004: 404).

The aim of argumentative texts including political newspaper articles is to justify or refute certain claims using arguments. These arguments are statements that support or undermine other statements, whose credibility is questionable or debatable. The arguments are self-contained and are used so that the reader of the argumentative text is convinced by the piece of text (Károly 2007). This in practice means that a problem is raised by the author

and a solution to the problem is offered through argumentation, which supports the position of the writer and challenges the position of his/her imaginary opponents (Károly 2007).

With reference to the aim of political texts, Oakeshott (2001) claims that all political discourses aim at persuasion. In a similar manner, van Dijk (1997) also attests that the receivers of political texts are envisaged by the authors of such texts as persons to be convinced through arguments. Furthermore, Bánhegyi (2006) has also shown that functionally political texts are construed with the future receivers of these texts in mind and aim at persuasion. Thus, from a functional perspective, political texts shall be classified as argumentative texts.

In terms of the method of argumentation in problem-solution texts, Kopperschmidt (1985) distinguishes two types of arguments: (1) **theoretical** and (2) **practical** arguments. In theoretical argumentation, the solution lies in the validity of the implicit theory applied, which is structured on knowledge (or truth, as perceived in our everyday reality) and thus “is based on the reliability of the information offered” (Kopperschmidt 1985: 161). In practical argumentation, the solution to the problems raised is found in the **correctness** of the issues raised. This correctness is based on the social acceptance of obligations (why something should be done) and evaluations (why something is good). This type of argumentation centres around everyday practical problems, such as, for instance, the question of building atomic plants, social and financial issues, etc. (Kopperschmidt 1985). As newspaper articles also deal with such practical questions and the solutions offered in the articles are evaluated on the grounds of correctness, they may be regarded as texts containing the latter kind of argument. What is important here is that it is through these socially constructed obligations and evaluations that the translation of political texts can potentially be manipulative (also c.f. Chapter 4 on Critical Discourse Analysis and Chapter 8 on the results).

With reference to the diverse structures of problem-solution texts, Hoey (2001) states that the structure of problem-solution texts is culturally different but functionally similar. Therefore, the aim of including a functional text model in the current research was to be able to describe both Hungarian and English argumentative texts. Hoey’s (1994 and 2001) models are capable of accounting for the characteristics both Hungarian and English argumentative texts, as the models are functional and as such are language and culture independent, since actual linguistic realisations or culturally popular patterns of text arrangement do not influence the purpose of constructing the given text. Below, the brief history of the construction of the model and the model itself are described.

2.4. Hoey's (1994) first Problem-Solution Model

Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model is a refined version of an earlier version of the same model, Hoey's (1994) Problem-Solution Model. Based on the research of Labov (1972), Longacre (1974), Grimes (1975) and van Dijk (1977), Hoey in 1979 developed his first model of the problem-solution structure, which was published in 1994. This model is based on the following global assumptions:

- each sentence of a text has a function in the structure of the whole text in question;
- such structural functions are definable only in relation to one another and the entire text;
- the structural functions are textually signalled;
- the structural functions can be identified by extending the discourse into a question-answer dialogue (projection technique), developed by Winter (1977).

Hoey (1994) claims that each sentence has one clearly defined function as part of the problem-solution structure in the argumentative text as a whole. In order to reveal this function, Hoey (1994) analyses the sentences of a sample discourse by Winter's (1977) **projection technique**, i.e. by developing the sample discourse into a conversation between two imaginary communication partners so that the logical relationship between the individual sentences becomes clear on condition the dialogue makes sense. Hoey's (1994: 28) sample discourse contains the following four sentences (marked here with letters (a) – (d) for the sake of referencing):

(1)

Sample Text

- (a) I was on sentry duty.
- (b) I saw the enemy approaching.
- (c) I opened fire.
- (d) I beat off the enemy attack.

With the help of the projection technique, Hoey (1994: 30) obtains the following imaginary conversation (Example 2) between two hypothetical participants (A: and B:) of the projected conversation.

(2)

A: What was the situation?

B: I was on sentry duty.

A: What was the problem?

B: I saw the enemy approaching.

A: What was your solution?

B: I opened fire.

A: What was the result?

and

How successful was this?

B: I beat off the enemy attack.

Using the different functions established by Winter (1977), Hoey (1994) in the Problem-Solution Model, describes the functions of the sentences of the sample text interpreted as a complete piece of discourse. The functions thus established are shown in Table 2-1:

Function	Sample Sentence
Situation	(a) I was on sentry duty.
Problem	(b) I saw the enemy approaching.
Response	(c) I opened fire.
Evaluation	(d) I beat off the enemy attack.

Table 2-1: The sample text and the different functions of the sentences within it in Hoey's Problem-Solution Model

(adapted from Hoey 1994: 28)

Here **situation** describes the circumstances under which the events recollected in the text have taken place. **Problem** relates to "an aspect of the situation requiring a response" (Hoey 1994: 30), that is a problematic issue that prompts some kind of action pointing towards an envisaged solution of the issue. The action prompted this way is the **response**, while **evaluation** is the assessment of the response in light of the situation and the problem described.

Hoey (1994) adds to the above model another possible function, named **result**, and claims that sentence (d) in the sample text has in fact two functions: **result** as a primary

function (What was the result?: I beat off the enemy attack and the enemy no longer posed a threat.) and **evaluation** as a secondary function (How successful was it?: I beat off the enemy attack and I was successful). This is apparent from the two questions relating to sentence (d) in the projected dialogue in Example 2 above.

Hoey (1994) thus concludes that the minimum structure of a Problem-Solution type of text is made up of the following functions:

Situation
 Aspect of Situation requiring a Response
 Response to Aspect of Situation requiring a Response
 Result of Response to Aspect of Situation requiring a Response
 Evaluation of Result of Response to Aspect of Situation requiring a Response

Discussing the actual textual realisations of these functions, Hoey (1994: 34) claims that “discourses signal their structure” to facilitate their comprehension. Such signalling can be effected through grammatical signals, lexical signals and the position of sentences. In this respect, Hoey’s (1994) Problem-Solution Model is language dependent. To be more precise, however, it is only the signalling devices that are language restricted but not the functional parts of a problem-solution type discourse. This is so as functional parts reflect logical relations, which are independent of the linguistic realisations expressing such logical relations. This is supported by Lucy’s claim, who, with reference to cognition, notes that cognitive procedures “come into play regardless of whether an individual is engaged in verbal behaviour” (Lucy 1996: 48), thus underlying the previous claim of the language independent nature of logical relations. This fact then validates the application of the model in cross-linguistic research such as those in Translation Studies.

Below, for illustration and clarification, a brief summary of actual signalling devices is provided in an English language text. Hoey (1994) in Example 3 establishes the different functions of the individual sentences in a connected discourse. The text Hoey (1994: 36) uses for illustration is as follows (numbers and letters are included in the text to enable identification of sentences and clauses in the subsequent discussion):

(3)

Balloons and Air Cushion the Fall

(1)(a) Helicopters are very convenient for dropping freight by parachute (b) but this

system has its problems. (2) Somehow the landing impact has to be cushioned to give a soft landing. (3) The movement to be absorbed depends on the weight and the speed at which the charge falls. (4) Unfortunately most normal spring systems bounce the load as it lands, sometimes turning it over.

(5)(a) To avoid this, Bertin, developer of the aerotrain, has come up with an air-cushion system (b) which assures a safe and soft landing. (6) It comprises a platform on which the freight is loaded with, underneath, a series of ‘balloons’ supported by air cushions. (7) These are fed from compressed air cylinders equipped with an altimeter valve which opens when the load is just over six feet from the ground. (8) The platform then becomes a hovercraft, with the balloons reducing the deceleration as it touches down.

(9) Trials have been carried out with freight-dropping at rates of from 19 feet to 42 feet per second in winds of 49 feet per second. (10) The charge weighed about one and a half tons, but the system can handle up to eight tons. (11) At low altitudes freight can be dropped without a parachute.

(from Technology Review, *New Scientist*, 1970)

The signalling devices of each functional element identified by Hoey (1994) are given below with the number of the sentence the signalling device appears in in the connected discourse in Example 3. The signalling of **situation** can be effected by:

- ❖ verb tenses, which signal periods of time rather than points of time, unless the situation is elaborated on in the form of a narrative. An example of this is found in (1)(a), where the present simple *are* signals a period of time rather than a point of time;
- ❖ lexical signalling using (anaphoric or cataphoric) references: *this system* in sentence (1)(b) refers to *freight dropping* in (1)(a);
- ❖ the position of the sentence in the text: situation, as a rule, is given in the first clause of the text, in Example 3 in (1)(a).

The signalling of **problem** can be effected by:

- ❖ lexical signalling using the word *problem* or its synonyms. In the sample text *problem* is used in (1)(b);
- ❖ lexical items expressing obligation or need, e.g. *has to* in (2);
- ❖ lexical items expressing unfulfilled Instrument-Purpose relationship, e.g. *somehow* in (2);

- ❖ lexical items expressing negative evaluation, e.g. *unfortunately* in (4);
- ❖ the lexical item *avoid* or its synonyms, which are a common indication of a problem presented in a text. In (5), the verb *avoid* is featured.

The signalling of **solution** can be effected by:

- ❖ lexical signalling using the phrase *to avoid this*, as in (5a), or its synonyms, e.g. the phrasal verb *come up with*, etc.;
- ❖ change in tense, e.g. present perfect after the present simple tense, as in (5).

The signalling of **evaluation** can be effected by:

- ❖ lexical items including *assures*, as in (5), or its synonyms;
- ❖ lexical items expressing evaluative comments such as *ingenious*, etc.

To further refine the model, Hoey has construed a newer version of his first Problem-Solution Model of 1994, which was published in 2001. The design of the second model was necessitated by the observations that some problem-solution type texts exhibit a recurrent pattern of solution and evaluation functions. If the evaluation of the proposed solution is negative, a next solution is offered and evaluated. This recurrent pattern could not be described with the help of Hoey's first Model but can be accounted for by the second Problem-Solution Model (Hoey 2001).

2.5. Hoey's (2001) second Problem-Solution Model

Below, only the novel features of the 2001 model will be summarised and some further remarks concerning signalling will be discussed. Hoey (2001) states that in problem-solution type texts the problem-solution pattern is triggered by a lexical item expressing negative evaluation of the **situation**, which establishes the **problem** to be solved. This pattern is activated whenever the **situation** or the **solution** is evaluated negatively, which gives rise to a possible recycling mechanism in the pattern. As a consequence, every time the **situation** or, at a later point in the text, the **solution** is evaluated negatively, this will surface as a (next) **problem** to be solved in the text. In this case, the negative evaluation either redefines the **problem** (e.g. the solution partly works but leaves something to be desired, which causes yet another problem) or prompts the alteration of the **response** (e.g. another solution to the same problem has to be found and will be offered in the text). Hoey (2001) therefore constructs a model that is capable of accounting for the possible recycling of the solution and

evaluation functions. Hoey (2001) thus offers an improved version of his original Problem-Solution Model, which is presented in Figure 2-1.

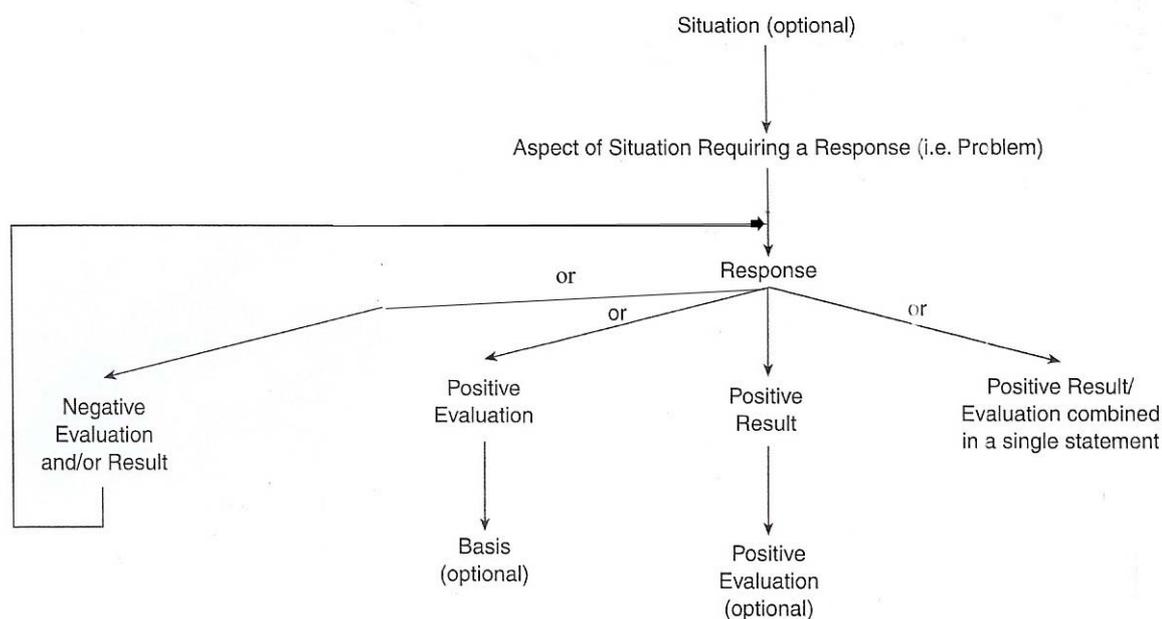


Figure 2-1: The basic Problem-Solution pattern with the recycling option
(adapted from Hoey 2001: 127 and 129)

In this model, the description of the **situation** is optional. After referring to the **response**, the actual response may be positively and negatively evaluated. If there is a positive evaluation, there may possibly be three functional parts composed of the permutation of **result** and **evaluation**, mutually excluding each other: (1) **positive result** (e.g. *The machine was operating.*) followed by an optional **positive evaluation** (such as *This really worked.*), (2) a **positive result** and the **evaluation** combined in one single sentence (as in *Now they are all academics.* with reference to an educator teaching problematic students) or (3) a positive evaluation followed by the basis of evaluation, for instance testing the solution against the backdrops of the situation pictured in the text. The optional recycling, on the other hand, is triggered by the negative evaluation of the **solution** as shown in Figure 2-1. In this case, a new **response** is found and the cycle is repeated from **response**.

Hoey (2001) also notes that between the functions of the Aspect of Situation Requiring a Response (i.e. Problem) and Response, there can be two optional functions: an element that defines what might count as adequate response (e.g. *He needs to be taught a lesson.*) or suggestions as to what response to adopt in the given situation as in *I have a plan*, with or without the elaboration of the **response** (in this case, the description of the plan).

Apart from the improvements described above, the 2001 Model is identical with the 1994 Model.

Regarding signalling, Hoey (2001) notes that **problem**, apart from the overt lexical signals and evaluative signals described in Section 2.4, can also be lexically signalled by evoking signals. Such evoking signals describe, in non-evaluative terms, real life events or situations deemed problematic or negative in the culture of the text in question (e.g. poverty and disease in European cultures, etc.). Even if no negative evaluation is present lexically, negative evaluation can be retained culturally, which functions as the description of **problem**.

2.6. Conclusion

In the current research, Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model will be used as the superstructure constituent of the Political Bias Screener, and the text functions established by Hoey (2001) will serve as the superstructure elements identified in the analysis. The choice is justified by the fact that Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model offers a detailed and accurate description of the problem-solution structure as well as a recycling option, which can potentially surface in newspaper articles and is thus crucial for the analysis.

Chapter 3: Text structure and translation research – the micro-, macro- and superstructure of texts

3.1. Overview

The present chapter aims to describe how research on text structure, text comprehension and text production affected text construction and comprehension related research in the field of Translation Studies. Therefore, the chapter begins with a short historical overview of the main studies on text processing in the 1970s, demonstrating research leading up to the construction of Kintsch and van Dijk's influential Model of Text Comprehension and Production (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model. These two theories are the two most widely used, tested, reliable and accepted theories of text structuring, and these are the only approaches that have so far been used and proven applicable in the field of Translation Studies to reveal the process of translational text construction and comprehension (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985).

Having introduced the two theories, the distinct applications of these theories in recent research will be outlined. Thereafter, Translation Studies specific implications of the theories will be reviewed and Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) research will be presented, which describes the application of these theories in a study concerning the translation of argumentative texts. More precisely, it will be shown in what ways Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) incorporated the above theories in her comparative analysis of the construction of text structures of source and target texts to draw translator training related pedagogical conclusions with reference to sensitising students to text structural features.

3.2. Kintsch and van Dijk's Model of Text Comprehension and Production

Research into text processing and text understanding was taken up in the 1970s. Kintsch (1974) was the first and most influential researcher to address the issue of text understanding in his work entitled *Representation of Meaning in Memory*. His theory advocated the presence of an imaginary text base and text processing operations that readers rely on or perform while understanding a text. The text base practically includes all

information that is contained in the text, whether it be implicit or explicit. In order to understand such information, the reader has to read the text word by word.

The smallest unit of understanding, according to Kintsch (1974: 32), is the proposition. He bases his assumption on semantics and argues that a proposition is a semantic structure that is made up of one or more arguments (that realise semantic functions such as agent, object, etc.) and a relational concept between such arguments (the logical relationship holding between the arguments concerned). In order for propositions to be understood, the reader must have two kinds of memory: episodic memory, which helps processing what is actually verbalised in the text, and semantic memory, which contains the knowledge of vocabulary items used in the text. The full text, however, will constitute one meaningful unit only if the text is coherent, which, in Kintsch's (1974) terms, was equated with referential coherence: "referential identity has been suggested as a major test of coherence" (qtd. in Young 1977: 20). It can thus be concluded that Kintsch (1974) saw text comprehension as a linear, non-hierarchical process.

Connecting memory and text comprehension, Crothers (1972) takes up the Bartlettian (1932) notion of memory, according to which building on past experiences and remembering are a constructive process during which previous memories influence the understanding and recall of a text actually read. Thus, Crothers (1972) asserts that as a result of earlier textual experiences, former related semantic representations, which are made up of concepts and their relationships, exist in the memory and are activated when one is processing and understanding a text. Crothers' (1972) theory already points towards a hierarchical structure of text comprehension with contents of the memory providing a kind of basis for the concepts activated by reading a given text. Furthermore, it is along these mental concepts that the actual comprehension of a text takes place. That being the case, this theory already presupposes hierarchical relationships between different concepts in the mind and the textual input.

Taking this further, Meyer (1975) relies on case grammar and the structure of rhetorical predicates established by Grimes (1975). Grimes' (1975) rhetorical predicates are practically a hierarchical concept, which entails that the pragmatic purpose of a text will surface in the textual relations between the individual sections of the text in question. That is, a report or a scientific study, for instance, will predominantly contain question-answer relations, and thus the text will be structured in a way that higher ranking predicates constituting answers always take lower ranking predicates constituting questions as their arguments in order to ensure the realisation of the pragmatic purpose referred to above.

Based on Grimes (1975), Meyer (1977) examines the recall and structure of paragraphs and concludes that the surface of texts signals diverse rhetorical predicates, which seem to be arranged in a hierarchical structure pointing towards the intended pragmatic aim of the text. This conclusion is also underscored by Meyer's (1975) later findings, namely that any content of the text that is featured higher in the rhetorical structure will be better remembered than those at lower levels in the rhetorical structure, and that contents occupying lower levels will start to fade in memory right after reading the text.

In an attempt to provide further explanation for the hierarchical nature of text processing and text recall, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) as well as van Dijk (1979) proposed a model describing the comprehension of entire pieces of texts and did not restrict their research to paragraphs as it was done earlier in Kintsch's (1974) or Meyer's (1975) research. The starting point of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) hierarchical model, called the Model of Text Comprehension and Production, is Kintsch's (1974) findings. Kintsch (1974) developed his model for determining propositions as well as for analysing cognitive processes related to text processing with reference to text recall mechanisms of producing gist and reading for gist. This model, in our view, presupposes an ideal Fillmorean reader (Fillmore [1981]), who is aware of any implicit and explicit text base necessary for understanding the text in question. Furthermore, the model assumes that text comprehension is in fact a linear process that takes place while listening to or reading a piece of text. To put it very plainly, the model describes the semantic structure of texts and the semantic interrelations contained in the text.

As opposed to Kintsch's (1974) model, in Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model, when text comprehension takes place, the words of the actual text, by their semantic functions, act as **propositions** (i.e. statements expressed verbally) at the lowest level of discourse. That is, words in a text, while constituting propositions, function as either **arguments** (i.e. concepts expressed by the text or, in other words, information) or **predicates** (interrelation of concepts). A proposition, as a rule, contains a predicate and one or more arguments at the level of **microstructure**. In order to describe the propositions (containing both arguments and predicates) and the microstructure of a full piece of text, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) use one paragraph of a newspaper article entitled Bumperstickers to demonstrate the application of their theory. The paragraph of the newspaper article reads like this:

A series of violent, bloody encounters between police and Black Panther Party members punctuated the early summer days of 1969. Soon after, a group of Black

students I teach at California State College, Los Angeles, who were members of the Panther Party, began to complain of continuous harassment by law enforcement officers. Among their many grievances, they complained about receiving so many traffic citations that some were in danger of losing their driving privileges. During one lengthy discussion we realized that all of them drove automobiles with Panther Party signs glued to their bumpers. This is a report of a study that I undertook to assess the seriousness of their charges and to determine whether we were hearing the voice of paranoia or reality. (Heussenstam 1971, p.32)

(from Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 376-7)

Figure 3-1 below shows the propositions identified by Kintsch and van Dijk with reference to the newspaper article analysed in their study. Propositions are numbered and written in parentheses and in capitals to distinguish them from the actual words of the text. The first element in each proposition is always the predicate, the other word(s) is (are) the argument(s) of the predicate or other former propositions in the text acting as arguments to certain propositions. In Figure 3-1 these latter propositions are referred to by the number allocated to them earlier in the list of propositions. Circumstance categories such as place and time adverbs are referred to by the use of 'TIME:' and 'LOCATION:'. The horizontal lines in the figure indicate sentence boundaries.

Microstructure is the web and network of propositions and their relations. Propositions in a coherent text can be understood by the receiver if a given proposition shares at least one argument of another proposition: this minimum requirement is argued to make a text understandable or coherent (Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 368). Practically speaking, such common arguments make the text coherent by connecting to the referents and ensure that readers are thus able to connect the referents to one another in their mental representation of the text in question and consequently interpret the text to themselves. As a result of the linear process of text comprehension, the mental links that are established by semantically interlinking the propositions in one's mental representation of the text in question can easily be mapped with the help of so-called **coherence graphs**, which show how the propositions with (a) common

Proposition number	Proposition
1	(SERIES, ENCOUNTER)
2	(VIOLENT, ENCOUNTER)
3	(BLOODY, ENCOUNTER)
4	(BETWEEN, ENCOUNTER, POLICE, BLACK PANTHER)
5	(TIME: IN, ENCOUNTER, SUMMER)
6	(EARLY, SUMMER)
7	(TIME: IN, SUMMER, 1969)
8	(SOON, 9)
9	(AFTER, 4, 16)
10	(GROUP, STUDENT)
11	(BLACK, STUDENT)
12	(TEACH, SPEAKER, STUDENT)
13	(LOCATION: AT, CAL STATE COLL LOS ANGELES)
14	(IS A, STUDENT, BLACK PANTHER)
15	(IS A, STUDENT , BLACK PANTHER)
16	(BEGIN, 17)
17	(COMPLAIN, STUDENT, 19)
18	(CONTINUOUS, 19)
19	(HARASS, POLICE, STUDENT)
20	(AMONG, COMPLAINT)
21	(MANY, COMPLAINT)
22	(COMPLAIN, STUDENT, 23)
23	(RECEIVE, STUDENT, TICKET)
24	(MANY, TICKET)
25	(CAUSE, 23, 27)
26	(SOME, STUDENT)
27	(IN DANGER OF, 26, 28)
28	(LOSE, 26, LICENSE)
29	(DURING, DISCUSSION, 32)
30	(LENGTHY, DISCUSSION)
31	(AND, STUDENT, SPEAKER)
32	(REALIZE, 31, 34)
33	(ALL, STUDENT)
34	(DRIVE, 33, AUTO)
35	(HAVE, AUTO, SIGN)
36	(BLACK PANTHER, SIGN)
37	(GLUED, SIGN, BUMPER)
38	(REPORT, SPEAKER, STUDY)
39	(DO, SPEAKER, STUDY)
40	(PURPOSE, STUDY, 41)
41	(ASSESS, STUDY, 42, 43)
42	(TRUE, 17)
43	(HEAR, 31, 44)
44	(OR, 45, 46)
45	(OF REALITY, VOICE)
46	(OF PARANOIA, VOICE)

Figure 3-1: Propositions in one paragraph of the newspaper article entitled Bumperstickers
(adapted from Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 377)

argument(s) are linked to each other. In other words, the coherence graph will display the semantic relations of the actual propositions of a text. Figure 3-2 displays the complete coherence graph of a paragraph of the article entitled Bumperstickers, whose propositions were listed in Figure 1-3.

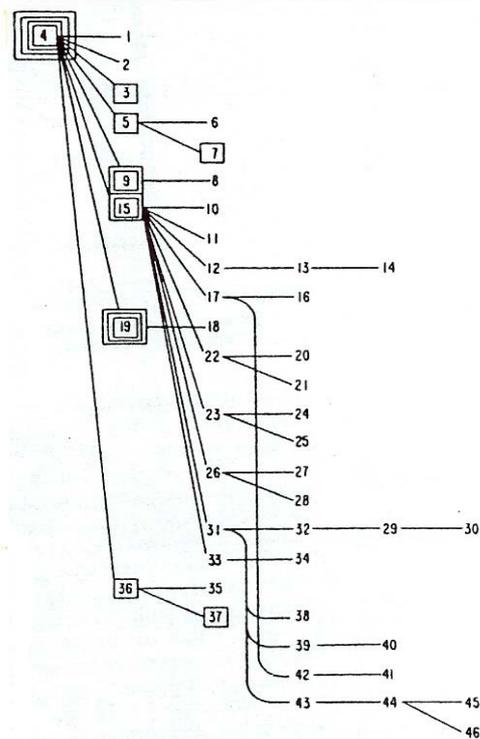


Figure 3-2: The complete coherence graph of a paragraph of the newspaper article entitled Bumperstickers
(adapted from Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 379)

Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) claim that in a coherent text each proposition will be linked to former proposition(s). In this respect, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) distinguish between explicit and implicit text bases: in the case of the former, all propositions textually present are necessary and adequate for coherence to be realised, while in the case of the latter, some propositions are not stated verbally in the text and yet the text, due to the receivers' world knowledge or text base, is perceived as fully coherent (inferencing).

Understanding a text with an implicit text base is possible because readers are able to provide the missing logical and/or event links (relations or events of the plot not stated expressly by the surface text, which are added as propositions by the reader) relying on their general and contextual knowledge of facts associated with the piece of text in question. Consequently, as part of the process of inferencing (providing missing links or propositions) briefly described above, readers, on the one hand, develop fundamental text-level relations between immediate propositions, and, on the other hand, establish logical relations between the meanings contained in the text as a means of making the actual text coherent for themselves. Coherence, therefore, is realised if "respective sentences and propositions are connected, and if these propositions are organised" (Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 365) in the mental representation of the readers. (It is to be noted, nonetheless, that this definition has

been subject to criticism – e.g. Young 1977 – for featuring the subjective idea of propositions being simply connected, without any specification as to how connection is established.)

When readers make a piece of text coherent for themselves, they establish text bases, which are, in turn, organised into macropropositions. Macropropositions are higher-ranking propositions encapsulating more than one proposition at the level of macrostructure, above the level of microstructure. Macrostructure is a textual feature that relates to the global nature, the gist of discourse as a whole. Macrostructure is, in short, the semantic structure or semantic content of a text or, in other words, the hierarchically arranged structure of the propositions that make up the actual text. Macrostructure will be discussed in detail below.

Macropropositions are in fact propositions or the generalisations thereof pointing towards the macrostructure or the gist of the text in question and are selected from among all propositions with the help of so-called **macrorules** or **macro-operations**. Such macrorules or macro-operators denote mental processes through which propositions of a text get hierarchically organised along their semantic content. The working of these macro-rules, to put it simply, is based on common semantic denotations and rules that follow from the semantic content of the propositions themselves. Macropropositions will constitute one interpretable and meaningful unit, as the propositions they are based on at the level of micropropositions are also meaningful.

As a first step in the construction of the macropropositions of the macrostructure, macro-operations will form generalisations of micropropositions (acknowledged to be a somewhat intuitive process by Kintsch and van Dijk [1978] themselves). Once these generalised macropropositions have been formed, another factor, **schema** comes into play. Schema is the readers' mental representation of their prior reading experiences and their consequent expectations of texts of the same kind. The schema is based on readers' former reading experiences of having been exposed to different genres, discourse types or cognitive **schematic structures**. Through these schematic structures "language users are able to understand a discourse as a story" (Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 366) or any other text as a specific type of text. Schema then is the formal representation of "the reader's goals in reading [that] control the application of the macro-operators" (Kintsch and van Dijk 1978: 373). In other words, these former reading experiences will surface as reader expectations concerning a piece of text and will guide the reader in constructing the macrostructure (or the gist) of the text. The construction of macrostructure is executed through several cycles of macroproposition reduction at different levels of the macrostructure. This means that the

schema will also influence which macropropositions and which parts of these macropropositions will finally make it to the highest level of the macrostructure (i.e. the shortest possible but still meaningful summary) of the given text. The set of eventually selected macropropositions will constitute the highest level of macrostructure of a given text. It follows from the above that the different levels of the macrostructure of the text are in fact the summary of the text in differing detail and lengths. (Macrostructure as the summary of a text will be further clarified below in this section in the discussion of van Dijk's [1980] Macrostructure Model.) As far as text recall is concerned, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) conclude that readers will remember the summaries of texts, referred to as the macrostructure of a text, and note that macrostructures are mentally constructed at the time when the text in question is read.

Apart from propositions and the resulting macrostructure, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) as well as van Dijk (1977 and 1978) discuss another level of text structure called **superstructure** above the level of macrostructure. Superstructure (also called **schema** in Kintsch and van Dijk [1978]), apart from being the linear structure of a text and its parts – such as the introduction, discussion, etc. –, organises the macrostructure of a text as suited to the actual text type, i.e. the superstructure will influence which propositions (potentially both micro and macro) will surface in the macrostructure. This suggests that superstructures, on the one hand, have their own role to play in making a piece of text conform to the referent text type features, and, on the other hand, the superstructure signals the given text type for the reader to note. The above researchers then concluded that reader expectations about the text type of a piece of discourse plays a fundamental role in the cognitive organisation of any given text. This also seems to suggest that the superstructure at the same time influences the macrostructure of texts. Consequently, Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model plays a vital role in the construction of the macrostructure of argumentative texts, c.f. Section 3.4 on Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model.

Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production was introduced, further developed and described in more detail in van Dijk's (1980) *Macrostructure. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structure in Discourse, Interaction and Cognition*. This work focuses on the hierarchical nature of macrostructure in greater detail and establishes a hierarchical structure within the macrostructure. Nonetheless, the theoretical foundations and terms used in van Dijk (1980) are largely identical with those used in Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) presented above. Below, van Dijk's (1980) Theory of

Macrostructure will be described and consequently some of the notions already described (e.g. macrorules) will be touched upon in connection with macrostructure.

The existence of macrostructure is suggested by the everyday experience that readers are able to extract main ideas of discourses and make summaries of discourses. This fact, therefore, presupposes that such summaries can be constructed for the reason that texts can meaningfully and systematically be shortened. This realisation points towards the existence of a hierarchical text structure. This is so as summaries capsule the most important information contained in texts, which presupposes that certain discourse elements are more important than others.

In this light, summaries of texts are in fact the macrostructures of the discourses in question. As summaries of differing information compactness can be written, it has been theoretically assumed that macrostructure has a hierarchical structure (van Dijk 1980) and that different levels of macrostructure will yield summaries of different detail and length. The shortest and still acceptable summary embodies the highest level of the macrostructure. Van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model describes the operations through which surface texts (i.e. verbalised realisations taking the form of a connected discourse) are transformed into summaries.

The different, hierarchically arranged levels of macrostructure are derived by macrorules. Macrorules are semantic information based theoretical rules that produce the macrostructure of texts. These macrorules operate on a certain level of the macrostructure to produce the macrostructure one level above the given macrostructure. Van Dijk (1980) distinguishes four types of macrorules: **zero**, **generalisation**, **construction** and **deletion**. Each of these macrorules works along common shared semantic features of the macropropositions situated at the same level and will, as output, produce the macrostructure of the given discourse at one level higher in the macrostructure, incorporating fewer details and offering more compactness of information content than their input macrostructure. Let us examine these four macrorules in more detail.

The **zero macrorule** will leave the actual proposition, sentence or sentence sequence (depending on the level of macrostructure actually dealt with, henceforth called **discourse string**) untouched, and, as a consequence, such a discourse string will surface in an intact form in the macrostructure one level higher. The **generalisation macrorule** will have the effect of taking several discourse strings at a time and produce a more general summary of the strings on the next level of macrostructure. The **construction macrorule** will relate to the knowledge frame constituted by the text base of the text and will draw on readers'

knowledge to produce a discourse string for a higher level of macrostructure. The **deletion macrorule** will delete the actual discourse string and as such the string will not surface in any form in any higher ranking macrostructural levels.

The operation of these rules is illustrated below. The illustration provides not more than a few sentences (and not wider contexts) as examples to illustrate the operation of these macrorules. In our examples, the **zero macrorule** will be disregarded as this preserves the actual discourse string as explained above, leaving not much to illustrate.

The **generalisation macrorule** operates the following way: a sequence of propositions may be substituted by one single proposition denoting a semantically immediate **superconcept** of the micropropositions involved. This substitution will result in one unifying proposition and can also involve the use of more general terms such as for instance hypernyms.

(1) Isabel was singing. Chris was playing cards. And Bill was building a sand castle.

After the operation of the **generalisation macrorule**: The children were playing.

In this last sentence *playing* denotes a superconcept of “singing”, “playing cards” and “building a sand castle”.

The **construction macrorule** operates the following way: a sequence of propositions may be substituted by one single proposition if the propositions involved denote regular cases or components of events, normal conditions or consequences stated in the macroproposition substituting for the actual sequence of propositions at a level higher in the macrostructure. Example 2 below demonstrates the operation of the construction macrorule.

(2) The mother was rushed to hospital during the night. All the family was excited. There were no complications at all. The father was congratulated by his colleagues the next day.

After the operation of the **construction macrorule**: The child was born.

Even if no *child* or *giving birth* is mentioned textually in the example, on the basis of general knowledge, the regular cases of the events of childbirth are evoked in the reader’s mind, this way constructing the events not stated explicitly in the example.

The **deletion macrorule** operates the following way: a sequence of propositions may be deleted if the propositions involved denote an accidental, contextually irrelevant property or feature. Such a property or feature is not necessary for the interpretation of the propositions to follow.

(3) The white haired dog started to bark. It bit the pedestrian.

The first sentence of this text contains the following propositions as verbalised in complete sentences:

Proposition 1: The dog started to bark.

Proposition 2: The dog had fur.

Proposition 3: The fur was white.

After the operation of the **deletion macrorule**: The dog started to bark. Propositions 2 and 3 can be deleted at the macrolevel as they are not relevant for understanding the following proposition. Naturally, here we suppose a story where the act of biting a pedestrian is the central theme and not for example the colour of the fur of the dog. In the latter case, Proposition 3 could not be deleted at the next macrolevel. Therefore, the **deletion macrorule**, just like all other macrorules, are contextually dependent.

According to van Dijk (1980), apart from these repetitively operating, strictly semantics-based rules, another factor, the superstructure also has a role to play in which discourse strings surface in the macrostructure. This suggests that discourse-type specific elements (e.g. the description of a problem and its solution in an argumentative type discourse) must be retained in the macrostructure, otherwise genre-specific constraints in the macrostructure are violated. It can therefore be concluded that the superstructure places discourse-type specific constraints on the realised macrostructure and that macrorules, as a consequence, are also discourse-type sensitive.

In order to validate Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production, Kintsch's fellow researchers tested text comprehension and recall processes in empirical experiments. Fletcher (1981) explored whether comprehension was a linear process and if the understanding of one proposition depended on the comprehension of a previous one. Fletcher asked research subjects to read a narrative text and purposefully

interrupted their comprehension. Then he asked them to select from a number of options containing the verbalisation of propositions featured in the text those propositions that the research subjects remembered reading in the previous sentence. By interrupting research subjects in their text recall, Fletcher could identify common arguments in the proposition actually recalled by the research subjects and previously comprehended propositions. Fletcher found that in the case of central propositions (i.e. propositions holding several common arguments with other propositions) recall times were about 200 ms faster than the recall times of other, non-central propositions and that central propositions remained more accessible in subjects' memory over time. Fletcher thus concluded that Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production was a highly reliable description of text comprehension and recall processes. As van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model is based on the same theoretical foundations as Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production, the Macrostructure Model can also be deemed as reliable.

3.3. Research applying Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production and van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model

With reference to research using Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production and van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model, a brief overview of the main areas of the applications of these models is given below. The main research areas applying the above-mentioned two models include: (1) information processing related research, (2) research on automatic summary generating applications, (3) pedagogical applications in the field of summary writing, (4) cognitive linguistic research, (5) text type related research and (6) investigations into the structure of paragraphs. Below, these areas of application will be described in detail and a table that summarises the main aims and results of related research will be provided. Finally, it will be shown in what ways the present study may open up new vistas in terms of applying Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models.

(1) Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models have been applied in **information processing** related research. In his study, Hutchins (1987) discusses the relevance of automated summarisation and information retrieval systems in the early information age and describes the different types of automated systems developed. All these systems are based on the models of Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) and van Dijk (1980).

Through a historical perspective, Hutchins (1987) shows how reliable automated models of text summarisation and information extraction are as tested against the above two models. In conclusion, however, he claims that macrorules are still applied intuitively and he predicts that the actual operation of these rules may well be unformalisable.

Ericsson and Kintsch (1995) examine what role long-term memory plays in text comprehension. This study is based on the supposition that on condition integrated representation (representation reinforced through the use of mnemonics) of a text is stored in the memory, persons will be more likely to recall information appearing in higher macrostructure levels of the text in question, as theorised by Kintsch and van Dijk (1978). The paper concludes that short-term and long-term working memories work in tandem: the retrieval of information stored reliably in the long-term working memory is only possible through cues stored in the short-term working memory.

(2) Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models have been used in **automatic summary generating applications**. With a view to establishing the topic-comment information structure of texts, Kintsch (2002) applies the Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA) model, an automated tool for extracting and generating summaries, which, for most readers, usually equals to what they call the 'topic' of the text. When constructing the macrostructure of a text, this computational model works along semantic vectors automatically created using the semantically shared components of words in a text. Albeit in different forms, Kintsch's Construction-Integration Theory (1988), which is in fact a further development of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models, and LSA give similar results in terms of the macrostructure of a text. This, on the other hand, proves the reliability of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models.

(3) Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models have **pedagogical applications** in the field of summary writing. Lemaire, Mandin, Dessus and Denhière (2005) build on the findings of Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) and Kintsch's (2002) above-described Latent Semantic Analysis model in their attempt to provide educators of middle school students with a reliable tool for assessing student summaries (irrespective of text types). The tool Lemaire *et al.* (2005) offer for that purpose will produce the macrostructure of texts. Examining the process of summary writing assessments, the paper sets up two stages of research with a view to comparing the results obtained in these two stages: educators' production of summaries, which are deemed desired summaries by these educators, and educators' assessment of students' skills in summary writing. The latter stage comprises facilitating students' operation with macrorules aiding them in selecting propositions to be

used in their summaries. In order to exclude ad hoc macroproposition selection and subjective educator assessment, the authors provide a reliable automated method of summary writing and assessment, which is tested against human data (i.e. summaries produced by educators and summaries produced by students and deemed appropriate by educators). The automated method proves highly reliable for the purposes of student assessment, thereby underscoring the reliability of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models.

(4) Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models have been utilised for **cognitive linguistic applications**, too. Based on a taxonomy of rhetorical relations, Meyer and Grice (1982) approach comprehension from a hermeneutical orientation. Based on Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model, Meyer (1975, 1977) concludes that when understanding different texts, readers, in order to comprehend a text, reconstruct a similar cognitive representation of the given text as the one probably existing in the mind of the author of the text. Meyer and Grice (1982) state that readers' prior knowledge has a decisive role in understanding a text. According to Meyer and Grice (1982), readers first establish the global organisation of the text by constructing the author's main points along the main propositions of the text and then find and link supporting details in the text to such propositions. Similarly to Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production, Meyer and Grice's (1982) model also talks about reading as a linear process but, in Meyer and Grice's (1982) interpretation, text comprehension, unlike in Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) model, happens in a hierarchical, top to bottom way. What happens during text comprehension, Meyer and Grice (1982) claim, is that cognitively first the main theses, i.e. highest level macropropositions, are constructed and lower ranking (macro)propositions are added to them later as reading linearly proceeds forward. Text recall functions similarly: first highest-level macropropositions are recalled followed by lower ranking ones. This way, the starting point in Meyer and Grice's (1982) model is Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) comprehension model, but the act of text comprehension is pictured differently from that of the model described by Kintsch and van Dijk (1978). Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) speak about a cyclical bottom to top process while Meyer and Grice (1982) describe a top to bottom linear process. It follows from this that Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model takes previous propositions as the starting point in the next cycle of the comprehension process while in Meyer and Grice's (1982) model the starting point is always higher-ranking propositions than the one actually processed.

(5) **Text type related research** also profited from Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models. When discussing the way readers understand the plot in stories,

i.e. in narratives, Brewer (1982) takes as a starting point the difference between event structure (organisation of events in a temporal sequence of a presumed event world, i.e. how the actual events follow each other in the plot of the narrative) and discourse structure (sequential organisation of these events in terms of their occurrence in a narrative, i.e. how the events follow each other in the text of the narrative). Brewer (1982) connects the differences between event structure and discourse structure to the notion of plan understanding and narrative understanding. Plan understanding is the way humans are able to interpret observed actions of another person in terms of the person's intentions and, based on this, construe the goal of the given action, while narrative understanding describes how humans are able to understand narrative discourse by deriving a mental model of the actions presented. In terms of narrative understanding, Brewer (1982) claims that van Dijk's Macrostructure Model (1980) "can be viewed as [a means of] working out the relations between discourse structures that contain omitted information and their [narratives'] intended mental model" (Brewer 1982: 477). Brewer (1982) thus urges that psychological processes related to generating a mental model from a given discourse structure be researched.

Toledo (2005) seeks to show how previous knowledge of genre characteristics influences the success of comprehension. On the basis of the analysis of two scientific texts, the genres of which are closely related (a book review and a book advertisement), Toledo (2005) claims and demonstrates that the comprehension of macrostructure (as envisaged by Kintsch and van Dijk [1978]) does not necessarily result in the comprehension of the texts in question. Toledo (2005) also states that the text's pragmatic and communicative function is not identified, unless the reader is capable of identifying the genre of the text in question. In our interpretation, this points towards the existence of superstructure and the need to incorporate a superstructure model along a macrostructure model in the present undertaking, as described in Chapter 2 and the present chapter.

(6) Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models have been applied in text linguistic investigations to explore the **structure of paragraphs**. In a contrastive linguistic study, Evans (1998) aims at examining the discourse patterns of business and economics texts in the German business news magazine *Wirtschaftswoche* and its American counterpart *Business Week*. Texts about the same reported events are analysed in terms of their topic shifts (i.e. differing paragraph set-ups and structures) so as to determine if such shifts are attributable to differences in the linguistic and cultural environments of the two weekly magazines. In order to compare the structures of the corresponding texts and their

thematic structure, Evans relies on van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model for the determination of propositions and, consequently, of macropropositions and macrostructure. Evan (1998) reveals topic shifts in the corresponding texts by comparing macrostructure. It is evidenced that no significant topic shifts are found through the comparison of the German and English language articles, nonetheless, the analytical method, including van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model, proves a reliable analytical tool. Furthermore, this study shows that van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model can be used as an effective tool facilitating the comparison of texts written in different languages.

In a discussion concerning the editorial practice of the French newspaper *Le Monde*, Le (2004) explores the ways *Le Monde* makes itself an authority among its readers through argumentations appearing in editorials. When analysing the structure of editorials, Le, relying on the classification of metadiscourse by Crismore *et al.* (1993), uses three metadiscursive categories: **evidentials** (textual references to other texts as information sources), **person markers** (textual references to the author, including phrases such as *In the next section, I will show...*) and **relational markers** (textual references to the relationship between the author and the reader, such as using first person plural to engage readers, etc.). Le (2004) focuses on text coherence from the aspect of text production and interpretation. In order to do this, Le relies on and further develops van Dijk's Macrostructure Model (1980) to establish the macrostructure of the individual paragraphs. The macrostructure within the paragraphs shows the theme and the highest level of macrostructure (=gist) of each paragraph. As the macrostructure remains in the long-term memory, it is the most focal aspect of the argumentation of editorials. After having identified the macrostructure of the selected *Le Monde* article, Le explores what role evidentials, person markers and relational markers play in the macrostructure of the article in order to specify their discursive effect. Le (2004) shows that metadiscursive elements surfacing in the macrostructure make an editorial a very powerful and reliable authority in the eyes of readers. This study, on the other hand, reveals that van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model can serve as a useful analytical tool for describing the macrostructure of texts to be further analysed with the help of other theories.

3.4. Translation research applying van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model

In Translation Studies only van Dijk's (1980) Theory of Macrostructure has been adapted for the description of the macrostructures of source and target texts. Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) uses van Dijk's (1980) Theory of Macrostructures to describe, compare and contrast the

argumentative text structures in source and target language texts. Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) adapts van Dijk's (1980) Model in a way that she works with two macrorules only, the **zero** and the **deletion** rules instead of the four rules included in the original model. Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) justifies her decision by referring to pedagogical purposes: she wishes to provide translator trainees with practical, professional advice that will enable them to decide which discourse strings should and should not be included in translated summaries of argumentative texts. In the present study, the use of the Macrostructure Model developed by Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) is justified by the following. To some extent, the production of macropropositions has been argued to be slightly intuitive even by Kintsch and van Dijk (1978: 374) and, in line with Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model, the application of the **zero** and **deletion** macrorules leaves no space for such intuition as a result of the simplicity and thus reliability of their application. Furthermore, the application of only these two macrorules also excludes purposeful or subjective textual manipulation on the part of researcher, the possibility of which should be reduced to the minimum to ensure the reliability of the analysis performed with the help of the macrostructure model used in the present undertaking. This is especially important as the Critical Discourse Analysis constituent model included in the Political Bias Screener developed in the present dissertation for the analysis of argumentative political discourse can, to some extent, produce subjective results (c.f. 4.6.2).

The other reason for adapting Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is that this framework has been applied in the analysis of translations and, in this respect, the Model is deemed more reliable than a framework developed for any non-specific communicative situation of discourse. This is also underscored by Károly (2007), who, when discussing Tirkkonen-Condit's model, notes that "based on the results obtained so far, the model seems to be suitable for evaluating translations" (2007: 243, translation by the author). And notably, one objective of the present undertaking is to evaluate translations: this, however, will not be done from the perspective of pedagogical assessment but in an attempt to identify possible surfacing political and ideological bias.

Below, Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is described. Similarly to van Dijk's (1980) approach, Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) also works with a hierarchical structure and notes that, as a result of the **zero** and **deletion** macrorules, discourse strings, if they are semantically superordinate to other strings, will be retained, whereas if they are subordinate to other strings, they will be deleted. This is what Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) refers to as the **hierarchy effect**. In her analysis of source and target texts, Tirkkonen-Condit

From the point of view of the present undertaking, this implies that the translation of source language argumentative political articles will also feature argumentative qualities and will consequently function as argumentative political texts. Thus, by comparing source and target texts, similarities and differences in the macrostructure of these texts can be explored with a view to the argumentation and function of such texts.

3.5. The summary of the main aims and results of the application of the macrostructure models presented

Table 3-1 offers a summary of the aims and results of the research conducted so far applying Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models.

Main publ. data	Aims	Results
Hutchins (1987)	testing automated summarisation and information retrieval systems with the help of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models	automated summarisation and information retrieval systems are reliable as measured against Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models
Ericsson and Kintsch (1995)	test if items on higher levels in the macrostructure are more likely to be remembered	items on higher levels in the macrostructure are more reliably recalled if short-term memory cues are attached to them
Kintsch (2002)	test the reliability of the automatic Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA) model, used for the extraction of macrostructure, against Kintsch's Construction-Integration Theory (1988) – a further development of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models	the LSA and Kintsch's construction-integration theory (1988) give the same results, thus LSA is deemed reliable
Lemaire <i>et al.</i> (2005)	provide a reliable tool for the unbiased assessment of summaries written by middle school students	the determination of macrostructure is offered as a most reliable tool for both summary writing and summary assessment
Meyer and Grice (1982)	explore whether comprehension of a text is a linear or a hierarchical process	text comprehension happens in a hierarchical, top down way: first highest level propositions are constructed followed by the construction of lower level ones
Brewer (1982)	explore how readers understand a narrative if events are not expressly stated textually	events that are not expressly stated can be reconstructed with the help of van Dijk's Macrostructure Model (1980)
Toledo (2005)	previous knowledge of genre characteristics influences the success of comprehension	macrostructure alone, without the identification of text type, does not adequately mirror the comprehension of texts
Evans (1998)	to show if differing paragraph set-ups and structures (topic shifts) are attributable to different linguistic and cultural environments in the case of corresponding German and English language business articles	no significant differences are identified, however, van Dijk's Macrostructure Model (1980) proves to be a reliable analytical tool for establishing in-paragraph macrostructure
Le (2004)	describe the effects metadiscourse manifesting in the macrostructure of editorials has on readers	if metadiscourse makes it into macrostructure, readers will identify the editorial as an authoritative and reliable piece of text
Tirkkonen-Condit (1985)	as part of Translation Studies, describe the text structures of source and target language argumentative texts, show how awareness of the text structure of the source text influences the quality of translation	the macrostructure of argumentative texts are composed of several levels; the superstructure influences the macrostructure of argumentative texts; the more familiar translation students with text type specific features are, the better quality translations they can produce

Table 3-1: The main aims and results of research applying Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) Model of Text Comprehension and Production and van Dijk's (1980) Macrostructure Model

As the results of the studies described above show, Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) and van Dijk's (1980) models constitute the foundations of the most influential body of research on macrostructure. The models have proved to be reliable in establishing the summary of texts (c.f. Hutchins [1987]) and in describing how textual recall works (c.f. Ericsson and Kintsch [1995]). It has also been demonstrated that the two models can also be successfully used in Translation Studies research (c.f. Tirkkonen-Condit [1985]). This suggests that the models are reliable for establishing the propositions and the macrostructure of argumentative source and target language texts.

3.6. The relevance of previous research to the present study

Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model discussed above will be used for the description of the macrostructure of source and target language political texts. The use of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is justified by the following findings: our previous analyses of political texts concerning the English translation of former Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's 1995 French language Québec Referendum Speech (Bánhegyi 2008), have shown that political persuasion is effected in primarily three domains mutually reinforcing and supporting each other's effects and efficiency. These three, cognitively and, respectively, affectively operating domains are: (1) logical arguments, (2) feelings and sentiments evoked by the texts and (3) psychological motivation induced by the texts. These domains are described in more detail below.

(1) Logical arguments (sensible or sensible sounding arguments) are presented in the gist of texts, i.e. the macrostructure influenced by the superstructure, or in other words, the highest macrolevel where the superstructure effect manifests, as argued in Chapter 2.

(2) Feelings and sentiments evoked by the texts manifest as emotive persuasion realised mainly through choices in lexis and style and the **political message** of texts (Larson [2001], Mazzoleni [2002]), i.e. the minimum shortest meaningful summary or, in another phrasing, the highest possible macrolevel, above the level of the gist. It is argued that this political message is too short to be argumentative as it does not contain references to all functional superstructural elements and, as a result, can only operate on emotive grounds. In their **Injection Needle Model**, Kraus and Davis (1976) explain that emotive persuasion through political messages triggers predictable patterns of behaviour in receivers.

(3) Psychological motivation induced by the texts (voter mobilisation, generating fears and/or determination in voters) is achieved partly through enthymemes (i.e. logical

propositions suppressing one of the premises and inviting the reader to “construct the missing part of the logical sentence in order to make sense out of the argument” (Jamieson [1988] qtd. in Rose 1993: 8) and the contextual properties of political discourse.

The effects of the first domain are achieved by the gist (macrostructure affected by the superstructure), as noted above, and the effects of the latter two domains are achieved through the political message and individual propositions and in their textual and contextual realisations (c.f. Bánhegyi 2008).

3.7. Conclusion

With a view to the nature of political persuasion outlined in Section 3.6, the gist (the macrostructure as influenced by the superstructure) of the source and target language texts will be established with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit’s (1985) Macrostructure Model. This Model is complemented by Hoey’s (2001) Problem-Solution Model (c.f. Chapter 2), which provides the superstructure constituent. Moreover, the political message (minimum shortest meaningful summary) of the texts is derived from the gist of the texts through further macrostructural reduction with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit’s (1985) Macrostructure Model. The notion of **proposition** will be used for the comparison of the propositional content of the gists and the political messages of the referent source and target texts. As the other two domains – feelings and sentiments evoked and psychological motivation – are realised on the level of propositions, the notion of **proposition** will be used in the identification of textual parts affecting these two domains.

Chapter 4: Translation and politics – towards Critical Discourse Analysis

4.1. Overview

This chapter will provide an overview of the relationship between political discourse (including texts created through translation), power and ideology, to be followed by a review of Translation Studies specific research on the relationship between translated texts and power and ideology. Since no systematic, strictly text-based approaches have yet been developed in Translation Studies for the critical description of political texts and their translation in particular, this chapter will argue that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can serve as a potential systematic, text-based analytical tool that extends to all relevant textual features (to be defined in Section 4.4.1). This will be followed by the description of the underlying theory of CDA including its roots and traditions and in particular the foundations of van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis. Then, with a view to the current research, one component of van Dijk's CDA, the so-called Discourse-Society Interface, which establishes the link between text, society and cognition, will be presented. The applicability of the Interface for the critical analysis of political texts and their translations will also be justified. The chapter will propose an adaptation of the Interface to be used in the current research: this translation-oriented model named the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model (TDSI Model). It will be demonstrated that the systematic application of the TDSI Model may produce an analytical tool that is capable of producing reliable and valid findings in terms of the critical analysis of political texts and their translation in comparison with any other previous approaches associated with the critical analysis of political texts within the field of Translation Studies.

4.2. Text, power and ideology

It is a commonplace that texts (as defined in Chapter 1) exist in their social context: the understanding of the textual features of any text, including translations, will inevitably involve the creators and the audience of texts as well as the social and cultural relationships holding between the human interactants involved. Such human relationships will also

involve possible unequal statuses between the parties concerned, which will give rise to diverse relations of power. **Power**, in fact, stands for the social power of groups or institutions over persons or groups of people (as described in more detail in Section 4.5.2.4.3). Even if power is primarily a social phenomenon (as it exists between humans), language will be a very powerful tool for obtaining and maintaining power in human communicative contexts (Fowler 1985). Once such power relations have been accepted, are taken for granted and are seen as natural in the given social-cultural context, it is possible to talk about an ideology with reference to the social groups involved. **Ideology** is a composite of the “basic beliefs that underlie the social representations of a social group” (van Dijk 2003: 10, the definition of ideology will be further specified in Section 4.5.2.4.4).

The literature abounds in the description of the relationship between power and communication. However, as the main focus of the current undertaking is politics and translation, the present discussion will be narrowed down to one specific human communicative situation and text type: politics and political texts (or political discourse). In this context, political texts are interpreted as the institutionalised communicational means of gaining, establishing and maintaining political power and/or expressing ideology. (Political mass communicational aspects related to mediatised political discourse will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.) At this point, it is only noted that translation in bilingual and multilingual contexts plays a vital role in gaining, establishing and maintaining political power and/or expressing ideology. In this light, the way translated texts are used (or misused and even abused) for political purposes has very complex social, psychological and textual implications, which, in our opinion, can be systematically described and established within Translation Studies with the help of the analytical tools of Critical Discourse Analysis.

4.3. Translation, ideology power and politics

In recent years, more precisely after the ‘cultural turn’ of the early 1990s (Dimitriu 2002: 2, Hatim and Munday 2004: 313), Translation Studies has shown intense interest in analysing the translation of political texts and the ideology expressed and the power relations involved in the translation of such texts. The main research areas in this field include the following directions, represented mainly by the scholars appearing in parentheses below: (1) diverse purpose cross sections of discourse analysis, translation studies and politics (Hatim and Mason 1990, Chilton and Schäffner 2002, Schäffner 2004); (2) the analysis of the social, cultural, ideological and political contexts of source and target texts and cultures (Pym 1992

and 2000; Schäffner 2003); (3) text typology and textual functions of source and target language texts (Nord 1997, Trosborg 1997); (4) the role of translators as intercultural agents or cultural mediators (Venuti 1992, Katan 1999); (5) translators being potential points of conflict during their work (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002, Tymoczko 2003); (6) translators' purposeful manipulation of target texts and translators' textual choices reflecting ideological and/or political commitment (Álvarez and Vidal 1996, Baker 2006); and, recently, (7) translators' political activism and social activism as part of their professional work (Baker 2007).

Apart from the field dealing with the cross section of discourse analysis and translation studies, most of the above approaches, however, do not use specific text linguistic approaches to support their text-related claims. Nor do they use textual evidence quoted from the texts under scrutiny in their larger social context to pinpoint and interpret textual differences between source and target language texts as part of their respective research methodology and analysis. Such approaches and their results often seem unconvincing, methodologically inappropriate and ad hoc: if there is no systematic methodology or a theoretically well-grounded foundation of analysis with sufficient objectivity, i.e. if analysts (intuitively) pick a few expressions of their choice from the source and target texts and add some (subjective) personal comments as explanation, the resulting analysis cannot be deemed as valid or reliable.

Not denying the merits of any of these approaches, we often find that some of the resulting data are based on explanatory details and ad hoc descriptions of contexts rather than on a systematic analysis of hard textual data, which the present undertaking hopes to provide. In order to contextualise CDA with reference to the discipline of Translation Studies, Section 4.3.1 will briefly present the ways in which text linguistic approaches surface in the study of political texts within Translation Studies and present-day critical linguistics.

4.3.1. Translation Studies oriented text linguistic trends in the study of political discourse

Text linguistics offers several approaches to the analysis of political discourse and the translation of political discourse. Research relevant to Translation Studies in this field may be categorised into two distinct groups. While the first group comprises cultural and social psychological approaches, which perceive translation primarily as cultural mediation, the second group of studies embodies (psycholinguistic) text-centred approaches, which (a)

examine source and target language texts from the point of view of text production (composing texts), or (b) deal with source and target language texts as linguistic products and explore the linguistic qualities of the texts composed and focus on the understanding of political texts and the effects such texts have on their receivers (i.e. the ways readers interpret texts and the ways such texts influence them). In the next sections, a short summary of these two research areas and their major contributors is presented.

4.3.1.1 . Cultural and social psychological approaches

The first group of approaches to political discourse, i.e. the cultural and social psychological approaches of relevance for the present dissertation include the following research fields: (a) the analysis of translation strategies (Chilton and Schäffner 1997, Schäffner and Adab 2001a, Baker 2006); (b) the interpretation of context, i.e. the effects of social and sociocultural factors on actual texts produced (van Dijk 1997, Munday 2007); (c) the ideologies of given societies and the surfacing of such ideologies in texts (Tymoczko 2000, van Dijk 2002, van Dijk 2006); (d) Cognitive Theory, which deals with implicitly surfacing evaluative beliefs (van Dijk 1997, Schäffner and Kelly-Holmes 1996, Wodak and van Dijk 2000) and (e) the interrelation of all the above research fields with the media industry (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Bell and Garrett 1998). Cultural and social psychological approaches used in Translation Studies will be described in Section 4.3.2 in more detail.

4.3.1.2. Text-centred approaches

The second group of text linguistic approaches to political discourse, the so-called text-centred approaches is an umbrella term we use for various research perspectives. They include the following areas: (a) pragmatically-oriented approaches, in the scope of which text is viewed as the interaction of communication partners (Álvarez and Vidal 1996, Chilton and Schäffner 1997, Hatim and Mason 1997, Gutt 1998, Baker 2006), (b) the research of hybrid texts (exhibiting the features of both source and target cultures) evolving as a result of cultural and political differences in the source and target cultures (Schäffner and Adab 2001b) and hedges in the translation of political texts (Schäffner 1998) as well as (c) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a further development of critical linguistics (Kárpáti 2007). CDA is practically an offshoot of earlier research in the field of the above-mentioned pragmatically-oriented approach, and views communication as a battlefield of conflicting powers and ideologies taking place and sees text as social interaction (van Dijk 1985, Kress

1985, Seidel 1985, van Dijk 1993, van Dijk 1997, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, van Dijk 2001, van Dijk 2003, van Dijk 2006, Valdeón 2007, Chan 2007).

Text-centred approaches strive to provide a more meticulous picture of the interrelation of cultural, societal and social features surfacing in texts than cultural and social psychological approaches do and, as a consequence, they provide important information for the current research. Text-centred approaches used in Translation Studies will be described in Section 4.3.2 in more detail.

4.3.2. Research on the translation of political discourse

After the relevant text-linguistic approaches to political discourse, the current section introduces political discourse oriented translation research. In Translation Studies such discourse is also termed **discourse in situations of conflict** (Salama-Carr 2007). Translation research involving political discourse can be classified into seven distinct research fields as far as research topics are concerned. These seven research fields and their representatives are the following:

1. Translators' professional roles and politics: Palmer (2007), Dragovic-Drouet's (2007), Gagnon (2006);
2. Translators acting as mediators in situations of political conflict: Tang (2007), Calzada Pérez (2007);
3. Translators' professional responsibilities and the strategies they apply: Maier (2007), Schäffner (1998);
4. The inference of translators' own historical, social and cultural backgrounds: Kuhiwczak (2007), Nikolaou (2007);
5. Manipulation in the translation of literary texts and other text types: Foster (2007), Williams (2007), Chadwick (2007), Baker's (2006);
6. Critical discourse awareness in translation: Valdeón (2007), Chan (2007), Schäffner (2004).

Below, these research areas will be introduced and their main findings will be summarised to show that Translation Studies does not yet have a commonly accepted and systematic analytical tool for the examination of political texts. Depending on the nature of the research in question and on the theme of politics involved, diverse researchers apply a very wide range of analytical tools, which makes the advances of translation research on politics very difficult to compare and systematise.

Even if the focus of the current undertaking is a critical one, it is assumed that other approaches to power and ideology in Translation Studies than the critical discursal approach should be briefly introduced as this will demonstrate how varied and how diverse these approaches are and how difficult it is to compare their findings. All this points towards the realisation that the analytical tools Translation Studies currently offers in terms of the study of political discourse are rather ad hoc and the research findings available are thus incomparable.

4.3.2.1. Translators' professional roles

With the internationalisation of politics, translators' professional roles and divided loyalties have been foregrounded by Translation Studies. Palmer (2007) deals with the different roles Iraqi people working for Western media assume and the political commitment-induced conflicting loyalties such a situation poses to these translators. Relying on Wadensjö's (1998) **Conduit Theory**, Palmer (2007) traces media reporters' and translators' roles in the flow of information about the Iraqi situation of conflict and concludes that, even if such translators are trusted by Western media people working in the area, misinformation may happen as a result of (1) translators' providing summaries rather than word-by-word translations, (2) omissions of textual material considered irrelevant by the translator, (3) journalists' linguistic inability to mingle in the local community and the resulting incapacity to understand the local culture, and finally (4) as a result of translators' biased social embeddedness, social status and non-neutral contacts in the local community in question. Palmer (2007) considers different cultural and political backgrounds as a potential source of conflicting political orientations in source and target texts.

Dragovic-Drouet's (2007) starting point in her discussion of translations related to the Yugoslavian conflict is neutrality as interpreted by Seleskovitch (1983) as well as the Newmarkian (1989) criteria of **moral** and **factual truth**. Through a textual analysis of source and target language texts of the Yugoslavian conflict, Dragovic-Drouet (2007) aims to prove that the above-mentioned professional standards are oftentimes not observed by translators and that translators may resort to censoring or modifying texts should they perceive that, in their judgement, primary text producers (reporters, media personnel, etc.) show unwanted embeddedness (cultural bias), which results in unfair communication. Turning to translation methodology, Dragovic-Drouet (2007) claims that translator training should develop future translators' ability of coping with situations of conflict both linguistically and in terms of terminology management. This study reveals that translators

can potentially manipulate texts politically and also sheds light on the issue of awareness-raising in connection with the translation of political texts.

Gagnon (2006) describes the ways official translations are effected in Canada by the Canadian Prime Minister's Office, the Parliament and other government institutions and explores how such translations are received. With reference to the status of originals and translations, Gagnon (2006), discussing the **hybridity** of target texts (texts showing unusual, strange textual features in the target culture as a result of conscious, deliberate translator decisions), concludes that translations have a lower status than originals in Canada. In terms of the adaptation of texts and the reception of French and English parallel texts, Gagnon (2006), relying on textual analysis performed by way of Fairclough's (1989) Critical Discourse Analysis Model, claims that the way translations are done, i.e. what institutional translation strategies are applied, are decided by the audience to be convinced. This signals that the actual ideological aims will determine the translation strategies applied. This points towards the assumption that "French- and English-Canadian cultures do not often meet in translated federal speeches." (Gagnon 2006: 84), which is contrary to the expectations of a homogeneous Canadian nation. This statement seems to indicate that it is almost impossible (and probably at some points not even desired) to produce politically equivalent texts even in the case of bilingual countries, let alone other, more diverse political contexts. The studies described above illustrate that the analysis of the translation of political texts must definitely extend to the contemporary national and/or international contexts the text under scrutiny have been created in.

4.3.2.2. Translators acting as mediators in situations of political conflict

As politics is becoming an increasingly international activity, translators often find themselves in the role of mediators in political conflict. Tang (2007) focuses on cross-cultural conflicts surfacing as either cultural, social or ideological conflicts. Tang (2007), on the basis of LeBaron's (2003) Theory of Cultural Conflicts, argues that cross-cultural conflicts can be subdivided into **soft** and **hard conflicts** on the basis of their scope, i.e. suppression or open voicing of conflict by the society (societies) involved. With reference to translation from English into Chinese and vice versa, Tang (2007) sees translators "sandwiched between Chinese and Western cultures" (Tang 2007: 139), and, through the culturally contextualised close reading of the English translation of Chinese texts, concludes that translators actually tend to eliminate soft conflicts. Given this, Tang (2007) calls for translators' sensitisation for enabling them to cope with hard conflicts on an international

scale in a more effective manner. This suggests that awareness-raising should be a component of translation training.

Calzada Pérez (2007) explores translators' roles in situations of conflict and urges that translators tackle situations of conflicts rather than avoid them. The starting point of the discussion is that advertising is in fact a "site of ideological conflict(s)" (Calzada Pérez 2007: 149), and that advertisements can cause or settle conflicts. In this context, translators, relying on their cross-cultural skills, abilities and strategies, may become "ideal conflict mediators" (Calzada Pérez 2007: 149). Relying on Cronin's (2003) categorisation of **ensorship** and **zero translation** and connecting this categorisation with possible translation strategies, Calzada Pérez (2007) concludes that translators, as text producers, may easily reach acceptable points of settling problems through "focusing on consensus" (Calzada Pérez 2007: 156), or can modify disagreements to "achieve long-lasting benefits" (Calzada Pérez 2007: 156). These findings suggest that translators can also interfere in politics.

The studies presented above show that the translators of political texts are often in the "frontline": the way they translate texts will influence the reception of their translations and the political events associated with the texts in question. Therefore, the analysis of political texts by researchers must extend to the reception and, if possible, the political events closely connected to the translated text.

4.3.2.3. Translators' professional responsibilities and translation strategies

The professional responsibilities translators take and the strategies they apply when translating political texts have also been researched within Translation Studies. In connection with professional responsibilities, Maier (2007) claims that even if translators have recently acquired a higher status in terms of their usefulness and visibility as compared to earlier times, they concurrently fail to recognise the need to discuss their responsibilities and to learn to account for their work in situations of conflict. In Maier's (2007) interpretation, translators can act as intersections between two opposing sides or can function as points of resistance and conflict. Maier (2007) claims that even today some translators are insensitive to perceiving situations of conflict, and argues that translators actually face internal conflicts when exposed to translating texts of situations of conflict. In addition, Maier (2007) calls for an exploration and a deeper understanding of the diverse situations of conflict today's translators might encounter during their work, which designates a further field of (possibly job ethical) research. In this respect, Maier's (2007) study touches upon the relationship between job ethics and the translation of political texts as reflected by target texts.

Schäffner (1998) explores different types of hedges in European political discourse. Relying on Lakoff's (1973) definition, Schäffner (1998) defines hedges as words whose meaning involves "vagueness, indeterminateness" (Schäffner 1998: 185) with reference to the phrase they modify. Schäffner (1998) establishes five types of hedges: **evidentiality hedges** such as *I think, it seems*, which refer to the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth expressed in a text; **modifying hedges** such as *fairly, too, typical*, which "shift the scope of indeterminateness of the utterances" (Schäffner 1998: 191); **quantifying hedges** such as *in every respect, in some respect*, which "relate to characteristics of the whole scope of precision" (Schäffner 1998: 191); **despecifying hedges** such as *kind of, roughly*, which "extend the scope of indeterminateness" (Schäffner 1998: 192); and **specifying hedges** such as *real, genuine, true, exactly*, which "narrow down the scope of indeterminateness of a concept or a proposition" (Schäffner 1998: 193). Based on comparative pragmatic textual analysis, Schäffner (1998) concludes that source text hedges can be rendered as the same type of hedges in the target language, as different type of hedges causing shifts in the target text, can be deleted and even new hedges can be added in the target text. Politically contextualising the examples, Schäffner (1998) explains the effects such hedges have on the receivers of the translated texts. Schäffner (1998) concludes by noting the semantic and pragmatic problems hedges can cause to translators and calls for a more systematic description of hedging devices. This suggests that microlevel textual features must be taken into consideration in the analysis of the translation of political texts. The above studies show that research must extend to the realisations of certain recurrent translation strategies surfacing in translated political texts and their pragmatic effects, as conclusions established on the basis of one-off or non-contextualised microtextual textual instances may produce misleading research results.

4.3.2.4. The inference of translators' own historical and cultural backgrounds

Translators' historical and cultural backgrounds can also interfere with the translation of political texts. Translators' historical and cultural backgrounds shape readers' understanding of, and attitude to, historical events through the translators' interpretation of events surfacing in target texts. Kuhiwczak (2007) attempts to show how, during the transition from oral to written Holocaust history, the translation of originally non-English oral sources into written English historical records published as English translations, altered the text type and tone of such primary historical sources. Kuhiwczak (2007) goes as far as theoretically questioning whether translation, at a universal scale, is capable of (precisely) communicating others'

thoughts. This suggests that translators' interpretation of the texts for translation plays a crucial role in producing the finalised target text.

Nikolaou (2007), with the help of a comparative textual analysis, examines how Christopher Logue's own personality and his life experiences contributed to his creative translation of Homer's *Iliad*. Nikolaou claims that, as an artefact, Logue's own literary piece, *War Music* is in fact the result of the act of translating *Iliad* and that Logue's views of the situations of conflicts of *Iliad* evolve through a hermeneutical dialogue between the text to be translated and the translator. Interpretation, it seems, plays a vital role in the translation of political texts. In the light of the above, any reliable and valid textual analysis must allow for the exploration of the translators' own political commitment and political attitudes as traceable in translated texts.

4.3.2.5. Manipulation in the translation of literary texts and other text types

Manipulation in the translation of political texts has developed into a prolific research area. Williams (2007) describes 19th century contemporary German-English national rivalry and compares biographical details of Wordsworth and his German translator, Freiligrath to reveal textual realisations of such rivalry. Apart from the textual analysis of Freiligrath's translational practice (i.e. the translation of poems, including metre, imagery, etc.), Williams (2007) investigates Freiligrath's selection procedure of choosing Wordsworth's politically-charged poems for translation, and the effects contemporary German-English national rivalry and hostility had on the German reception of Wordsworth's poetry. It is concluded that interpretation is only possible in the light of contemporary historical and cultural contexts.

In what follows, Baker's (2006) approach to the translation of discourse of conflict will be described in a more detailed way as Baker in *Translation and Conflict* (2006) provides an integrative, fully developed framework for the analysis of political discourse. Such a description can serve as a potential model for the description of the features translated political texts display. In fact, Baker (2006) restricts her approach to narratives only and does not rely very heavily on text linguistic findings. Even so, similarly to the approach of the present undertaking, Baker's (2006) approach is multidisciplinary in nature and is based on several theories including Somers and Gibson (1994) as well as Bruner (1991).

Baker's (2006) starting point is the premise that political conflicts and the resolution of such conflicts in today's globalised world, as a rule, stretch over national boundaries and thus inevitably involve translation and interpretation activities. According to Baker (2006),

power is present exclusively in situations in which a party or parties are forced to act contrary to their wills and interests. Conflicts, Baker (2006: 1) asserts, evolve when parties of opposing interests intend to “undermine each other because they have incompatible goals, competing interests, or fundamentally different values”.

By integrating theories of translators’ attitudes towards consenting to or denying the reproduction of ideologies contained in narratives for translation, theories of the conscious perception of texts’ ideological content as well as theories concerning the assessment of the effectiveness of such narratives, Baker (2006) wishes to demonstrate that translation itself can either function as a tool in the hands of politics by creating one single truth and enforcing a given social and political order on citizens or, quite the contrary, can be used as a tool for fighting against such manipulation and corruption of texts.

Baker (2006) intends to provide a framework for exploring how translators and interpreters, through text production, contribute to or resist the creation and promotion of politically-charged narratives. By adopting a standpoint assumed in social and communication theory, Baker (2006: 3) defines **narrative** (or **story**) as a linguistic realisation of sequential events of “everyday stories we live by” and later, relying on Fisher’s (1987) claim of all human communication essentially being a narrative, extends her definition to incorporate practically every type of discourse. This broad definition allows for the investigation of several genres of discourse in a very diverse range of media.

As far as the possibilities for manipulating narratives in the translation process are concerned, Baker (2006), on the basis of Somers and Gibson (1994), depicts **temporality**, **relationality**, **causal emplotment** and **selective appropriation** as factors affecting the reception of narratives. Such instances of manipulation are common in mediatised communication and in translations transmitted by the mass media. Below Baker’s (2006) concepts will be explored in more detail.

Not necessarily portraying a true-to-life sequencing of events, temporality is the subjective, person-specific interpretation and ordering of the sequences of events contained in a narrative, created through an individual’s perception of such events. It is temporality of narratives that allows translators to interpret the textual material and logical implications contained in the text. Altering the sequencing of events, for instance as a result of translation, can have different implications in the target language text from those surfacing in the source text.

Relationality refers to the interrelatedness of events within a narrative: events have to constitute one single narrative. Furthermore, every event of a certain narrative must be

interpreted in the light of other events of the given narrative as a whole. Translation is of key importance here as, for instance, the choice of certain lexical items in the target language text can trigger associations of certain narratives that are possibly different from the narrative associations of the source language community. This feature seems easy to be utilised for political reasons (e.g. for war propaganda) in case well-selected lexis is used that evokes references to well-established public narratives of political agendas.

Carrying also ethical implications, **causal emplotment** entails the significance of events in narratives, and is connected to the fact that narratives do not merely list events but “weight and explain” them (Baker 2006: 67) in terms of the interpretation and evaluation of events, motifs, etc., thus providing a moral reading of the narrative. Through translation, the weighting of events can be changed to produce deliberately altered patterns of causal emplotment in the target language text.

The last factor in Baker’s (2006) theory affecting the reception of narratives, **selective appropriation**, denotes the conscious or subconscious processes during the creation of a narrative through which certain events get included whereas others get excluded from the final version of the narrative. This, in the large scale, in terms of translation, extends to the choices of what narratives of the source culture (i.e. narratives about which events) get translated. This selection, in the hands of politics, might easily contribute to the creation of false images or, in worse cases, to the creation of enemy cultures through acts of **deliberate appropriation**, i.e. purposeful selection of events along certain ideologies or political purposes (c.f. selective appropriation above). Baker’s (2006) approach is revealing and exemplary in a way that shows that power, ideology and politics related translation research must be multidisciplinary and based on interrelated theories.

With reference to the textual features of target texts, Baker (2006) identifies translation as an act involving possible alterations in the features of the resulting target text. The aim of altering certain features of target texts can be to renegotiate the features of a given narrative “to produce a politically charged narrative in the target context” (Baker 2006: 105) as a means of constructing a modified, influenced reality for receptors through “strategic moves that are consciously initiated in order to present a [social, political or other] movement or a particular position within a certain perspective” (Baker 2006: 106). Baker (2006) terms this practice **framing**.

Baker (2006) explores four different ways of framing selecting from among the endless methods available and describes the potential uses of such means in translation. The first method of framing is termed **temporal and spatial framing** and involves no alterations

in the text for translation itself but achieves its effect by the careful selection of a suitable text for translation and by embedding such a text “in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages receptors to establish links between it and current narratives” (Baker 2006: 112). This practice is capable of exerting political influence despite the fact that the events of the narrative of the source text may actually be contained within an absolutely different temporal and spatial setting.

An especially common way of framing that appears in connection with the translation of literary pieces is **selective appropriation of textual material**, which also has possible political implications. In this case, omissions from or additions to the original text are effected in order to “suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative encoded in the source text or utterance, or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which it [the given narrative] is embedded” (Baker 2006: 114). This act can happen either consciously or unconsciously and may well serve political purposes.

Another way of framing is by **labelling**. Labelling in this context denotes the practice of using “a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative” (Baker 2006: 122), given that such names embody particular viewpoints, beliefs or political commitments of a community. The fourth method of framing is termed **repositioning of participants**. This denotes rearranging the hierarchical positions of the characters of the narrative and the receptors of the narrative through altering partly the socio-linguistic features of the participants’ speech and partly other features used for such participants’ linguistic identification and characterisation. This also creates space for political manipulation through translation.

As a summary, it can be concluded that Baker’s (2006) theoretical framework takes account of several contextual and intertextual features as well as discusses several instances and means of (possible) political manipulation but does not rely on theories to pinpoint exact textual realisations of such instances of manipulation. Baker rather explains textual phenomena in their social, cultural and political context. We are of the opinion that for the sake of objectivity the analysis of political manipulation in translated texts must include the pinpointing of textual elements capable of manipulation, rather than providing solely the social, cultural and political contexts of these texts as a mere backdrop. At the same time, Baker (2006) restricts the proposed approach exclusively to one text type: narratives. As the texts to be analysed in the current research are argumentative texts, other theoretical frameworks will also be described in an attempt to find theories that will be more suitable for the current research purposes.

Concerning hybridity in translation, Schäffner (2001), in the context of international translation practice, explores the ways hybrid texts come about through translation process. Hybrid texts are the result of conscious, deliberate decisions on the part of the translator, which show unusual, strange textual features in the target culture and yet fulfil their intended purpose in the communicative situation in which they exist. The reason for this strangeness of target texts is that the genre of the source text does not exist in the target culture and, consequently, there are no model texts that could guide translators. With reference to political discourse, Schäffner (2001) notes that one reason why hybrid texts can come about is globalisation, as internationalisation potentially facilitates the dissemination of source genres (possibly unknown) in target language cultures. Through the use of contrastive text typological analysis, it is concluded that hybrid texts often display textual features that clash with the existing norms in the target language. This could possibly allow for the introduction of socially unaccepted/unacceptable concepts in the target culture and thus play a role in power games and political persuasion.

Based on the studies detailed above, it can be concluded that translation can purposefully be used for political manipulation. With a view to this, the analysis of any translated text must extend to contemporary social, cultural, political and ideological features. This is exactly what Critical Discourse Analysis can offer in a systematised way (c.f. Section 4.5). Let us finally describe the only traceable trend in Translation Studies in this direction: critical discourse awareness.

4.3.2.6. Critical discourse awareness in Translation Studies

Critical discourse awareness in the field of translation research was motivated by the internationalisation of politics, which resulted in an increased number of translated political texts, including translations for the mass media. Once it has been noted and proven that source and target texts are not always equivalent in a political sense, and that target texts may be designed to realise partly different communication aims from those of the source text, a growing concern started to surround the translation of political texts.

Related text linguistic research aimed to point out textually where and in what ways source and target language political texts were not equivalent. The ensuing ethical, political and professional need to critically relate to translated texts, translation activities and the pragmatic effects of translation activities have given rise to numerous critical approaches. Relying on the theories of the best-known and best-established scholars of Critical Discourse Analysis and ideology (Fairclough [1989, 1995b], van Dijk [1990, 2003]) as well as of

media discourse analysis (Bell [1991, 1998], Schelesinger and Lumley [1985]), Valdeón (2007) compares written news reports and their translations. With ideology interpreted in this context as “a set of assumptions accepted by the participant in a given stretch of discourse” (Valdeón 2007: 101), with respect to media text producers, two types of mediation are distinguished by Valdeón: positive mediation, i.e. neutrality of text producers towards their subject and negative mediation, i.e. “importing external agendas that might stem from their [the text producers’] own ideological background” (Valdeón 2007: 103). Valdeón (2007), with reference to Baker’s (1992) classification of non-equivalence at word level, examines the use and meaning of the lexical items of “terrorist” and “separatist” as well as their (alleged) equivalents. The conclusion of the discussion is that translations produced both for BBC and CNN on the Madrid terrorist attack in 2005 do not seem to “operate in the interest of the target culture, quite the contrary, they operate in their own interest, whether that is understood as personal, editorial or national” (Valdeón 2007: 116). Consequently, Valdeón (2007) using Baker’s (1992) taxonomy, manages to reveal instances of word-level manipulation.

Chan (2007) compares the two Chinese versions of Hillary Clinton’s *Living History* published by Chinese publishers China Times and Yilin Press. Chan (2007) contextualises the two Chinese versions in the different receiving Chinese cultures and, with the help of close reading, reveals numerous differences between the two translations. The differences between the source text and the two different translations in terms of the Chinese title of the work, certain textual omissions and translation shifts are due to market considerations as well as the influence of Chinese censorship activities. Chan’s (2007) study is a good example of the need to account for textual features in the backdrop of the receiving culture in the case of political texts.

Schäffner (2004) in the framework of a theoretical proposal urges the closer cooperation of political discourse analysis (PDA) and Translation Studies. PDA explores the link between linguistic behaviour and politics in the fields of pragmatics, semantics and syntax and tries to explain in what ways such linguistic features contribute to political persuasion (c.f. Chilton and Schäffner 1997). Schäffner (2004) reviews the most common research areas in Translation Studies with reference to political texts and establishes the following themes as possible joint research areas of PDA and Translation Studies: research of lexical choice in the target text in comparison with that of the source text, the practice of selecting information to translate, creating new political identities by phrasing and framing (influencing readers to associate certain phrases with given social and ideological contexts).

Through examples, it is demonstrated that all of these translational practices can be used for manipulative purposes, thus sensitivity to such features is very crucial in the field of the translation of political texts.

In the same study, Schäffner (2004) calls for a systematic approach to the research of the translation of political texts and urges the following: 1) the status (overt or covert translation, i.e. Is the target text identified as translation or not?) and the general practice of translations be established before effecting any kind of analysis, 2) translated texts under scrutiny be published in the original languages not only in English for the sake of clarity, 3) mistranslations or instances of translation losses be analysed in their social-political context so that such shifts can possibly reveal ideological structures and 4) that the entire translation process, not only the end-product, be reviewed for analysis.

Schäffner (2004), relying on the findings of PDA and with a view to the political strategic functions of political discourse established by PDA, discusses the following four political strategies translation can serve when it comes to the rendering of political texts: **coercion**, **resistance**, **dissimulation** as well as **legitimisation and delegitimisation**. Putting this in perspective, the following is claimed: translation can be used as a means of controlling access to information by carefully selecting texts for translation (coercion). Translators can take an active role and select texts for translation and, by making such texts available to the public, they can make voices other than the official one heard (resistance). On the other hand, another manipulative translation strategy in the hands of those commissioning translations could be either disallowing certain texts to be translated, purposefully commissioning only certain extracts of given texts to be translated or deliberately publishing inaccurate translations, collectively termed dissimulation. All of these strategies can prevent persons from receiving non-biased information through translation. Finally, positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others can be effected by the fourth type of translation strategy termed **legitimisation** and **delegitimisation**.

Schäffner (2004) envisages the cooperation of PDA and Translation Studies in researching the translation strategies described above. Schäffner (2004) at the same time calls for certain principles to be observed in the analysis of the translation of political texts, which will be observed in the current research. Accordingly, translated texts under scrutiny in the original language will be included, instances of translation shifts will be analysed in their social-political context and the general practice of translation (circumstances related to the translation commission) will be established before performing analysis.

As the above studies have demonstrated, critical approaches to the translation of political texts must extend to the analysis of lexical-level manipulation, to the comparison of cultural aspects of source and target cultures as well as to the analysis of linguistic choices (possibly) responsible for political and/or ideological manipulation.

As has been shown in the literature review, research on the translation of political texts has so far dealt with national and international political contexts (Section 4.3.2.1), the translator as a point of potentially conflicting political views (Section 4.3.2.2), the translation strategies associated with the translation of political texts (Section 4.3.2.3), the effects of translators' own political commitment (Section 4.3.2.4), the misuse of translated political texts for purposeful manipulation (Section 4.3.2.5) and urged critical awareness (Section 4.3.2.6).

Not underestimating the merits of any of the above approaches, we must note that these approaches are not strictly text and context based approaches, nor are they systematic enough to obtain valid and comparable research results in the field of the translation of political texts. Such a systematic approach, in our view, should involve social, political, cultural, historical, hermeneutical and political mass communication contextual features as much and/or relevant as possible. Furthermore, none of the above-described approaches attempt to combine all the relevant contextual features in a model, which is necessary for a comprehensive description of textual and contextual features and the analysis of their interdependence and interplay. It may thus be concluded that systematic and theoretically well-grounded CDA approaches incorporating all of the above contextual features of political texts have not yet been introduced to Translation Studies.

4.4. The roots and traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis

The analysis of the translation of political texts should ideally extend to social, political, cultural, historical, hermeneutical and political mass communication related contextual features. It is necessary to examine all contextual features as they are all relevant to the analysis of discourse since the interaction and interrelation between these contextual features surface on a textual level, which consequently requires critical explanation and interpretation. Van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) CDA includes the investigation of all of these contextual features, therefore in the current research this model will be adapted so that all relevant contextual features can be accounted for in a systematic manner. It must also be

noted that no translation specific models suitable for the analysis of argumentative political texts have been developed so far.

In this section, first the origins and current traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis will be briefly introduced. This is necessary as CDA must be contextualised with reference to Translation Studies, which discipline is not closely linked with CDA. This will be followed by a detailed description of the CDA framework (henceforth: van Dijk's CDA) proposed by van Dijk (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) and his Discourse–Society Interface, constituting part of his CDA. Finally, a Translation Studies specific adaptation of van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Discourse–Society Interface will be proposed: this will be called the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model.

4.4.1 The roots of CDA in linguistics

Critical Discourse Analysis developed from critical linguistics, which was initiated around the 1980s by Hodge and Kress (1979) and Fowler and Kress (1979). This field of linguistics set a quite ambitious objective: “The main aim of critical linguistics and later critical discourse analysis [...] was to make clear (or, at least, clearer) the link between ideology and the language in which that ideology is expressed and reproduced in specific social situations” (Munday 2007: 198). The motivating force behind such research was to “explore the value systems and sets of beliefs which reside in texts: to explore, in other words, *ideology* in language” (Simpson 1993: 5, emphasis in original; qtd. in Munday 2007: 198).

This endeavour was supported by the claim that language reproduces ideology. Such an approach is fundamentally functional in nature: CDA research, on the one hand, aims to demonstrate how surface text features semantically function and, on the other hand, it offers explanations as to the means power and ideology are reproduced and maintained with the help of these surface text features.

CDA is a truly multidisciplinary science, and its contributing disciplines are manifold. CDA, on the other hand, has “counterparts in ‘critical’ developments in sociolinguistics, psychology, and the social sciences” (van Dijk 2001: 352). Below, the history of CDA will be briefly described and some of its most influential traditions and scholars will be highlighted (for a full account, c.f. Wodak and Meyer 2001).

4.4.2 Current traditions of CDA and their most influential researchers

In this section, current traditions and the most influential representatives of CDA will be introduced shortly. The foundations of the current focus of CDA on language and discourse were laid by critical linguists as pointed out in the previous section. In the light of this, this section will touch upon the following schools or scholars, respectively: Fairclough, the Vienna Group lead by Wodak, Maas and van Dijk.

Fairclough approaches the study of discourse primarily from a social perspective. Fairclough deals with the ways language constitutes social relations and social reality, and describes how the “social reproduction of realisations of domination” (Fairclough 1995a: 24) are effected through discursive means. Fairclough claims that “naturalised implicit propositions of an ideological character are pervasive in discourse, contributing to the positioning of people as social subjects” (Fairclough 1995a: 21), which suggests that through discourse the social standing and the power relations of the communication partners is unwittingly accepted. Fairclough (1995) claims that the reproduction of power in discourse happens unnoticed and that all communication partners accept power relations exhibited in a text without questioning the validity of such power relations.

Fairclough (1992) also stresses the educational implications of CDA, advocating **Critical Language Awareness (CLA)**. CLA is based on Critical Language Study (CLS), a framework for the critical analysis of discourse. The CLS framework was developed in the footsteps of critical linguists Fowler, Hodge and Kress. Fairclough’s (1992) framework of CLS accommodates the following five theoretical supports:

- (1) discourse shapes and is shaped by society – i.e. “the use of language is socially determined and [...] language varies according to the social situation it is used in” (Fairclough 1992: 8);
- (2) discourse constitutes knowledge, social relations and social identity, in other words, discourse has effects on the society: language represents our world and experiences as well as contributes to the formation of social relations and constitutes social identities;
- (3) discourse is shaped by relations of power, and is infiltrated with ideologies, which assumes that society has effects on discourse: language use and language varieties are valued according to the power their users possess in society;
- (4) the shaping of discourse is central in power struggles – discourse conventions have social effects, thus controlling discourse means possessing dominance in the society and
- (5) CLS shows how society and discourse shape each other, that is, CLS describes the complex interrelations holding between discourse and society. Along these theoretical

notions, Fairclough (1992) provides a practical application of this framework in the field of language education. He terms this framework Critical Language Awareness, which is a vital component of language education. As described above, Fairclough's (1992) framework primarily focuses on social relations of power and ideology and lays the groundwork for future CDA approaches through the five theoretical CLS supports. Fairclough (1992), nonetheless, ignores some other noteworthy aspects of discourse such as historical and cultural context.

Another school, the Vienna Group, including Wodak, Lutz and Matouschek, primarily researches implicit prejudiced utterances, i.e. discourse that pretends to be non-prejudiced. The Vienna Group wishes to provide the analysts of such discourse with analytical tools "to enable the analysis of implicit prejudiced utterances as well as to identify and expose the codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 266). This approach is suitable for revealing that text producers use allusions that their readers can understand only if they know the objects of communication or the cultural and social background which is referred to. This strategy enables writers/speakers "to back away from responsibility easily as they have not made their statements explicit." (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 266). Given this, the most important feature of this approach is to try to "integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 266). The drawback of this approach, however, for the current research purposes, is that this analytical tool has been specifically designed for prejudiced discourse, not argumentative newspaper discourse.

Another intertextual and hermeneutics-based approach is that of Maas. His premise is that "[t]ext analysis becomes discourse analysis, whereby discourse correlates to a historically formed social practice" (Maas qtd. in Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 267). In Maas' framework, discourse analysis investigates the rules that "constitute a specific discourse, which thus make a certain text [e.g.] a fascist text. Each text relates to other texts, synchronically and diachronically [... : here] a non-context-oriented analysis is doomed to fail" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 267). This contextual and intertextual approach is suitable for certain genres and for certain topics only, where intertextuality plays a vital role. In the current research, intertextuality has a considerably less marked role as far as the interpretation of discourse is concerned, given that Hungarian political issues are not widely publicised in English language media.

The last approach discussed here, van Dijk, in his CDA theory, supposes that discourse is a social strategy and offers a wider perspective for the analysis of power and ideology than Fairclough's framework through the inclusion of social, cultural, historical as well as interpretative and explanatory dimensions. Van Dijk (1993) views discourse in its social, cultural and historical context in dynamic terms supposing that each contextual feature affects not only all other features but also the text produced under these circumstances and claims that CDA should interpret and explain textual phenomena in the light of the actual social, cultural and historical context.

Van Dijk criticises many CDA traditions for failing "to show how societal structures influence discourse structures and precisely how societal structures are [...] enacted, instituted, legitimated, confirmed or challenged by text and talk" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 265). Van Dijk, as part of his sociocognitive approach to discourse, which "assumes that different types of schemata [i.e. mental representations of one's knowledge] [...] are important for text production and text comprehension" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 266), also claims that cognition, an intermediary between language and society and culture should be taken into consideration. In his view, "*no direct* relation can or should be constructed between discourse structures and social structures" (Fairclough and Wodak 1999: 265, emphasis added). Van Dijk combines quantitative and qualitative analytical tools and takes account of a wider range of contextual features of discourse than any of his predecessors, creating the most thorough and well-structured CDA framework. This framework, on the one hand, embraces all contextual features identified by Translation Studies research with reference to the translation of political texts (c.f. Section 4.3) and, on the other hand, allows for the analysis of the interrelation and interplay between these contextual features surfacing on a textual level.

In the next section, van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) CDA will be introduced with special emphasis on one part of the framework, the Discourse–Society Interface, which functions as an analytical tool in the van Dijkian CDA. The description of van Dijk's CDA is justified by the fact that the components of the Interface can be adapted to the principles and purposes of the current research (c.f. Section 4.5.1).

4.5. Van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) CDA will be adapted for the current research as the main principles behind this framework resound with the nature of the current undertaking:

the present research explores and interprets ideology in source and target texts in relation to discursal practices, the society and the text producers concerned, examines the power enacted in texts and allows the drawing of conclusions with reference to bias in texts. In what follows, first, van Dijk's CDA and one part of the framework, the Discourse–Society Interface will be described to be followed by the presentation of a translation-specific adaptation of the Interface.

4.5.1 Main tenets

Based on Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) description of the van Dijkian framework, the following eight main tenets lie behind van Dijk's CDA (c.f. van Dijk 2001).

1. **CDA addresses social problems.** In fact, "CDA is the analysis of linguistic and semiotic aspects of social processes and problems" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271). This implies that various fields of science are joined in CDA, which makes CDA interdisciplinary, combining diverse disciplinary perspectives in its analyses. Consequently, the focus is on joining social studies and linguistics. This is done on the basis that "[t]he key claim of CDA is that major social and political processes and movements have a partly linguistic-discursive character" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271) and thus such social practices (ideology and power) and political processes are traceable in discourse.
2. **Power relations are discursive.** As the previous tenet also suggests, CDA describes the "linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power in contemporary societies. This is partly a matter of how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse." (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 272). This suggests that power relations can be observed in discourse. Another relevant theoretical cornerstone for us now is connected to politics and power: this is what Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 272) term "the question of power over discourse". This describes who has the power to speak to which audience. Such power is to be analysed with present and longer term relevance: what objectives such dominated discourse realises for those in power in the short and in the long run.
3. **Discourse constitutes society and culture.** Van Dijk's CDA claims that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse, society, culture and power. This practically means that "every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 273). Following Fairclough (Fairclough qtd.

in Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 273), van Dijk's CDA distinguishes three domains of social life that may be discursively constituted: representations, relations and identities: i.e. representations of the surrounding world, social relations holding between people and people's social and personal identities. This means that discourse concurrently represents reality, constructs social relations and social identities as well as creates a unified picture of such reality, relations and identities within one single text. Consequently, word order, style, coherence and other properties of discourse may be described as language users' attempts to actively construct and display social and cultural roles, identities and realities (van Dijk 1997).

4. **Discourse does ideological work.** This suggests that ideologies represent and construct society by reproducing unequal relations of power (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). In this sense, in order to uncover **ideological work**, besides text analysis one must consider how texts are interpreted and received and must account for their social effects (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Consequently, discourse has to be interpreted and explained in its social, cultural, historical context. This is especially so, as ideologies are implicit and attached to "key words [such as *freedom, law and order, etc.*] which evoke but leave implicit sets of ideological assumptions" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 275), which thus go unnoticed and are taken for granted by receivers. CDA describes and accounts for such unnoticed and taken-for-granted notions.

5. **Discourse is historical.** In this sense, "[d]iscourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration." (Duranti and Goodvin qtd. in Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 276). In line with pragmatics, the interpretation of a text is only meaningful if its use in a specific discursive situation is considered, if the cultural and ideological context of a text are recognized, and if it is known what past events the discourse relates to (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Therefore, CDA takes the communicative situation, its features and intertextuality into account as well as interprets (inter)textual references and allusions.

6. **The link between text and society is mediated.** In other words, CDA attempts to establish connections between social and cultural structures and processes, on the one hand, and textual properties and features, on the other. In this sense, social and cultural structures are realized at the level of grammatical, lexical, etc. structures in discourse. This is especially notable with reference to changes in

policies or in the dominant, mainstream culture as such changes are realized partly in changes in discourse and partly through the emergence of new genres or text types (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

7. **Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.** This is envisaged in a way that “[u]nderstanding takes place not through a **tabula rasa**, but against the background of emotions, attitudes and knowledge” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 278). That is, the audience’s emotional (emotions), formal (attitudes) and cognitive (knowledge-related) schemata (or mental representations) must be considered. In this respect, it is necessary to survey what mental representations the audience possesses when understanding an instance of discourse. In other words, the emotional, formal and cognitive context of texts must be investigated (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) so that the above schemata can be established. It must, at the same time, be noted that context analysis may be quite complex and can extend to a number of contextual features (van Dijk 1997).

8. **Discourse is a form of social action.** Or put in another way: discourse will reproduce existing power relations: therefore CDA is inevitably “a socially committed scientific paradigm” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 280) sensitive to all forms of power abuse and dominance.

These principles perfectly resound with the principles behind the current research. In the following points, it will be described in what way and to what extent the above tenets are applicable to the current research in Translation Studies. For the sake of easier reference, the numbers indicate the tenets formulated by van Dijk.

1. CDA addresses social problems: the translations under scrutiny within the scope of the present undertaking relate to major social and political processes and movements through their discursive character as the source newspaper articles mark an important political cornerstone in the Hungarian political life of the year 2008 (c.f. Section 7.3).

2. Power relations are discursive: translation will help establish or combat power relations established and reproduced through discourse (c.f. Baker 2006). Translated political texts can either further contribute to the maintenance of the hegemony of the ruling elite or can fight against such hegemony by creating texts that potentially undermine this hegemony. Power relations will be examined in connection with source and target texts.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture: as translated texts are a kind of discourse, target texts constitute society and culture. Translation, through the texts it creates and by way of the reconstruction of reality, social relations and social identities, is capable of reproducing or transforming existing social relations including power just like any other text.
4. Discourse does ideological work: as translated texts are a kind of discourse, target texts of a political nature are also capable of doing ideological work. Translation may be a means of reproducing ideology and unequal relations of social and political power.
5. Discourse is historical: translation cannot exist without the social context of translation, which is historically rooted. As the target texts relate to past events (c.f. Section 7.3), the historical context must be accounted for.
6. The link between text and society is mediated through translation. As translation is also discourse, it will reproduce social and cultural structures and processes through texts. Consequently, social and cultural structures will be reflected by translated texts. This means that textual analysis must address the actual social and cultural structures and their presentation in target texts.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory: it is our intention to make the analyses of source and target texts interpretative and explanatory by providing relevant background information about (the schemata held by) text producers.
8. Discourse is a form of social action. Translation, especially with the internationalisation of politics, is becoming – at both international and national levels – increasingly socially committed. Thus translation produces texts that exhibit current power relations thereby expressing the acceptance of such power relations textually or, alternatively, it produces texts that resist these power relations and textually express translators' political resistance (c.f. Baker 2006).

4.5.2 Van Dijk's CDA

The above eight tenets of van Dijk's CDA shows that van Dijk's CDA tries to account for "relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture. This section will elaborate on these relationships in more detail. Due to the complexity of van Dijk's CDA, a section overview will be provided below.

4.5.2.1 Section overview

The forthcoming sections (4.5.2.1–4.5.2.4.4.1) will first provide a definition and description of van Dijk’s CDA, which will be followed by a presentation of the aims, the main characteristics and the principles behind the framework. Afterwards, one part of this framework, the Discourse–Society Interface will highlight the theoretical links between discourse and society with special attention to power and dominance, discourse and access as well as social cognition and discourse structures including ideology. Finally, Section 4.6 will clarify which aspects of van Dijk’s Discourse–Society Interface will be incorporated in the newly proposed Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model for the critical analysis of source and target texts as part of the current undertaking.

4.5.2.2 Definition and the main characteristics

Van Dijk defines his CDA the following way: “Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the [given] social and political context” (van Dijk 2001: 352). In short, it seeks to explore the relationship between discourse and society.

Four inherent qualities characterise van Dijk’s CDA:

(1) This framework addresses social inequality and the question of elite groups, a certain aspect of which issue is closely related to politics and political discourse;

(2) CDA is concerned with dominance, i.e. the maintenance of social power by elites, institutions or groups, which potentially results in “social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality” (van Dijk 1993: 250). The reproduction of power may thus involve “the more or less direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance” (van Dijk 1993: 250). Touching upon the pivotal aim of CDA, van Dijk claims that CDA seeks to explore and describe those properties of discourse that play a role in the reproduction of power and ideology (van Dijk 1993);

(3) In this sense, CDA intends to describe how texts reproduce or fight against dominance. Such reproduction of power and/or ideology or fight against power and/or ideology can happen in two ways: in **top–down** ways by imposing power on other lower status groups and in **bottom–up** ways, respectively, by resisting power coming from more powerful groups. This, in terms of social relations, will give rise

to “relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance” (van Dijk 1993: 250) as far as texts and their producers are concerned. In fact, van Dijk’s “critical approach prefers to focus on the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality” (van Dijk 1993: 250), i.e. van Dijk primarily examines the top–down ways of imposing power;

(4) Van Dijk’s CDA is based on the premise that “[d]iscourse structures and power structures relate” (van Dijk 1993: 250). In other words, discourse must be socially and culturally situated to successfully reproduce dominance or in van Dijk’s phrasing: “special social conditions must be satisfied for [...] discourse properties to contribute to the reproduction of dominance” (van Dijk 1993: 250). In this respect, some connection must exist between communication and the social actors exercising, accepting or resisting dominance through discourse. This link in van Dijk’s framework is termed social cognition: “social cognition is the necessary theoretical (and empirical) ‘interface’, if not the ‘missing link’, between discourse and dominance” (van Dijk 1993: 251). This suggests that it is not enough to examine discourse and the participants of discourse: research must extend to the cognitive and social processes involved in reproducing, accepting or resisting power, ideology and social dominance.

4.5.2.3 The theoretical background and aims

Based on the intricate relationship between discourse and society, van Dijk’s framework primarily examines power abuse and the reproduction of ideology as well as the resulting social injustice and inequality (van Dijk 1993). This seems a very practice-oriented venture, however, it must be noted that even if CDA does not overstress the importance of a theoretical framework, van Dijk (2001) claims there are some strict theoretical requirements of CDA to be able to realize its aims. Van Dijk summarises these theoretical notions the following way:

- CDA focuses on social problems and political issues;
- “[e]mpirically adequate critical analysis of social problems can be performed through a multidisciplinary approach;
- CDA does not simply describe discourse structures but contextualises discourse and tries to relate the properties of discourse especially to social structure;

- and “CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (van Dijk 2001: 353).

Based on the above notions, it can be concluded that CDA claims itself to be a socially committed field of research. Similarly, in our interpretation, politics-related aspects of Translation Studies will ideally show social and political awareness. Consequently, the social and political aims of van Dijk’s CDA will ideally surface in Translation Studies related applications of this CDA framework. The current approach, therefore, intends to make such social and political aims explicit in the following ways:

- in van Dijk’s CDA, the analysts’ work is “admittedly and ultimately political” in order to achieve “a change through critical understanding” (van Dijk 2001: 252). It is assumed that CDA is useful in Translation Studies as it raises critical awareness in the readers and translators of translated of political texts;
- CDA’s “[c]ritical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice” (van Dijk 1993: 252). Consequently, CDA analysts’ work focuses on the critique of discourse and expresses criticism of those producing and reproducing social dominance, power and ideology through discourse (van Dijk 1993). Similarly, if translators follow dominant political agendas, then they also contribute to the conservation of political dominance, which should be made known to translators and the receivers, who should be sensitized to such politics-related issues of translation. Therefore, in an ideal scenario, the translators and the receivers of political texts should preferably possess critical awareness.

As it has been seen, van Dijk’s framework is theoretically well-grounded, is capable of analysing social aspects as well as power and ideology related aspects of discourse and has the potential of raising awareness in the translators of translated political texts as well as in the audience of such texts. In Translation Studies, the adaptation of such a framework and approach potentially holds social, political and translation methodological implications.

4.5.2.4 Theoretical links between discourse and society – the Discourse–Society Interface

It has been argued in Section 4.5.2.2 that there must exist a link between social and mental processes including discourse and the production and/or reproduction of power and ideology. In order to understand how powerful groups control public discourse and to reveal how such discourse controls the mind and action of less powerful groups and what the social consequences of such control are, the link between discourse and society is to be explored, established and described. This link, in van Dijk's CDA, is the **Discourse–Society Interface**, which connects discourse, social thinking and social action. With the help of the Interface it becomes possible to interpret the properties of discourse in relation to its social, cultural and historical context. With a view to this interpretation, the Discourse–Society Interface is made up of and characterised by the presence of discourse the **components of action, context, power and ideology**, which all reflect one aspect of discourse with reference to society and can be further subdivided into diverse **aspects**. The Interface developed by van Dijk will be described in detail and its four components and the aspects of each component will be elaborate on in Sections 4.5.2.4.1-4.5.2.4.4 below. Finally, an adaptation of the Interface for translation-specific research purposes will be proposed in Section 4.6.

4.5.2.4.1 Discourse–Society Interface – Action

Action is the aspect of the Discourse–Society Interface that defines all factors that make “discourses a form of social interaction” (van Dijk 1997: 9). The component of **Action** includes **intentionality; perspective; implications and consequences and components**; as well as **interaction**, to be defined below.

- a.) **Intentionality** refers to the fact that discourse is an intentional, controlled, purposeful human action (van Dijk 1997), which refers to the functional nature of discourse, i.e. all communication is focused on its purpose;
- b.) **Perspective** defines the way one interprets discourse. This depends on the standpoint or perspective one takes with reference to the discourse in question: whether one agrees or disagrees with what is expressed and whether one criticises or supports the events, topics, actions, etc. described (van Dijk 1997). Perspective is of crucial importance when it comes to the interpretation of discourse as it positions the text for the audience through the author's standpoint;

- c.) **Implications, consequences and components** refer to the shared social setting and the social realisation of discourse. For discourse to realise as social action, locutionary acts of producing the discourse and propositional acts of meaning something should be accomplished (van Dijk 1997). This suggests that locutionary and illocutionary aspects should both be taken into account when analysing discourse;
- d.) **Interaction** denotes the necessary social interaction between communication partners realised as part of the communicative event (e.g. meeting each other before the communicative event, etc.).

Apart from **action, context** – or the circumstances of discourse – is another component that should be taken into account when interpreting the ways discourse is socially realised.

4.5.2.4.2 Discourse–Society Interface – Context

CDA claims to be a socially-based discourse approach and thus studies discourse in its social context (van Dijk 1997). Van Dijk consequently defines text and talk as situated or contextualised. In this light, **Context** denotes “some kind of environment or circumstances for an event, action or discourse [functioning] as a background, setting, surroundings, conditions or consequences” (van Dijk 1997: 10) of such an instance of discourse. In other words, context refers to those society-related properties of the social situation that are relevant for the given discourse (van Dijk 1997: 10) and consequently for the analysis of discourse. In van Dijk’s Interface, the broadest definition of context includes the following aspects:

- a) **participants**, who are part of the communicative event and the contextual conditions that vary according to the actual participants. This denotes the clarification of the participants and is based on the assumption that discourse structure varies as a function of participants (e.g. the way a piece of news is sold to an audience will be adjusted to the actual audience);
- b) **setting**, which is a feature associated with the immediate (physical) situation of the communication;
- c) **props**, which are usually part of institutional contexts and include features such as furniture, rooms, etc.;
- d) **action**, which is a collective term of non-verbal meaningful acts such as gestures, etc.;
- e) **higher level action**, which refers to the observation that “contexts also need a higher level definition of the whole situation or event” (van Dijk 1997: 14) beyond the

actual communicative context. The description of higher-level action is necessary as all contexts are usually part of a (previously planned) sequence or series of events;

- f) **local and global contexts**, which include the interactional, i.e. immediate context, and the societal, i.e. larger scale (historical) context. This aspect relates to immediate and longer term social, political effects of discourse. It should also be noted that contexts are not fixed or given: they are dynamic rather than static as they are part of both local and global contexts. It must be noted at this point that contexts cannot be fully objective as contexts: they are “socially-based mental construct[s]” (van Dijk 1997: 16) in individuals’ minds, which includes space for subjective interpretations on the part of researcher as the researcher perceives contexts through his own mind.

The third and fourth components of the Discourse–Society Interface, **Power** and **Ideology** will only be introduced shortly here and will be elaborated on in Sections 4.5.2.4.3 and 4.5.2.4.4 below due to their complexity. Power is a key notion in the study of social group relations (van Dijk 1997): such group relations also surface in discourse and thus the power enacted in discourse is analysable. A more detailed discussion of the component of power follows in Section 4.5.2.4.3 and it will be shown how power relates to translations and the work of translators.

Ideology, on the other hand, is “the cognitive counterparts of power” (van Dijk 1997: 5). In other words, ideology is the social realisation of power and dominance in the sense that ideology determines the ways language users engage in discourse as members of dominant, dominated or competing social groups with a view to trying to realise group interests (van Dijk 1997) through discourse. It follows from this that ideology has social functions as well: “[i]deologies are developed by dominant groups in order to reproduce and legitimate their domination” (van Dijk 1997: 25). Due to its complexity, the component of Ideology is further discussed in Section 4.5.2.4.4.

4.5.2.4.3 Discourse–Society Interface – Power

In van Dijk’s CDA, power represents the social power of groups or institutions, which “is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge” (van Dijk 1993: 254). Social power, at the same time, means control: those groups that have more power are capable of controlling the acts and minds of (the members of) other groups (van Dijk 2001). This, at the same time, means that those social groups that are able to bring other social groups under

control are considered more powerful. Social power can be effected in two ways: (1) through coercive power such as military power, which is based on force; and through (2) persuasive power, which is based on knowledge, information and authority and is realised in discourse. Consequently, powerful groups may limit the freedom of action of other groups but may also influence their minds through persuasion, manipulation and ideology (van Dijk 1993).

Obviously, besides physical power, there is cognitive power exercised over groups, which surface as discursal persuasion and other strategies to bring about a change in others' minds for the promotion of one's interests (van Dijk 1993). And naturally, "instead of physical power, linguistic power is used in democracies to persuade others" (Jones and Wareing 1999: 38), which can be enacted for instance through media discourse including newspaper articles and their translations. As power is enacted in discourse, the Discourse–Society Interface must try to account for power relations by describing and explaining the ways social power and dominance operate in discourse (van Dijk 2001). More precisely, the Interface should attempt to unfold the ways such dominance is realised in and through discourse.

Connecting the media and power, van Dijk (1993: 255) claims that in today's mediatised world, "[p]ower and dominance are usually organized and *institutionalized*" (emphasis in the original). In this respect, social dominance, i.e. power, may also be ideologically sustained and reproduced by the media. Those groups that sustain and reproduce power or arrange for the sustenance or reproduction thereof are termed the **power elites** by van Dijk (1993). Elites have more or less exclusive access to public discourse. In a similar fashion, journalists control media discourse, and, in turn, translators control translated discourse. According to van Dijk (2001), such elites control the context (properties of the social situation in question), the structure (e.g. genre) and the topics (macrostructure) of discourse. Translators, thus, can become members of the power elite.

Power, as argued above, extends to the production of discourse and to the access to discourse. This in practice means that power elites will determine whose power will be underscored through discourse and who is allowed to have their voice heard through discourse. Discourse in this respect can easily "help produce and reproduce unequal power relations" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258) and thus sustain and reproduce existing possibly unequal power relations. If access to discourse, power enactment in discourse and purposeful reproduction of power in discourse are realised in an institutionalised and socially structured, credible (seeming) and domineering way to promote the interest of certain social groups and to legitimate their power, we talk about ideologies.

4.5.2.4.4. Discourse–Society Interface – Ideology

The component of Ideology of the Discourse–Society Interface has been included on grounds that “[i]deologies are developed by dominant groups in order to reproduce and legitimate their domination” (van Dijk 1997: 5) in their respective society and in order to influence people’s thinking. Mind control involves more than simply making people accept certain social situations and values. Mind control extends to the control of knowledge, which, on the one hand, shapes our interpretation and understanding of the world and, on the other hand, forms the basis of producing and understanding discourse and performing social actions (van Dijk 1993). Mind control, furthermore, extends to the creation of social and discursive situations from which alternative social setups such as, for instance, the dominance of social groups other than the actual social group in power, are excluded. Mind control may also involve situations in which the public “may not have the knowledge and beliefs needed to challenge the discourses or information they are exposed to” (van Dijk 2001: 357). In this respect, through mind control, ideology works both on a social and on a discursive level.

Ideology is most effective if accepted as common sense with nobody questioning the given dominant ideology. Jones and Wareing (1999) believe that the majority of the society will not rebel against the dominant ideology as the given society considers such existing social setup as natural and unquestionable. Ideology, thus, works effectively if members of a given society accept the existing power relations through **social cognition**. As certain realisations of social cognition surface in discourse, social cognition constitutes the mental link between ideology and discourse. Therefore, in order to be able to account for discursive realisations of ideology, it is necessary to understand what social cognition is and what mental constructs make it up.

4.5.2.4.4.1 Social cognition

In van Dijk’s CDA, social cognition denotes the perception (partly through discourse) of the given society, the values, norms, etc. possessed by the individual and the society itself as a whole. According to van Dijk (1993: 257), “[s]ocial cognitions mediate [...] between discourse and action, between the individual and the group. [...] Social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members” (van Dijk 1993: 257). Social cognition, thus, defines the perception of group relations and the realisations of such group relations and therefore it contributes to producing and reproducing ideology. Ideology is

eventually (re)produced through social cognition, by way of evaluative beliefs and opinions in discourse (van Dijk 1993).

In the van Dijkian CDA, social cognition comprises several types of mental actions and their behavioural realisations surfacing partly in discourse. Such mental actions include: beliefs, opinions, attitudes and the different kinds of such beliefs, opinions and attitudes. In order to be able to account for the reproduction of ideology through social cognition, these mental actions need to be understood and their possible discursive realisations need to be accounted for.

Relying on cognitive sciences, van Dijk (2003: 7) argues that cognitive and social psychology distinguishes between many types of mental information a person deems true, i.e. **beliefs**: personal vs. social beliefs, knowledge, opinions and attitudes. Below, the different types of beliefs, opinions and attitudes established in van Dijk's CDA will be outlined so that later on it can be described which of these beliefs surface as discursive realisations.

If beliefs (personal beliefs or evaluative beliefs or their different kinds, c.f. discussion below) are shared by numerous people, we talk about **social beliefs**. "These are the beliefs that typically need to be asserted, contended and defended, especially also in interaction with members of other groups" in the society (van Dijk 2003: 9). Naturally, within a given group, typical and commonly shared group opinions and attitudes may be taken for granted and unquestioned (van Dijk 2003), which results in commonly accepted group norms and values articulated in discourse. On a larger scale, therefore, ideologies are made up of such social beliefs shared by a group "that are associated with the characteristic properties of a group, such as their identity, their position in society, their interests and aims, their relations to other groups" (van Dijk 2003: 7).

According to van Dijk (van Dijk in Schäffner and Kelly-Holmes 1996: 8-19), individuals, while relying on their mental representations of the surrounding world, keep producing utterances at the root of which one finds **personal beliefs**, i.e. mental information the given persons deem true or rightful from their own perspective. Such beliefs are of two kinds: they can either constitute **knowledge** or an **evaluative belief**. Knowledge is a justified belief based on facts or experiences connected to the outside world: in this respect knowledge is coherent with reality. Knowledge, at the same time, presupposes common, general social knowledge (shared knowledge contents, cultural knowledge, etc.) possessed and accepted by the members of the given society.

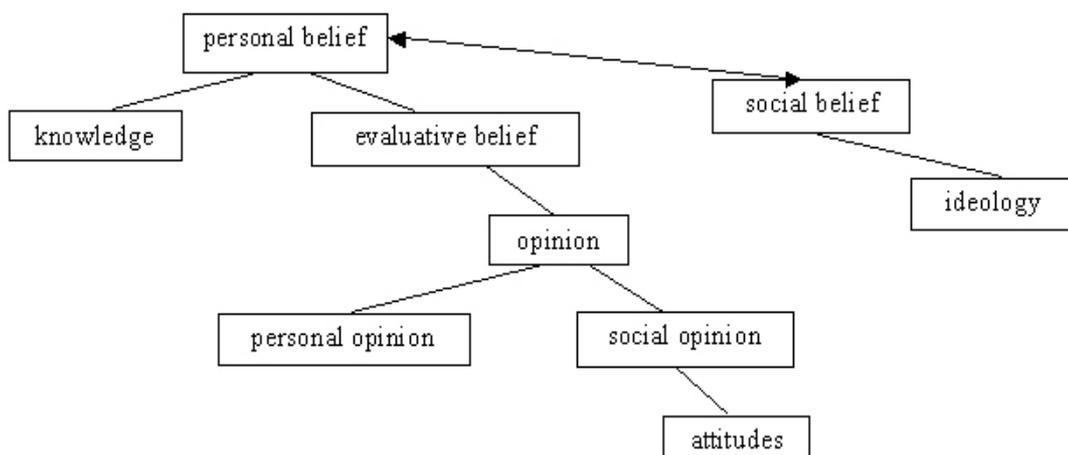
Evaluative beliefs, on the other hand, evolve by way of mental judgement and are characterised by the fact that there is no objective, empirical truth criteria on the basis of which it can be incontestably decided whether the given statement functioning as evaluative belief is true or false. An example to illustrate this as follows: the utterance *Mr. Smith is a good man* is an evaluative belief, which comes about as a result of a personal decision concerning Mr. Smith through the application of an individually subjective system of judgement of the person in question.

A kind of evaluative belief is an **opinion**. An opinion is a practically unjustifiable or false belief that is grounded in moral or other judgements. It must be noted, however, that, as a result of different mental representations of individuals and the knowledge possessed by them, the boundaries between opinion and knowledge as well as between opinions and evaluative beliefs may differ from individual to individual. For establishing moral or other systems of judgement necessary to form opinions, it is inevitable that the individual be affected by social norms. This presupposes that the individual accepts and internalises such norms beforehand. It seems evident then that individuals' opinions are grounded by socially accepted norms even if social norms may differ from society to society and from group to group within societies.

Furthermore, opinions can be classified into two distinct types: **personal opinions** and **social opinions**. Personal opinions comprise evaluative beliefs of an individual, whereas social opinions refer to evaluative beliefs shared by a distinct, given social group with reference to a certain issue. Larger, complex, interrelated and interdependent structures of opinions shared and accepted by the members of certain social groups are termed **attitudes**.

The interrelation between personal beliefs, knowledge, evaluative beliefs, opinions, personal and social opinions, attitudes, social beliefs and ideology is illustrated in Map 4-1. At this point it must be noted that personal beliefs and social beliefs mutually affect each other and, consequently, the borderline between them is often blurred, which is illustrated by the use of the arrow.

As far as the relationship between discourse practices – including translation – and personal beliefs are concerned, “concrete text production and interpretation are based on so-called models, that is, mental representations of experiences, events or situations, as well as the opinions we have about them” (van Dijk 1993: 258). This suggests that no textual reproduction is possible without necessarily involving personal, non-objective beliefs, opinions and attitudes and that the effects of the society on the individual cannot be disregarded when discussing these mental representations. It follows from this that these



Map 4-1: Individuals' mental representations and social representations

mental representations are individual and are consequently person-specific, unique and socially contextualised (van Dijk 1993). This means that social beliefs are always interpreted and articulated through personal beliefs in discourse as single individuals communicate social beliefs in their discourse. As far as everyday discursive practices are concerned, personal beliefs in everyday discourse surface mostly as evaluative beliefs unless one is talking about strictly factual details without any interpretation, which is unlikely to ever happen. In this sense, a piece of discourse reflects its author's personal beliefs (c.f. Bánhegyi 2009). This implies that ideology in the newspaper articles under scrutiny and in their translations are likely to be reproduced in the form of evaluative beliefs and the person-specific collection of evaluative beliefs, i.e. opinions. Consequently, the textual realisations of ideology will surface partly as evaluative beliefs and partly as opinions in discourse.

In van Dijk's CDA framework, ideology can also be reproduced through argumentation. Argumentation reflects social opinions reproducing ideology and aims to convince receivers through logical persuasion to accept the ideology expressed. Apart from argumentation, implicature can also play a role in the (re)production of ideology. Implicature may also reflect ideology. Implicature leaves receivers to discover the idea behind implicatures for themselves by not stating anything explicitly. This enables receivers to make further deductions based on such implicatures. Implicatures in fact help powerful groups make others accept the views of certain political groups, making implicatures difficult to identify and possibly reject. Consequently, the contents of such texts, implicatures and discourses containing implicatures are taken for granted by receivers rather than being open to debate. Concerning this issue, van Dijk (2001) notes that ideological references can remain implicit (presupposed) in discourse.

Ideology, on the other hand, can also be expressed by stylistic features and metaphoric expressions surfacing as lexical choice, metaphors, parallels, etc. These expressions, if they express social opinions, are also capable of (re)producing ideology. Apart from style, formulaic language has the potential to (re)produce ideology. Van Dijk (1993: 266-67) gives the following categories of such formulaic language and provides the following examples: **apparent denial** (*I have nothing against X but ...*); **apparent sympathy** (*we make these decisions for their own best interest*); **populism** or **apparent democracy** (*the people do not want more immigration*) and **blaming the victim** (*they are themselves to blame for unemployment*).

An especially common way of the (re)production of ideology in political texts is the application of the well-established distinction of US vs. THEM (van Dijk 1993). This distinction can be realised by:

- argumentation: the negative evaluation of a certain group follows from carefully selected and positioned “facts”;
- rhetorical figures: hyperbolic elements of “their” negative actions and ‘our’ positive actions are included; furthermore, euphemisms, denials, understatements of “our” negative actions are employed;
- lexical choice: choice of words that imply positive or negative evaluations may be used to distinguish opposing social groups;
- story telling: telling about negative events as personally experienced and giving plausible details about negative features of the events are powerful tools in the hands of text producers;
- structural emphasis on “their” negative actions is again a very common tactic, e.g. in headlines, transactivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g. agents considered as negative in prominent, topical position when referring to “them”);
- quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts in newspaper articles makes mediatised discourse exhibiting the US vs. THEM distinction quite convincing.

In sum, it can be concluded that CDA addresses the “relations between discourse structures and the structures of social cognition” (van Dijk 1993: 259). Consequently, van Dijk’s CDA encompasses the scrutiny of discursive and cognitive structures in their social, political, historical and cultural contexts, which enables the approach to be used in the field of translation research for the analysis of argumentative political newspaper articles.

4.6. The Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model

Based on van Dijk's CDA and the Discourse–Society Interface presented in Section 4.5.2.4, a CDA model to be used in the comparative analysis of source and target language newspaper articles will be proposed below. This adaptation of the Discourse–Society Interface will be called the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model (TDSI Model). In the current research of source and target texts, the multidisciplinary and context-based TDSI Model will be used as one component of the research tool developed in the scope of the present undertaking. Below, the components of **Action**, **Context**, **Power** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model will be described and it will be shown and explained what aspects of these components will be incorporated in the TDSI Model.

As far as the selection of aspects of the Discourse–Society Interface to be incorporated in the TDSI Model is concerned, two selection criteria have been used: one criterion relates to prior results political texts related Translation Studies research has so far produced, and the other relates both to the nature of texts selected for analysis and to the current research context. With reference to the first criterion, all those aspects of the Discourse–Society Interface have been selected for inclusion in the current analysis with reference to which earlier Translation Studies research on the translation of political texts, as outlined in Section 4.3.2, has produced tangible results. Thus, based on the theoretical foundations of van Dijk's CDA through the TDSI Model, research results can be produced in connection with national political contexts, the translator as a point of potentially conflicting political views, translation strategies associated with the translation of political texts, the effects of the translators' own political commitment and the misuse of translated political texts for purposeful manipulation (c.f. Section 4.3.2).

The other criterion of selecting further aspects for inclusion in the TDSI Model relates to the nature of the texts selected for analysis (argumentative political newspaper articles) and the current research context (the translation of political texts). Here the aim was to incorporate as many aspects as the current research context can accommodate so that all textual and contextual features of the source and target texts analysable within CDA are included with a view to obtaining valid and reliable results. In the discussion below, for easier reference, the aspects of van Dijk's Discourse–Society Interface are referred back to as discussed in Section 4.5.2.4 and it will be clarified which aspects of the Interface will be used in the TDSI Model constituent of the Political Bias Screener.

4.6.1 Action

Under the component of **Action**, the following aspects will be considered:

- a) in terms of intentionality, the main purpose of creating the source and target texts will be analysed and it will be compared whether the two purposes are identical;
- b) in connection with perspective, it will be analysed whose perspective the source and target texts reflect and it will be established which political side the texts are biased towards (if any);
- c) as far as implications and consequences are concerned, it will be stated what is explicitly and implicitly stated in the texts and how such implications are to be interpreted in the given social, cultural and political context;
- d) interaction could be interpreted from a hermeneutical perspective concerning written discourse but that falls outside the scope of the present CDA approach and would result, in our view, in uncertain speculations. Therefore, in the current CDA Model, interaction will be excluded.

4.6.2 Context

The component of **Context** involves the following aspects:

- a) participants: it will be discussed who the receivers of each text are and how that is reflected in the properties of source and target texts and differences (if any) will be compared;
- b) as the current research deals with written texts, the aspect of setting will be excluded from the current analyses;
- c) as the texts under scrutiny are written discourse, the aspect of props will be excluded from the current analyses;
- d) as the current research deals with written texts, the aspect of action will be excluded from the current analyses;
- e) in terms of higher level action, the texts under scrutiny will be positioned in their political agendas and contemporary political environment;
- f) with reference to local and global contexts, it will be established in what communicative contexts the source and target texts are constructed and received as well as the immediate and longer term social and political effects the texts exert will be described;

With reference to objectivity raised in point f) of Section 4.5.2.4.2, it must be noted that even if the critical stance required in CDA will be taken by the researcher, it should not be excluded that some readers may find the explanations of the findings presented in Chapter 8 subjective or, from their point of view, even biased, which may cast doubts on the reliability of the research results presented. It must, at the same time, be pointed out that this reservation can be made in connection with all CDA approaches, however, this does not prevent CDA from being a scientifically and theoretically grounded and accepted critical approach.

4.6.3 Power and ideology

Concerning the components of **Power** and **Ideology**, as power and ideology are intricate and complex systems which are exclusively understandable in their social, cultural and political contexts, it will be presented how the TDSI Model accounts for power and ideology related discursal features and in what ways these features connect to journalists' and translators' jobs and professional choices of text production.

With reference to power, it will be analysed which social groups are given access to speak, what power the actual newspapers are given through publishing an argumentative political article, what power translators are given through a commission of translating such articles as well as how journalists and translators formulate, produce and enact social dominance through texts.

Journalists, as a rule, satisfy the newspapers that employ them, and usually, to varying extents, reproduce the power the actual newspaper supports, accepts or tolerates. The job of translators is different. Through a translation assignment, translators are given power by the entity commissioning them: through their target texts, translators control social groups, the readers of translations. Being given a commission to translate holds two types of power: (1) translators create texts that go public – thus translators can have their voices heard; and (2) through target texts, translators can potentially enact power in the discourse they construct.

As regards power enacted in translated texts, translators, as the nature of their job dictates, have three options (c.f. Baker 2006, who writes about two options, here referred to as options 1 and 3): (1) they either reproduce the power relations deemed beneficial by their clients to satisfy such clients (and probably even themselves if they agree with the power enacted in the text for translation) or, (2) translators can act against their clients rejecting the power contained in the text for translation, or can even manipulate target texts in a way that

they contain different power relations than those appearing in the source texts or, alternatively, (3) translators can choose to translate other pieces of texts than the officially/originally selected ones and get them published in the media thereby creating a contesting reality for the target culture. Naturally, if translators want to satisfy their clients, which is of primary importance in this profession, they will potentially benefit from the power their clients possess and potentially share it by reproducing the power in their target texts that serves the interests of their clients. The current research will examine which of the above strategies journalists and translators employ in their jobs with reference to power.

As far as ideology and social cognition are concerned in both the source and the target texts, evaluative beliefs and opinions will be explored, the presence of which signal social and personal beliefs and consequently ideology. Our previous research (Bánhegyi 2008) and van Dijk (1993) have shown that such social and personal beliefs are traceable in the form of individual propositions containing evaluative beliefs and opinions on a discursive microlevel. Therefore, propositions containing ideology in the form of evaluative beliefs and opinions will be highlighted and interpreted.

In terms of the reproduction of ideology, on the basis of van Dijk's research (1993, 1997, 2001) on the relationship of power and media discourse and the research of Jones and Wareing (1999), it is expected that the following discursive elements will potentially be present in the source and target language texts: argumentation, stylistic features, metaphoric expressions and formulaic language. Concerning the gist of source and target texts, the argumentation contained can reflect social opinions, which usually sound convincing without any further explanations: "It [argumentation] may be persuasive because of the social opinions that are hidden in its implicit premises and thus taken for granted by the recipients" (van Dijk 2001: 358). Such reproduction of power in newspaper articles is no way uncommon (van Dijk 2001, 2002, 2006). It will be explored how translation will cope with such social opinions reproducing ideology.

Specific use of stylistic features and metaphoric expressions surfacing as lexical choice, metaphors, parallels, etc. will be analysed and compared in the source and target texts with a view to the ideology expressed by them. Textual features of implicitness and explicitness extend to the question of what implicature is contained in the texts. Such discourse implicatures will lead readers to infer something that is not explicitly asserted by the text, and often operate over more than one phrase or sentence. Implicature is also present in the political message: due to its shortness, as argued in Section 3.6, the political message contains the ideology expressed in the given article implicitly. Moreover, implicatures are

heavily dependent on shared knowledge between the text producer, the receivers and the surrounding context of discourse. The reproduction of ideology and ideological manipulation frequently takes place by way of implicitly communicating beliefs rather than asserting them, which provides less chance for such beliefs to be ideologically or socially challenged. It will also be explored to what extent journalist and translators use such strategies.

Formulaic language reproducing ideology will also be pointed out and in source and target texts. The realisations of formulaic language in the source and target texts will be compared. Furthermore, the present TDSI Model enables the exploration of how the US vs. THEM distinction is realised on the level of discourse in the source and target texts and will allow for the comparison of such features.

4.6.4 Overview of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model

Based on the above discussion of van Dijk’s Discourse–Society Interface as well as the description of the TDSI Model in Sections 4.6.1-4.6.3, Tables 4-1 below show the TDSI Model in a table format and provide a compact description of the aspects of the Model, broken down into the four components.

<i>TDSI Model Component:</i>		<i>Action</i>
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>	
intentionality	main purpose of creating the source and target texts	
perspective	the perspective the source and target texts reflect and potential bias towards a political side	
implications and consequences	what is explicitly and implicitly stated in the source and target texts and how such implications are to be interpreted in the given social, cultural and political context	

<i>TDSI Model Component:</i>		<i>Context</i>
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>	
participants	extends to the receivers of the source and target texts and describes how that is reflected in the properties of such texts	
higher level action	position of the source and target texts under scrutiny in their political agendas and political environment	
local and global contexts	the immediate communicative context and the immediate longer term social and political effects of the source and target texts	

<i>TDSI Model Component:</i>		<i>Power</i>
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>	
access to speak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the power the actual newspapers possess through publishing an argumentative article • the power translators possess through a commission of translating articles and publishing the target texts • the ways journalists and translators formulate, produce and enact social dominance through source and target texts 	

<i>TDSI Model Component:</i>		<i>Ideology</i>
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>	
social beliefs and personal beliefs	present in the form of individual propositions on a discursive microlevel; surface as propositions containing evaluative beliefs and opinions in source and target texts	
reproduction of ideology (and power)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ideology (and power) expressed in the argumentation of source and target texts • stylistic features and metaphoric expressions surfacing as lexical choice, metaphors, parallels, etc. expressing power relations and/or ideology in source and target texts • implicitness and explicitness expressed by implicatures in the source and target texts • formulaic language in the source and target texts • distinction of US vs. THEM in the source and target texts realised by argumentation, rhetorical figures, lexical choice, story telling, structural emphasis on “their” negative actions and by quoting credible witnesses 	

Tables 4-1: The components and aspects contained in the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter surveyed Translation Studies research in the field of political discourse and concluded that Translation Studies has not yet developed a systematic approach taking account of social, political, cultural, historical and hermeneutical contextual features of political texts or their interrelation. As CDA has the potential to account for these features, van Dijk’s (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) CDA and its Discourse–Society Interface have been introduced. Based on the needs of Translation Studies, an adaptation of the Discourse–Society Interface has been suggested. The TDSI Model incorporates all aspects

relevant for the analysis of argumentative newspaper articles and their translations within Translation Studies except for political mass communication related features.

As the current research deals with mediatised political texts in a political mass communication context, apart from the TDSI Model, which touches upon politics in terms of the expression and (re)production of power relations and ideology, the theoretical scope of functional approaches will be extended to political science and mass communication. Such an extension of theoretical foundations is also supported by van Dijk (2001: 360), who claims “[p]olitical science is among the few social disciplines in which discourse analysis has remained virtually unknown.” To functionally position source and target texts, Chapter 5 will discuss certain aspects of political mass communication focusing on the presentation of reality and bias. The political mass communication theories presented will allow for the interpretation of the findings obtained through the TDSI Model with reference to the means of mediatised political manipulation in political mass communication contexts.

Chapter 5: Political science and mass communication – political reality and bias

5.1. Overview

This chapter investigates political communication with special regard to how the media, and within it the press, can manipulate its audience. It will be examined in what ways the receivers of political texts are influenced by mediated communication including translation. This is relevant as the current research works with mediated texts (i.e. newspaper articles and their translations) and the analytical tool developed here should enable the analysis of such mediated texts. In order to interpret the findings of the TDSI Model a political mass communication model must be included in the analytical tool developed in the present dissertation. The interpretation of findings of the TDSI Model is necessitated by the following facts:

- 1 the source texts under scrutiny qualify as argumentative newspaper articles, which functionally classify as political mass communication texts, and in relation to this,
- 2 the TDSI Model does not incorporate any political mass communication related features, which would be relevant in the understanding of translator behaviour with reference to the translation of argumentative newspaper articles for use in political mass communication. As the TDSI Model centres around the four components of **Action**, **Context**, **Power** and **Ideology**, which are used to explore potentially manipulative text production practices, the explanation of such practices inevitably has to extend in the political mass communication context of the texts under scrutiny to the act of manipulation, i.e. the biased presentation of reality.

This chapter, therefore, will briefly portray on the relationship of political science and mass communication in general, and will elaborate on the following communication-related issues: reality, the presentation of reality and bias. Reality and the presentation of reality will be described within the framework of Mazzoleni's (2002) **Mediatised Political Reality Theory** and Mazzoleni's (2002) **classification of active audience**. Bias will be approached using Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias**. The chapter will conclude by establishing the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Analytical Model specifically designed

for the interpretation of the findings of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model in the context of source and target texts used in political mass communication. Centring on the issues of reality and bias, the current approach will reflect a constructivist approach to discursive political science and thus investigates how political meanings are constructed by political texts (Szabó 2003).

5.2. Political communication and the media

The research of mediatised political communication established as early as at the end of the 1940s that the political message and the gist of political texts play a very important role in political communication. According to Lasswell (1948), in terms of the content of journalists' or politicians' messages the emphasis is laid on what the sender says and not on the linguistic characteristics of the message or the context in which the political communication takes place (qtd. in Mazzoleni 2002: 101). With a view to this, it was realised quite at an early stage of mediatised communication that politically it is crucial what the media communicates and later it was also discovered that the way the media communicates is also decisive. Apart from the realisation that the communicated message must be interesting and argumentative for the receiver (Hovland *et al.* [1953]), it was also established that the media has a decisive role in presenting the communicated messages and events. If a political message is presented in preference of a certain ideology, we talk about bias in the media in favour of one or more political parties (Marletti [1985], Gamson and Modigliani [1987], Semetko *et al.* [1991]).

In terms of the connection between the media and political parties, Mazzoleni (2002) argues that the press has always shown more party bias than radio or television. This statement also explains the current choice of the texts for analysis: articles published in the press make party bias more visible than other mediatised genres do. As for the possible reasons for the phenomenon of increased party bias in the press, Mazzoleni (2002) enumerates the following two causes. First, the press has always had the opportunity to reflect more extensively on different political opinions along the course of history due to its comprehensive coverage of events. Second, traditionally certain papers were established to be the instruments of groups of people (e.g. parties) with a view to serving the economic and political interests of these groups. A third cause, in our views, may also be that, due to political and ideological reasons, certain moneyed groups will financially support newspapers airing certain ideologies even if such a venture does not produce financial

returns. Obviously, if that is the case, such a paper will have no other choice but to exhibit the political and ideological bias shared by its owner.

Discussing the relationship between the press and the political elite, Mazzoleni (2002) also adds that quality papers have always aimed at reflecting the opinions and the points of view of the cultural and political elite. It is also noteworthy, Mazzoleni (2002) claims, that the quality press is seeking and profiting from its privileged position and connection with the political elite. In terms of bias, this clearly means that a quality paper linked with the cultural and political elite that feeds it will lean, i.e. exhibit bias, towards it.

This trend is obviously present with reference to the two Hungarian dailies selected for the purposes of the current research. *Népszabadság* and *Magyar Nemzet* represent the opinions of the two opposing poles of the Hungarian cultural and political elite. *Népszabadság* is a left wing, while *Magyar Nemzet* is a right wing paper, closely associated with the given two elites: the papers publish, publicize and explain the points of views and opinions of these respective power elites.

Concerning the relationships between the media and political parties, Semetko *et al.* (1991) point out that a close connection exists between the political parties and the media in Europe: the media is traditionally an ideological agent in society, therefore it is subordinated to parties and their leaders. In terms of bias, this suggests that, depending on the political party with which the given newspapers are linked overtly or covertly, the papers will communicate the given party's stance, will represent its interests in issues that are publicised and will reproduce its ideology. As a corollary to this, it can be stated that the newspapers that are linked with parties in government will tend towards advocacy journalism, while opposition related papers are likely to work along watchdog journalistic lines (Semetko *et al.* [1991]). Advocacy journalism presents and defends the government's standpoint, whereas watchdog journalism criticises and attacks the government. Hungarian dailies seem to follow the same trend (c.f. Szabó [2003]).

With reference to the party bias of the media, Blumler and Gurevitch (1990) distinguish the following four levels of party bias:

1. **High level of party bias:** when parties exercise no direct control over information channels, but there is an indirect control through political-ideological cooperation with media experts;
2. **Medium level of party bias:** when the media support a given party or a certain political position, yet the support depends on the critical evaluation of politicians' actions or on the content of certain political stances;

3. **Low level of party bias:** when media support by political parties is sporadic and unpredictable as the media is not dependent on the political events, i.e. events with political significance, that take place in the given country do not necessarily surface in the media;
4. **No party bias:** full political and editorial autonomy.

Even though it is Level 4 that would be desirable for objective journalism, seldom does a newspaper enjoy financial independence from decision-makers to an extent that objectivism would be feasible. This is especially true in Hungary, where the newspaper market cannot in fact support all the daily papers and where non-party-biased central government support is virtually non-existent.

With respect to potential media bias in a given political environment, Mazzoleni (2002) claims that non-biased normative and ethical principles of journalism are a key factor that influences the level of media bias: the higher the level of keeping to the normative and ethical principles of journalism, the fewer instances of advocacy and watchdog journalism can be observed. Hungarian journalism, in fact, is far from this state, in our interpretation. On the other hand, this state of affairs also justifies the selection of the source texts in the current research: as these texts are taken from Hungarian daily papers, they are likely to exhibit bias and thus yield plenty of research results.

5.3. Political reality

The **actual reality** of political events, the **reality presented** in political texts and their relationship have long been in the focus of political communication. Actual reality here denotes the political events as they happen, while presented reality comprises all the ways and means political reality is communicated through different channels and media. Certain political communication approaches to political reality and the presentation of reality centred around the ways political reality is reflected in the construction of news pieces (McQuail [1994]) or in agenda setting (McCombs [1996]), i.e. what political events are discussed in news pieces and what political events will be part of longer term political plans or agendas. Besides this, certain other approaches focus on the notion that the majority of receivers, who are not present when certain political events take place and do not personally experience the political event in question themselves, are provided only with a linguistic realisation of it (Corcoran [1990], Edelman [1987], Oakeshott [2001], Szabó [2003]). This suggests that the

linguistic realisation of a political event may give a different impression of the event than experiencing the event itself. This latter approach to political reality has fuelled research on the effects presented political reality exerts on the receivers of such mediated reality and the society concerned in the context of mediated politics.

Investigating the relationship of the media and political events, based on Crespi's (1994) account of the research of the Chicago School, and especially the work of Mead (1934) and Gurevitch and Blumler (1990), Mazzoleni (2002) appoints forming the **social structure of reality** to be the central role of the media. This term refers to "the ability to structure the system of meanings characterizing and guiding individuals' actions in society" (Mazzoleni 2002: 60, translation by the author), in other words providing a mediated interpretation of political events. Obviously, *characterizing* and *guiding* in such a social and political context cannot result in unbiased presentation of political reality, especially that we are talking about the **interpretation** of political events by a person working for the media. Given the role of the media in political communication and the fact that the media interprets political events, the presentation of such events is seen as manipulative in this context (Szabó 2003).

In connection with manipulation, in accordance with the constructivist approach to discursive political science, Mazzoleni's (2002) **Mediated Political Reality Theory** differentiates between three categories of the actual political reality presented by the media:

1. **objective reality**, which denotes events, people, activities related to a political event – e.g. a government and its decisions – without any presentation and distortion, i.e. the actual events, people and activities exclusively;
2. **subjective reality**, which relates to the same objective reality but this reality is perceived from the perspective of the participants of this reality and the audience of such a political reality. Here **participants** basically means the people taking part and/or being affected by the political events in questions, e.g. voters, families, journalists, etc.;
3. **constructed reality** refers to those events which will be visible, perceivable and will make sense to non-insiders or non-professionals, i.e. to all others than politicians and politics scholars, only if the media, in its own interpretation, presents these events. Presentation encapsulates establishing connections between political events and providing an explanation thereof.

It follows from the above that the political reality presented by a journalist will fall into the category of either subjective or constructed reality (or both, as these may overlap). In our case this is especially so: the Hungarian journalists whose argumentative articles will be used as source texts are part of Hungarian political events and write about such events providing an explanation thereof. Argumentative texts, on the other hand, are most likely to offer explanations of political events as they describe political events and establish connections between such events as part of their argumentation.

Whatever is non-objective – let it be the subjective reality as perceived by the journalist or the constructed reality as a result of the journalist’s political explanations – is inevitably bias-prone, and nothing constructed can exist independently of its constructor(s). Such a non-objective scenario will inevitably result in a subjective and therefore biased presentation of events, people and political activities. Besides, objective reality in itself can never be presented as it is impossible to give an account of events “as they are”: in the case of the press, political events are always presented through the mind of a journalist, who interprets the events in an article.

Another important factor in the presentation of political reality on the part of political text producers, including journalists and translators of political texts, is **active audience** (Mazzoleni 2002). Active audience describes how the journalist and the translator as citizens relate to the political issues that are currently on the political agenda. Journalists and translators may observe differences in stance between the various parties and may well sympathise with the party that best represents their views (Mazzoleni 2002) and consequently express their sympathy in texts through the presentation of constructed reality. Similarly, when journalists and translators expose themselves to the effects of political messages, they may want to reinforce their own opinion on any given issue in any context: that is, it may well happen that journalists produce articles and translators produce translations that reflect their own political views through the presentation of constructed reality.

In connection with the presentation of political reality, Noelle-Neumann (1984) and Losito (1994) observe that through the media powerful groups with high interest representation potential are able to give voice to their political opinion repeatedly and markedly, as a result of which the receivers of such political texts assume that these opinions are decisive. This effect can be expected to realise in the case of nationwide quality newspapers, from which the source language articles in the current research have been taken.

5.4. Types of bias

The media's incapacity of providing receivers with objective reality, as argued in Section 5.3, seems to hint that the media can even choose to deliberately present a certain subjective or constructed political reality and/or can depict political reality in a way that the resulting presentation is coherent with the political or world views of certain powerful groups (Gitlin [1990], Entman [1993], Mazzoleni [2002]). If objective political reality is purposefully presented as subjective or constructed reality, relying on Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias**, we talk about **intentional bias**. Should subjective or constructed reality be presented in order to achieve an ideological goal, **manipulation** is effected. Manipulation is in fact "the product/result of the partiality and one-sidedness of the media presenting messages in the interest of one or more parties of the political system" (Mazzoleni 2002: 27, translation by the author), which is an obvious realisation of intentional bias.

According to Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias**, apart from **intentional bias**, **inadvertent bias** also exists, in which case journalists are unaware of their subconscious tendencies of presenting subjective or constructed reality. We shall exclude such instances from the current investigations as the present analysis does not extend to the exploration of subconscious tendencies of text producers including journalists and translators and thus we will presuppose that text production will reflect conscious tendencies including the possible application of intentional bias.

5.4.1 The creation or distortion of reality

With reference to the possible causes of intentional bias, it has been pointed out that journalists may have their own political preference: they may be affiliated with the members of a party or a government, therefore can produce texts that are telling of these sympathies or bear the textual marks of the effects of these affiliations (Blumler and Gurevitch 1990: 275). On the part of journalists, personal political affiliations that realise as bias on a textual level, will be termed **personal political bias** (**political bias** in Mazzoleni's [2002] **Theory of Bias** to be precise). Translators may also exhibit personal political bias in their target texts. This practically means that journalists and translators reproduce their own political convictions in their articles or translations, respectively.

However, Mazzoleni (2002) also asserts that the professional norms and standards required by journalism in general and/or by the specific journal a given journalist works for equally play a dominant role in causing bias to appear in newspaper articles. If a journalist

observes these professional norms and standards, the resulting text will show, according to Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias, structural bias**. That is, newspaper articles will reflect the professional norms and standards of the newspaper publishing the given article. These norms and standards can prescribe a most objective or less objective presentation of political reality, the production of argumentative texts or sensational articles suited to the type of the actual newspapers and so on. This also suggests that certain newspapers, as dictated by their professional norms and standards, publish articles that exhibit left or right wing political bias, characteristics of argumentative or sensational articles, etc., which features describe the structural bias of these articles.

In the case of the current research, it may be expected that journalists will be influenced by personal political bias as they are participants of the Hungarian political life, and/or structural bias as each of the newspapers which the articles under scrutiny come from are closely associated with one of the two major opposing Hungarian political parties and more or less openly advocate their political views. This will be described in more detail and elaborated on in Section 7.5.

With reference to the current research, the bias present in political mass communication links up with the TDSI Model as the bias present in political communication "is the source of power: it is an instrument to exercise influence, it has a controlling and innovative role in society" (Mazzoleni 2002: 40, translation by the author). This suggests that bias, the presentation of reality, society, context, power and ideology are interrelated in the domain of political mass communication. Section 5.5 therefore clarifies how reality and bias present in diverse forms in source and target texts will be interpreted in the light of political mass communication through a two-component analytical model, the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model (TPMC Model), and will describe how these two components link up with the four components of the TDSI Model. The TPMC Model will be used for the interpretation of the findings obtained through the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model.

5.5. The Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model

The TPMC Model has been specifically designed for the interpretation of the findings obtained through the TDSI Model. As the source and target texts are used in political mass communication and as the TDSI Model does not incorporate any political mass communication related aspects, a comprehensive text linguistic analysis must extend to the

intended use of the source and target texts as this will provide further clues to the interpretation of the textual features identified. With a view to this, the TPMC Model accounts for and explains the results generated by the TDSI Model from a functional perspective and will allow for drawing conclusions in connection with translator behaviour and translators' critical awareness with reference to the translation of political texts.

The TPMC Model is made up of the following two components: **Reality**, based on Mazzoleni's (2002) **Mediatised Political Reality Theory**, and **Bias**, based on Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias**. These are the political mass communication related issues with relevance to the current research within the framework of the present undertaking that the TDSI Model does not address. As the TDSI Model reveals textual features connected to the social-political context of source and target texts as well the reproduction of power and ideology in these texts, one can account for and explain these textual features by finding answers as to why the source texts are constructed the way they are and why the target texts are translated the way they are in relation to the political mass communication function of the texts in question. As the primary function of all political texts is to persuade receivers (Oakeshott 2001: 193), the presentation of reality and bias are crucial as through them a certain reality can be presented, explained and politically positioned for receivers to promote certain political interests. That is the reason why the analytical tool developed in the current undertaking must extend to political mass communication related features.

In light of the above, the component of **Reality** of the TPMC Model focuses on the objective or non-objective presentation of political reality in newspaper articles and their translations. In the TPMC Model, **Reality** has two aspects: **subjective reality** and **constructed reality**. As described in Section 5.3, **subjective reality** denotes the reality perceived from the perspective of the participants of this political reality and the method of the presentation of this reality. In our research context, this implies that both the journalist and the translator will phrase their own subjective realities in the texts they produce as they are participants of the political events pictured in the source and target texts.

Constructed reality refers to those events that are presented through the interpretation of the media and describes the method of the presentation of this interpreted reality. In our research context, it implies that the journalists will present certain political events through their own interpretation in their argumentative newspaper articles functioning as source texts, while translators in their target texts will also produce their respective interpretation of the political reality in question, naturally within the limits afforded by the source texts.

In our analysis, the other component of the TPMC Model, **Bias** extends to journalists' and translators' personal political convictions and to the professional norms and standards of journalism and of the translation of political texts. The component of **Bias** incorporates two aspects: **personal political bias** and **structural bias**. As described in Section 5.4.1, **personal political bias** denotes personal political affiliations which realise as bias on a textual level: such bias manifests on the part of the journalists and the translators as personal political affiliation with traceable textual signs. In the context of the current research, this implies that, as the journalists of the source text articles most probably sympathise with the political side whose newspapers employ them, they will include their personal political views in the source texts and likewise translators will have their own political convictions that they may incorporate in their target texts.

The second aspect of Bias, **structural bias** denotes professional norms and standards associated with text production. In the context of the present research, structural bias can function in the following way: journalists will observe the professional norms and standards required by the journals that employ them, whereas the translators will be guided by the professional norms and standards of translation as perceived by them. It is likely that both the journalists and the translators will strive to produce texts that satisfy the editorial boards or the clients, respectively.

Tables 5-1 display the aspects of the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model broken down into the two components of the Model.

<i>Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model Component: Reality</i>	
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>
subjective reality	reality perceived from the perspective of the participants of this reality (journalists and translators) and the presentation of this reality
constructed reality	events presented through the interpretation of the media or translation and the presentation of this interpretation

<i>Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model Component: Bias</i>	
<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Description</i>
personal political bias	journalists' and translators' personal political affiliations that realise as bias on a textual level
structural bias	the professional norms and standards of journalism and of the translation of political texts that realise as bias on a textual level

Tables 5-1: The Aspects of the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model

The TPMC Model will be used for the interpretation of the findings obtained through the four components of the TDSI Model, the two components of TPMC Model will be linked to the four components of the TDSI Model. This in practice means that the output of the four components of the TDSI Model will serve as the input of the two components of TPMC Model in the current research.

The four-component TDSI Model reveals textual features with reference to the social-political context of source and target texts (component **Context**), social action hoped to be achieved texts (component **Action**) and the reproduction of power (component **Power**) and ideology (component **Ideology**). The TPMC Model's component of **Reality** centres on the presentation of political reality, while the component of **Bias** on personal political convictions and professional norms and standards of text production. In an attempt to interpret the findings of the TDSI Model with the help of TPMC Model, the findings obtained with the help of the components of **Action** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model will be explicated through the TPMC Model component of **Bias**, while the findings obtained with the help of the components of **Context** and **Power** of the TDSI Model will be explained through the TPMC Model component of **Reality**. This is justified by the following: the components of **Action** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model reveal achievable social action and ideologically charged text production, which link up with person-specific political and professional attitudes to bias incorporated in the TPMC Model component of **Bias**. Person-specific political attitudes are observable on the part of the journalists and the translators, while professional attitudes are required by the newspapers publishing the source texts and the "art", "trade" or market of translation. On the other hand, the components of **Context** and **Power** of the TDSI Model uncover social and political contexts and describe the power that provides access for journalists and translators to produce texts about the political reality

and the power such access guarantees in communication. These aspects relate to political reality incorporated in the TPMC Model component of **Reality**.

Figure 5-1 visually represents two of the constituent models of the analytical tool used in the current undertaking and depicts the relation of the different components of the TDSI Model and the TPMC Model.

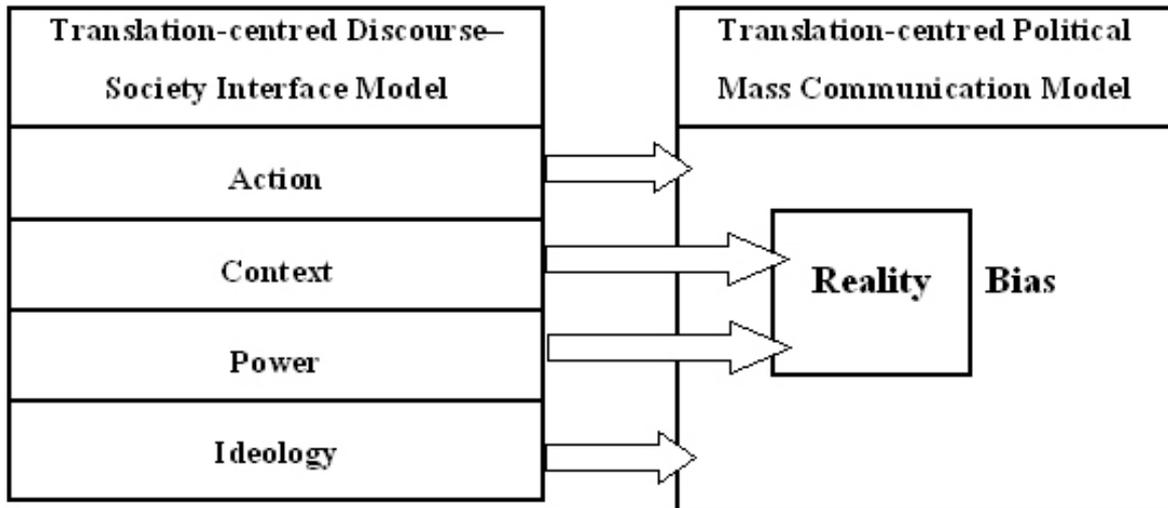


Figure 5-1: Visual representation of the relationship between the components of the TDSI Model and the TPMC Model

For a detailed description of the entire analytical tool and its constituent models, see Section 6.4.

5.6. Conclusion

As the TDSI Model does not extend to political mass communication related features, this chapter has surveyed the political mass communication context of the translation of argumentative newspaper articles. Based on Mazzoleni's (2002) **Mediatised Political Reality Theory** and Mazzoleni's (2002) **Theory of Bias**, the TPMC Model has been established to account for the findings produced with the help of the TDSI Model. The chapter has also clarified the relationship between the different components of the TDSI and the TPMC Models.

With reference to the forthcoming chapters, Chapter 6 will describe the research design and will touch upon the issue of reliability, while Chapter 7 will present the results of the research and a discussion thereof.

Chapter 6: The analytical tool – the Political Bias Screener

6.1. Overview

At this point, it seems expedient to refer back to the aims of the current research. The present dissertation has two objectives: it intends to propose an analytical tool capable of capturing and identifying occurrences of political bias and ideology in source and target language argumentative newspaper articles in a reliable and valid manner, and it aims to compare Hungarian newspaper articles and their English translations in an attempt to justify the reliability and validity of the analytical tool in the first testing of the tool. With a view to this and based on the theoretical foundations detailed in Chapters 2-5, the present chapter describes the analytical tool referred to as the Political Bias Screener in detail and elaborates on the constituent models of the Screener and their hierarchical relationship. Before doing so, the inclusion of the constituent models in the analytical tool will be justified. Concerning the application of the Political Bias Screener, Chapters 7-8 will provide information on the testing of the analytical tool: Chapter 7 describes the research design, while Chapter 8 discusses the results of the analysis.

6.2. The research and theories underlying the construction of the Political Bias Screener

Relying on previous research on political texts examining the English translation of former Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's 1995 French language Québec Referendum Speech (Bánhegyi 2008, Bánhegyi 2009), it has been established that political persuasion in the translation of political texts is effected in primarily three domains, mutually reinforcing and supporting each other's effects and efficiency. These three, cognitively and affectively operating domains are: (1) logical arguments (sensible or sensible sounding arguments) presented in the gist of texts, (2) feelings and sentiments evoked by the texts (emotive persuasion realised mainly through choices in lexis and the political message) and (3) psychological motivation induced by the texts (voter mobilisation, generating fears and/or determination in voters).

Kraus and Davis (1976) established that political texts can persuade if arguments associated with such messages are stored in the long-term memory. As a consequence, political persuasion is realised through the summaries of political texts (gist and political

message more precisely, c.f. Section 3.6) stored in the long-term memory supported by emotive and psychological associations connected to the mental representation of such texts.

In terms of the three domains of political persuasion established, the first domain of logical arguments surfaces in the gists of texts through the macrostructure affected by the superstructure. This is due to the fact that the main message of any text will surface in the summary of the text in question (c.f. Section 2.6). The effects of the latter two domains of political persuasion (i.e. emotive persuasion and psychological motivation are realised through the political message of a text (minimum shortest meaningful summary) as well as individual propositions in their textual and contextual environments (c.f. Section 3.6).

6.3. The theoretical background of the Political Bias Screener

Theoretical Chapters 2-5 describe the underlying theories of the models constituting the Political Bias Screener, which comprises super- and macrostructure, critical discourse analytical and political mass communication theories. Section 2.6 concluded that the macrostructure cannot be established without the superstructure and that Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model offers a detailed and accurate description of the problem-solution structure and provides the recycling option, which can also potentially surface in newspaper articles. In Section 3.6, it was argued that political persuasion happens through the gist and the political message of texts. Therefore, the gist and the political message of the texts under scrutiny have to be established: Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is capable of identifying the gist and the political message.

Chapter 4 argued that textual features of political texts can only be described and explained with the help of the contextual properties of the text in question. Based on van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Discourse–Society Interface, the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model (TDSI Model) was established and described in Section 4.6.4, which focuses on all CDA-related contextual properties of texts with relevance in the current undertaking. In order to account for the specific features of the communicative situation the texts under scrutiny are part of, relying on political mass communication theories, Section 5.5 proposed the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model (TPMC Model) for the interpretation of the results obtained with the help of the TDSI Model.

6.4. The Political Bias Screener

The Political Bias Screener has been designed with a view to the nature of political persuasion described in Section 6.2. Functionally, the Screener operates the following way. The gists and political messages (the macrostructure influenced by the superstructure) of the source and target language texts are identified with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model (c.f. Chapter 3) complemented by Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model (c.f. Chapter 2). The latter model provides the superstructure constituent. In line with the work of Tirkkonen-Condit (1985), this analysis will be effected on a sentence level. As the other two domains of political persuasion – feelings and sentiments evoked and psychological motivation – are realised on the level of individual propositions, Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) notion of **proposition** as defined in their Model of Text Comprehension and Production will be used to identify such propositions.

The analytical results obtained with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model complemented by Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model (i.e. gist and political message) and the full source and target serve as input for the CDA analysis effected through the TDSI Model, an adaptation of van Dijk's (1993, 1997, 2001, 2003) Discourse–Society Interface (c.f. Chapter 4). As the aim of the CDA analysis is to interpret and compare the textual realisations of the full texts as well as the gists and political messages of the source and target texts in their relevant social, cultural, historical, ideological and political contexts, an analysis will be carried out along the four components of **Action**, **Context**, **Power** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model. The CDA analysis will highlight the following: what political aims and perspectives the texts reflect, in what ways the properties of the texts reflect their audience, what roles the texts assume in their immediate and longer-term political contexts, what power journalists and translators are given through producing texts for the public and in what textual realisations ideology surfaces in source and target texts (for the components of the TDSI Model, see Section 4.6.4). By comparing the properties of source and target texts and establishing textual differences surfacing as translation shifts, and consequently interpreting such shifts with the help of the above four components of the TDSI Model, political and ideological bias of the source and target texts will be revealed and analysed.

As the texts under scrutiny in the scope of the present undertaking are argumentative newspaper articles, i.e. mediatised political texts, the results obtained with the help of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model need to be interpreted in the political mass communication context of the analysed texts so that all relevant contextual features

(including political mass communication related ones) can be considered. As the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model does not incorporate discursive political and media communication related theories that could account for and explain journalists’ and translators’ potential political bias in mediated political texts, a specific political mass communication theory-based model, the TPMC Model has been developed. With the TPMC Model, the research results obtained with the help of the TDSI Model will be interpreted with reference to the following two issues: the presentation of political reality and bias (c.f. Chapter 5). It will be explored how and why journalism and translation contributes to the presentation of political reality and to the production of politically biased texts. The TPMC model provides a political mass communication related explanation as to the behaviour of journalists and translators with traceable signs in source and target texts.

Figure 6-1 below contains the visual representation of the Political Bias Screener. The four constituent models of the analytical tool are in a hierarchical relationship: the output of a given constituent serves as the input of the following constituent. The first constituent is the superstructure constituent, the next is the macrostructure constituent to be followed by the CDA constituent and finally by the political mass communication constituent. The output of the superstructure constituent, i.e. Hoey’s (2001) Problem-Solution Model, and the full source and target texts are the input of the macrostructure constituent, that is Tirkkonen-Condit’s (1985) Macrostructure Model. The output of the macrostructure constituent and the full source and target texts are the input of the TDSI Model. The output of the TDSI Model is generated along four Components: Action, Context, Power and Ideology. The output of the TDSI Model is the input of the TPMC Model. More precisely, the TDSI Model components of **Action** and **Ideology** serve as input for the component of **Bias** of the TPMC Model, and the TDSI Model components of **Context** and **Power** are the input for the component of **Reality** of the TPMC Model. In Figure 6-1, the input and the output have been included with reference to each analytical tool constituent.

Furthermore, Figure 6-1 also shows the focus of analysis with reference to each constituent model: Hoey’s (2001) Problem-Solution Model operates on the level of **superstructure**, Tirkkonen-Condit’s (1985) Macrostructure Model operates on the level of **macrostructure**, the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model operates on the level of context including social, cultural, historical, ideological and political contexts, whereas the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model also works on the level of context taking account of political reality and bias.

On the right hand side of Figure 6-1, the outcomes of the TDSI and TPMC Models are shown. The outcomes of the TDSI Model provide the political bias of source and target texts, whereas the outcomes of the TPMC Model yield conclusions regarding translator behaviour and implications for translators' critical awareness.

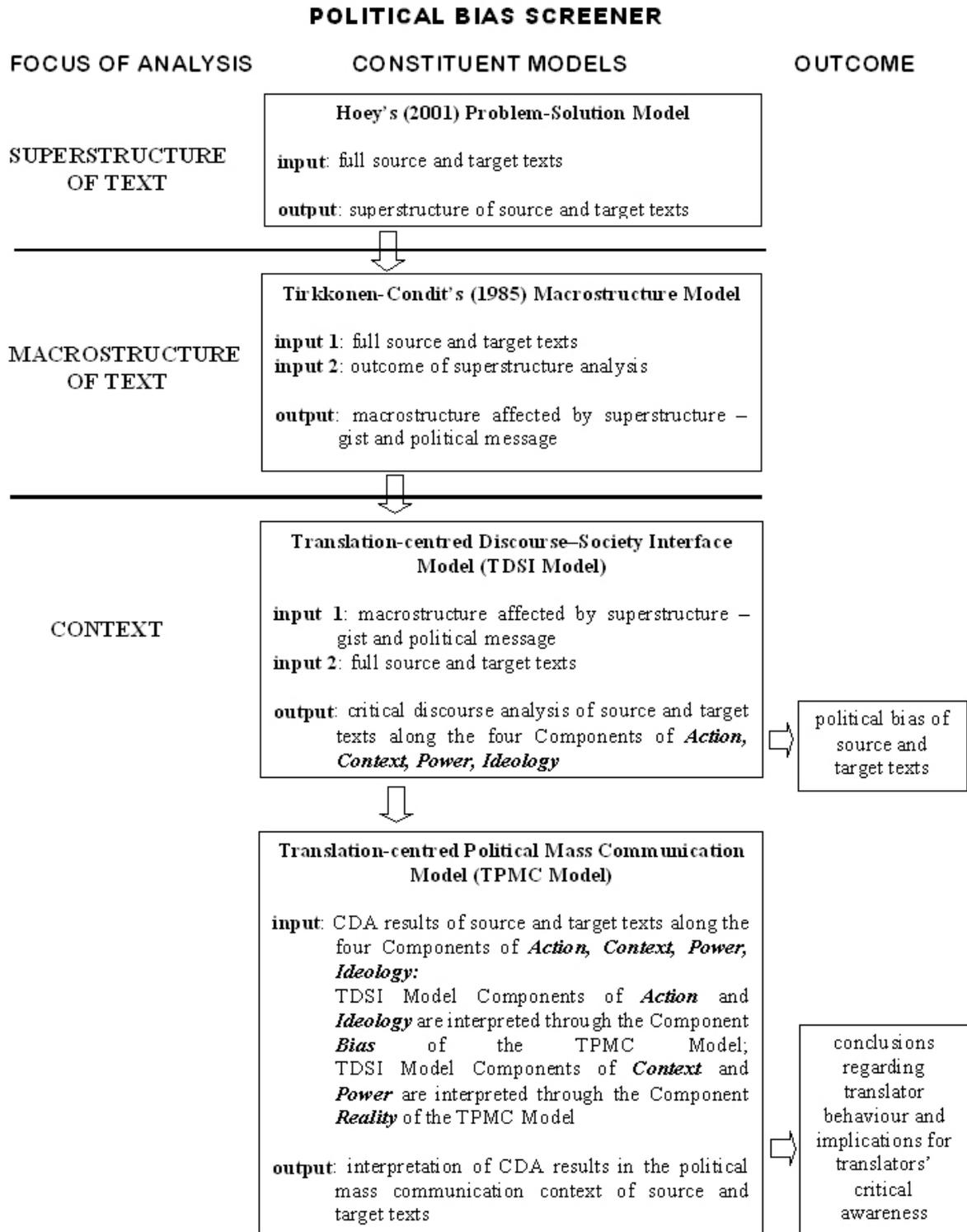


Figure 6-1: Visual representation of the Political Bias Screener

This analytical tool is a truly interdisciplinary one, incorporating super- and macrostructure, critical discourse analytical and political mass communication theories as suited to the complexity of the current research. The uniqueness of the present analytical tool lies in its comprehensive nature and novelties: so far no attempt has been made to connect Translation Studies and political mass communication through text linguistic means relying on the most current findings of these research fields.

6.5. Conclusions

The Political Bias Screener is composed of four constituent models, whose incorporation in a Translation Studies specific model provides a complete, comprehensive text type specific analytical tool: Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model is applied to the genre of argumentative texts in Translation Studies and Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is used to establish both the gist and the political message (c.f. Section 3.6) of the argumentative texts under scrutiny. A critical discourse analytical model, an adaptation of van Dijk's Discourse–Society Interface, is introduced to Translation Studies to account for an extensive range of contextual features associated with source and target texts. For the interpretation of the CDA results produced by the TDSI Model, the TPMC Model has been developed, which extends to contextual features of source and target texts with a view to politics marketed through mass communication channels.

Chapter 7: Research design

7.1. Overview

This chapter will describe the research design of the current undertaking to enhance the replicability of the study and will touch upon the issue of reliability. In the scope of the present study, a theory-based (see Chapters 2-6) text-type specific analytical tool, called the Political Bias Screener, has been developed for the analysis of argumentative newspaper articles and their translations. For the purposes of testing the analytical tool, a translation assignment has been devised to be performed by the participants of the research. This assignment allows for the examination of all factors potentially affecting the translation of argumentative political articles including the translators, the articles and the clients as described in Section 7.8 below. It is assumed that the translators are affected by their own personal political convictions while producing the target texts, the source texts exercise their effects through the political nature and ideological bias of the source texts, whereas the expectations of the clients influence the target texts through the *skopos* of the translation assignment as perceived by the translators.

This chapter first introduces the selection criteria applied to the corpora and describes the texts submitted to analysis. Afterwards it gives the selection criteria applicable to the participants of the research, discusses the procedures of choosing the participants and introduces the oral interviews with the participants as part of the procedures of participant-related data collection and, finally, describes the participants. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the translation assignment. This will be followed by the demonstration of the application of the Political Bias Screener: the analysis of super- and macrostructure with the Screener will be demonstrated first. The application of the CDA and political mass communication components of the Screener will not be demonstrated here as these constituent models of the analytical tool are interpretative in nature and thus regard entire discourses as meaningful units of analysis. Therefore, no text segment can be taken from the corpus that would provide a meaningful demonstration of the procedures of analysis without presenting the rest of the given text (c.f. Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2; for a detailed presentation of these analyses see Section 8.4). Finally, as the current study constitutes the first attempt at testing the analytical tool, this chapter will touch upon the question of reliability in

connection with the functioning of all the four constituent models of the Political Bias Screener.

7.2. Criteria for selecting the source texts

According to Tymoczko's (2002) views on descriptive ideology-related Translation Studies Research and Bhatia's (1993) suggestions on the identification of the contextual properties of texts, in choosing the source language articles to be included in the research the following selection criteria were applied.

1 The source texts must be authentic, unabridged articles so that any purposeful or unintentional textual manipulation on the part of the researcher can be excluded. The impartiality of the researcher is a crucial factor in terms of the reliability of the current research.

2 The source texts must target political persuasion and thus be argumentative. Political bias and possible manipulation are likely to surface in argumentative articles, which makes such texts especially suitable for analysis. Furthermore, argumentative articles have been used in Translation Studies concerning the analysis of the reproduction of argumentation in target texts, c.f. Tirkkonen-Condit (1985).

3 The source texts must be about a widely debated political issue. As these issues generate a lot of political tension and interest, it is likely that both journalists and translators will politically position themselves with reference to the issues in question. Such positioning may surface in the target texts, potentially giving fruitful research results.

4 The source texts were ideally at a time which was a heated period in a political sense. These periods will prompt politically active persons and the media (including translators dealing with mediatised texts) to take sides. Textually such side-taking may potentially surface in the form of bias and the reproduction of ideology. At the same time, such events may be seen from several different angles and argued very differently, which potentially creates ample research space for the analysis of political bias and the reproduction of ideology in translations.

5 The source texts should be a minimum of 350 words since it has been shown that logically appropriate argumentation cannot be developed in texts shorter than 350 words (Kinneavy *et al.* [1985]; Lincoln [1986]). For the feasibility of the analysis, texts longer than 500 words have been excluded as the analysis of longer texts would have caused

difficulty and provided a quite extensive amount of research data in the analysis and could thus have undermined reliability of the testing of the Screener.

Another factor in the selection of texts for translation is that source texts have to be short enough to be translated within a relatively short time. As translators were not paid for their job (c.f. Section 7.4), giving longer texts for translation might have resulted in their refusal to participate in the survey, thus risking the success of the current research.

6 The next criterion is that the articles should come from newspapers that politically oppose each other. This ensures that the articles will reflect political bias towards the left and the right political wing, respectively.

7 In terms of the phrasing of the source texts, those articles that contain several phrases and expressions (such as political nicknames, etc.) deeply rooted in Hungarian culture and the contemporary Hungarian political climate have been anticipated to create political bias, as such expressions can only be rendered meaningfully in an explanatory way, possibly through explicitation. Therefore, target texts are likely to contain contemporary Hungarian politics related expressions and phrases that do not yet have commonly accepted English translations, which may possibly signal bias and the reproduction of ideology.

7.3. Description of the source and target texts submitted to analysis

The source language texts finally selected are Hungarian argumentative articles from two Hungarian daily papers: *Kompenzáció* (Compensation) by Ákos Tóth published in the Hungarian daily *Népszabadság* on 13th March 2008 and *Másnap* (The Next Day) by Attila Farkas published in the Hungarian daily *Magyar Nemzet* on 11th March 2008. The two source texts are shown in Appendix 2: both the original copies of the articles as they appeared in the newspapers as well as the texts of the articles featuring line numbers for easier referencing are included.

The two source language articles selected for translation meet all the criteria described in Section 7.2 as detailed below. For easier referencing, the description of the source texts submitted to analysis refers back to the points listed in Section 7.2.

1 The two articles are authentic and were used in the research in an unabridged form, thus excluding the researcher's manipulative text management.

2 The two articles target political persuasion and are argumentative, which is underpinned by the fact these articles appeared in the *Álláspont* (Point of View) column

of *Népszabadság* and in the *Nézőpont* (Standpoint) column of *Magyar Nemzet*, respectively. Both columns publish argumentative opinion articles on the most controversial current political issues on a daily basis.

3 The two articles are about an extensively debated political issue. On 9th March 2008, Hungary held a referendum called the Social Referendum initiated by the major opposition party Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union and its parliamentary partner KDNP (Christian Democratic People’s Party). The Referendum centred around three questions: the issue of hospital daily fee and the visit and tuition fees. Voters had to decide whether they agreed that the above fees (payable in excess of regular taxes and health contributions) be paid by those taking health and higher education services. The results of the Referendum showed that the large majority (over 80% with reference to each question relating to the three fees [Országos Választási Iroda 2008]) voted against the fees and urged that they be repealed. The results were a complete defeat for the governing coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and marked a huge victory for Fidesz and KDNP. What is more, the Referendum generated considerable tension within the governing parties.

The Referendum was followed by lengthy and detailed political and media analyses of the positions of the governing parties and the major opposition party Fidesz. All the Hungarian dailies and magazines dealt with the Referendum and its results for about two weeks. As for the topics of the two articles selected as source texts, *Kompenzáció* focuses on the compensation of GPs for the loss of income due to the repeal of visit fees, which were retained by GPs for their services, and the general political consequences of the Referendum, whereas, *Másnap* deals with the possible political consequences of the Referendum.

4 The two articles were written at a time that was a heated period politically. The considerable tension between the governing parties and the fear that Fidesz might provoke early general elections gave rise to the release of considerable amounts of sentiments and feelings associated with the Referendum. Some regarded the Referendum as an instance of money down the drain and considered it a petty financial issue that voters refused (the position of MSZP and SZDSZ), while others interpreted the results of the Referendum as a clear case of democratic victory over an autocratic decision of collecting money from those who pay for these services anyway in the form of health contributions and taxes (the position of Fidesz and KDNP).

5 The two articles selected as source texts meet the criterion of length: the article

entitled *Kompenzáció* is 459 words long, while *Másnap* is 444 words long. This means that the articles are long enough to expound argumentation, are analysable using the Political Bias Screener put forward in the scope of the present undertaking and are translatable for the participants as part of the present research.

6 The two articles come from newspapers that politically oppose each other: *Népszabadság* reflects political bias towards the left wing, while *Magyar Nemzet* towards the right political wing. In fact, *Népszabadság* mostly airs the views of the left wing Hungarian Socialist Party. On the other hand, *Magyar Nemzet* calls itself a “civilians’ daily” (*polgári napilap*) and publishes views associated with the right wing Fidesz. As the two above dailies have the biggest circulation in Hungary (*Népszabadság* had 116,568 copies sold daily in the first quarter of 2008, while *Magyar Nemzet* sold 61,089 copies daily in the same period [Matesz 2008]), these papers reach the largest possible Hungarian audiences. This means these newspapers have the biggest circulation in the Hungarian media market and are possibly designed and written in a way that they influence a large number of readers, i.e. voters in a political sense.

7 In terms of the phrasing of the source texts, it must be noted that they contain several phrases and expressions that are deeply rooted in Hungarian culture and the contemporary Hungarian political climate and thus cannot be rendered with the help of word-for-word translation. Therefore, it is expected that such translations will contain explicitation, which describes and draws on the cultural and political background of these texts. This is likely to yield political bias and facilitate the reproduction of ideology surfacing in the target texts. Such expressions in the source texts, for instance, are *tetszettek volna...* (sentence 24) in the article entitled *Kompenzáció*; or *Őszödi Böszme* (sentences 10 and 16), *szocialista törzsközönség, latinovitsi fokon* (sentence 17), *„Nincs a teremtésben vesztes, csak én” Bánk báni szólamot* (sentence 17) in the article entitled *Másnap*.

With reference to the target texts, it must be noted that the translations of the source language articles show similar characteristics to those of the target texts. As Tirkkonen-Condit’s (1985) analyses have shown, the translations of argumentative texts will also be argumentative in nature. As the topics featured in the articles were widely debated and as the Referendum had quite long-stretching political effects in the Hungarian domestic political life, most probably memorable for the translators too, the translations are likely to be effected by political and emotional factors, which are prone to surface as political bias and reproduction of ideology in the target language texts.

As the two source texts reflect two opposing political sides, translators, affected by

the above political factors, have the opportunity to either purposefully or inadvertently manipulate the translations in favour of either political side. Lastly, the length of the translated texts, though it is a bit longer than that of the source language texts (between 585 and 680 words), is still manageable in terms of the current testing of the analytical tool developed in the current undertaking.

It can thus be concluded that the Hungarian articles selected adequately function as source texts within the scope of the first testing of the Political Bias Screener and that the target texts are also adequate for the same purpose.

7.4. Criteria for selecting the participants

Within the scope of the present research, in order to ensure the participation of professional and politically committed translators, the following selection criteria have been established when selecting the translators of the source text articles.

1 One aim of the selection procedure was to find experienced professional translators, who have no professional difficulty translating argumentative newspaper articles. This criterion ensures that there will be no linguistic problems in the translations hindering the research and that the translators are skilled enough to tackle both linguistic and text type related challenges professionally.

2 Another aim was to find translators who regularly translate political texts and are, at least, intuitively, familiar with the challenges of the translation of political texts and can successfully identify the skopos of the texts in question. That is, they realise that the source and target texts are functionally meant for persuasion, and are familiar with the importance of careful word choice with reference to connotations, implicature, etc.

3 The next aim was to find translators who could and were willing to work on the translations alone. This is important so that the possibility of translation taking place as a non-individual translation effort can be excluded. This way it could be ensured that all texts are the exclusive products of the translators participating in the research. This can be guaranteed by requesting the participants to do the translations in their home and alone.

4 The last aim was find two translators who are politically committed and active and who support the two major opposing Hungarian political parties, the left wing MSZP and the right wing Fidesz, respectively. This criterion is very important since this ensures that both translators have their own political bias, which potentially affects the target texts they produce. It is also important that the two translators have different and ideologically

opposing political orientations, which may well influence their political and emotive attitudes to the source texts and the resulting target texts.

Intercontact Budapest Kft. was ready to offer help in finding the participants of the current research. This firm is a translation and interpretation services provider entrusted to do translations for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office after successfully obtaining a public procurement tender for the 2008 fiscal year. At the end of September 2008, an assistant employed by Intercontact Budapest Kft. provided the researcher with the e-mail contact lists of those translators who regularly did written translation assignments from Hungarian into English for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office on behalf of Intercontact Budapest Kft. An invitation to participate in the research (see Section A of Appendix 1 for the original text), describing the nature and objective of the research as well as the translation assignment, was circulated by e-mail among the 14 translators concerned (in fact, around 20 translators do such assignments on a regular basis, nonetheless, some of them were temporarily unavailable: staying abroad, engaged elsewhere, etc.). All in all, 8 positive replies were received, which may partly be attributed to the good and reliable professional relationship between the translators and the researcher: most of the translators know the researcher as an editor and proofreader personally or through e-mails. The translators interested were informed that for their participation in the research they would not be paid and that their anonymity would be ensured if they so wished.

7.5. Procedures of selecting the participants

The procedures of selecting the research participants, with reference to the criteria in Section 7.4, are described in detail below. For the sake of reference, the description of the procedures of participant selection refers back to the points established in Section 7.4.

1 All the eight translators willing to take part in the research qualify as professional and experienced translators as at the time of the research they had been doing translation assignments for a period ranging between 9 and 16 years. The eight translators were selected in a way that they support the two major Hungarian political parties, the left wing MSZP and the right wing Fidesz. This gave a group of five translators supporting MSZP and three translators supporting Fidesz. Finally, taking account of political orientation, on the one hand, and, bearing in mind professional considerations – based on the evaluative feedback provided by Intercontact Budapest Kft. and on the basis of former assessments by the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office –, on the other hand, the most professional four

translators were selected. Out of these four translators, two support MSZP and two support Fidesz.

2 All the four translators finally selected regularly translate political texts for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office. These assignments include minutes, action plan programmes, development plans, application documents, tender documents, speeches, analyses, diverse reports including political climate summaries as well as political and newspaper articles. As the translators selected produce texts that qualify (both for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office and for Intercontact Budapest Kft.) as professional, superb quality translations, there is no reason to be concerned that the translators in question would have difficulty translating the source newspaper articles.

3 One aim in the selection of participants was to find translators who could work on the translations at home independently. All of the translators agreed to work at home producing the target texts on their own. In order to verify that translators really did the translations independently, on the suggestion of one of the would-be participants, it was agreed that translators would work using webcams. The researcher was informed when the participants would start working on the translations and was able to monitor them. This way it could be ensured and verified that translators worked independently.

4 Another aim was to find those two translators out of the four selected who are politically more committed and active and who support the two major Hungarian political parties, the left wing Socialist Party and the right wing Fidesz, respectively. Out of the two Socialist Party supporters the one selected has a longer history of voting for the Socialist Party than the other (since 1989 as opposed to 2002), which her family background also confirm (her father used to be a diplomat before 1989). In this light, it was supposed that the Socialist Party supporter selected would show even greater political commitment, which can possibly result in more extensive bias and reproduction of ideology in the target texts and more research data to analyse. Similarly, out of the two Fidesz supporters the one selected showed more political activity. One of the Fidesz supporters is a regular Fidesz voter and the other person actively works as a political activist in campaigns. Thus, it was supposed that the second Fidesz supporter would show greater political commitment, which can possibly result in more extensive bias and reproduction of ideology in the target texts and consequently more research data to analyse. This way the two participants were finally selected: a Socialist supporter and a Fidesz supporter translator.

Neither of the translators finally selected wished to be named in the research for personal and political reasons. To ensure their anonymity, they will be referred to as Translator 1 (MSZP supporter) and Translator 2 (Fidesz supporter). In Section 7.7, some further professional data are provided about the participants. These data were obtained with the help of oral interviews introduced in the next section.

7.6. Interviews with the participants

The aim of participant-related data collection was to make semi-structured oral interviews with the participants finally selected. The purpose of the interviews was to explore the participants' professional background and political affiliation, which may influence the production of target texts. Below a justification of using the interview questions and a description of the preparation of the questions are given, which is followed by an account of the details of making the interviews.

The reason for choosing the semi-structured oral interview format was that this offered the participants the opportunity to talk about their professional careers and political convictions guided by the interview questions (c.f. this section, below) rather than being restricted to giving short always to-the-point answers in writing. The oral interviews ensured that professional career and political conviction related answers would actually be obtained from participants and, at the same time, they increased the translators' motivation to participate in the research through establishing personal contact between the researcher and the participants.

The two main themes of the interviews were professional career and political affiliation. Therefore, the interviews were prepared to extend to the following topics and issues: graduation (place, year), translation and other jobs held, professional experience in translating political texts, types of political texts regularly translated, the translators' political affiliation since 1989, relevant political affiliations in the family, political activity and political newspapers regularly read. The topics touched upon during the oral interview are shown in Section B of Appendix 1.

Based on the above topics, eight questions were prepared to guide the oral interviews with the participants of the current research. Before the actual oral interviews, the interview questions were tested on a pilot group of eight translators in the form of telephone interviews. The translators were selected on a random basis from the database of Intercontact Budapest Kft. The interview protocol was thus piloted before use. Based on the oral

feedback received from the pilot group, the phrasing of some of the questions was slightly altered and examples were added so as to ensure that participants would provide all the relevant information necessary for the research.

The questions thus finalised were used during the interviews with the participants of the research. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian, the native language of the participants, to eliminate all possible language-related communication barriers and to create a relaxed atmosphere suitable for the personal nature of the interviews. The English translation of the topics and the interview questions are provided in Section B of Appendix 1. The interviews took approximately 12-15 minutes. Only the researcher and one participant were present at each interview. Consequently, the interviews were transcribed for analysis.

7.7. Description of the participants

This section will describe the participants of the research on the basis of the oral interviews conducted with the two participants. As detailed in Section 7.6, the interviews, on the one hand, focused on professional career and experience and, on the other hand, were designed to explore the political commitment of the translators and their family backgrounds influencing their political convictions.

Translator 1, aged 46 at the time of the current research, lives in Budapest, has been a professionally trained freelance full-time translator for 16 years and has been involved in translating political texts for about 5 years, including regular commissions to translate for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office. She specialises in translating minutes, action plan programmes, development plans, speeches, reports and newspaper articles. Her working languages are Hungarian, English and German. She graduated from the Budapest-based College for Foreign Trade in 1984 and was awarded a professional translator's and interpreter's qualification in social sciences and economics at Eötvös Loránd University in 2000.

She has been a socialist supporter since the change of regime (1989), which suggests that she has her own deep political conviction. Politically she is not that active but she reads many magazines and is a subscriber to *Népszabadság*. Mostly for her job, she reads online English papers. Prior to becoming a full-time translator, she used to work for a foreign trade company. As mentioned earlier, her father was a diplomat in the socialist era, which, in her own opinion, also positioned her politically.

Translator 2 is a Budapest-based man, aged 37 at the time of the current research. He has been a professional freelance full-time translator for 13 years and has been involved in translating political texts for about 4 years, including regular commissions to translate for the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office. He specialises in translating development plans, speeches, reports and newspaper articles. His working languages are Hungarian and English. He graduated from the Faculty of Arts of former Kossuth Lajos University in 1994 and obtained a professional translator and interpreter qualification in social sciences and economics at Eötvös Loránd University in 2003.

He has been a Fidesz supporter since around 1996, which suggests that his political orientation may be regarded long-established and stable. Politically he is active and takes part in most political campaigns as an unpaid activist. He is a subscriber to *Magyar Nemzet* and reads many other English and Hungarian newspapers, as dictated by the translation assignments he is doing. Prior to becoming a full-time translator, he used to work in a secondary school and had teaching jobs in several language schools.

On the basis of the above, it can be concluded that the participants constitute an adequate population to provide translations that can be analysed with the Political Bias Screener.

7.8. The translation assignment

The translation assignment was specifically designed to test the applicability of the analytical tool developed in the current undertaking. The assignment contains references to the description of the source texts and the clients. It will also be described below in this section exactly what textual information was made known to the participants of the research with reference to the translation assignment: what professional job the client expects the translators to do, in what communicative situations and for what purpose the target texts are going to be used.

As the current research seeks to explore the effects of all factors potentially resulting in bias and the (re)production of ideology in translated argumentative newspaper articles, besides the two politically opposing source texts and the two translators with opposing political orientations, the two clients of the translation assignment representing diverse ideologies as well as their expectations and the respective readerships associated with the publication of the target texts must also be explored. In order to explore how client expectations affect translated texts, or more precisely, how translators perceive client

expectations, the translation assignment has been developed to include the two major Hungarian opposing political parties, MSZP and Fidesz, as clients. This has been devised with a view to ensuring that different political expectations on the part of the clients are perceived by the translators.

As part of the translation assignment, the translators were commissioned to translate two argumentative Hungarian newspaper articles into English. The translators were informed that these translations would be published on the English language websites of MSZP and Fidesz. The translated articles would appear in web-based columns featuring the main political events of the year 2008 and their media coverage. A cornerstone event in 2008 was the Social Referendum with its large media coverage, including newspaper articles.

It must be noted here that the websites of the political parties primarily publish and reflect the parties' standpoints on political issues and, to a lesser extent, feature argumentative and opinion articles attacking the positions of the other party. MSZP has a website only in Hungarian, while Fidesz has a Hungarian and an English language website, the latter with a considerably lower number of articles. The websites are mostly read by the supporters of the given parties and, to a lesser extent, by media personnel and the supporters of other parties.

It is expected that when translators do their assignments, they will keep the characteristics of the websites, the clients', i.e. the parties', expectations and the websites' respective readerships in mind, and that this will guide them when envisaging the skopos of the translated texts. In sum, the translation assignment contains the following scenario: two articles reflecting two different and opposing political standpoints are translated by two translators, whose political commitments oppose each other, for two clients, i.e. two opposing political parties. This will give altogether 8 target texts: two translators (Translators 1 and 2) receive two source newspaper articles (*Kompenzáció* published in *Népszabadság* and *Másnap* published in *Magyar Nemzet*) to be translated for two different clients, MSZP (Client 1) and Fidesz (Client 2). The components of the translation assignment are visualised in Figure 7-1 below.

Such a scenario allows for the examination of all factors potentially affecting the translation of political texts: the translators' own personal political convictions, the political nature of the source texts and the expectations of the clients as well as the permutation of all such factors. This translation assignment therefore is hoped to provide extensive research data as the production of the eight target texts in the scope of the present assignment is

affected by all possible constellations of political bias originating from either the translator, the source texts or client expectations.

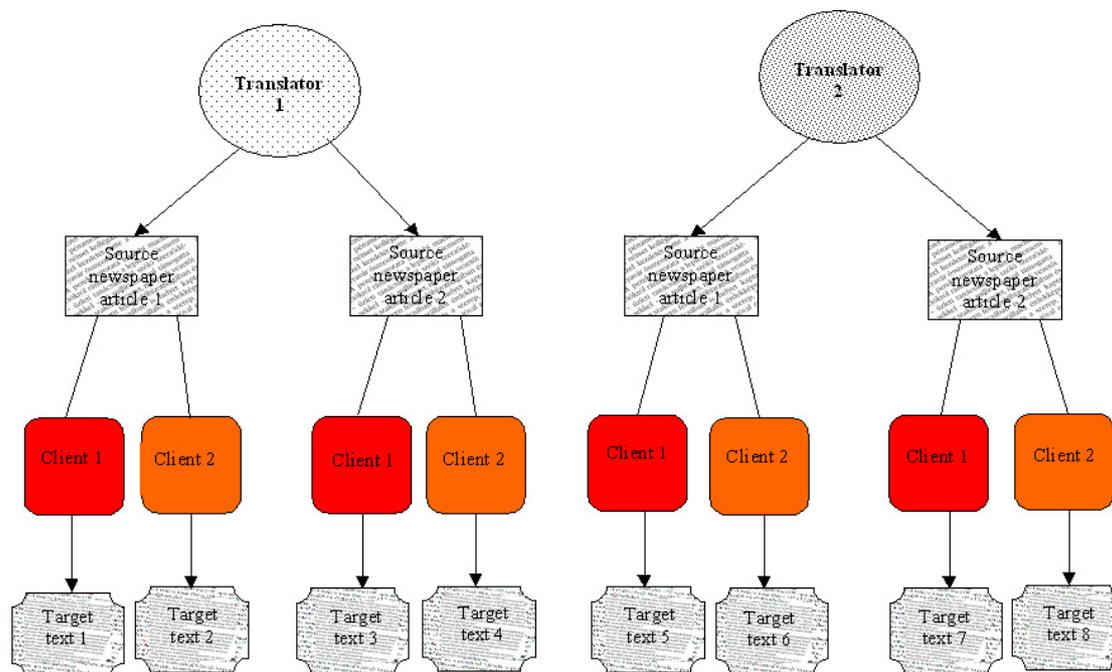


Figure 7-1: The eight target texts resulting from the translation assignment

Clarifying the translator's task is a crucial factor in the translation assignment as it provides translators with information on the assignment. For the sake of clarity and easier referencing, the e-mails to the participants of the research containing the source language texts for translation were accompanied by a description of the translation assignment in Hungarian. The English translation of the detailed description of the translation assignment is given below: Translate the attached two argumentative newspaper articles into English. The articles come from two Hungarian dailies *Népszabadság* and *Magyar Nemzet*. The translated articles will be published on the English language websites of MSZP and Fidesz. The clients will use the translated articles to support their image building activities among foreign media personnel. The translations will be published in the Overview of 2008 through the Media column on the websites of the two above-mentioned Hungarian political parties. The articles are about the Social Referendum, held on 9th March 2008 (translation by the author). The Hungarian description of the translation assignment is given in Section C of Appendix 1.

The instructions of the translation assignment have been designed in a way that the description of the translation task helps translators identify the skopos behind the translation

assignment. Therefore, it contains references to the texts for translation, the nature of the translation assignment and the intended use of the texts. In terms of the source texts, the translation assignment describes the text type of the articles noting that these texts are argumentative. The topic of the articles (the Social Referendum) is also defined, and there are references to the fact that the articles come from two newspapers, which already signals to Hungarian translators that they will deal with articles reflecting the views of two opposing political sides. In connection with the nature of the translation assignment and the intended use of the texts, the task clarifies that the translations will be published on the websites of the political parties, which entails a selected but wide range of readership. The task also specifies that the target texts will be used for image building, which already suggests that both parties intend to use the articles for their political campaigns possibly involving positive campaign elements about themselves and negative campaign elements about the other party.

In order to ensure that translators have understood the translation assignment, in a follow-up e-mail I asked for translators' confirmation if they realised that they were to translate each article in two versions as suited to the different expectations of the two clients. Both translators claimed they had the intention to translate the articles in two versions prior to our e-mail anyway and explained that as the communicative purpose of the target texts was to facilitate the image building campaign of the clients, i.e. the political parties concerned, each political party needed to have their own version of the text.

One crucial question regarding the translation assignment was whether the translators would be doing a good job even if they knew that the translation assignment was an imaginary one and they would not get paid for their work. In order to address this problem, politically active and committed volunteers were sought, who showed interest in the research and who agreed to do their best. In addition, the researcher specifically asked the participants to take the translation assignment seriously, as if it was a real life, professional commission and to do a very good job.

As the participants are experienced translators, I asked them for feedback concerning how realistic they believed the translation assignment was. This was necessary for the following reason: if translators do not perceive the translation assignment as a realistic one, they are less likely to do a good job since they cannot associate a real communicative situation with the assignment, which could eventually jeopardise the reliability of the current research. Both translators agreed that the assignment was a realistic one and that it was important to produce two versions of both source language texts in order to meet the expectations of the two clients and the different readerships the translated texts would be

exposed to. This communicates that both translators appropriately identified the communicative situation connected with the translation assignment and found the assignment realistic.

In Figure 7-2, the translation assignment is visualised and a visual representation of the two translators' political commitment, the political affiliation and bias of the source newspaper articles, the clients and the resulting target texts is provided.

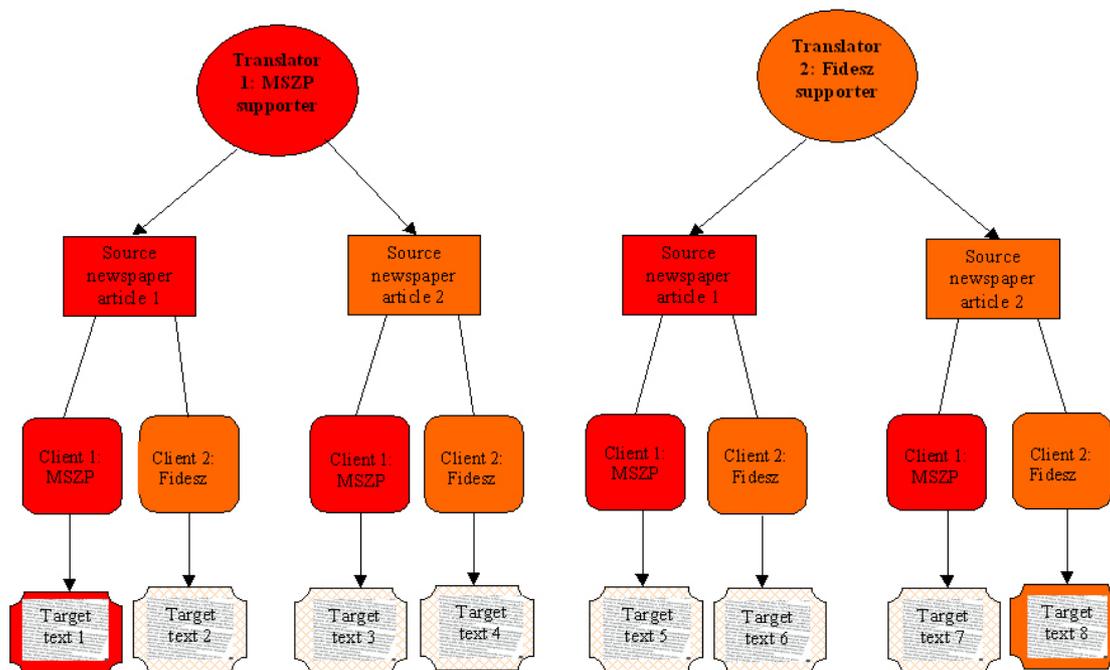


Figure 7-2: Political affiliations with reference to the eight target texts of the translation assignment

As the colour coding shows, Translator 1 is an MSZP supporter, whereas Translator 2 supports Fidesz. Source newspaper article 1 from *Népszabadság* exhibits political bias towards the left-wing MSZP, while source newspaper article 2 from *Magyar Nemzet* exhibits political bias towards the right-wing Fidesz. Client 1 is MSZP and Client 2 is Fidesz, which fact already determines client expectations with reference to the political positioning of the target texts. The resulting eight target texts have the potential to exhibit features of both right and left wing political bias and ideology apart from Target Text 1 and Target Text 8, where the translator, the source newspaper article and the client belong to the same political side. Political bias surfacing in the target texts will be examined as part of the CDA analysis in Chapter 8.

7.9. Procedures of analysis

To enhance the replicability, this section describes the procedures of analysis, using the four constituent models of the Political Bias Screener. It will be described how the superstructure, the macrostructure, the CDA and the political mass communication constituent models are used in the analysis. Due to the complexity of the Political Bias Screener, samples of the super- and macrostructure analyses will be provided in Section 7.9.1. For reasons argued in Section 7.1, no sample analysis of CDA or political mass communication will be included. Sections 7.10.1 to 7.10.4 will detail to what extent the analysis with the help of the four constituent models can be deemed reliable.

7.9.1 Sample super- and macrostructure analyses

In line with Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) approach, the unit of analysis is the sentence in terms of the super- and the macrostructure analyses with reference to both source and target texts (c.f. Section 3.4). First, the procedures of the super- and macrostructure analyses will be described and illustrated through texts. For this, the Hungarian source texts are used, as Translation Studies research has already justified the applicability of super- and macrostructure analyses in the case of English language texts.

7.9.1.1 Superstructure

Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model is used for the superstructure analysis. Hoey's analytical method, described in detail in Sections 2.4-5 helps to distinguish the functional parts of **situation**, **problem**, **response**, **evaluation** and optional **result** in problem-solution type texts submitted to analysis. The current analysis first entailed reading and understanding the source and target texts, which was followed by the coding of the functional parts of these texts according to Hoey's (2001) model. Below, using Source Text 2 entitled Másnap as an example, the procedure of the superstructure analysis is demonstrated. Sentence numbers appear in square brackets.

The first two sentences of Másnap have been classified as **situation**:

[1] Az eddigi referendumokkal összevetve is kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás estéjén Sólyom László köztársasági elnök kijelentette: az eredmény egyértelmű. [2] Majd arra intett, a törvényhozókon és a politikusokon a sor, hogy megtegyék a szükséges lépéseket és levonják a következtetéseket.

(See translation in Appendix 3.) The reason for this is that this part gives the background information of the article such as the political event in question (the Social Referendum) and the political climate caused by the Referendum (here in the interpretation of the President of the Republic of Hungary). The problem is clearly indicated in sentence [3] (Ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni tegnap az Országgyűlésben.) through the choice of lexis: *feladat* ('task') and *abszolválni* ('to effect, to carry out'), both of which refer to a problem requiring a solution.

There are several cycles of **response** and **evaluation** in the source text. To distinguish between them, the response and the corresponding evaluation are marked by indexing (i.e. response₁ and its corresponding evaluation₁) A relatively longer chunk of text qualifies as response₁:

[4] Az már előzetesen nyilvánvaló volt, hogy mind a vizitdíj, a tandíj és a kórházi napidíj eltörlését kezdeményező Fidesz és KDNP, mind a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevetve sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypártok törvénymódosítással kívánnak eleget tenni a nép akaratának, méltányolván a napirend előtti felszólalásokban is oly sokszor emlegetett voks populit. [5] Napirend előtt a fő szótartó Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni. [6] És az eredmények nyomán keletkezett első sokkot – amelynek hatására dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni, illetve a 3,3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni – kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett. [7] Többszöri megszólalásai elején, nyilván némiképp számot vetve a helyzettel, még azt mondta: tiszteletben tartják az eredményt, mely szerint úgymond legalább hárommillió ember nem ért egyet „az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával”. [8] Később azonban előkerült a megszokott vádaskodó hang; az igennel voksoló túlnyomó többség arról nem döntött, hogy ki fizesse a kieső díjakat. [9] Majd megkapták magukét szép sorjában az újságírók, akik nem ezt kérdezték lépten-nyomon, az Alkotmánybíróság – s áttételesen említve annak első elnöke, a jelenlegi államfő –, hogy merészelték ilyen kérdéseket egy népszavazáson feltehetőnek ítélni. [10] Az Őszödi Bösztme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői (Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller) azzal érveltek, hogy az önző „háromigenesek” az ingyenesség haszonlesői.

This part of the article describes the reactions of the Prime Minister and the governing parties.

Thereafter, the two-sentence-long negative evaluation₁ of response₁ follows:

[11] Hiába hívta fel a figyelmet Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője, hogy senki nem gondolja az egészségügyről és az oktatásról, hogy azért soha egy árva petátot sem kellett fizetni, az újrhangolt kormánypárti kortesbeszédok előadói arról győzködtek képviselőtársaikat és a tévézőt: nemhogy kétszer, de egyszer sem fizetünk-fizettünk az orvosnál, az egyetemeken és a főiskolákon. [12] Persze mindeközben az oktatásra, gyógyításra és megelőzésre fordított GDP-arányos állami hozzájárulás mint tényadat gondosan homályban hagyatott.

These sentences contain references to the evaluation of the Prime Minister's interpretation of the results of the Referendum and feature lexis describing negative attitudes towards this interpretation including *hiába* ('in vain') and *korteszbeszéd* (approximately 'party propaganda').

Evaluation₁ is followed by response₂:

[13] Ezzel szemben a kissé letargikus kormányfőtől megtudtuk, hogy a népszavazással Magyarország hosszú távon veszített.

This sentence refers to the longer-term envisaged consequences of the Referendum as interpreted by the Prime Minister and describes the Prime Minister's reactions or response to the political issue on the table.

Negative evaluation₂ of response₂ continues the article:

[14] S nyilván saját tapasztalataiból – a Szalay utcai ingatlan és az őszödi üdülő megszerzéséből – levezetve, hogy nem vezet az erős és modern Magyarországhoz, ha a polgárokat lebeszéljük arról, hogy saját önrésszel vegyenek részt a szolgáltatások igénybevételében. [15] Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje.

Sentence 15 of this superstructure element features an evaluative summary to response₂, which is also signalled by the phrase *ennyi volt [...] veleje* ('the essence [...] was this much').

Response₃ describes the Prime Minister's reaction to the lessons that could be learnt from the Referendum. Sentence 16 describes that the Prime Minister sees no lessons to learn but defends his political legitimacy and position as Prime Minister:

[16] Az Őszödi Böszme régi-új énjét megcsillantva a Fidesz elnökét ostromozó harmadik felszólalásában újfent kísérletet tett arra, hogy hírhedt hazugságbeszédét átcsomagolja igazságbeszéddé.

Negative evaluation₃ of response₃ closes the article:

[17] A kampányfőben a kecskeméti szocialista törzsközönség előtt szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány most a „Nincs a teremtésben vesztes, csak én” Bánk báni szólamot igyekezett kiénekelni - meglehetősen enerváltan. [18] Sokszori megszólalásai tartalma kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazódhatott meg a hallgatóságban: örült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer.

This superstructure element describes the audience's, and, at the same time, the voters' interpretation or evaluation of the Prime Minister's talks on the issue of the Referendum and concludes with a slightly altered quotation by Shakespeare in sentence 18 (*This be*

madness and there is no method in 't.) contextualised as an evaluative phrase in the context of the article Másnap.

The superstructure analysis of the full Source Text 2 entitled Másnap is provided in Figure 7-3.

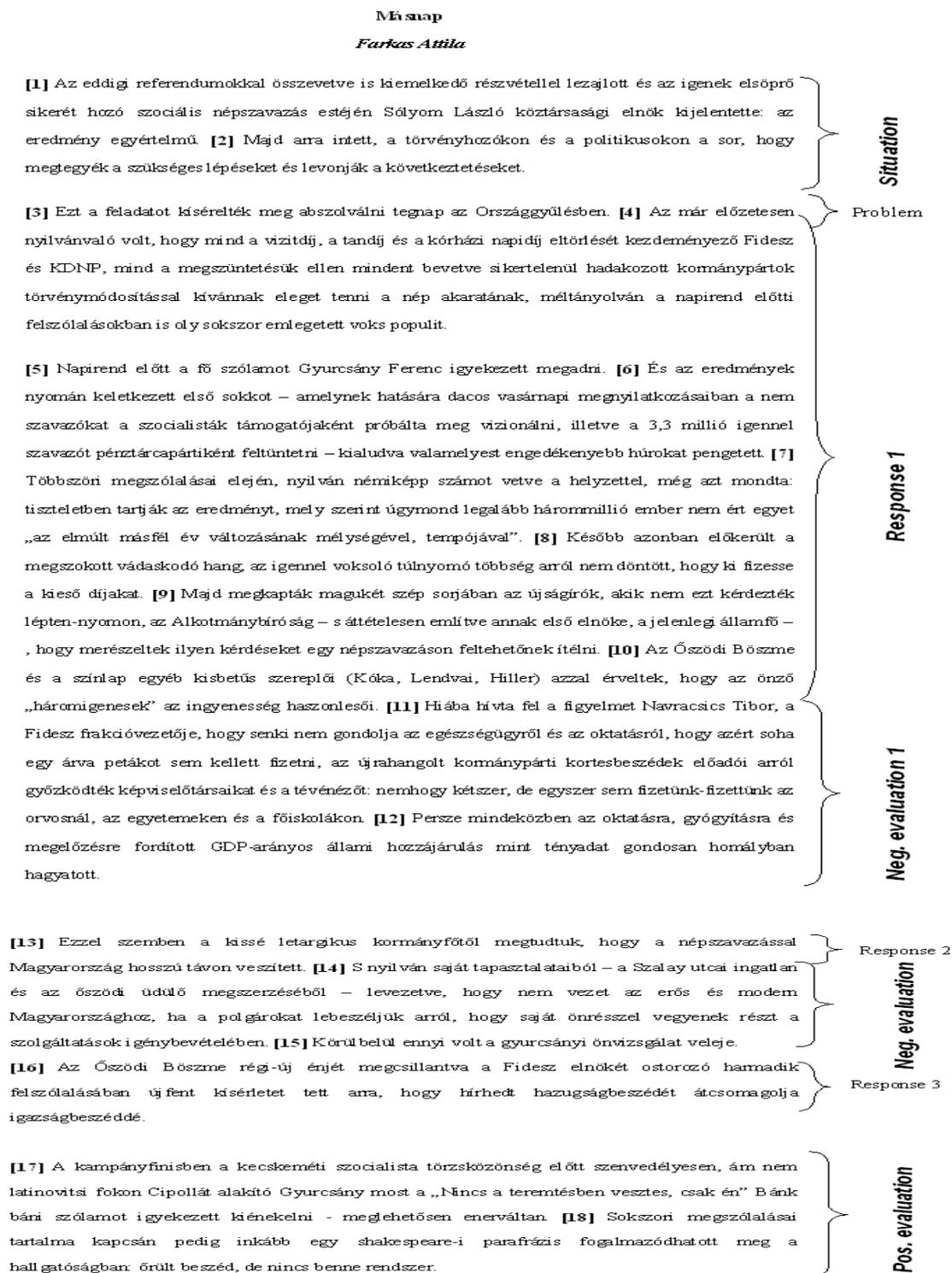


Figure 7-3: The superstructure of Source Text 2

In the next section, the procedures of the macrostructure analysis will be illustrated through a sample analysis.

7.9.1.2 Macrostructure

Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model is used to establish the macrostructure of source and target texts. The macrostructure analysis will incorporate the results of the superstructure analysis. The superstructure effect operates in the following way: the shortest possible full summaries of the articles (i.e. *gist*) will contain references to all of the functional elements of the problem-solution structure (**situation, problem, response, evaluation** and the optional part of **result**). Therefore, the superstructure effect will ensure that the argumentative nature of the texts are preserved in the gists of the two source and the eight target texts. The gist, as it has been argued in Sections 3.6 and 6.3.1, will target logical persuasion in the receivers of political text.

It is possible, however, to further reduce the gists with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model and thus obtain an even shorter but still meaningful mini-summary of texts, which we earlier termed **political message** (c.f. Section 3.6). In fact, this is the textual realisation of the most focal point of emotive political persuasion in a political text as proposed by Larson (2001). The gists will be formulated in order to reveal the political messages used for emotive persuasion, as it has been described in Section 3.6.

As described and justified in Section 3.4, in line with Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model, the current macrostructure analysis will work with two macrorules only, the **zero** and the **deletion rules**. On the other hand, the political message will be further derived from the gist with the help of the two macrorules to produce the shortest possible meaningful summary of the text in question.

The procedures of the macrostructure analysis will be illustrated with the help of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció*. For illustration, the gist and the political message of *Kompenzáció* will be established below. One functional part of the article, *negative evaluation₁* will be used to illustrate the formation of local summaries (i.e. summary within one superstructure element), whereas the full article will be used to illustrate the formation of the gist (macrostructure affected by superstructure) and the political message (further derived from the gist).

Negative evaluation₁ of the article *Kompenzáció* features the following eight sentences at the microlevel:

[8] Ez könnyen érthető álláspont, és elfogadhatóvá kiváltképp akkor válik, amikor a magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora, Éger István orvoskamara elnök most a kétszeresére akarja emeltetni a házi orvosok finanszírozását, miközben eddig azzal kürtölte tele a világot, hogy a vizitdíj semmit nem javított a helyzeten... [9] A „milyen ember az ilyen” felkiáltás most mellékes. [10] Mellékes, hogy pár száz házi orvos mégiscsak deklarálta, jó a vizitdíj rendszere. [11] Mellékes, hogy komoly közgazdászok egész sora állt ki e reformelem mellett. [12] Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnához, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából. [13] Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni. [14] Ettől válik mellékessé, hogy Gyurcsány Ferenc és Kóka János meg van győződve a saját igazságáról, amiben természetesen igazuk van, hiszen nem lehet komoly politikus, aki nem hisz önmagában, a hitet elvvé kövíteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes. [15] A sértődöttség pedig kiváltképp.

Sentences 8, 10, 11 and 12 all feature propositions in connection with the differing evaluation of the visit fee: assessing whether it is advantageous or not. Therefore, they will be realised at Macrolevel 1 through their unifying propositional content of the evaluation of the visit fee necessary for the interpretation of other propositions to follow. These sentences can therefore potentially surface later on at Macrolevel 2. Sentences 14 and 15 feature propositions in connection with dangerous political practices. Thus, they will be realised at Macrolevel 1 so that their macrostructural realisation can potentially surface at Macrolevel 2, connecting them with sentences with a similar propositional content to follow in the text.

At Macrolevel 2, sentences 10 and 12 will be retained since they share common propositions about the visit fee: sentence 10 declares the visit fee appropriate, while sentence 12 deems it inappropriate. Sentence 8, 14 or 15 not are realised at Macrolevel 2, as they do not have propositions in common with either sentence 10 or 12 and they are not necessary for the interpretation of the propositions to follow.

Macrolevel 3 will contain only sentence 12 due to the superstructure effect. As this superstructure element features negative evaluation and summarises the propositional content of the superstructural part of negative evaluation₁ required for the understanding of propositions to follow, sentence 12 with its negative evaluation will surface at the highest macrolevel in this superstructure element.

The macrostructure of negative evaluation₁ of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció* is represented in Table 7-1. Numbers in the table denote sentence numbers in the analysed text.

Macrolevel 3									12	
Macrolevel 2				10					12	
Macrolevel 1	8			10	11	12			14	15
Microlevel	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		

Table 7-1: Illustration of the macrostructure in the superstructure element of negative evaluation 1 of Source Text 1

The gist in turn is made up of all of the local summaries. The local summary is the sentence that is maintained at the highest possible macrolevel in each superstructure element. In fact, the superstructure effect ensures that the local summary of each superstructure element surfaces in the gist. Thus, the highest macrolevel representation of each superstructural part generated in the way detailed in connection with negative evaluation₁ above gives the gist. In the case of Source Text 1, the gist is found at Macrolevel 3. The abstract notion of gist can meaningfully be formulated only as a coherent text. The gist of Source Text 1 (made up of sentences 5, 6, 7, 12, 16, 23, 25 and 28) would sound something like this in English (the text in square brackets is included to make the gist more meaningful for the interpretation of the results):

In the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] also said that people had made the most financially favourable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere. Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. And the government is not in a position to compensate for this. It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signalled that they do not want to pay those fees. The government has obligations. The amortization expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces

another closely reform-related question. And that [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] would be impossible to compensate

If macrolevel 3 of Source Text 1, containing the gist, is further processed by the zero and deletion macrorules mentioned above, the resulting two sentences (sentences 6 and 28) at Macrolevel 6 will give the political message. Similarly to the gist, the political message can meaningfully be formulated only as a coherent text. Concerning Source Text 1, it would sound something like this in English:

Since then he [the Prime Minister] and Mr. János Kóka have been competing with each other to explain that, as a result of Fidesz's referendum campaign, General Practitioners thus will lose app. HUF 150,000 per month. And this [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The macrolevels contributing to the gist and the political message of Source Text 1 are shown in Table 7-2 below. The columns of the table indicate the superstructure categories and display the number of the sentences that make up these superstructure categories. The rows show the various levels of the macrostructure. The macrolevel constituting the gist has been marked "GIST" and the level constituting the political message has been marked "P. M." on the right hand side of the table.

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	EVALUATION 1	RESPONSE 2	EVALUATION 2	RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE RESULT	
Macrolevel 6		6						28	P. M.
Macrolevel 5		6	7			23		28	
Macrolevel 4		6	7		16	23	25	28	
Macrolevel 3	5	6	7	12	16	23	25	28	GIST
Macrolevel 2	5	6	7	10 12	16	23	25	28	
Macrolevel 1	1 4 5	6	7	8 10 11 12 14 15	16	17 19 20 21 22 23	25	27 28	
Microlevel	1 2 3 4 5	6	7	8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	16	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	25	26 27 28	

Table 7-2: The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Source Text 1

7.9.1.3 Procedures of the CDA analysis

As outlined in the presentation of the Political Bias Screener in Section 6.4, the TDSI Model has been constructed in a way that it focuses on social, political, cultural, historical, hermeneutical contextual aspects and explains how these aspects are reflected in the analysed texts. The TDSI Model comprises four components: **Action**, **Context**, **Power** and **Ideology**. Each component is subdivided into aspects. Some aspects are further divided into sub-categories (c.f. Section 4.6.4.).

The component of **Action** includes the aspects of intentionality; perspective; and implications and consequences. **Context** includes the aspects of participants; higher level action; as well as local and global contexts. **Power** includes the aspect of access to speak, while **Ideology** includes the aspects of social and personal beliefs; and the reproduction of ideology and power.

The input data for the TDSI Model is the following: the full texts, the gists and the political messages of the source and the target texts. The full texts will serve as input to all four aspects, while the gists and the political messages will specifically serve as inputs for the aspect of the **reproduction of ideology** of the TDSI Model component of Ideology. To be precise, the gists and the political messages provide the input to the sub-categories of **argumentation** and **implicature** of the **reproduction of ideology** aspect. Using the gists and the political messages as inputs to these sub-categories is justified by the fact that the gist is intended for logical persuasion through argumentation, while the aim of the political message is to persuade receivers emotively through implicature as described in Sections 3.6 and 6.3.1.

The input of the TDSI Model is visualised in Figure 7-4. For the sake of clarity, the different aspects constituting each of the components are indicated. The aspect of the **reproduction of ideology** is broken down into sub-categories in the figure. For the full the TDSI Model, see Section 4.6.4.

The source and target texts are analysed along the aspects of the four components of the TDSI Model. The results thus obtained are compared to reveal bias and the (re)production of ideology.

No sample analysis of CDA is included as CDA heavily depends on the contextual information about the texts under scrutiny and the interrelation of such features. Consequently, valid and well-grounded results cannot be presented in

connection with only certain parts of the texts in question. Results can only be presented and interpreted with reference to each full source and target text, which will follow in Section 8.4 presenting the results of the analysis.

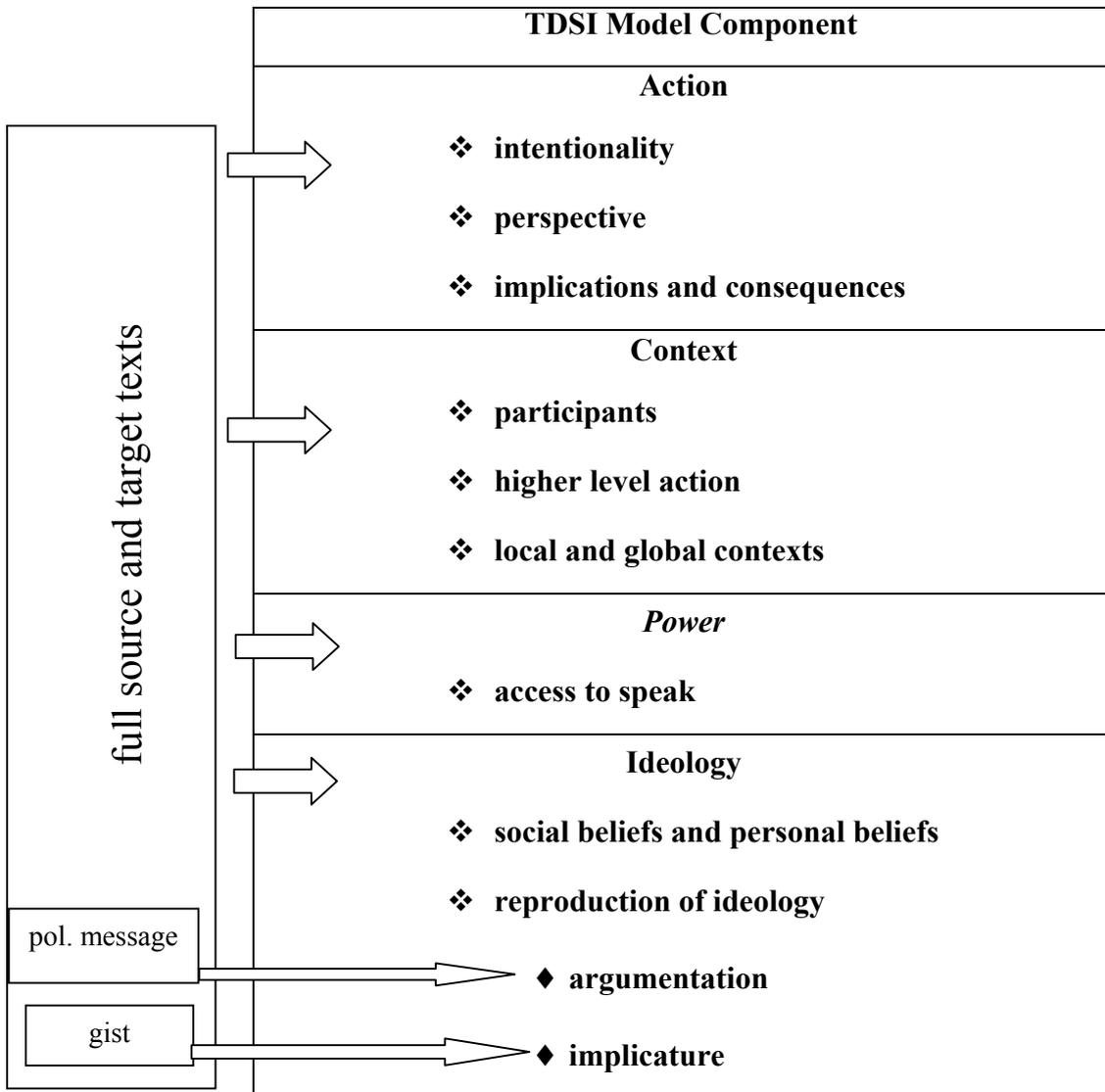


Figure 7-4: The input of the TDSI Model

7.9.1.4 Procedures of the political mass communication analysis

The four-component Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model (TDSI Model) reveals textual features with reference to the potential bias exhibited in texts (component **Action**), the social-political context of source and target texts (component

Context) and the reproduction of power (component **Power**) and ideology (component **Ideology**). The Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model's (TPMC Model) component of **Reality** centres on the presentation of political reality and the component of **Bias** focuses on personal political convictions and professional norms and standards of text production. Both TPMC Model components of **Reality** and **Bias** contain two aspects each. **Reality** contains the aspects of subjective reality and constructed reality, while bias contains the aspects of personal political bias and structural bias.

In an attempt to interpret the findings of the TDSI Model with the help of TPMC Model in the relevant political mass communication context, the collated findings obtained with the help of the components of Action and Ideology of the TDSI Model will be explicated through the TPMC Model component of Bias, while the collated findings, which reveal the main tendencies, obtained with the help of the components of Context and Power of the TDSI Model will be explained through the TPMC Model component of Reality. For the sake of clarity and to facilitate the understanding of the procedures of analysis, the relationship between the two models is visualised in Figure 7-5.

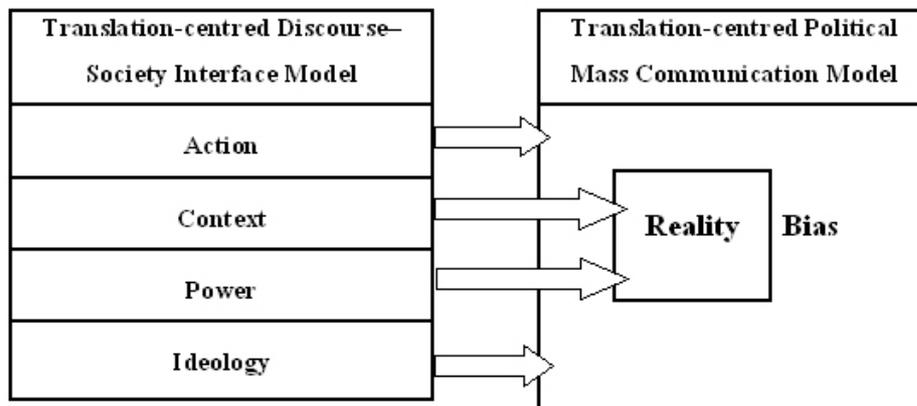


Figure 7-5: Visual representation of the relationship between the components of the TDSI Model and the TPMC Model

This approach is justified by the following: the components of **Action** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model reveal achievable social action and ideologically charged text production, which link up with person-specific political and professional attitudes to bias incorporated in the TPMC Model component of **Bias**. On the other hand, the

components of **Context** and **Power** of the TDSI Model reveal social and political contexts and describe the power that provides access for journalists and translators to produce texts about the given political reality as well as the power journalists and translators enjoy through such access to mediated communication. These aspects relate to the actual political reality incorporated in the TPMC Model component of **Reality**.

Through the use of the TPMC Model, translators' professional behaviour with reference to the translation of argumentative newspaper articles for use in political mass communication contexts will be explained and implications on translators' critical awareness will be formulated. No sample analysis of political mass communication is included here. As this approach heavily depends on the contextual information about the texts under scrutiny and the interrelation of such features, valid and well-grounded results can only be produced with reference to the entire translation assignment and to translator behaviour in such communicative contexts in general. The results of the political mass communication analysis follow in Section 8.5.

7.10. The reliability of the constituent models of the Political Bias Screener

This section describes the reliability analysis of all of the constituent models of the Political Bias Screener. Reliability will first be described in connection with the superstructure analysis, to be followed by reliability with reference to the macrostructure analysis. Thereafter, reliability will be discussed in relation to the CDA analysis and finally in connection with the political mass communication analysis.

7.10.1 The reliability of the superstructure analysis

In order to ensure the reliability of the superstructure analysis, coding was effected, on the one part, by the researcher and, on the other hand, by a co-coder carefully trained in the terminology and application of Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model. The two coders worked independently of each other and after effecting the analysis of the two source and the eight target language texts, they compared their findings and, in the case of disagreements, they agreed on the coding of certain problematic sentences. It must be

noted, however, that there was a low number of problematic sentences in the total of ten texts and intriguingly enough, all the three problematic sentences surfaced in the Hungarian source language texts.

After the two coders independently classified the sentences of the source and target texts into the functional categories of the problem-solution structure (**situation, problem, response, evaluation and result**), a reliability analysis was performed. The classification of each sentence by the two coders was compared and a reliability value was calculated on the basis of the two coders' categorisation of the sentences of the source and target texts (i.e. is the coding of a given sentence identical for the two coders?). The congruence between the coding by the two coders was expressed in a percentage value. The value of the resulting reliability value was 83%, which can be considered as reliable, since the classification of superstructure categories is largely based on interpretation (Károly 2007). Given this and the fact that the current undertaking works with a limited number of texts, a statistical analysis would not have produced statistically interpretable results. It can thus be concluded that the results of the superstructure analysis are reliable.

7.10.2 The reliability of the macrostructure analysis

The above-described procedure of macrostructure formation has been tested for reliability. The researcher and a co-coder carefully trained in the terminology and application of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model worked independently on establishing the macrostructure affected by the superstructure of the two source and the eight target texts. After the macrostructure analyses have been completed, a reliability analysis has been performed to assess the reliability of the data provided by the two coders. A reliability analysis was performed in the case of all ten texts and with reference to the data generated by the two coders (Coder 1 and Coder 2). The reliability analysis was performed in the following way. Each sentence in each text was numbered in an ascending order (c.f. the numbering of sentences in the source and target texts in Appendix 3). Since Coder 1 (C1) and Coder 2 (C2) analyse the same texts, they analyse the same number of sentences in each text.

The starting level of the macrostructure reliability analysis is the Microlevel. At the Microlevel, every sentence is present and is represented by a number assigned to it

as stated above. At Macrolevel 1, however, only certain sentences are present, while certain other sentences present at the Microlevel are not maintained at Macrolevel 1. Out of the sentences present at Macrolevel 1, only given sentences are maintained at Macrolevel 2 and so on with reference to each macrolevel. The macrostructure analysis continues until the highest macrolevel is reached.

In the table representing the macrostructure, the sentences present at the different macrostructure levels are recorded at each level by indicating their numbers at the given level. After the macrostructure analyses were completed by both coders, the resulting macrostructure patterns for Coder 1 and Coder 2 were recorded in a tabular format. This is illustrated in Table 7-3 with reference to an imaginary seven-sentence string of text.

	Coder 1							Coder 2						
<i>Macrolev. 2</i>					5							5		
<i>Macrolev. 1</i>	1			4	5	6			2		4	5	6	
<i>Microlevel</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Number of sentence</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table 7-3: Illustration of the reliability analysis of the macrostructure analysis: macrostructure patterns established by the two coders

Next, each sentence is provided with a number, according to the highest macrolevel it appears at plus 1 to compensate for the fact that the microlevel also constitutes a level, where all sentences are present. This number will be called the **structure index** of the given sentence. In our example the respective structure indexes of the sentences of the seven-sentence text established on the basis of the coding effected by Coders 1 and 2 are indicated in Table 7-4.

	Coder 1							Coder 2						
<i>Structure index</i>	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	1
<i>Number of sentence</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table 7-4: The structure indices of the sentences of the example string based on the two coders' analysis

The structure indices of Coders 1 and 2 are then compared. For the comparison, binary evaluation is used: if the given sentence has the same structure index for both Coders, the resulting agreement value will be 1. If such a relationship does not hold, the value with reference to the given sentence will be 0. In our example, the resulting agreement values are illustrated in Table 7-5.

	Example string						
<i>Agreement value</i>	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Number of sentences</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table 7-5: The resulting agreement values

As a final step, the agreement values are added up and then divided by the total number of sentences within the text. In the example in Table 7-5, this works as follows: $0+0+1+1+1+1+1=5$. Five is divided by 7 (as we have 7 sentences in the text string used in the example), which gives the **agreement index** $5/7= 71\%$. Using this method, agreement indices have been calculated with reference to the two source and the eight target texts, and the resulting values have been rounded. The results are shown in Table 7-6.

Text	Agreement index
Source Text 1	82%
Source Text 2	77%
Target Text 1	82%
Target Text 2	86%
Target Text 3	82%
Target Text 4	82%
Target Text 5	85%
Target Text 6	82%
Target Text 7	84%
Target Text 8	84%

Table 7-6: The agreement indices with reference to the two source texts and the eight target texts

The indices vary between 77% and 86%, therefore the results of the macrostructure analyses may be regarded as reliable.

7.10.3 The reliability of the CDA analysis

The CDA analysis in the current undertaking is performed with the help of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model. In terms of the reliability of the TDSI Model, it must, at this point, be noted that there is no absolutely perfect method of excluding subjectivity or subjective interpretations in any CDA analysis. Even if in line with van Dijk’s approach, the TDSI Model strives to be objective observing the tenets and theoretical principles of CDA (detailed in Sections 4.5 and 4.6), subjectivity cannot be fully excluded.

This a priori subjectivity is explained by the following: as CDA itself is by nature “a socially committed scientific paradigm” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 280) intending to establish and interpret properties of texts, and as no interpretation of context whatsoever can be deemed absolutely objective due to the fact that for the interpretation of contextual information a “socially-based mental construct” (van Dijk 1997: 16) is necessary for the researcher, the results and the interpretation of the results produced with the help of the TDSI Model will inevitably be, to some extent, subjective. Therefore, the findings of the current undertaking will be evaluated with this in mind.

No statistical or other methods have been applied to CDA research in an attempt to validate research results or to compare the reliability of researcher interpretations. This has to do with the explanatory nature of CDA. Still, CDA is qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. The latter feature, in turn, serves to improve reliability through the quantification of certain textual features (e.g. number of occurrences or repeated occurrences of the same features).

7.10.4 The reliability of the political mass communication analysis

The political mass communication analysis is performed with the help of the TPMC Model. Political mass communication analysis is also interpretative in nature, very much like CDA. This suggests that the results may contain subjective elements. This, however, is counterbalanced by structure of the Political Bias Screener. In the Screener

the TPMC Model is used for the interpretation of the results obtained with the help of the TDSI Model and objectivity is ensured by the following. The TDSI Model works with four components and with several aspects under each component. If the results of the TDSI Model obtained with the help of the different components and aspects point towards the same conclusion in the TPMC Model, then this seems to suggest that the research results obtained with the help of the TPMC Model are reliable as a large population of data produces the same results in the TPMC Model. Reliability analysis, on the other hand, is unknown in the field of political mass communication analysis. Chapter 8 describes and discusses the results of the research obtained with the help of all the four constituent models of the Political Bias Screener.

Chapter 8: Results and discussion

8.1. Overview

This chapter will focus on the results of the analysis of the source and target language argumentative newspaper articles and their discussion. The aim of the analysis is, on the one hand, to test the validity of the Political Bias Screener and, on the other hand, to reveal and compare possible political bias in the source and target texts as well as to provide an explanation of such bias in the political mass communication context of the texts submitted to analysis.

The results will be described with reference to the analysis performed with the help of all four constituents of the Screener and on two source texts and the eight target texts. First the results of the superstructure analysis will be presented and discussed to be followed by those of the macrostructure analysis. Thereafter the results of the CDA and the mass communication analysis and their discussion will be presented.

8.2. The results and discussion of the superstructure analysis

The superstructure analysis was performed with the help of Hoey's (2001) Problem–Solution Model (c.f. Section 2.5). The raw data obtained from the analysis of the two source language and the eight target language texts are provided in Appendix 4. The functional parts of **situation**, **problem**, **response**, **negative evaluation** and **positive result** are marked in all ten texts. For the sake of clarity, **responses** and the corresponding **evaluations** are numbered with the same indices.

In Figures 8-1 and 8-2, the results of the superstructure analysis of each of the two source texts and their respective four target texts are given. The different functional parts have been marked to the right of the texts using braces.

Figures 8-1 and 8-2 show that some functional parts extend only to one sentence, whereas others comprise several sentences. This may be explained by the fact that the source argumentative newspaper articles submitted to analysis are rather short and quite complex and dense in their content: in each functional part of the texts the authors of the

Hungarian source texts squeezed as much information into one (complex) sentence as possible. This, at the same time, suggests that each functional part is very dense in information content.

The translators, in the majority of the cases, kept the sentence boundaries of the source texts in their translations: the 28-sentence-long article *Kompenzáció* became 27-33-sentences long in translation, whereas the 18-sentence-long article *Másnap* became 17-19-sentences long in translation. This, however, does not affect the superstructure, since the functional parts of the source texts are retained in all eight target texts in the respective equivalent sentences. Thus, it can be concluded that functionally equivalent target texts have been produced in slightly different sentence combinations. This suggests that when translating argumentative newspaper articles, translators retain the functions of each superstructure component in the texts. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that both source language articles are made up of three cycles of the response-evaluation sequence (c.f. Appendices 4 and 5), which are consistently retained in the eight target texts.

Based on the results of the superstructure analysis, it can be concluded that the target texts have preserved the text-type specific functional characteristics of the problem–solution type argumentative source language discourse. This indicates that the target texts remain argumentative, which gives the reader the opportunity to agree or disagree with the arguments featured in the target texts. As a consequence, the target texts, similarly to the source texts, effect political persuasion.

In the electronic version, please, refer to Appendix 4.

Figure 8-1: The superstructure of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció* and its four translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6)

In the electronic version, please, refer to Appendix 4.

Figure 8-2: The superstructure of Source Text 2 entitled Másnap and its four translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8)

8.3. The results and discussion of the macrostructure analysis

The macrostructure analysis has been performed with the help of Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model (c.f. Section 3.4), taking account of the superstructure effect, i.e. the results of the superstructure analysis detailed in Section 8.2. First, the macrostructures of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció* and its four translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6) are provided, followed by the macrostructures of Source Text 2 entitled *Másnap* and its four translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8).

The numbers in the columns of Figures 8-3 and 8-4 display the sentences of the texts (c.f. Appendix 2), separated along the superstructure element they make up. The rows show the diverse levels of the macrostructure. The macrolevel constituting the gist has been marked "GIST" and the level forming the political message has been marked "P. M." on the right hand side of the table. The tabular representation of the results of the macrostructure analysis is also provided in Appendix 5.

The results indicate that the macrostructures (gist and political message) of the source and target texts do not differ considerably. Translators have split up sentences or merged two sentences only in the case of sentences that occupy low levels in the macrostructure. This seems to indicate that translators in their target texts do not only retain and preserve text type specific features (superstructure) but also, as a rule, largely preserve the sentence boundaries in the case of sentences maintained in the macrostructure up to the gist and the political message levels. This suggests that translators (intuitively) note and preserve the sentence boundaries of macrostructurally important sentences in their translations. The only exceptions in our case are Target Texts 1 and 2, where Response 3 and the first sentence of Result were merged and form one sentence. The results also show that translators do not alter the target texts to the extent that it would cause a change in the propositional content of the macrostructure as compared to the macrostructure of the referent source texts.

In the electronic version, please, refer to Appendix 5.

Figure 8-3: The macrostructure of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció* and its four translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6)

In the electronic version, please, refer to Appendix 5.

Figure 8-4: The macrostructure of Source Text 2 entitled Másnap and its four translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8)

In order to analyse whether the target texts retain the propositional content of the gists and the political messages of the source texts, the gists and political messages of the source texts and their translations will be compared and interpreted. First, the gists will be elaborated on, which will be followed by a discussion of the political messages. Below, the gist of Source Text 1 as well as the gist of its four different translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6) will be given, which will be followed by the gist of Source Text 2 as well as the gist of its four different translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8).

The gist of Source Text 1 (translated literally into English for our purposes) is as follows. Expressions appearing in square brackets are only included to make the text more meaningful for the interpretation of the results:

In the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] also said that people had made the most financially favourable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere. Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. And the government is not in a position to compensate for this. It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signalled that they do not want to pay those fees. The government has obligations. The amortization expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question. And that [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] would be impossible to compensate

Below, the gists of the four different translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6) of Source Text 1 are given. The gist of Target Text 1 reads like this:

And, in the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] also said that people had made the most financially favorable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere. Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. And the government is not in a position to compensate for this. It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signaled that they do not want to pay those fees. The government has obligations.

The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question. And that [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] would be impossible to compensate.

The gist of Target Text 2 reads as follows:

And, in the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] also said that people had voted to spare money, which can no longer be tolerated. Since then they have been overdoing each other with Mr. János Kóka in proving that general practitioners will suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000 due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign. And they will not compensate for this. It is irrelevant what we think: what cannot be overlooked is the votes of the some 3 million people who took the trouble to cast a ballot and so declared that they do not want to pay those fees. Any government has obligations. The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he needs to give it a try that he can possibly face another closely reform-related question. And it [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The gist of Target Text 5 reads like this:

In the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] then also stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and they were to realize that this cannot be continued like this. Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And the government will not compensate. What cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they do not wish to pay those fees. Governance entails obligations. The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. And in such a situation, no compensation would be possible.

The gist of Target Text 6 reads as follows:

However, in the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] immediately stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and it was time

they realized that this cannot continue like this forever. Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And the government will by no means compensate. This [the votes of more than three million people] is what cannot be neglected. Governance entails obligations. The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. And in such a situation, no compensation will be possible at last.

The four different translations of Source Text 1 provide gists the propositional content of which are the same as that of Source Text 1. The gists exhibit differences exclusively at the microlevel: in choice of lexis as demonstrated by the gist of Target Texts 5 as compared to that of Target Text 6. The gists of Target Texts 1 and 2 are slightly longer than the gist of Source Text 1, as sentences 25 and 26 of Source Text 1 have been merged to form one sentence beginning with *PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this*. There are no other notable differences between the gists analysed.

To explore if the propositional content of Source Text 2 is reproduced in the gist of its four different translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8), the gists of the source text and its translations will be discussed. In the case of this article, the gists are much longer than those of the previously discussed texts due to the higher level of sentence complexity of Source Text 2, which is preserved in the respective target texts as well.

The gist of Source Text 2 (translated verbatim into English for our purposes) is presented below. Expressions appearing in square brackets are only included to make the text more meaningful for the interpretation of the results:

Then he [the President of Hungary] warned that legislators and politicians are to draw the conclusions with reference to the referendum. This was attempted yesterday in the House of the Parliament. The Liar of Ószöd [the Prime Minister] and other actors [governing coalition politicians] think people having voted yes want to use services for free. The Leader of the Parliamentary Group of Fidesz, Mr. Tibor Navracsics stated that health care and education are not free services but governing coalition politicians kept repeating the contrary [textually slightly shortened for our purposes]. Hungary lost with the referendum. This is as much as the Prime Minister could say. The Liar of Ószöd made another attempt to seem to speak the truth while lying [textually slightly shortened for our purposes]. As far as the contents of his [Prime Minister's] several speeches are concerned, the audience conceptualised the following Shakespearean paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't." [i.e. nonsense].

Below, the gists of the four different translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8) of Source Text 2 are given. The gist of Target Text 3 reads like this:

Then he [the President of Hungary] declared that now it is legislators' and politician's turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps. This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. The "Jackass of Ószöd" and the more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times 'Yes' are the bargain hunters of free deals. Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz called attention in vain to the premise that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: speeches advocating the standpoint of the government were trying to convince fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was not elaborated on. At the same time we learnt from the mildly melancholic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection. The "Jackass of Ószöd", showing a glimpse of his old-new self, attempted again to convert his widely-known Ószöd speech into a speech of justice in his third speech directing criticism at the President of Fidesz. His manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearian line paraphrased in the audience: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

The gist of Target Text 4 sounds like this:

Then he [the President of Hungary] motioned that now it is legislators' and politician's turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps. This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. The Jackass of Ószöd and more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times 'Yes' are the money grubbers of free deals. Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz in vain called the attention to the fact that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: the performers of the retuned pro-government canvass-speeches tried to convince their fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was deliberately obscured. At the same time we learnt from the mildly lethargic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. Approximately this was the essence of the Gyurcsanyesque introspection. The Jackass of Ószöd, showing his old-new self, attempted again to convert his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a speech of justice in his third speech reprimanding the President of Fidesz. The content of his manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

The gist of Target Text 7 reads like this:

Consequently, he [the President of Hungary] urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and to take the necessary steps. The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech was more manageable than his insolent Sunday night reactions, when he imagined all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters while the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people deciding purely on financial grounds. The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány’s team (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES’s in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, was in vain trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. All in all, PM Gyurcsány’s introspection extended to as much as this. While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self. For the audience, the essence of his numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.”

The gist of Target Text 8 is as follows:

Consequently, he [the President of Hungary] urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and take the necessary steps. The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech sounded more agreeable than his insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions, when he fantasized that all ‘No’ voters were socialist supporters while the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters were people deciding purely on financial grounds. The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány’s cronies (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES’s in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. In vain was Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. All in all, Gyurcsány’s introspection extended to as little as this. While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self. For the audience, the essence of his numerous long-winded speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.”

The four different translations of Source Text 2 yield gists with an identical propositional content irrespective of the fact that the phrasing of these gists differs. The gists, just like in the case of Source Text 1 and its translations, exhibit differences at the microlevel: in their choice of lexis. It can thus be concluded that in the case of the two source language texts analysed, the propositional content of the gists of the four target texts of each source text are identical with the propositional content of the respective source text. Differences occur at the microlevel, the interpretation of which is disregarded in this context as lexical choice will be analysed with the CDA model of the Political Bias Screener. The above indicates that the target texts communicate the same argumentation and use the same propositional content for persuasion, therefore no significant translational shifts are present.

It is clear then that translation does not alter the gist of argumentative political newspaper articles. As the gist carries out logical persuasion, as stated in Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2, it can be concluded that, in terms of logical persuasion, the gist has no capacity of serving manipulative political or ideological purposes through translation other than the persuasion existing already in the source text. Naturally, the choice of lexis of the gists of the target texts differ, which potentially indicates space for emotive persuasion and manipulation (c.f. Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2). Such differences, however, can only be analysed with the help of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model.

In what follows, it will be explored to what extent the propositional content of the political messages of the source texts and their respective different translations are identical with each other. First, the political message of Source Text 1 and the political message of its four different translations (Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6) will be given, which will be followed by the political message of Source Text 2 and the political message of its four different translations (Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8).

The political message of Source Text 1 (translated literally into English for our purposes, with explanatory remarks in square brackets) reads like this:

Since then he [the Prime Minister] and Mr. János Kóka have been competing with each other to explain that, as a result of Fidesz's referendum campaign, General Practitioners thus will lose app. HUF 150,000 per month. And this [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The political message of Target Text 1 is as follows:

Since then he [the Prime Minister] and Mr. János Kóka have been competing with each other to explain that, as a result of Fidesz's referendum campaign, General Practitioners thus will lose app. HUF 150,000 per month. And this [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The political message of Target Text 2 reads like this:

Since then they [the Prime Minister and Mr. Kóka] have been overdoing each other with Mr. János Kóka in proving that general practitioners will suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000 due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign. And it [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The political message of Target Text 5 reads like this:

Since then, him [the Prime Minister] and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And in such a situation, no compensation would be possible.

The political message of Target Text 6 reads like this:

Since then, him [the Prime Minister] and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And in such a situation, no compensation will be possible at last.

As it is obvious from the texts above, with reference to Source Text 1 and its translations, the propositional content of the political message of the source text and the propositional content of the political message of the four translations of the source text are identical. Differences are noted at the microlevel, in terms of choice of lexis. Next, the political message of Source Text 2 and its translations are discussed.

The political message of Source Text 2 (translated literally into English for our purposes) reads as shown below. Expressions appearing in square brackets are only included to make textual references understandable:

This [drawing the conclusions] was attempted yesterday in the House of the Parliament. As far as the contents of his [Prime Minister's] several speeches are concerned, the audience conceptualised the following Shakespearean paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

The political message of Target Text 3 reads like this:

This task [drawing the conclusions] was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. His [Prime Minister's] manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearian line paraphrased in the audience: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

The political message of Target Text 4 is as follows:

This task [drawing the conclusions] was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. The content of his [Prime Minister's] manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

The political message of Target Text 7 reads like this:

The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so [drawing the conclusions] yesterday. For the audience, the essence of his [Prime Minister's] numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

The political message of Target Text 8 is the following:

The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so [drawing the conclusions] yesterday. For the audience, the essence of his [Prime Minister's] numerous long-winded speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

The propositional content of the political message of Source Text 2 and the propositional content of the political message of the four target texts are identical. Yet again, the choice of lexis in the target texts is different. Such a difference is for instance the use of *long-winded speeches* in Target Text 8 as opposed to *numerous speeches* in Target Text 7.

With reference to the source texts and their translations, it can be concluded that the propositional content of the political messages of the source texts and their respective translations do not differ. However, at the microlevel, i.e. in choice of lexis, there are differences. Such differences at the microlevel can only be interpreted with the help of the CDA model (c.f. Section 4.6 for the model and Section 8.4 for the analysis).

As argued above, significant translational shifts with reference to the propositional content of the political messages do not appear here. Given that political messages effect emotive persuasion, which is linked with the political socialisation of the individual, it is suggested that the political messages of source and target texts primarily exhibit their political bias and realise their political manipulation through choice of lexis. As differences in choice of lexis surfacing in the gist and the political message are only interpretable through the critical reading of the textual features present in and characteristic of the entire texts, the full texts of the source and target texts will be explored first, to be followed by the analysis of the textual features of the gists and the political messages realised at the microlevel. To uncover how such microlevel features contextually operate in the case of the gist, the political message and the full source and target texts in general, an analysis performed with the help of the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model will be carried out, which is capable of identifying social, political, cultural, historical contextual features of these texts and can provide a critical discursual explanation thereof.

8.4. The results and discussion of the CDA analysis

This section describes the results obtained with the help of the TDSI Model (c.f. Section 4.6). Incorporating the results of the superstructure analysis, the macrostructure analysis has revealed that the only notable differences between the gists and the political messages of the texts in the corpus appear at the microlevel, surfacing in the choice of lexis. It has been concluded that in order to provide an explanation for such features in their social, political, cultural, historical contextual environments, the TDSI Model will be applied.

The source and target texts are analysed with the help of the four components (**Action, Context, Power and Ideology**) and the constituting aspects of the components of the TDSI Model. The input of the analysis is formed by the complete source and target texts as well as the gists and the political messages of these texts. First, Source Text 1 and its four translations will be analysed in view of the components of the TDSI Model, which will be followed by the analysis of Source Text 2 and its four translations along the same components. Conclusions will be formulated with reference to each model component in connection with both source texts and their four translations. Due to the complexity of the analysis, Section 8.4.3 provides a summary of the results of the CDA analysis highlighting its most significant results.

8.4.1 CDA analysis of Source Text 1 and its four translations

First, Source Text 1 and its four translations will be analysed along the components of the TDSI Model and the constituting aspects of the components.

8.4.1.1. Action

Within the first component of **Action** of the TDSI Model, the aspects of **intentionality, perspective, implications and consequences** will be examined (c.f. Section 4.6.1). **Intentionality** focuses on the purpose of the creation of the source and the target texts. In our case, Source Text 1 was created to interpret the Referendum results for a wide audience. The target texts were created to perform a translation assignment commissioned by two opposing political parties, MSZP and Fidesz, for the texts to be posted on their respective web pages. It must also be noted that the target texts,

according to the translation assignment, will be used to promote the two parties' image building campaigns. This already suggests that the intentionality present in the source language articles may be reinforced or, alternatively, undermined. The translators are likely to have different interpretations of the intentionality of the target texts tailored to the actual client expectations. This is bound to influence the other features of the resulting target texts, too.

Next, **perspective** reflects the viewpoint from which the text was written. In Source Text 1, the author apparently takes sides with Prime Minister Gyurcsány and his government, which is not surprising given the fact that *Népszabadság* features pro-MSZP articles. Numerous references to this perspective are found in the text. For example, the author implies that the Prime Minister is a great statesman because he did not criticize his adversaries when he won the elections, and evaluates the current situation as another chance for the Prime Minister to show his understanding of the will of the voters (sentence 3). Besides praising the Prime Minister, another strategy is to decry everyone who opposes him: common people are presented as irresponsible citizens seeking merely their own interest (sentence 5), and Hungarian Medical Chamber President, Mr. István Éger is pictured as a villain, who, instead of representing the doctors' interests properly, hazards their existence through inconsistent decision making and misinformation (sentence 8). When communicating criticism towards PM Gyurcsány, the writer of the article is rather careful. First, instead of pointing out that he is talking about PM Gyurcsány, he uses a general subject and does not refer to the Prime Minister by name: in sentence 8 we find *Ez könnyen érthető álláspont* [It is an easily understandable point], in sentence 13 we read *Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni* [This cannot be neglected], in sentence 14 we have *hiszen nem lehet komoly politikus, aki nem hisz önmagában, a hitet elvév köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes* [no serious politician can afford not to believe in himself and making principles out of beliefs in the field of politics is quite dangerous] and sentence 16 has *A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak* [Governing entails obligations]. All of these criticisms are targeted towards the Prime Minister but as he is not named in the sentences, his political responsibility is obscured.

Second, the journalist does not really criticize the Prime Minister for his political failure directly in the text, he only advises him not to get offended (sentence 15) and to

be more flexible once people's will has manifested (sentences 12-13) and to carry on with the reforms in health care (sentence 26). Criticism is accompanied by tentative phrasing: *Ha komolyan gondolja* [If he is serious] (sentence 26) and the humble suggestions on what to do in sentences 23-26 (i.e. try introducing new policies) once reforms have been torpedoed by the results of the Referendum. Also, as to whether he should resign immediately, the answer is a definite 'no': the Prime Minister's resignation is to be handed in only if several other solutions fail in the future (sentences 17-21). These textual features suggest a perspective that is loyal to the Prime Minister and consequently the text exhibits political bias towards MSZP.

In terms of the perspective of Target Text 1, it reproduces the perspective of the source text, which is not surprising given that Target Text 1 has been produced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP. All findings described above are valid for this text, too. Thus, instead of repeating the same arguments, further specific references in Target Text 1, signalling loyalty to the Prime Minister and thus pro-MSZP perspective, are discussed below.

In sentence 3 of Source Text 1, with reference to the defeat in the Referendum, we find the tentative *bebizonyíthatja* [can prove], which becomes definite in Translator 1's phrasing of *will prove* (sentence 3). Sentence 7 of the Source Text *Ők pedig nem kompenzálnak.* [And they will not compensate.] becomes *And the government is not in a position to compensate for this* (sentence 7), which suggests that even if the government wanted to compensate, this is impossible given the circumstances. Obviously, these textual features indicate a pro-MSZP perspective and signal stronger bias towards MSZP as compared to the source text.

Target Text 2 has been produced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz. The perspective reflected by the translation is a mixture of pro-MSZP elements of the source text reproduced in the target text and slight pro-Fidesz bias reflecting the client's position. Similarly to the way the pro-MSZP elements of the source text have been detailed above, the pro-Fidesz elements are described below. These textual elements seem to reflect scepticism and negative judgement about the Prime Minister. With reference to the Prime Minister's generosity, in sentence 3 we find the addition of *if he may* in the context *The Prime Minister can now prove, if he may, that he does not only have the generosity...*, to which there are no references in this form in the source text

and which implies that he might as well fail in providing proof. The first clause of sentence 4 of the source text *Ennek igazolásával még késlekedik ...* [He is yet to prove this.] has been rendered as *He still owes proving this...*, which signals disapproval through the use of *owe*. In sentence 27 of Source Text 1, which reads *Az ugyanis miniszterelnöki tevékenységének a csődje lenne*, the word *csőd* has been translated as *fiasco* in sentence 27, which, contrary to its moral neutrality in Hungarian also signals embarrassment in English. This seems to prove that the original bias of the source text article has been retained but in order to satisfy the client, i.e. Fidesz, pro-Fidesz perspective has been added.

Target Text 5 has been produced by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP. The translation tries to be objective in that it reproduces the original perspective of the source text but features no other perspectives in the form of textual additions. To justify this, the same textual items will be referred to as with reference to Target Text 2 above. The first clause of sentence 4 of Source Text 1 *Ennek igazolásával még késlekedik ...* [He is yet to prove this.] has been rendered in a neutral way as *Justification still remains to be furnished* (sentence 4). The noun *csőd* in sentence 27 of the source text is translated as *failure* (sentence 27), which does not express negative judgement. Even those parts of the source text that could possibly provide opportunities for lexis-level manipulation remain neutral in the translation: e.g. *Gyurcsányék* [PM Gyurcsány and his circles] in sentence 17 is translated as *the Gyurcsány team*, which does not feature a change of perspective. It seems then that Target Text 5 reproduces the original perspective of the source text but does not add any further or different perspective to the translation.

Target Text 6 has been produced by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz. This text features the original perspective of the source text and shows several signs of further pro-Fidesz perspective-related additions. Neutrality of the source text has been replaced by humour for the entertainment of pro-Fidesz readers: the first clause of sentence 6 of Source Text 2 *Azóta pedig koalíciós elnöktársával, Kóka Jánossal szinte versengve bizonygatják*, [Since then he and coalition partner Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove] has been translated as *Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest* (sentence 6 of Target Text 6), where the phrasing *little contest* suggests poking fun at the situation. The translation

of the phrase *a magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora* [one of dangerous adventurers of Hungarian public life] in source sentence 8 sounds like *allegedly dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life* (sentence 9 of Target Text 6), which signals hedging and the correction of the applied term through the use of *allegedly*. The word *Gyurcsányék* [PM Gyurcsány and his circles] in sentence 17 is translated as *Gyurcsány and cronies* (sentence 20 of Target Text 6), which is openly pejorative. This indicates that the original perspective of the source text has apparently been retained, but a further pro-Fidesz perspective has been added reflecting the client's and the translator's political orientation. Target Text 6 does no longer reflect the perspective of the source text but rather pokes fun at it through the irony surfacing in the above expressions.

The above suggests that translators mostly reproduce the perspective of the source text and include further perspectives to satisfy client expectations. Translator 1 seems to prioritise client expectations over her own political convictions and produces translation shifts accordingly, whereas Translator 2 tries to be objective in the case of texts reflecting a perspective different from that of his own and resists further manipulation. However, when client expectations of perspective coincide with his, he is ready to include further textual realisations of perspective in the target text thus producing translation shifts.

The next aspect of the **Action** component of the TDSI Model is **implications and consequences**, which reflects upon explicit and implicit statements of texts in their social, cultural and political contexts. Source Text 1 explicitly but mildly criticises the Prime Minister on the following grounds: for not showing generosity towards the voters of the Referendum (sentences 3-4) and for not compensating for the fees repealed by the Referendum; for failing to compensate GPs for the loss of income as a result of the Referendum (sentence 7); for declining the responsibility for the consequences of the Referendum (sentences 16, 24); and for not being able to push through the health care reform (sentences 17-21). Implicitly, the article suggests that the Prime Minister will have to step down if he is incapable of carrying out the planned reforms. This is situated in sentences 20 and 27-28, where the following expressions with reference to the Prime Minister are found: *mennie kell* [he will have to go] (sentence 20) and *azt már nem lehet kompenzálni* [this /failure as PM/ cannot be compensated] (sentence 28). This in the given social and political context suggests the following: there is resentment towards the

Prime Minister for the result of the Referendum, the supporters of reform are getting impatient and the conclusion drawn is that if this is as much as the Prime Minister can do, he will no longer need to be a Prime Minister.

All target texts reproduce the explicit statements without exception. The phrasing of the implicit statements is, however, more varied and politically more revealing. In terms of the translation of source text sentence 20, MSZP-loyal Translator 1 uses the term *resign* (sentence 20) in Target Text 1 produced for MSZP, which signals that the translator explicitly prioritises MSZP's interests over those of the Prime Minister. In Target Text 2 for Fidesz, she is less determined and uses the verb *go*, which reproduces the Hungarian euphemism of the source text *mennie kell* (sentence 20). This is telling as she seems to be defending the Prime Minister in the hostile environment of Fidesz as client. Translator 2 in Target Text 5 for MSZP also uses the term *resign* (sentence 23), which either suggests the same orientation as the one of Translator 1, i.e. MSZP's interests are pivotal, or that he, being a Fidesz supporter, has phrased his own wishes with reference to the resignation of the Prime Minister. This seems to be confirmed by his phrasing in Target Text 6, where we find: *step down finally* in sentence 23. Here the addition of *finally* suggests that, in the interpretation of Translator 2, this should have happened a long time ago. This is confirmed in sentence 33 of Target Text 6: *no compensation will be possible at last*, which, as an addition, contains the phrase *at last* as opposed to the absence of an equivalent phrase in the respective source sentence.

These suggest that explicit statements are reproduced without exception and that, depending on the client, implicit statements are either explicitly stated (explicitation) in the observance of client expectations or as a realisation of the reproduction of the translators' own political commitments or, alternatively, are reproduced in their implicitness.

Summing up the findings with reference to the component of **Action**, translators mostly reproduce intentionality of the source text in their target texts but undermine or reinforce it in line with client expectations. Translators mostly reproduce the perspective of the source text and include further perspectives in order to satisfy client expectations. Explicit statements are fully reproduced, while implicit statements present in the source language articles are reinforced or, alternatively, undermined depending on the

translators' political orientation. Nonetheless, the extent of reinforcement or undermining is limited and, as a whole, the target texts continue to reflect client expectations.

8.4.1.2. Context

Within the second component, i.e. **Context**, of the TDSI Model, the aspects of **participants**, **higher level action** and **local and global contexts** will be examined (c.f. Section 4.6.2). The aspect of **participants** refers to the receivers of a text. In the case of Source Text 1, the receivers are the readers of *Népszabadság*, in which paper the article in question appeared. The readership of *Népszabadság* is made up of loyal MSZP and SZDSZ supporters and other readers, who do not necessarily support MSZP but are interested in the paper itself. In view of this fact, after the Referendum, it was natural that *Népszabadság* published articles that evaluated the results of the Referendum and described the contemporary political climate. As MSZP supporters were heavily defeated, the article had to offer some kind of presentation and political evaluation of the Hungarian political situation and a solution to the situation, a way out. Presentation of and response to the political situation are found in sentences 1-6 (**situation** in the superstructure) and in sentence 7 (**response₁** in the superstructure), while a solution to the situation is pictured in sentences 26-28 (**positive result** in the superstructure). As the article is loyal towards MSZP and thus wishes to explain to readers what happened at the Referendum and persuade them to see the situation as the journalist of the article sees it, relatively shorter and less complex sentences are used, especially in the case of suggestions about the future (sentences 21-26) so that all readers can easily understand the arguments. Important political communication messages targeting wide audiences are often phrased in simple ways and in simple sentences so that all can easily understand the message (c.f. Bánhegyi 2008: 101-2).

Naturally, the target texts retain the above detailed superstructure elements as well as the relative simplicity of sentence structures, which latter feature can also be put down to translators' preference to observing sentence boundaries. The 28-sentence-long Source Text 1 has been translated as 28 and 33-sentence long target texts by the two translators, respectively. As the receivers of Target Texts 1 and 5 are likely to be primarily MSZP loyal visitors to the website of MSZP, these target texts do not exhibit

participant-related translation shifts. The situation is different in the case of Target Texts 2 and 6, which are to be published on Fidesz's website, the majority of the readership of which is likely to be Fidesz supporters. This also explains the translation shifts elaborated on in connection with the aspect of **implications and consequences** within the component of **Action**.

It must, at the same time, be noted that if Hungary was more in the focus of international attention and if there were many more pieces of news about Hungary in the international press, the translators would have been able to reproduce typical instances of phrases characterising differently biased news reports about Hungary. This, however, is not the case. Participant-related features of Source Text 1 thus remain unchanged in the target texts.

The next aspect of **Action** is **higher level action**, which denotes the position of texts in their political agendas and political environments. Source Text 1 was written after a severe defeat of the governing coalition in the Social Referendum. Therefore, the article intends to prove that the Referendum was not a big issue and that no further consequences can be drawn from the results of the Referendum. This is underpinned by the fact that the article does not mention exact data concerning voter turnout or the results and does not write about the fact that the Referendum results can be interpreted as a protest against the policies of the government but rather focuses on the importance of the health care reform and the Prime Minister's role in the reform. This is especially understandable if one remembers that Fidesz interpreted the Referendum results as a democratic civic move against a despotic government. To combat this, *Népszabadság* instead focuses on the reforms carried out by the government and by Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány rather than discussing the consequences of the Referendum in a wider political context.

Naturally, translators have no means to manipulate or alter the political agendas and political environment characteristic of the source text in question in their target texts. They, however, can strengthen or undermine the political agendas associated with the source text in question. This in the case of the source text and the target texts examined is achieved by lexical choice. Target Text 1 by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP underscores the higher level action of *Népszabadság* by referring to PM Gyurcsány's government specifically in sentence 16 writing *The government has*

obligations rather than referring to governing in general, which appears in sentence 16 of the Hungarian source text: *A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak* [Governing includes obligations]. In a similar fashion, PM Gyurcsány in sentence 26 of Source Text 1 is referred to as *reformer miniszterelnök* [reformer Prime Minister], translated as *advocate of reforms* in Target Text 1 (sentence 26), which signals active involvement in reforms, rather than the Hungarian descriptive phrase that merely denotes that the Prime Minister is a supporter of reforms. In the same sentence the clause *legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy [...] kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot* [at least the chance should be created to avoid failure in the question of [...] containing references to a possible failure is rendered with the positive and affirmative phrase *needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces [...] question*, suggesting optimism towards the future success of PM Gyurcsány's government.

Target Text 2 by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz does not focalise PM Gyurcsány's government and uses hedges when discussing avoidance of failure. Thus sentence 16 reads: *Any government has obligations*, which is a general statement and leaves PM Gyurcsány's government in the background. The clause in sentence 26 of Source Text 1 *legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy [...] kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot* [at least the chance should be created to avoid failure in the question of [...]] is translated as *he needs to give it a try* in sentence 26, which suggests tentativeness thus promoting a less optimistic view of the future of PM Gyurcsány's government.

Target 5 and 6 produced by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP and Fidesz respectively, uses the general term *governance* in sentence 19 thus defocalizing PM Gyurcsány's government, hinting that it may well be another government that has to do something about this question. This is interpreted here as the textual surfacing of the political commitment of Translator 2. The clause in sentence 26 of Target Text 1 *legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy [...] kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot* [at least the chance should be created to avoid failure in the question of [...]] is translated as *he needs to ensure that he avoids failure* in sentence 31 of Target Text 5, which expresses the idea of necessity for the common good thus satisfying the MSZP supporter readership. The same clause, however, is rendered as *he needs to at least try to ensure that he avoids failure* in sentence 31 of Target Text 6 for Fidesz, where the

addition of *at least try* communicates less likelihood of avoiding failure thus pronouncing PM Gyurcsány incapable of governing.

In sum, it is obvious that translators, even if they cannot manipulate the higher level action expressed by the text, can strengthen or undermine the political agendas associated with the source texts in question through using different phrasing in favour of the higher level action promoted by the client.

The next aspect of the component of **Context** is **local and global contexts**, which refers to the immediate communicative context as well as to the immediate and long term social and political effects the texts under scrutiny create. Source Text 1 was written right after the Social Referendum was held. The article contributes to MSZP's tactic of trying to cut short the time while Fidesz can enjoy victory and instead it focuses readers' attention on the future of the health care reform and the Prime Minister, which is clearly signalled by the position of sentences 26-28 at the focalised end of the article. The most important question, in terms of longer-term political consequences, is the political future of the Prime Minister. References to this are made in sentences 20-21 and 27 in Source Text 1. Sentences 20-21 sound like *akkor meg menni kell. Ez ennyire egyszerű.* [then he will have to go. This is so simple.] while sentence 27 reads *Az ugyanis miniszterelnöki tevékenységének a csődje lenne* [This would be the failure in his activity as Prime Minister.]. As Fidesz was repeatedly attacking the Prime Minister personally, demanding his resignation, with respect to translators' political bias, it is interesting to explore how references to the Prime Minister's future are worded in the target texts. In Target Text 1 produced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP, we find the following translation of sentences 20-21 of Source Text 1: *then they will have to resign. It is as simple as that.* (sentences 20-21 of Target Text 1) and *this would mean the end of his career as a prime minister* (sentence 27 of Target Text 1) as the translation of sentence 27 of Source Text 1. The choice of lexis of *resign* and *end of his career* as well as the phrasing *as simple as that* reflects objectivity and thus distancing, which signals that Translator 1 prioritises the political survival of the governing coalition over the personal political future of Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány. However, in Target Text 2, Translator 1 uses non-neutral terms to describe the same actions: *then they will have to go. It is as simple as that* (sentences 20-21 of Target Text 2) and *it would mean his fiasco as prime minister* (sentence 27 of Target Text 2). The choice of

lexis of *go* and especially *fiasco* signal negative evaluation of the Prime Minister, which is the result of the fact that MSZP supporter Translator 2 produces this translation for Fidesz. Target Text 5 rendered by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP, as translation of the same sentences, contains *they will have no other choice but to resign. This is so simple!* (sentences 23-24 of Target Text 5), which uses 3rd person plural extending the scope of resignation to the entire government (*they will have no other choice...*). Similarly, in the clause *this would indicate his failure as a Prime Minister* (sentence 32 of Target Text 5) the noun *failure* also expresses negative achievement. Obviously, Translator 2 incorporated his own political convictions in the target text irrespective of client expectations. In Target Text 6, he goes even further as this text is for Fidesz and writes: *they will have no other choice but to step down finally. This should be so simple!* (sentences 23-24 of Target Text 6) and *this will indicate his failure as a Prime Minister* (sentence 32 of Target Text 6). The phrasal verb *step down* bears the connotation of somebody else taking the place of the Prime Minister, the addition of *finally* and the auxiliary *should* signal impatience on the part of Translator 2 for political change, while the auxiliary *will* signals certainty about the doom of PM Gyurcsány. The above clearly indicates that translators, as a rule, will incorporate their perception of long term political effects through the choice of lexis in target texts.

Summing up the findings regarding the component of **Context**, the participants-related features of Source Text 1 remain unchanged in the target texts. Concerning higher level action, even if it cannot be manipulated, translators do strengthen or undermine the political agendas in favour of client expectations. With reference to local and global contexts, translators incorporate references to long-term political effects through choice of lexis in an attempt to satisfy client expectations concerning the presentation of social and political effects.

8.4.1.3. Power

Within the component of **Power** of the TDSI Model, the aspect of **access to speak** will be examined, which extends to the power of text production possessed by journalists and translators and the enactment of social dominance (c.f. Section 4.6.3).

Power is enacted in Source Text 1 by journalist Ákos Tóth. In the target texts, the power enacted in the source text is reproduced by Translator 1 and 2, respectively.

With reference to power, from a social and political point of view, it is important to see that one single person, the journalist (obviously with the approval of the editor, certain powerful circles, etc.) is enabled to voice his opinion and textually reproduce social dominance for the readership of *Népszabadság*. The Social Referendum is an intriguing historical moment in this respect as the Referendum results showed that the ruling elite was challenged: the government had no other option but to administratively react and abolish the fees the Referendum decided against. This deadlock is presented in sentences 10-13 of Source Text 1:

Mellékes, hogy pár száz háziorvos mégiscsak deklaráta, jó a vizitdíj rendszere. Mellékes, hogy komoly közgazdászok egész sora állt ki e reformelem mellett. Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnákhoz, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából. Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni.

These sentences communicate that even if several experts deemed having to pay the visit fee a good practice, lay people, i.e. the voters decided against it in the Referendum and, as a consequence, the democratic rights of citizens must be observed. It is also noteworthy that voters are also implicitly criticised by the journalist, who in sentence 12 of Source text 1 uses the term *nem volt rest elmenni az urnákhoz* [were not lazy to vote] to describe that the voters this time did go and vote. This attitude questions the right of voters to democratic decision-making and thus enacts the power of the contemporary governing elite.

The translators, in turn, through the translation assignment, were given the power of reproducing or undermining the social dominance enacted in the source text. Theoretically, within reasonable limits and suited to the actual translation assignment and the clients, translators have space for manipulating dominance expressed by the source text. Target Text 1 produced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP uses the phrase *It is a fact* (sentences 10-11) and *It is not important* (sentences 12) as a translation of *Mellékes, hogy* [It is irrelevant...] (sentences 10-12) and *This cannot be ignored* (sentence 13) as a translation of *Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni*. [This

should not be neglected.]. Target Text 2 produced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz uses the phrase *It is a irrelevant* (sentences 10-12) as a translation of *Mellékes, hogy* and *This cannot be overlooked* (sentence 13) as a translation of *Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni*. With reference to social dominance, the power expressed in Target Texts 1 and 2 differs: in Target Text 1 for MSZP Translator 1 through the use of the noun *fact*, the clause *It is not important* and the verb *ignored* tries to ensure that readers understand that the results are a fact and cannot be altered as if MSZP had even challenged the Referendum results. Thus dominance, or in this case the opposition to MSZP's dominance, is approached from the position of voters and not from the standpoint represented in Source Text 1. In Target Text 2 for Fidesz Translator 1 through the use of the phrase *It is irrelevant* and the verb *overlooked* takes the side of the voters in the majority and consequently of Fidesz suggesting that there can be no other interpretations to the Referendum results only the one provided by Fidesz, that is why certain things are *irrelevant*, i.e. not to be dealt with, and must be borne in mind, i.e. *cannot be overlooked*.

Target Texts 5 and 6 by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 both contain the phrase *It is unimportant* (sentences 10-13 in Target Text 5 and sentences 11-12 in Target Text 6) and Target Text 6 also contains the phrase *irrespective of* (sentence 13) as a translation of *mellékes, hogy*. The adjective *unimportant* expresses that no one is interested in listening to further explanations on the part of the government and that the government should act and repeal the fees concerned. In Target Text 5 for MSZP sentence 12 of Source Text 1:

Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnákhoz, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából has been split into two sentences: *It is unimportant what one believes. What cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they do not wish to pay those fees*

(sentences 13-14 in Target Text 5) so that the emphatic structure in sentence 14 of Target Text 5 is focalised in one single sentence in the translation, which signals the translator's fear that MSZP may not have realised the result of the Referendum. The same source sentence is translated as one sentence in Target Text 6. This construction with no emphasis focalises the unquestioned acceptance of the Referendum results in the target text produced for Fidesz.

It seems that irrespective of the translators' own political convictions, translators take sides with voters and the institution of democratic decision making, which signals that even if a text reproduces the dominance of a ruling elite, translators are likely to undermine such dominance in their texts. This may cause, as in the case of our target texts, the production of texts that reflect a struggle of two opposing social groups for social dominance.

8.4.1.4. Ideology

Within the **Ideology** component of the TDSI Model, the following aspects will be examined: **social beliefs and personal beliefs** as well as the **reproduction of ideology** surfacing in argumentation, implicature, stylistic features and lexical choice, formulaic language and the distinction between US vs. THEM (c.f. Section 4.6.3).

As discussed in detail in Section 4.5.2.4.4, **social beliefs** refer to the information a group of people sharing the same characteristics (in our case, supporting the same party or ideology) deem true and taken for granted (such as e.g. the identity of a group) while **personal beliefs** are similar beliefs but they are shared by an individual. On the micro-level, these beliefs surface, on the one hand, as **evaluative beliefs**, i.e. beliefs that cannot be assessed through objective criteria, and, on the other hand, as **opinions**, i.e. beliefs based on moral and/or other personal judgement. Below, the source and target texts will be analysed to reveal, explain and compare instances of evaluative beliefs and opinions.

In Source Text 1, the following evaluative beliefs are found in the form of propositions: *magyar közélet kalandora* [adventurer of the Hungarian public life] (sentence 8), where the term *adventurer* depicts the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber as unreliable and untrustworthy and thus ideologically positions him as a non-ally. In sentence 8, the use of the phrase *kürtölte tele a világot* [cried to the world]

presents a non-objective picture through the affective connotations of the word *cried*, which suggests making much ado about nothing and consequently undermines the professional reputation of the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber. Economists advocating the health care reform are termed *komoly közgazdászok* [respectable economists] in sentence 11, which signals the professional recognition of these experts and the support of the health care reform. The source text article, which urges the continuation of further reforms in health care, terming the Prime Minister *reformer miniszterelnök* [Prime Minister committed to reforms] in sentence 26, ideologically positions reforms as a positive effort worth continuing. Obviously, the evaluative beliefs detailed above function as social beliefs shared by those supporting the government-initiated health care reforms and consequently the policies of MSZP. Therefore, these social beliefs also contribute to the formation of a group identity (pro health care reform and pro-MSZP groups). In sum, ideologically the article supports reforms in health care and presents a negative picture of those opposing such reforms through evaluative beliefs.

In Source Text 1, the journalist voices the following opinions of his: *a kompenzáció nem feltétlenül a gyengeség jele* [compensating is not necessarily a sign of weakness] (sentence 1); *Erőt is mutathat* [It can also show strength] (sentence 2); *a hitet elvvé köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes* [making principles out of beliefs is quite dangerous in the field of politics] (sentence 14); *Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell* [to the extent of a healthy compromise compensating is a must] (sentence 22); *azért, mert ez a kormányzás felelőssége* [because this /i.e. compensating/ is the responsibility of governing] (sentence 22). The journalist expresses his own personal beliefs through opinions in these phrases and clauses with reference to the relationship between social power relations and compensation (sentences 1 and 2), dangerous political practices (sentence 14) and the need for compensation in the actual political climate (sentence 22). These personal beliefs indicate the journalist's personal commitment to the issue of health care reforms and to the future political career of the Prime Minister, the government and MSZP and thus represent pro health care, pro-government and pro-MSZP ideology.

Target Text 1 reproduces all the above evaluative beliefs and opinions without exception. The evaluative beliefs in the text are: *President of the Hungarian Medical*

Chamber running amok (sentence 7), *complaining at every forum* (sentence 8), *well-respected economic experts* (sentence 10) and *an advocate of reforms* (sentence 26), while opinions reproduced are: *compensation is not a sign of weakness* (sentence 1), *It can also show strength* (sentence 2), *to make principles out of beliefs in politics is a risky business* (sentence 14), *So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must* (sentence 22) and *because it is the responsibility of the government* (sentence 22). The replication of evaluative beliefs and opinions is not surprising given the fact that a pro-MSZP article is translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP. This seems to indicate that the ideological content of evaluative beliefs and opinions in Source Text 1 is reproduced in Target Text 1 without any alteration, which may be explained by the fact that the article, the translator and the client share the same ideology, i.e. no other ideologies interfere with the translation.

Target Text 2 has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz, which influences the ideology displayed by the text. Evaluative beliefs are only partly reproduced: *a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber* (sentence 8), and *an advocate of reforms* (sentence 26) are retained. However, the evaluative beliefs in *kiértölte tele a világot* [cried to the world] and *komoly közgazdászok* [respectable economists] are completely missing in Target Text 2 and are phrased as *had been explaining* (sentence 8) and *economic experts* (11). The phrase *explaining* does not suggest making fuss and economic experts are no longer termed *respectable*. The fact that some of the reproduced evaluative beliefs are phrased differently from the phrasing of Target Text 1 (e.g. *dangerous adventurer* in Target Text 2 instead of *running amok* in Target Text 1) in an ideological sense can potentially further support or weaken the ideology expressed in the phrases concerned. Even if such lexical choice is potentially capable of influencing the absolutely uncontested nature of the ideology expressed, these lexical choices are not powerful enough in themselves to undermine the ideology expressed in the article. This will be discussed in more detail in this section below with reference to stylistic features and lexical choice.

Opinions, on the other hand, are retained without exception in Target Text 2: *compensation is not necessarily a sign of weakness* (sentence 1), *It might also show strength* (sentence 2), *to make principles out of beliefs in politics verges on*

foolhardiness (sentence 14), *So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must* (sentence 22) and *because it is the responsibility of a government* (sentence 22). The fact that some of the reproduced opinions are phrased differently from the phrasing of Target Text 1 (e.g. the use of *might* in sentence 2 of Target Text 2 as opposed to *can* in sentence 2 of Target Text 1) can potentially further support or weaken the ideology expressed in the phrases concerned. Even if such choice of lexis can interfere with the ideology expressed, these lexical choices have no capacity to undermine the ideology expressed in the article. This issue will be touched upon below in more detail in connection with stylistic features and lexical choice.

Target Text 5 translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP seems to retain the majority of evaluative beliefs and opinions expressing ideology. The following evaluative beliefs are retained: *a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life* (sentence 9), *respectable economic experts* (sentence 12), *PM committed to reforms* (sentence 31). Nonetheless, the ideologically positioning phrase *kürtölte tele a világot* [cried to the world] (sentence 8 in Source Text 1) is translated as *telling the world* (sentence 9), which is ideologically neutral in phrasing. This indicates the translator's sympathy towards the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber and his refusal to reproduce the ideology expressed in this expression of Source Text 1.

All opinions of Source Text 1 are expressed in Target Text 5: *Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness* (sentence 1), *It can show strength, too* (sentence 2), *turning beliefs into principles is a shaky venture in politics* (sentence 17), *a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation* (sentence 25) and *because it is the responsibility of any government* (sentence 26). Interestingly enough, one opinion that is not present in Source Text 1 surfaces in Target Text 5 due to explicitation. Sentence 24 of Source Text 1 contains the phrase *tetszettek volna...* To combat the problems of the differing pragmatic knowledge of non-Hungarian receivers of the target text and Hungarian receivers of the source text, who know that this phrase refers to a situation that cannot be changed at present but could have been altered if in the past radical changes had taken place, Translator 2 uses explicitation and writes *And it is exclusively their problem* (sentence 29) with reference to GP's lack of funding. The use of this sentence results in an ideologically positioned interpretation. The ideology here is that this phrasing suggests it is only GPs who are responsible and explicitly states that

the government abdicates all responsibility. This suggests that Translator 2 has reproduced the ideology suited to the client's expectations. Therefore, it seems that the translator pushes his own political convictions to the background and retains the ideology present in the source text wherever textually possible to satisfy the client sharing the same ideology as the source text.

The reproduction of ideology in Target Text 6 is of a different kind. In this case Fidesz supporter Translator 2 translates for Fidesz. Only one evaluative belief is retained out of the four in Source Text 1. While the evaluative belief *PM committed to reforms* (sentence 31) is retained, the others are omitted or manipulated. The addition of *allegedly* in the phrase *an allegedly dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life* (sentence 9) undermines the original ideologically negative picture of the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber by discrediting the coiner of the phrase, the journalist. The equivalent of the ideologically loaded phrase *kürtölte tele a világot* [cried to the world] (sentence 8 in Source Text 1) is translated as *telling the world* (sentence 9), which is ideologically neutral in phrasing. As opposed to the phrase in Target Text 5 *respectable economic experts* (sentence 12), the adjective *respectable* is omitted in sentence 12 in Target Text 6, which undermines the original ideologically positive picture of these highly professional experts and downgrades them to some simple experts.

Interestingly, all opinions are reproduced in Target Text 6: *Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness* (sentence 1), *It can show strength, too* (sentence 2), *turning beliefs into principles is a foolhardy venture in politics* (sentence 17), *a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation* (sentence 25) and *because it is the responsibility of any government* (sentence 26). The reason for the retention of all of the opinions might be that evaluative beliefs are easier to spot for translators than opinions on the micro-level due to translators' immediate affective associations in connection with such lexical items. These affective associations may potentially trigger translators' refusal of reproducing the ideology expressed by the text if this ideology is not shared by them or their client.

For the purpose of summarising the findings of the reproduction of evaluative beliefs and opinions in Target Texts 1, 2, 5 and 6, Tables 8-1 and 8-2 provide a quick overview. The tables show the evaluative beliefs and opinions of Source Text 1 as well

as the equivalent beliefs and opinions reproduced in the different target texts. The number of the sentence in which the given belief and/or opinion appears is provided in parentheses.

It appears that translators mostly reproduce evaluative beliefs and opinions of Source Text 1 if they are translating for clients who share the ideology of the source text (Target Texts 1 and 5). If that is not the case, they cut back on the reproduction of evaluative beliefs and opinions to a lesser extent (Target Text 2) or to a greater extent (Target Text 6) producing target texts approximating the ideology of the client. Therefore, it can be stated that social beliefs sharing the ideology of the client are mainly reproduced, personal beliefs of the journalist are mostly reproduced whereas the translators' personal beliefs are only included if these beliefs reflect the ideology shared by the client.

Evaluative beliefs in Source Text 1 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 1 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 5 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 6 (No. of Sentence)	Remark
<i>magyar közélet kalandora</i> (8)	<i>President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber running amok</i> (7)	<i>a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life</i> (8)	<i>a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life</i> (9)	<i>allegedly dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life</i> (9)	
<i>kürtölte tele a világot</i> (8)	<i>complaining at every forum</i> (8)	<i>complaining at every forum</i> (8)	---	---	In Source Texts 5 and 6, this is not an evaluative belief.
<i>komoly közgazdászok</i> (11)	<i>well-respected economic experts</i> (10)	---	<i>respectable economic experts</i> (12)	---	In Source Texts 2 and 6, this is not an evaluative belief.
<i>reformér miniszterelnök</i> (26)	<i>an advocate of reforms</i> (26)	<i>an advocate of reforms</i> (26)	<i>PM committed to reforms</i> (31)	<i>PM committed to reforms</i> (31)	

Table 8-1: Evaluative beliefs in Source Text 1 and in its four translations

Opinions in Source Text 1 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 1 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 5 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 6 (No. of Sentence)
<i>kompensáció nem feltétlenül a gyengeség jele (1)</i>	<i>compensation is not a sign of weakness (1)</i>	<i>compensation is not necessarily a sign of weakness (1)</i>	<i>Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness (1)</i>	<i>Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness (1)</i>
<i>Erőt is mutathat (2)</i>	<i>It can also show strength (2)</i>	<i>It might also show strength (2)</i>	<i>It can show strength (2)</i>	<i>It can show strength (2)</i>
<i>a hitet elvé köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes (14)</i>	<i>to make principles out of beliefs in politics is a risky business (14)</i>	<i>to make principles out of beliefs in politics verges on foolhardiness (14)</i>	<i>turning beliefs into principles is a shaky venture in politics (17)</i>	<i>turning beliefs into principles is a foolhardy venture in politics (17)</i>
<i>Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell (22)</i>	<i>So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must (22)</i>	<i>So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must (22)</i>	<i>a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation (25)</i>	<i>a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation (25)</i>
<i>azért, mert ez a kormányzás felelőssége (22)</i>	<i>because it is the responsibility of the government (22)</i>	<i>because it is the responsibility of a government (22)</i>	<i>because it is the responsibility of any government (26)</i>	<i>because it is the responsibility of any government (26)</i>

Table 8-2: Opinions in Source Text 1 and in its four translations

The second aspect of the component of **Ideology** reflects on the **reproduction of ideology**. Below it will be discussed how ideology is reproduced in Source Text 1 and its translations through argumentation, stylistic features and lexical choice, implicature, formulaic language and the distinction between US vs. THEM. Argumentation is a feature of texts that is capable of reproducing ideology. Argumentation targets logical persuasion: as described in Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2, logical persuasion is expressed in the gist of the argumentative newspaper articles, i.e. in the macrostructure affected by the superstructure. Therefore, the reproduction of ideology in the argumentation of Source Text 1 and its translations will be analysed with reference to the gists of the texts in order to investigate whether translators reproduce the ideology expressed in the argumentation of the source text.

The gist of Source Text 1 translated literally into English is as follows (with explanatory remarks in parentheses):

In the same announcement, he [the Prime Minister] also said that people had made the most financially favourable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere. Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. And the government is not in a position to compensate for this. It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signalled that they do not want to pay those fees. The government has obligations. The amortization expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question. And that [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] would be impossible to compensate

The argumentation features the following arguments and ideology. The first step in the argument is that people do not want to pay the visit fee but sooner or later somebody has to pay for these services. In connection with this point, there is no reference to the fact that people pay health contributions from their salaries so they are not provided with free health care services. Here the ideology at play is to try and convince people that they are taking health care services for free and that they should pay extra once they want to use any of the services.

The next step in the argument is that GPs will suffer a financial loss due to the future repeal of the visit fee and the government is not willing to compensate for this in any way. The ideology expressed here entails purposefully not referring to certain facts in connection with the issue on the table: namely that with the concurrent introduction of the visit fee the government repealed GPs' depreciation expense and that the government could compensate for GPs' loss of income by reinstating the depreciation expense.

The next step in the argument is that the will of the voters must be observed and thus the visit fee must be repealed. Still, the government is responsible for providing health care and must make sure that health care services are functional. The ideology expressed here is to emphasize the democratic operation of the government respecting the will of the voters and the fact that the government does care for the citizen's well-being.

The subsequent step in the argument is that the funding of the depreciation expense must be restored, which is also in the interest of the Prime Minister. On condition that he is not able to solve this problem, he no longer needs to be the Prime Minister. The ideology expressed here is as follows: the problem presented by the repeal of the visit fee is shown as a simple problem to which a simple solution can be found. If the Prime Minister is incapable of solving even this simple problem, he will have to resign and a new prime minister must be found. This signals impatience towards him and concern for maintaining MSZP's power in the government at a time when it was feared that Fidesz might provoke early general elections. The main point in the ideology expressed by the argument is that MSZP must remain in power after the Social Referendum.

In our understanding, the main ideology expressed in Source Text 1 is retained in all target texts as the steps of the argumentation are identical with the steps described above. Thus, argumentation is not manipulated by translators. However, the different lexical choices of the gists of the four translations signal translators' different ideological interpretations of the arguments as the reproduction of ideology can happen through stylistic features and/or lexical choice. Below, lexical choice in the four gists (provided in Section 8.3) will be compared to reveal in what ways choice of lexis supports or undermines the ideology expressed in the referent gists.

The gist of Target Text 1 rendered by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP pictures the Prime Minister in a situation that is not of his making and which is difficult to cope with. In connection with the situation of not having to pay the visit fee, sentence 5 uses the phrase *does not lead anywhere*, sentence 6 talks about the Prime Minister *trying to explain* that GPs will suffer a financial loss as a result of the Referendum and sentence 7 states that the government *is not in a position* to compensate for the loss of income. This suggests that the Prime Minister is no way to blame for the financial and political situation that set in after the Social Referendum. Apart from that, the gist of Target Text 1 is hopeful about the future of the Prime Minister. Sentence 26 communicates that the Prime Minister must get another chance to prove that he can be successful in his reform-related policy: *definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question*. Sentence 28 declares that his failure *would be impossible to compensate*, i.e. the Prime Minister must retain power.

This suggests that Translator 1 seems to be concerned about the political career of the Prime Minister. Consequently, the ideology of Source Text 1 is manipulated: Translator 1 pictures the Prime Minister as a pitiful political actor in a difficult situation and expresses concern about the political future of Prime Minister Gyurcsány, which Source Text 1 does not highlight. It must be noted that after the Referendum MSZP's political rhetoric blamed Fidesz for all negative consequences of the Social Referendum and pictured MSZP as a victim. The ideology included by Translator 1 further reinforces this rhetoric and the ideology expressed in the gist of Source Text 1.

The gist of Target Text 2 rendered by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz pictures the Prime Minister as a tyrant and reveals scepticism about his political career. Sentence 5 contains the phrase in connection with the Prime Minister's interpretation of the Referendum results *can no longer be tolerated* with reference to voters' unwillingness to pay the visit fee. Sentence 7 states the government *will not compensate* for GPs' loss of income. These two phrases show the government's determination to act against the public will expressed at the Referendum through failing to execute its duties. The Prime Minister's success in dealing with further reform related issues is described by the phrase *can possibly face*, which sounds very tentative through the modal. Sentence 28 takes it for granted that another failure on the part of the Prime Minister *will be impossible to compensate*. The ideology of Source Text 1 is manipulated: the tyrannical Prime Minister no longer needs to be in power and he is doomed to failure. This coincides with Fidesz's political rhetoric after the Social Referendum. The ideological manipulation detailed above on the part of Translator 1 is due to the fact that the client of Target Text 2 is Fidesz. It must be pointed out that Target Text 2 presents an intriguing ideological scenario: the arguments reproduce MSZP's ideology, while certain lexical elements that of Fidesz. Still, the pragmatic situation of posting this translation on the web page of Fidesz seems to position and guide readers in their interpretation of the gist of Target Text 2 in favour of Fidesz's ideology.

The gist of Target Text 5 rendered by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP shows no instances of ideological manipulation through either style or lexical choice. Even in the case of lexical items potentially yielding themselves for manipulation, such as the items pointed out above, no further ideology is included on the part of Translator

2. Therefore, the ideology of Source Text 1 is reproduced without any supporting or undermining ideology.

The gist of Target Text 6 rendered by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz includes further pro-Fidesz ideology by using irony to downplay the politicians opposing Fidesz, by portraying the government in a tyrannical role and by providing hope that the Prime Minister will not be able to retain power for long. The irony is found in sentence 7, which talks about a *little contest* between PM Gyurcsány and Kóka claiming the result of the Referendum will be disadvantageous for GPs. Sentence 8 talks about the fact that the government *will by no means* compensate, which implies that the government is determined to act against the public will expressed at the Referendum. Sentence 33 provides hope claiming that *no compensation will be possible at last*, i.e. the Prime Minister will have no other choice but to resign. Here the original ideology of Source Text 1 is undermined by an opposing ideology reproduced by Translator 2. Still, the pragmatic situation of publishing this translation on the web page of Fidesz guides readers in their interpretation of the gist of Target Text 6 in favour of Fidesz's ideology. It seems that in terms of lexical choice translators reproduce the ideology contained in Source Text 1 and concurrently manipulate the target texts through including ideology shared by the actual client.

Stylistic features and lexical choice can reproduce ideology elsewhere than exclusively in the gist. This will be examined below. In Source Text 1, ideology is not reproduced by stylistic features or lexical choice other than the instances described above. In the translations, however, lexical choice other than the ones described above does reflect ideology. This suggests that translators added further and different ideology in their translations. To illustrate this, a few examples are given and explained below.

The phrase *magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora* [one of dangerous adventurers of Hungarian public life] (sentence 8) of Source Text 1 is rendered as *President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber running amok* (sentence 7) in Target Text 1 and as *a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber* (sentence 8) in Target Text 2. The fact that the client of Source Text 1 is MSZP explains the choice of *running amok*: this presents the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber as a politically unskilled and immature representative and undermines the professional reputation of not only the Hungarian

Medical Chamber but also that of the medical profession, which is in line with MSZP's rhetoric and serves the political interests of MSZP wishing to further health care reforms. Target Text 2 produced for Fidesz does not add further ideology here, which is due to the fact that Fidesz in its Referendum campaign was supported and allied with the Hungarian Medical Chamber on professional grounds. In a similar fashion, Fidesz supporter Translator 2 uses the phrase *dangerous adventurer* in his target text for MSZP (sentence 9 in Target Text 5) and *allegedly dangerous adventurer* for Fidesz (sentence 9 in Target Text 6). The above-described party ideologies are reproduced by the translators in their choice of lexis for the different clients.

Sentence 2 *Erőt is mutathat* [It can also show strength] of Source Text 1 is rendered with the help of the modal *can* in Target Text 1, 5 and 6. Target Text 2 translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz, however, features the modal *might*, which suggests less likelihood and doubt in the Prime Minister's capacity. This is due to Translator 1's efforts to create a text expressing ideology welcomed by Fidesz.

The translation of the clause *veszíteni is úgy tud, ahogy veszíteni kell* in sentence 3 of Source Text 1 is also revealing. MSZP supporter Translator 1 in Target Text 1 for MSZP writes: *when he loses, he does so like a gentleman* (sentence 3), while in Target Text 2 for Fidesz the following appears: *when he loses, he does so with his head high up* (sentence 3). Fidesz supporter Translator 2 in Target Text 5 for MSZP writes: *he is able to lose in style* (sentence 4), while in Target Text 6 for Fidesz: *he is able to lose like a loser* (sentence 4). It is obvious that when the ideology shared by the client and the source text article is the same (Target Texts 1 and 5), translators reproduce the ideology of the source text, whereas if the ideology of the source text differs from that shared by the client (Target Texts 2 and 6), translators, in their choice of lexis, reproduce the ideology shared by the client rather than the ideology of the source text.

The reproduction of ideology can be carried out by **implicature**. An instance of implicature signalling ideology is found in sentence 12 of Source Text 1 in the phrase *három-egész-valahánymillió embernek* [about three million people]. With the use of this phrase the journalist of *Népszabadság* in the article implies that the exact figure is irrelevant and thus collectively ignores the people voting against the health care reform, which is in line with MSZP's political perspective of picturing voters as irresponsible citizens.

The above phrase is translated as *some 3 million people* in sentence 11 of Target Texts 1 and 2, in which the original ideology of the article is reproduced by MSZP supporter Translator 1 irrespective of whichever party the client is. This seems to suggest that Translator 1 agrees with the ideology expressed in Source Text 1.

The same phrase, however, is rendered as *in excess of 3 million* in sentence 14 of Target Texts 5 and 6, where the original ideology of the article is refused by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 irrespective of whichever party the client is. This phrase implies that the number of voters is more than 3 million, which is a quite high figure in terms of those opposing the reform. This seems to suggest that Translator 2 refuses to reproduce the ideology expressed in Source Text 1.

Implicature is also present in the following phrase of Source Text 1: *milyen ember az ilyen* [what a man he is!] in sentence 9. This phrase is contextualised in the frame of presenting the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber as unreliable and untrustworthy and thus presents negative evaluation of the President. The same negative implicature is retained in all four target texts in the form of exclamations: *What his motives are!* in sentence 9 of Target Text 1, *Such a person!* in sentence 9 of Target Text 2, *What a person!* in sentence 10 of Target Text 5 and *What a person!* in sentence 10 of Target Text 6.

Implicature plays an important role with reference to the political message of a text. In Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2, it was argued that political messages realise emotive persuasion and that lexical choice in political messages plays a crucial role in inducing emotive persuasion. It has also been claimed that due to the shortness of political messages, such a message builds on the implicature in the context of the full text from which the political message in question has been construed. It follows from this that the ideological interpretation of political messages is only possible once the ideology of the texts from which they have been construed has been established.

In order to explore how translation potentially alters political messages, the political message of Source Text 1 will be analysed and compared with the political messages of the four translations of Source Text 1. The political message of the article *Kompenzáció*, which is made up sentences 6 and 28, is as follows: *Azóta pedig koalíciós elnöktársával, Kóka Jánossal szinte versengve bizonygatják, hogy a*

házi orvosok a Fidesz népszavazásával nagyon rosszul jártak, hiszen úgy 150 ezer forint havi fixet kiszavaztak a zsebükből. És akkor azt már nem lehet kompenzálni.

This (translated verbatim into English for our purposes, with explanatory remarks in square brackets) reads like this:

Since then he [the Prime Minister] and Mr. János Kóka have been competing with each other to explain that, as a result of Fidesz's referendum campaign, General Practitioners thus will lose app. HUF 150,000 per month. And this [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

In view of the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 1, the above political message implies that it is not only health care reforms that are at stake but also the future of the reform-oriented Prime Minister, who is irreplaceable. The ideology in the political message is to ensure the continued power of the MSZP government.

The political message of Target Text 1, which is made up sentences 6 and 28 and has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP, is as follows:

Since then he [the Prime Minister] has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. And that [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] would be impossible to compensate.

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 1 and through the use of the auxiliary *would* makes the fall of the Prime Minister appear less likely. In the MSZP supporter audience this emotively generates sympathy towards the Prime Minister and hope in his political survival, which is line with MSZP's ideology.

The political message of Target Text 2, which is made up sentences 6 and 28 and has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz, is as follows:

Since then they [the Prime Minister and Mr. Kóka] have been overdoing each other with Mr. János Kóka in proving that general practitioners will suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000 due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign. And it [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform] will be impossible to compensate.

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 1 but through the use of the auxiliary *will* makes the fall of the Prime Minister appear quite likely. In the Fidesz supporter audience this emotively generates a feeling of victory over the Prime Minister and hope in his political fall, which supports Fidesz's ideology.

The political message of Target Text 5, which is made up sentences 7 and 33 and has been translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP, reads as follows:

Since then, him [the Prime Minister] and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And in such a situation [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform], no compensation would be possible.

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 1 and through the use of the auxiliary *would* makes the fall of the Prime Minister appear less likely. In the MSZP supporter audience this emotively generates sympathy towards the Prime Minister and hope in his political survival, which is line with MSZP's ideology.

The political message of Target Text 6, which is made up sentences 7 and 33 and has been translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz, is the following:

Since then, him [the Prime Minister] and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. And in such a situation [failure of the Prime Minister to successfully carry on with the health care reform], no compensation will be possible at last.

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 1 and through the use of the auxiliary *will* and the inclusion of *at last* makes the fall of the Prime Minister appear quite likely and pictures it as a long-awaited event. In the Fidesz supporter audience this emotively generates a feeling of victory over the Prime Minister and hope in his political fall, which clearly reflects Fidesz's ideology. From the above, it seems that the political message is translated to reflect the ideology shared by the client.

The reproduction of ideology can happen through **formulaic language**. Formulaic language reproducing ideology does not appear in Source Text 1 or in its

translations, thus we shall skip this point. The reproduction of ideology can present itself through making a **distinction between US vs. THEM**. The US vs. THEM distinction is present throughout Source Text 1. As the article has been written with a pro-government perspective, the government is pictured in a positive way whereas those opposing the government in a negative way. Sentence 3 in Source Text 1 talks about the winner's generosity exhibited by the Prime Minister and him not making any criticism towards the opposition after his winning the general elections in 2006. Sentences 10 and 11 refer to numerous GPs and reliable economists supporting health care reforms. In relation to the compensation of GPs for their loss of income due to the repeal of the visit fee, sentence 22 of Source Text 1 talks about the government's responsibility for finding a solution. These ideas are juxtaposed by the negative presentation of those opposing the health care reform: sentence 8 pictures the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber as an amateur and a politically unreliable *adventurer*, in sentence 12 reference to the approximate and not exact number of voters favouring the repeal of the visit fee implies belittling towards these voters. This negative criticism is further developed in sentence 22, where those opposing the visit fee, including Fidesz, the President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber and all others, are portrayed irresponsible in contrast with the responsibility governing entails.

The US vs. THEM ideological distinction is reproduced in all target texts in the referent target sentences: in Target Text 1 in sentences 3, 9, 10, 21; in Target Text 2 in sentences 3, 10, 11, 22; and in Target Texts 5 and 6 in sentences 4, 11, 12, 26. The presentation of this distinction, however, is supported or alternatively undermined by lexical choices in these sentences signalling ideology. For further details, see the discussion on the choice of lexis in this section. It appears that the US vs. THEM distinction is retained in the translations but the lexical choice appearing in the referent sentences can (further) support or undermine the effectiveness of the ideology behind the distinction.

In terms of the reproduction of ideology in Source Text 1 and its translations, it can be concluded based on the analysis of data that translators produce their target texts primarily with the client in mind. They reproduce or occasionally manipulate (support or undermine) the ideology of the source text to satisfy their clients, while the majority of the ideology expressed in Source Text 1 is reproduced in the target texts. It is

noteworthy that translators rarely include their own ideology if that opposes the ideology of their actual client.

8.4.2 CDA analysis of Source Text 2 and its four translations

Below, Source Text 2 and its four translations will be analysed along the components of the TDSI Model and the constituting aspects of the components.

8.4.2.1. Action

Within the component of **Action** of the TDSI Model, the aspects of **intentionality, perspective, implications and consequences** will be examined (c.f. Section 4.6.1). As for **intentionality**, in connection with Source Text 2 the same features can be observed as in the case of Source Text 1: Source Text 2 was also composed to interpret the Referendum results (obviously from a different perspective: the article appeared in *Magyar Nemzet*). The target texts were created with the same objective in mind as in the case of the previous target texts: to interpret the Referendum results within the scope of a translation assignment commissioned by two opposing political parties MSZP and Fidesz. It must also be noted that target texts, according to the translation assignment, will be used to promote the two parties' image building campaigns. This already suggests that the intentionality present in the source language articles will be reinforced or, alternatively, undermined depending on the intentionality of creating target texts for the two opposing political parties as perceived by the two translators.

The **perspective** offered by Source Text 2 and its related Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8 is different from that of Source Text 1 and its translations. Source Text 2 is written from the opposition's perspective. This perspective reflects in both the source and target texts, which are abundant in statements criticizing the government. There are statements of both indirect and direct criticism aiming at PM Ferenc Gyurcsány, and, to a lesser extent, at the government in power. First, the perspective of Source Text 2 will be described, to be followed by an account of the perspective of Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8.

In sentence 1, Source Text 2 starts with the fact that the nation voted (*kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás* [Social Referendum with high voter turnout and a strong Yes-victory]) and in sentences

1 and 2 refers to Hungary's President László Sólyom's statement rendering the results obvious and their implications obliging: *Sólyom László köztársasági elnök kijelentette: az eredmény egyértelmű. Majd arra intett, a törvényhozókon és a politikusokon a sor, hogy megtegyék a szükséges lépéseket és levonják a következtetéseket* [President László Sólyom said the results are clear. Then he warned that now it is up to the legislative sector and the politicians to take the necessary steps and draw the conclusions]. Quite clearly, both the emphasis on the Yes-victory and the suggestion that legislation and politicians should make some changes based on the results of the Referendum are instances of implicit criticism towards the government (people voted against the government's measures of introducing the three fees and thus changes must be made accordingly). Also, the fact that the article quotes the President, that is a well-respected non-partisan (President László Sólyom is not a member of any political organisation) makes people's judgement sound more objective and suggests that the results of the Referendum are not a party issue but a fact.

Sentences 3 and 4 of Source Text 2 go on to discuss how the next session of the Parliament reacted to President László Sólyom's request. The only common denominator between the government and the opposition was that they wanted to take legislative steps to accommodate voters' wish having manifested in the Referendum. In sentence 4, the phrase *a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevetve sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypártok* [the governing parties having fought unsuccessfully against the public will of requesting their /i.e. that of the visit fee, the hospital daily fee and the tuition fee/ repeal] undermines the credibility of the intention of the government regarding these steps, though.

Sentences 5-10 focus on showing Prime Minister Gyurcsány's incompetence in handling the situation. The Prime Minister is pictured as a second-rate musician-actor in this part of Source Text 2: *a fő szólámat Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni* [the main tune was played by Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány] (sentence 5), *kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett* [well-slept, he played more lenient tunes] (sentence 6), *az Őszödi Bőszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* [the Liar of Őszöd other minor actors of the cast] (sentence 10). The Prime Minister is explicitly criticised for the following: considering all who did not cast their votes as No-voters (*a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni* [he tried to envision "No" voters as

the supporters of the Socialists] – sentence 6), depicting Yes-voters as irresponsible *pénztárcapárti* [people who prefer their wallets] (sentence 7) and being inconsistent about his interpretation of the Referendum results. Sentence 7 has *még azt mondta: tiszteletben tartják az eredményt* [then he said they would respect people's will] quoting Prime Minister Gyurcsány's own words, then sentences 8 and 9 contain *később azonban előkerült a megszokott vádaskodó hang* [later, there came the same old accusations against the public will] and *megkapták a magukét szép sorjában...* [everybody was told off] (sentence 9). This suggests that Source Text 2 depicts PM Gyurcsány as inconsistent in the interpretation of the Referendum results.

Sentences 11 to 16 communicate the opposition's criticism towards PM Gyurcsány. The first two sentences state two important facts Mr. Tibor Navracsics called the Prime Minister's attention to: those who claim that education and health care are free of charge do not speak the truth because people pay tax, social and health contributions to use these services (sentence 11), and that the Prime Minister did not say a single word about the GDP proportionate state contribution allocated to health care and education (sentence 12). Sentences 13 to 16 communicate the opposition's opinion on what the Prime Minister did say criticising him explicitly for the following: stating that Hungary lost with the Referendum in the long run (sentence 13), his practice of privatising a formerly state-owned property (sentences 14), his lack of self-reflection (sentence 15), his habit of telling lies and for his ungrounded criticism of the Leader of Fidesz Viktor Orbán (sentence 16). To conclude the article, the writer goes back to the second-rate musician-actor metaphor stating explicitly that Prime Minister Gyurcsány is a bad actor (*nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány* [passionately acting Cipolla but not as well as actor Latinovits] (sentence 17) and, as such, he talks nonsense: *őrült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer* [a madman's speech with no system or structure in it] (sentence 18).

These textual features suggest a perspective that is negative towards the government and especially the Prime Minister. Source Text 2 reveals a perspective against the Prime Minister and his government. Anti-government and anti-Prime Minister contents dominate over pro-Fidesz ones in this text. Criticism of the Prime Minister does not come only from the opposition's mouth as, in the first part of the article, an independent source, President László Sólyom is quoted and there is

references to voters' will (sentences 1-4) for the justification of the anti-government and anti-Prime Minister attitude. Also, Mr. Tibor Navracsics's criticism is presented to be based on facts (sentences 11-12), therefore criticism is made to appear more objective, whereas opinions without any factual support criticizing Gyurcsány directly (sentences 5-10 and 13-18) come from the journalist. Overwhelmingly, the target of criticism is mainly Prime Minister Gyurcsány himself.

In terms of the **perspective** of Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8, all findings described above are valid for these texts, too. Thus, instead of repeating the same arguments and quoting the referent parts of the target texts, further specific references regarding the perspective of the target texts will be provided. Translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP, Target Text 3 reveals the following translation shifts in perspective in comparison with Source Text 2. First, in sentence 1, instead of a neutral reporting verb for *kijelentette* [stated] (sentence 1 of Source Text 2), the translator uses *claimed*, which questions the truth content of President László Sólyom's statement. Similarly, the lexical choice of *declared* for *arra intett* [he warned] in sentence 2 and Target Text 3 suggests that the president acts like a despotic ruler.

Source Text 2 mentions that Gyurcsány criticizes the opposition, but Target Text 3 makes his criticism sound much milder through the intervention of Translator 1: consider that the expression in sentence 16 of Source Text 2 *a Fidesz elnökét ostorozó* [decrying the president of Fidesz] is translated as *directing criticism at the president of Fidesz* (sentence 15 of Target Text 3). Moreover, there are many instances in Target Text 3 that try to soften the effects of Source Text 2 in terms of Gyurcsány's depiction. The expression *Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány's speeches dominated the pre-agenda session* in sentence 5 is less pejorative than the corresponding phrasing in sentence 5 of Source Text 2 *a fő szót a Gyurcsány igyekezett megadni* [Gyurcsány was trying to play the main tune]. Also, the term in sentence 6 *kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb hírokat pengetett* [after having slept enough he /PM Gyurcsány/ was more lenient] gets translated as *more relaxed* in sentence 6 of Target Text 3. Sentence 11 of Target Text 3 contains less pejorative phrasing than the expressions in sentence 11 of Source Text 2: *az újrarahangolt kormánypárti kortesbeszéddek* [pro-government canvass-speeches retuned] is translated as *speeches advocating the standpoint of the government* and *homályban maradt* [was obscured] with reference to the factual figures of state

contribution to health care and education services is rendered as *was not elaborated on*, moreover the phrase *mint tényadat* [as a fact] is missing from Target Text 3. Next, in sentence 13 of both Source Text 2 and Target Text 3, *privatization* in connection with PM Gyurcsány's practice of privatising a formerly state-owned property is less pejorative than *megszerzéséből* [snatching]. Finally, sentence 16 of Target Text 3 has *like a passionate Cipolla*, which does not sound as a negative image of PM Gyurcsány especially if the non-Hungarian reader does not know what kind of character Cipolla was. Last, in sentence 10 of Source Text 2, the expression a *színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* gets translated as *the more insignificant characters of the cast* (sentence 10 in Target Text 3) by a word-by-word translation, yet, the negative connotation of the source lexis disappears through translation.

With reference to Target Text 3, based on the above, it can be concluded that there is a tendency to soften those parts of Source Text 2 that decry the Prime Minister. Therefore, it can be stated that Target Text 3, even if it does not reproduce the perspective of the government (as Source Text 2 is strongly anti-government), it leans towards the client, MSZP in perspective where possible and also reflects the political conviction of MSZP supporter Translator 1. Yet, with MSZP as client and Translator 1 being an MSZP supporter, it is not revealed whether the above shifts in the target text are due to the translator's political stance or her aim to satisfy the client's expectations.

Target Text 4 was translated by the same MSZP supporter Translator 1, but this time the client is Fidesz. Let us now see whether the above alterations in perspective leaning towards MSZP also occur in the text. The first change in comparison to Target Text 3 is that the reporting verbs attacking President László Sólyom disappear: *claim* is replaced with *said* in sentence 1 of Target Text 4 just as *declared* is with *motioned* in sentence 2. Most of the pejorative expressions referring to the Prime Minister and his government in Source Text 2 are translated in Target Text 4 as more pejorative expressions than in Target Text 3: *Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány played the more dominant tune* (sentence 5 in Target Text 4) for *Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány's speeches dominated the pre-agenda session* (sentence 5 in Target Text 3), *softer than in his defiant Sunday night reactions* (sentence 6 in Target Text 4) as opposed to *more moderate than in his castigating Sunday night reactions* (sentence 6 in Target Text 3), *retuned pro-government canvass-speeches* (sentence 11 in Target Text 4) as opposed to *speeches*

advocating the standpoint of the government (sentence 11 in Target Text 3) and *was deliberately obscured* (sentence 11 in Target Text 4) as opposed to *was not elaborated on* (sentence 11 in Target Text 3), *reprimanding* (sentence 15 in Target Text 4) as opposed to *directing criticism* (sentence 15 in Target Text 3) and *Őszöd speech of lies* (sentence 15 in Target Text 4) as opposed to *well-known Őszöd speech* (sentence 15 in Target Text 3). Interestingly, if Target Text 3 and Target Text 4 are further compared, the expressions *the more insignificant characters of the cast* and the reporting verb *argued* remain unchanged in sentence 10, similarly to *privatization* in sentence 13. This is so either because this is a way for Translator 1 to reflect her own beliefs or because Translator 1 was not aware of the manipulative potentials of the use of these lexical items. To sum up, Target Text 4 reproduces the perspective of the client to a greater extent than Target Text 3. Most of the textual elements softening criticism against the Prime Minister disappear even if they could be phrased to reflect the translator's own beliefs. It therefore can be stated that in terms of the reproduction of perspective the perspective of the client is of more importance than the translator's political views.

Target Text 7 is another example illustrating the potential political conflict of the translator and the client: this target text was translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP as client in the reproduction of perspective. Upon examining the reporting verbs referring to President László Sólyom (*kijelentette* and *arra intett* – sentences 1 and 2 in Source Text 2), the neutral *said* is used in sentence 1 and *urged* in sentence 2, with the latter expressing the translator's sympathy towards the President. Shift in perspective towards the client is again at work. For example, *strongly opposing* in sentence 4 of Target Text 7 is milder than the Hungarian *mindent bevetve* [moving everything] in sentence 4 of Source Text 2, just as *gave the keynote speech* in sentence 5 of Target Text 7 is more neutral than the Hungarian phrasing (*fő szótartást [...] megadni*) in sentence 5 of Source Text 2. Similarly, the phrases *a megszokott vádaskodó hang* [the usual accusing tone] in sentence 8 and *megkapták a magukét* [they were given what they deserved] in sentence 9 of Source Text 2 are more negative than their translations of *usual accuses* and *got scolded* (sentence 8 and 9 of Target Text 7). Again, the phrases *the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány's team* in sentence 10 and *re-echoing pro-government propaganda* in sentence 12 of Target Text 7 are not translated as pejoratively as the Hungarian phrases *színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* [the

Liar of Őszöd other minor actors of the cast] (sentence 10) and *az újrhangolt kormánypárti kortesbeszédék* [pro-government canvass-speeches retuned] (sentence 11 in Source Text 2). The same holds true for the expressions *under fire* in sentence 17 in Target Text 7 (for *ostorozó* [decrying] – in sentence 16 of Source Text 2) and *passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits* in sentence 18 of Target Text 7 for *nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány* [passionately acting Cipolla but not as well as actor Latinovits] (sentence 17 in Source Text 2).

Yet, there are a few cases where the translator's political convictions reflect. Sentence 6 has *his speech was more manageable than his insolent Sunday night reactions*, where *insolent* has more negative connotations than *dacos* [defiant] in sentence 6 in Source Text 2, and the expression *more manageable* is also negative, with the implications of “the man is crazy sometimes, and is difficult to handle”. Another potential instance of Fidesz lean in perspective can be found in sentence 13 of Target Text 7, where *deliberately cloaked* is used for *gondosan homályban hagyatott* (sentence 12 of Source Text 2), and in sentence 17, where the expression *infamous Őszöd speech of lies* as a translation of *hírhedt hazugságbeszédét* (sentence 16 in Source Text 2) is used without any attempt to down-tone the negativity of the Hungarian phrase. Interestingly, sentence 14 of Target Text 7 has the word-by-word translation *lethargic* for *letargikus* in sentence 13 in Source Text 2, which expression in English is more pejorative in political contexts. In conclusion, if compared with the perspective of Source Text 2, Target Text 7 is more tentative in the reproduction of the perspective of the source text: Translator 2 seems to cater for the client, MSZP primarily, and only occasionally reproduces the perspective he shares. All in all, the target text reflects the client's perspective.

Last, let us consider Target Text 8, where Translator 2, sympathising with Fidesz, translates Source Text 2 for Fidesz as client. The reporting verbs of the first two sentences of Source Text 2 are not changed as compared to Target Text 7. As Source Text 2 itself has a Fidesz perspective and both the translator and the client share the political conviction resulting in this perspective, it is not surprising that Target Text 8 reproduces the same perspective. There are many expressions that reflect an anti-Gyurcsány and anti-government viewpoints in Target Text 8. For example, instead of *strongly opposing* in Target Text 7 for *mindent bevetve* [do all in their power] in

sentence 4 of Source Text 2, sentence 3 of Target Text 8 has the expression *moving heaven and earth*, which is more emphatic than the Hungarian phrase. Similarly, in sentence 5 of Target Text 8, *acted as the lead piper* is more pejorative than *gave the keynote speech* in Target Text 7. In Target Text 8, next to *insolent*, the word *impertinent* is added for *dacos* [defiant] (sentence 6 in Source Text 2), and in Target Text 8 *more agreeable* (sentence 6) replaces *more manageable* for *engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett* [he played more lenient tunes] in sentence 6 of Source Text 2, which lends a different value judgement to the target sentence: *more manageable* has to do more with PM Gyurcsány being unpredictable from time to time, whereas *more agreeable* refers more to the question of accepting or rejecting him. The phrase *standard accusations* in sentence 8 of Target Text 2 is sarcastic and pejorative as opposed to the neutral *usual accuses* in Target Text 7 expressing habitual behaviour of the Prime Minister, *PM Gyurcsány's cronies* in sentence 10 of Target Text 8 is likewise more pejorative than *PM Gyurcsány's team* in sentence 10 of Target Text 7, *extended to as little as this* is added in Target Text 8 to assess Gyurcsány's introspection in sentence 16 implying that Gyurcsány's speech was not much of an introspection, just as *not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits* appears in sentence 18 in Target Text 8, where the addition of *nearly*, which is completely missing, in Target Text 7, implies that Gyurcsány is a bad actor. The lexical items in sentences 9, 12-15 and 17-18 of Target Text 7 examined above remain unchanged in Target Text 8, also preserving the negative standpoint towards the Prime Minister and the government expressed in Source Text 2. Not surprisingly, Target Text 8 is more negative towards Prime Minister Gyurcsány and his government than Target Text 7. Target Text 8 reflects the opposition's perspective unanimously and unequivocally. There was no conflict in the reproduction of perspective in the case of Target Text 8: Fidesz supporter Translator 2 had to translate a text for Fidesz that reproduces the perspective shared by Fidesz, consequently the perspective of Source Text 2 is fully reproduced in Target Text 8.

As an overall conclusion to the aspect of the **perspective** of Target Texts 3, 4, 7, 8, it can be stated that, with respect to Source Text 2, the most dominant perspective that gets observed in the target texts is that expected by the client: the target texts produce the perspective shared by the client of the actual target text. When there is a conflict between the translator's perspective and that of the client, it is always the

client's perspective that is of primary importance. The above confirms that translators mostly reproduce the perspective of the source text and include further perspective to satisfy client expectations.

The last aspect of the component of **Action** of the TDSI Model, **implications and consequences** deals with explicit and implicit statements of texts in their social, cultural and political contexts. Similarly to this part of the analysis of Source Text 1, explicit statements will be tackled first. Source Text 2 opens with the writer indirectly quoting President László Sólyom and mentioning how successful the Referendum was (sentences 1-2). This happens in order to make further steps to be taken by legislators and politicians seem necessary (sentence 2). In the next paragraph, it is explicitly stated what positions the different political forces assumed throughout the Referendum campaign (sentences 3-4). The next paragraphs (sentences 3-17) echo some typical arguments of the post-referendum debate: people voted "Yes" because they do not want to pay the three fees (sentences 8 and 10), education and health care services are not free as taxpayers pay taxes and contributions to use these services (sentence 11), what sums the state contributes to the maintenance of these services was not focalised by political parties (sentence 12), Hungary lost with the Referendum in the long run (sentence 13), etc. Finally, the text closes with expressing an explicit opinion on the Prime Minister picturing him as a second-class actor (sentence 17).

In connection with the implications expressed in the above sentences, the following can be stated. Reference to President László Sólyom (sentences 1-2) implies that the President is an independent, therefore acceptable and unbiased source, who urges legislators and politicians to draw the necessary conclusions from the Referendum results. The next paragraph (sentences 3-4) has the following implications. For some politicians it is difficult to draw the consequences of the Referendum: *ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni* [they tried to absolve this task] (sentence 3), and the actions and the position of the government are inconsistent: now they want to be the first to fulfil the people's wish, formerly they moved everything to prevent the Referendum from taking place (sentence 4). Paragraphs 3 (sentences 3-12) and 4 (sentences 13-15) have several implicit statements: mostly centring on PM Gyurcsány, communicating criticism towards him. These explicit statements are as follows: the Prime Minister likes talking and being at the centre of attention (sentence 5), he is defiant and moody as he

keeps changing his mind (sentences 6-8), he is like a despotic ruler scolding everyone who is not of the same opinion as him (sentences 9-10), he is misleading people and is not telling the truth (sentences 11-16). Finally, the article concludes with picturing PM Gyurcsány as a second-rate actor, who has lost his wits (sentences 17-18).

In comparison with Source Text 1, it becomes visible that Source Text 2 contains more implicit statements than Source Text 1. When communicating criticism in paragraphs 3 and 4, Source Text 2 starts with presenting milder criticism against PM Gyurcsány first and it then proceeds to list more notable flaws of his character. Similarly to the findings in connection with Source Text 1, explicit statements are reproduced without exception in all four target texts of Source Text 2: in sentences 1-2 in Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8 and in sentences 3-17 in Target Texts 3 and 4 and 3-19 in Target Texts 7 and 8, respectively.

Implicit statements show a more diverse picture. As for the reference to President László Sólyom (sentences 1-2), the reporting verbs *claim* and *declared* undermine his authority in sentences 1 and 2 in Target Text 3, whereas Target Texts 4, 7 and 8 in sentences 1 and 2 use the neutral *said* (Target Texts 4, 7 and 8), and the pro-President phrases *motioned* (Target Text 4) and *urged* (Target Texts 7 and 8). The implication of sentence 3, i.e. it requires an effort on the part of the Parliament to draw the conclusions, is retained in Target Texts 3 and 4: *This task was attempted to be absolved* (sentence 3) but it is dropped in Target Texts 7 and 8: *The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so* (sentence 3). The implication of sentence 4 of Source Text 2, regarding the inconsistency of the government comes across in all four target texts but a variety is observable in the intensity of the lexical item expressing that the government previously opposed to the abolition of the fees: *vehemently* (Target Text 3), *fiercely* (Target Text 4), *strongly* (Target Text 7) and *moving heaven and earth* (Target Text 8). The implicit statements of Source Text 2 concerning PM Gyurcsány in paragraphs 3 and 4 also differ in their lexical realizations in the four target texts, and this obviously has an impact on what the target texts actually imply with reference to the Prime Minister. While Target Texts 3 and 7 simply imply that the Prime Minister likes talking through the use of *Gyurcsány's speeches* (sentence 5 of Target Text 3) and *Gyurcsány gave the keynote speech* (sentence 5 of Target Text 7), *playing the dominant tune* in sentence 5 of Target Text 4 and *acted as a lead piper playing the dominant tune*

in sentence 5 of Target Text 8 have negative connotations in terms of the content of the speech. Several lexical items underpin that references to the Prime Minister are downtoned in Target Text 3 whereas Target Texts 4 and 7 are considerably more critical towards PM Gyurcsány and his government. Target Text 8 is harsher in its negative tone as compared to Source Text 2 in sentences 5, 6-8 and 9-10. For the comparison of the lexical realisations of implicit statements, Table 8-3 shows the implications expressed in the above sentences of Source Text 2 and their target textual realisations in Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8.

As the examples in Table 8-3 show, Target Text 3 undermines criticism towards the Prime Minister, Target Texts 4 and 7 are considerably more critical towards PM Gyurcsány than Target Text 3, whereas Target Text 8 accentuates negative criticism expressed in connection with the Prime Minister in Source Text 2. These features are very much in line with client expectations: Target Texts 3 and 7 have been produced for MSZP, while Target Texts 4 and 8 for Fidesz, thus the translators reproduce implicit statements with the client in mind.

The target textual realisations of sentences 17-18 of Source Texts 2 containing references to the character of Cipolla and the paraphrase of a well-known Shakespearian line differ minimally from one another. This may be put down to the fact that the cultural references in Source Text 2, especially the altered quotation by Shakespeare, provide little room for the translator to play with lexical choice. To briefly sum up the findings of the **implications and consequences** aspect of the component of **Action**, explicit statements are reproduced without exception. Implicit statements are reproduced in the target texts but in their phrasing they are downtoned or accentuated to satisfy client expectations.

In conclusion to the component of **Action**, the analysis has revealed the subsequent findings. First, as for the aspect of **intentionality**, both source texts were created in an urge to explain the Social Referendum results, and the related target texts were written to perform a translation assignment commissioned by two opposing political parties, MSZP and Fidesz. Second, the aspect of **perspective** reveals that Source Text 2 was composed from the perspective of the opposition. As far as the related target texts are concerned, the general tendency is that the client's perspective and expectations seem to dominate and, in conflicting cases, these override the

Implications in Source Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 3 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 4 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 7 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 8 (No. of Sentence)
<i>the Prime Minister is at the centre of attention (5)</i>	<i>speeches dominated (5)</i>	<i>played the dominant tune (5)</i>	<i>gave the keynote speech (5)</i>	<i>acted as a lead piper playing the dominant tune (5)</i>
<i>the Prime Minister is defiant and moody (6, 8)</i>	<i>more moderate, in his castigating Sunday night reactions, the usual critical tone (6, 8)</i>	<i>softer, his defiant Sunday night reactions, the usual accusing tone (6, 8)</i>	<i>more manageable, insolent Sunday night reactions, the usual accuses (6, 8)</i>	<i>more agreeable, insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions, the standard accusations (6, 8)</i>
<i>the Prime Minister is a despotic ruler (9-10)</i>	<i>criticism was communicated (9), selfish ones who voted, bargain hunters (10)</i>	<i>was disapproved of, (9), selfish ones who voted, money grubbers for free deals (10)</i>	<i>got scolded (9), selfish persons, wish to receive services for free (10)</i>	<i>got scolded (9), selfish persons, wish to receive services for free (10)</i>
<i>the Prime Minister misleads people and is not telling the truth (11, 16)</i>	<i>advocating the standpoint of the government, was not elaborate on (11), widely known Őszöd speech, showing a glimpse of his old-new self (15)</i>	<i>re-tuned pro-government canvass speeches, deliberately obscured (11), infamous Őszöd speech of lies, showing his old-new self (15)</i>	<i>parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing government propaganda, deliberately cloaked (12), his infamous Őszöd speech of lies, revealing his old-new self (16)</i>	<i>parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing government propaganda, deliberately cloaked (12), his infamous Őszöd speech of lies, revealing his old-new self (16)</i>

Table 8-3: Implicit statements referring to PM Gyuresány and their target textual realisations

translator's own political views and convictions in the production of the target texts. Last, the aspect of **implications and consequences** shows that explicit statements are reproduced without exception and implicit statements are reproduced to satisfy client expectations.

8.4.2.2. Context

Within the component of **Context** of the TDSI Model the aspects of **participants, higher level action and local and global contexts** will be examined (c.f. Section 4.6.2). The discussion within this point will start with the aspect of **participants**. The receivers of Source Text 2 are the readers of *Magyar Nemzet*, in which newspaper Attila Farkas's article entitled *Másnap* appeared. The readership of this paper is mostly composed of Fidesz supporters but it also includes others who read the paper for professional reasons or for personal interest. Just as it was natural for *Népszabadság* to publish articles evaluating the Referendum results and to describe the contemporary political climate, the opposing political camp did the same. Source Text 2 is an example

of such an article. As Fidesz supporters and all those who were against the fees celebrated a huge victory, Source Text 2 presented and evaluated the contemporary political situation, as well as discussed the short and longer-term consequences of the Referendum. Sentences 1-2 of Source Text 2 contain the presentation of the situation, with the problem following in sentence 3. Sentences 4-10, 13 and 16 contain responses to the problem with their respective evaluations presented in sentences 11-12, 14-15 and 17-18 (c.f. superstructure analysis in Section 8.2).

As Source Text 2 is loyal towards Fidesz representing the mainstay of political opposition in Hungary, Source Text 2 focuses on the incapacity of PM Gyurcsány and his government to handle the political situation after the Referendum and the problem put forward in sentence 3. Interestingly, the article focuses on the Prime Minister's faults not just within the context of the given situation but also in general. What the reader is presented with is an inventory of PM Gyurcsány's flaws of character, ranging from minor problems first to the more serious ones: wishing to be at the centre of attention (sentence 5), defiant and moody (sentences 6-8), despotic nature (sentences 9-10), misleading people and lying (sentences 11-16). In comparison with Source Text 1, Source Text 2 has longer sentences with a high level of complexity as, on the one hand, the article is designed for more independent thinkers (which also reflects in the fact that the reader has to draw the conclusions from what is implied in sentence 18), and on the other hand, most readers of this daily paper probably know just as well as the writer of the article what to make of PM Gyurcsány, furthermore, the strong Referendum victory makes it unnecessary to indefatigably keep on convincing the readers of the opposition's truth.

The target texts retain both the above detailed presentation of situation, problem, response and evaluation elements (c.f. the superstructure) and the complexity of sentence structures. However, sentence 11 of Source Text 2 (about the differences of MSZP's and Fidesz's standpoints in connection with the financing of health care and education) was translated as two sentences in Target Texts 7 and 8 separating the standpoint of the governing party (sentence 10 in Target Texts 7 and 8) and that of the opposition (sentence 11 in Target Texts 7 and 8), which makes the two opposing positions more discrete and clearer to the receivers. At the same time, Target Texts 3 and 4 combine sentences 11 and 12 of Source Text 2 (the former about the reactions in

the Parliament about the results of the Referendum and the latter about the budgetary financing of the health and education sectors) into one thereby obscuring the differences between the standpoints of the different parties and budgetary facts. As Target Texts 3 and 4 were composed by MSZP supporter Translator 1, while Target Texts 7 and 8 by Fidesz supporter Translator 2, the above-described changes in sentence boundaries in the target texts can be a manifestation of the two translators' interpretation of the US vs. THEM distinction (c.f. Section 4.5.2.4.4.1 and references to the US vs. THEM distinction below). To sum up the findings on participant-related features, it can be concluded that these features of Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8 do not differ considerably from those of Source Text 2.

The next component of the aspect of **Action** is **higher level action**, i.e. the position of texts in their political agendas and political environments. Source Text 2 was written after a major victory of the "Yes" votes at the Social Referendum initiated primarily by Fidesz. As it has already been referred to in Section 8.4.1.2, Fidesz interpreted the Referendum results as a democratic civic move against a despotic government. Many traces of this are found in Source Text 2: e.g. the reference to the opinion of a non-party public figure President László Sólyom (sentences 1-2), an analysis of PM Gyurcsány's flaws of character and behaviour (sentences 5-16), his and his government's dilettantish reactions to the Social Referendum (sentences 4, 10-11), etc. Also, Másnap discusses the immediate political consequences of the Referendum: how to interpret the results (sentences 5-8, 10), how to cope with the resulting political situation (sentences 8, 16). Source Text 2 shows the perspective of Fidesz and as such mirrors the pre-Referendum rhetoric of Fidesz as follows: PM Gyurcsány and his government are described to have no political support (sentences 1-4), the Prime Minister is pictured as a dilettante (sentences 5-16) and a madman (sentences 17-18).

Similarly to the case of Source Text 1 and its four target texts, strengthening or undermining the political agendas expressed in Source Text 2 is at work in all the resulting target texts associated with this latter source text. Similarly to the case of Source Text 1, the strengthening or undermining of the political agendas is achieved by lexical choice. Target Text 3 by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP undermines the higher level action realised by the article Másnap. It does not distort the fact that participation rates were *record high* (sentence 1) but the verb in the phrase *claiming that*

the result speaks for itself (sentence 1) questions both President László Sólyom's authority and any conclusion to be drawn from the result. Another means to undermine Source Text 2 is to fail to reproduce the sarcasm regarding PM Gyurcsány's political abilities. This is achieved by choosing *envisioned* for *vizionálni* (sentence 6 in Source Text 2) in sentence 6 of Target Text 3 with reference to people who stayed at home and did not vote. Equally, lexical items pointing out PM Gyucsány's dilettantism and madness in Source Text 2 are softened by Translator 1 in Target Text 3 (c.f. choice of lexis referring to the defiant and moody nature of the Prime Minister in the discussion of **implications and consequences** in Section 8.4.2.1). As quotations are the least likely to be manipulated, it is in the introduction to the quotation through which Translator 1 attempts to soften the effects of higher level action expressed in Source Text 2: the introduction to the quotation is translated as *his manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearean line paraphrased in the audience* (sentence 17) as a rendering of *Sokszori megszólalásai kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazhatódott meg a hallgatóságban* [based on his manifold statements one's associations were a Shakespearean paraphrase] in sentence 18 of Source Text 2. The phrase *conjure up* is quite tentative and makes the parallel of the Shakespearean quotation between a madman and the Prime Minister less certain.

Target Text 4 produced for Fidesz by MSZP supporter Translator 1 more overtly reflects the higher level action in Source Text 2. This time the premise that PM Gyurcsány and his government have no political support (sentences 1-4) is not undercut by the reporting verbs used. The word *motioned* in sentence 2 of Target Text 4 lends a touch of dignity and authority to President László Sólyom suited to the implication of the expression *arra intett, hogy* in sentence 2 of Source Text 2. In sentence 17 of Target Text 4 (*The content of his manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased*) the verb *remind* is more direct and through the altered Shakespearean quotation establishes a direct link between the Prime Minister and a madman.

Target Text 7 was created by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP. Here the first two sentences of the translation remain virtually unchanged in terms of higher level action as compared to the same feature of Source Text 2: the target text is a politically neutral rendering of the source text. However, the phrase *a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevetve sikertelenül hadakozott* [unsuccessfully moving everything against

their /of the fees/ repeal] in sentence 4 of Source Text 2 is softened to *who had been strongly opposing the repeal* (sentence 4 of Target Text 7), which is suggestive of PM Gyurcsány firmly representing a certain standpoint in the face of the opposition. In the same manner, the introductory line to the Shakespeare quotation (sentence 18 of Source Text 2) is phrased as *for the audience, the essence of his numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearean paraphrase* (sentence 19), which softens the higher level action achieved by Source Text 2 in the following way: the expression *for the audience* implies that experts may have a different opinion, which reflects that lay people may misunderstand the Prime Minister.

As Target Text 8 was translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz, no traces of conflicting higher level action appears between the features of Source Text 2 and Target Text 8. All the three higher level action messages present in Fidesz-supportive Source Text 2 (i.e. PM Gyurcsány has no political support, him being a dilettante and a madman) are clearly reformulated in Target Text 8 (sentences 6-7, 18, 19).

As a conclusion to the aspect of higher level action, similarly to the case of Source Text 1 and its corresponding target texts, it may be stated that in the case of Source Text 2 and its target texts even if translators cannot manipulate the higher level action expressed by the text, they can strengthen or undermine the political agendas associated with the source texts in question through using different phrasing. Such strengthening or undermining always happens with the client in mind: favourable higher level action to the client are strengthened, while unfavourable ones are undermined.

Finally, the last aspect of the component of **Context** is **local and global contexts**, which refers to the immediate communicative context as well as to the immediate and long term social and political effects the texts create. Source Text 2 was written right after the Social Referendum as its title (The Next Day) also suggests. The article describes Fidesz enjoying the victory that came as a result of the joint civic and social effort associated with the Referendum. The call for joint action was extensively communicated by Fidesz before and after the Referendum. In Source Text 2, the joint nature of the social effort is underlined by reference to President László Sólyom (sentences 1-2) as a non-partisan authority and to the repeatedly mentioned majority vote representing the public will (sentences 1, 4, 6-8). As the Social Referendum was

just over, Másnap is partly devoted to the taste of victory and partly to assessing the political opponent's ability to tackle immediate repercussions. As Source Text 2 makes references to PM Gyurcsány's flaws of character, which constituted part of Fidesz's contemporary rhetoric, it is relevant to explore how this surfaces in the target texts and how Source Text 2 and the different target texts contribute to the depiction of local contexts. As it was described in Table 8-3 and its discussion, Target Text 3 undermines criticism towards the Prime Minister, Target Texts 4 and 7 are quite critical towards PM Gyurcsány, whereas Target Text 8 accentuates negative criticism expressed in Source Text 2. Below, it will be explored how the idea of the majority vote representing the public will surfaces in Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8. Table 8-4 lists textual references to the immediate effects of the Referendum, i.e. local contexts, in connection with the majority vote expressed in Source Text 2 and illustrates the differences in the phrasing of such references to local contexts in the respective target texts.

Fixed expressions such as *the result speaks for itself* (sentence 1 in all four target texts) as the translation of *az eredmény egyértelmű* (sentence 1 of Source Text 2) and the translation of the quotation of the Prime Minister's words (*az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával* – sentence 7 of Source Text 2) as *speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years* (sentence 7 in all four target texts) are unlikely to be altered in any of the target texts. It is reporting verbs, however, which carry the potential of undermining or strengthening local contexts in such cases (c.f. the discussion of reporting verbs in connection with **implications and consequences** above). Similarly, there is little difference between *who is to pay* (Target Texts 3 and 4) and *who is to compensate for* (Target Texts 7 and 8) in sentence 8 with reference to local contexts.

The expression *submit to the wish of people* in sentence 4 of Target Text 3 for MSZP suggests a degree of involuntariness on the government's part due to their considering citizens incompetent in judging matters, while the corresponding phrase *fulfil the wish of people* (sentence 4) in Target Text 4 for Fidesz is suggestive of the given step being the citizens' reasonable demand. In the same sentence, the expression *motivated to take the necessary legislative steps* in Target Texts 7 and 8 implies that there may be the motive of the public will behind the decision of the government, whereas *want to take* in Target Texts 3 and 4 does not refer to the motive. With

Source Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 3 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 4 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 7 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 8 (No. of Sentence)
<i>az eddigi Referendumokkal összevetve is kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás [...] az eredmény egyértelmű (1)</i>	<i>with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong “Yes” victory [...] the result speaks for itself (1)</i>	<i>with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong “Yes” victory [...] the result speaks for itself (1)</i>	<i>characterized by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions s far, and a strong victory of the Yes side [...] the result speaks for itself (1)</i>	<i>characterized by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions s far, and a strong victory of the Yes side [...] the result speaks for itself (1)</i>
<i>törvénymódosítások kívánnak eleget tenni a nép akaratának, méltányolván [...] a voks populit (4)</i>	<i>want to take legislative steps to submit to the wish of the people in an appreciation of the popular vote (4)</i>	<i>want to take legislative steps to fulfil the wish of people in an appreciation of the popular vote (4)</i>	<i>felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the ‘popular vote’ (4)</i>	<i>felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the ‘popular vote’ (4)</i>
<i>a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni, a 3.3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni (6)</i>	<i>envisioned all No voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million Yes voters as people reluctant to pay (6)</i>	<i>tried to vision all No voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million Yes voters as people favouring their wallet (6)</i>	<i>he imagined all No voters as socialist supporters, while the 3.3 million Yes voters as people deciding purely on financial grounds (6)</i>	<i>he fantasized that all No voters were socialist supporters, while the 3.3 million Yes voters were people deciding purely on financial grounds (6)</i>
<i>az eredményt, mely szerint úgymond legalább hárommillió ember nem ért egyet az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával (7)</i>	<i>at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years” (7)</i>	<i>at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years” (7)</i>	<i>with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the “speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years.” (7)</i>	<i>with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the “speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years.” (7)</i>
<i>az igennel voksoló túlnyomó többség arról nem döntött, hogy ki fizesse a kieső díjakat (8)</i>	<i>the majority voting Yes did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed (8)</i>	<i>the majority voting Yes did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed (8)</i>	<i>the majority voting Yes did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed (8)</i>	<i>the majority voting Yes did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed (8)</i>

Table 8-4: References to local contexts in Source Text 2 and Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8

reference to local and global contexts the above suggests that it is the credibility of the government that the target texts support or undermine in line with client expectations.

Sentence 6 of Source Text 2 provides the greatest variety in the target texts. The reporting verbs, suggestive of PM Gyurcsány's attitude to voters, are subject to some manipulation. In Target Texts 3 and 7, the more Prime Minister-friendly verbs *envisioned* and *imagined* are used as a translation of *vizionál* (sentence 6 of Source Text 2) as opposed to the more insinuating *tried to vision* in sentence 6 of Target Text 4 and *fantasized* in sentence 6 of Target Text 8. Similarly, the explicating translation of *pénztárca párti* (sentence 6 in Source Text 2) as *people reluctant to pay* (sentence 6 in Target Text 3) implies that citizens are irresponsible and want to sabotage what the state rightfully demands from them while the phrases *people favouring their wallet* (sentence 6 in Target Text 4) and *people deciding purely on financial grounds* (sentence 6 in Target Texts 7 and 8) do not refer to sabotaging but to conscious decision-making on the part of the voters. In this respect the target texts convey different attitudes to voters thus creating differences in local and global contexts.

As a conclusion to **local and global contexts**, it can be stated that translators will incorporate their perception of shorter and longer term political effects in their translations through choice of lexis, and they are most likely to exhibit the local and global contexts in the target texts that favour the client. In the case of fixed phrases, paraphrases and quotations, what gets manipulated is the reporting verb introducing the phrases in question.

In conclusion to the findings concerning the second component of the TDSI Model, **Context** the following may be stated. As for the aspect of **participants**, participant-related translation shifts are more likely when the client's and the translator's political views coincide. When this relation does not hold, translation shifts will decrease in number, which suggests the dominance of the client over the translator's own political conviction. Secondly, the aspect of **higher level action** reveals that even if translators cannot manipulate the higher level action expressed by the text, they can strengthen or undermine the political agendas associated with the Source Texts in question through using different lexis. Finally, the aspect of **local and global contexts** suggests that translators' perception of immediate and long term political

effects will be incorporated in their translations. The perception of such effects primarily manifests in a biased choice of lexis and is likely to lean towards the client.

8.4.2.3. Power

Within the component of **Power** of the TDSI Model, the aspect of **access to speak** is going to be examined (c.f. Section 4.6.3). Power is enacted in Source text 2 by journalist Attila Farkas. In the target texts the power enacted in the source text is reproduced by Translators 1 and 2, respectively. From a social and political point of view, with reference to power, it is important to see that one single person, the journalist (with the approval of the editor, certain powerful circles, etc.) is enabled to voice his opinion and textually reproduce social dominance to the readership of *Magyar Nemzet*.

The results of the Social Referendum brought an overwhelming “Yes” victory, which is stated in the first sentence of Source Text 2. As a result, President László Sólyom turned to the ruling elite to initiate the necessary steps, which would follow from the victory (sentence 2). The rest of the article (sentences 4-18) deals with what the ruling elite’s reaction to the Referendum was as emblematised by PM Gyurcsány. First, it is mentioned that seemingly everybody wanted to fulfil the people’s wish at the first post-referendum parliamentary session but on the government’s part the endeavour was at least inconsistent if not dishonest (sentence 4). Then the article goes on to discuss PM Gyurcsány’s immediate reactions to the results on the night of the Referendum decrying “Yes” voters’ behaviour in the manner of a despotic ruler (sentence 6). After a moment of calm, his accusations re-start at the parliamentary session, and he openly goes against the decision of the majority of the voters referring to arguments that are undermined by the leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, Mr. Tibor Navracsics (sentences 7-12). Sentences 13-18 describe the unsuitability of PM Gyurcsány for the post of Prime Minister: there is reference to his being an illogical and corrupt dilettante, a second class actor full of pretence and having a character with a touch of madness.

Through the translation assignment, translators were given the power of reproducing or undermining the social dominance enacted in the source text. Though within reasonable limits and suited to the actual translation assignment and client, in the target texts translators have room for manipulating the social dominance expressed in Source Text 2. With reference to the power expressed in the target texts, the

manipulations concerning President László Sólyom's authority have been discussed in connection with **implications and consequences** in Section 8.4.2.1. Furthermore, sentence 6 of Source Text 2 and its translations have been analysed in connection with **local and global contexts** with regard to PM Gyurcsány's attitude to voters.

Below, textual references to power will be discussed and compared in the target texts. The expression *submit to the wish of people* in sentence 4 of Target Text 3 implies reluctance on the part of the government to succumb to a democratic decision thereby indirectly questioning the competence of the public to decide for themselves, whereas the phrase *fulfil the wish of people* in sentence 4 in Target Text 4 reinforces the rational decision brought by a majority.

It must be noted that sentence 4 also differs in Translator 1 and 2's attitude towards the power possessed by the government and the opposition: Translator 1 in Target Texts 3 and 4 uses the neutral and simple term *want to take legislative steps* as opposed to Translator 2's phrase *motivated to take legislative steps* in Target Texts 7 and 8, which implies that there is a motive moving decision-makers. This, interpreted with reference to the government, suggests that in Target Texts 7 and 8 the government is not making the decision in appreciation of voters' decision but they have their own political fish to fry. The comparison of sentences 1, 7 and 8 in Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8, which refers to the voters, reveals that there is no instance of negative judgement of voters included on the part of either Translator 1 or 2 in any of the target texts. This suggests that regardless of the political orientation of the translators, they both seem to support voters.

In spite of the translators' differences in judging those in power, it can be stated that, irrespective of the translators' own political bias but not completely unaffected by the expectations of the client, the resulting Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8 take sides with voters. This is not surprising taking the fact into consideration that the source text to be translated was composed to undermine and question the dominance of a ruling elite, which attitude can easily be taken up by the translators, who are not members of this elite.

8.4.2.4. Ideology

Within the component of **Ideology** of the TDSI Model, the aspects examined will be: **social beliefs** and **personal beliefs** as well as the **reproduction of ideology** surfacing in argumentation, implicature, stylistic features and lexical choice, formulaic language and the distinction between US vs. THEM (c.f. Section 4.6.3). In Source Text 2, there are more than twice as many evaluative beliefs as in Source Text 1: Source Text 2 has 9 evaluative beliefs as opposed to 4 in Source Text 1. These evaluative beliefs are found in the form of propositions in the following phrases and clauses: *dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban* [in his defiant utterances on Sunday] (sentence 6), which describes the Prime Minister's talk given right after the Referendum results were made public and *engedékenyebb hírokat pengetett* [played more lenient tunes] (sentence 6), where the idea of "more lenient" refers to the Prime Minister's attitude to the voters opposing him, which ideologically positions him to the intended receivers of Source Text 2 as a potential enemy. In sentence 8, the use of the phrase *vádaskodó hang* [accusing tone] presents the Prime Minister's reactions to the results of the Social Referendum as judgemental, which again ideologically positions him to the readers of the source text as a political enemy. In sentence 12, which discusses the fact that during the parliamentary debate of the Referendum results no reference was made to the GDP-proportionate state contribution to health care and education, the phrase *gondosan homályban hagyatott* [carefully not mentioned] is used, which ideologically suggests that these data were purposefully failed to be mentioned. Sentence 13 describes the mood of the Prime Minister calling him *kissé letargikus* [slightly lethargic], which ideologically reinforces the idea of political defeat over him. Sentence 16 refers to the Prime Minister's Őszöd Speech, which is described as *hírhedt* [infamous], which negatively positions the Speech. With reference to the campaign preceding the Social Referendum, sentence 17 of Source Text 2 pictures the Prime Minister as *szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító* [passionately acting Cipolla but not as well as actor Latinovits] and talks about him performing *meglehetősen enerváltan* [quite enervated], which ideologically suggests that the Prime Minister is making an effort to act in front of the voters and thus convince them. Sentence 18 of Target Text 2 claims that those who have tried to follow the Prime Minister's reactions to the results of the Social Referendum in Parliament will have concluded that his talk is *őrült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer* [a

madman's speech with no system or structure in it], which ideologically questions the Prime Minister's capacity of sound judgement and thus his ability to hold the position of prime minister.

The evaluative beliefs detailed above function as social beliefs shared by those opposing the Prime Minister in his reforms and consequently the policies of the government and MSZP. Therefore, these social beliefs contribute to the formation of a group identity in the sense of creating an anti-Prime Minister and pro-Fidesz social grouping. In sum, the article ideologically opposes the government's reforms and presents a very negative picture of the Prime Minister's attitude, arguments and political capacities through evaluative beliefs.

In terms of opinions in the source text, Source Text 2 features 3 opinions as opposed to 5 in Source Text 1. The author of Source Text 2 voices the following opinions: *sikertelenül hadakozott* [fighting in vain] (sentence 4) with reference to the defeat of the governing coalition in the Referendum; *önző háromigenesek* [selfish persons voting three 'yes's] (sentence 10) in connection with persons voting against the government's policies; and *Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje* [About this much was the essence of Gyurcsány's self-reflection] (sentence 15) in relation to the moral judgement of the Prime Minister's evaluation of the Referendum results. These personal beliefs signal the journalist's personal commitment against the issue of the government's reforms and criticise particularly the Prime Minister's reactions to the Referendum results, which communicates an anti-government and pro-Fidesz ideology in Source Text 2.

Target Text 3 rendered by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP reproduces some of the above evaluative beliefs and opinions. The evaluative beliefs reproduced are: *sounded more moderate* (sentence 6), *mildly melancholic* (sentence 12), *passionate Cipolla though not quite as talented as the great Hungarian actor Latinovits* (sentence 16), *in a rather enervated manner* (sentence 16) and *This be madness and there is no method in 't.* (sentence 17). It must be noted that the last evaluative belief is in fact a Shakespearian quotation altered, still it could be phrased differently should translators wished to reproduce it in a non-evaluative way. Certain evaluative beliefs, nonetheless, are not reproduced: *castigating Sunday night reactions* (sentence 6), which makes no reference to defiance referred to as *dacos* [defiant] in sentence 6 of Source Text 2, *was*

not elaborated on (sentence 11), where reference to purposefulness signalled by *gondosan* [carefully] in sentence 12 of Source Text 2 is omitted, the phrase *vádaskodó hang* [accusing tone] in sentence 8 of Source Text 2 is rendered as *critical tone* in sentence 8, which does not communicate any negative evaluation and the Ószöd Speech is termed *widely-known* in sentence 15 here as opposed to *hírhedt* [infamous] in sentence 16 of Source Text 2.

The opinions reproduced are: *selfish ones* (sentence 10) and *Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection* (sentence 14). One opinion, however, is not reproduced: *sikertelenül hadakozott* [fighting in vain] in sentence 4 of Source Text 2 becomes *vehemently opposing* in sentence 4 of Target Text 3, which makes no reference to the idea of failure on the part of the government or the governing coalition in connection with their crushing defeat.

The partial reproduction of evaluative beliefs and opinions is not surprising as a pro-Fidesz article is translated for MSZP by MSZP supporter Translator 1. Thus, the translator perceives the need to translate in a way that the resulting article is not as judgemental in language as Source Text 2 and consequently only partially reproduces evaluative beliefs and opinions. This partial reproduction, nevertheless, is incapable of fundamentally influencing the ideology reproduced in Target Text 3 in favour of the client.

Target Text 4 has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz, which influences the reproduction of ideology. Evaluative beliefs are, without exception, reproduced: *defiant Sunday night reactions* and *sounded softer* (sentence 6), *accusing tone* (sentence 8), *deliberately obscured* (sentence 11), *mildly lethargic* (sentence 12), *infamous Ószöd speech* (sentence 14), *played Cipolla passionately but not at actor Latinovits's standard* (sentence 16), *in a rather enervated manner* (sentence 16) and *This be madness and there is no method in 't* (sentence 17). In a similar fashion, opinions are also reproduced without exception: *opposing fiercely* (sentence 4), *selfish ones* (sentence 10), *Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection* (sentence 14).

This seems to suggest that even if the translator shares a different ideology from the one exhibited in the article, if the client's ideology is identical with the one expressed in the article, no further ideology will be included by the translator.

Differences in the choice of lexis in Target Texts 3 and 4 will be discussed with reference to ideology as part of the discussion on stylistic features and lexical choice below.

Target Text 7 translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP seems to retain the great majority of evaluative beliefs and opinions expressing ideology. In sentence 6 of Target Text 7 we find the evaluative belief of *insolent Sunday night reactions* and *his speech was more manageable* as reproduced evaluative beliefs of *dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban* [in his defiant utterances on Sunday] and *engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett* [played more lenient tunes] (both in sentence 6 of Source Text 2), *vádaskodó hang* [accusing tone] in sentence 8 of Source Text 2 is translated as *accuses* (sentence 8) also preserving the evaluative belief. Furthermore, the following evaluative beliefs are also reproduced in Target Text 7: *deliberately cloaked* (sentence 13), *slightly lethargic* (sentence 14), *infamous Őszöd speech* (sentence 17), *passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits* (sentence 18), *enervated tone* (sentence 18), *This be madness and there is no method in 't* (sentence 19). Intriguingly enough, a new evaluative belief surfaces in the translation of the evaluatively neutral clause of *a népszavazással Magyarország [...] veszített* (sentence 13 of Source Text 1): in Target Text 7 in the clause *Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum* (sentence 14 of Target Text 7) the adverb *sadly* communicates sympathy towards the client, MSZP, whose ideology is shared by the Prime Minister under fire in the article.

Very similarly, all opinions expressed in Source Text 2 are reproduced: *strongly opposing* (sentence 4), *selfish persons* (sentence 10), *All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this* (sentence 16). This points towards the conclusion that the translator does not fail to reproduce the ideological content of the source text in the translation even if this ideology opposes that of the client. This could suggest that whenever translators share the same ideology as the one expressed in the argumentative political article, if they are to translate for a client whose ideology opposes the ideology of the source text, which the case here is, they may opt to reproduce the original ideology of the source text and hide behind it claiming the ideology expressed is not of their making. That is what happens in the case of Target Text 7. Another translator strategy could be the opposite: to refuse to reproduce the

ideological content of the source article and please the client. This is what could be observed in the case of Translator 1 in connection Target Text 4 for Fidesz.

The reproduction of ideology in Target Text 8, translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz, is very similar to the reproduction of ideology in Target Text 7. All evaluative beliefs and opinions are reproduced and the above-mentioned extra evaluative belief as well as a new one are also included. The evaluative beliefs reproduced are: in sentence 6 of Target Text 8 we find *insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions*, where *impertinent* has been added is a new evaluative belief, *sounded more agreeable* is the reproduced evaluative belief of *engedékenyebb hírokat pengetett* [played more lenient tunes] (sentence 6 of Source Text 2), *vádaskodó hang* [accusing tone] in sentence 8 of Source Text 2 is translated as *accusations* (sentence 8) also preserving the evaluative belief. Furthermore, the following evaluative beliefs are likewise reproduced: *deliberately cloaked* (sentence 13), *slightly lethargic* (sentence 14), *Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum* (sentence 14), *infamous Őszöd speech* (sentence 17), *passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits* (sentence 18), *enervated tone* (sentence 18), *This be madness and there is no method in 't* (sentence 19) and the extra evaluative belief referred to above in connection with Target Text 7 also surfaces here: *Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum* (sentence 14 of Target Text 8). Here the word *sadly* may be interpreted as sarcastic as opposed to Target Text 7. Furthermore, another extra evaluative belief surfaces in sentence 19 of Target Text 8 with no corresponding evaluative belief in Source Text 2: the phrase *long-winded* with reference to the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament.

Very similarly, all the opinions expressed in Source Text 2 are also reproduced: *(unsuccessfully) moving heaven and earth* (sentence 4), *selfish persons* (sentence 10), *All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as little as this* (sentence 16). In the case of this target text Translator 2 reproduced all evaluative beliefs and opinions, which can be put down to the fact that Source Text 2, the translator and the client share the same ideology. There are, however, notable differences reflecting ideology in the choice of lexis in Target Texts 7 and 8. These include for instance *insolent Sunday night reactions* in sentence 6 of Target Text 7 as opposed to *insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions* in sentence 6 of Target Text 8 in connection with the Prime Minister's

first reactions to the results of the Social Referendum and *strongly opposing* in sentence 4 of Target Text 7 versus *(unsuccessfully) moving heaven and earth* in sentence 4 of Target Text 8 about the efforts of the coalition partners to campaign against the repeal of the fees through the Referendum. These lexical differences will be touched upon with reference to ideology as part of the discussion on stylistic features and lexical choice below.

For the purpose of summarising the findings of the reproduction of evaluative beliefs and opinions, Tables 8-5 and 8-6 provide a quick overview. The tables show the evaluative beliefs and opinions of Source Text 2 as well as the reproduction of these beliefs and opinions in the different target texts. The number of the sentences in which the given belief and/or opinion appears is provided in parentheses.

From the data it seems that translators reproduce the majority of evaluative beliefs and opinions of Source Text 2 once they translate for clients sharing the same ideology as that of the source text: this is so in the case of Target Texts 4 and 8. Translators partly (Target Text 3) or fully (Target Text 7) reproduce evaluative beliefs and opinions expressed in Source Text 2 if they translate for clients not sharing the ideology of the source text. Still, the resulting target texts will ideologically be closer to the ideology shared by the client than the ideology in the source text.

The second aspect of the component of **Ideology** focuses on the **reproduction of ideology** through argumentation, stylistic features and lexical choice, implicature, formulaic language and the distinction between US vs. THEM. Below Target Text 2 and its translations are analysed with reference to the reproduction of ideology. Argumentation is a feature of texts capable of reproducing ideology. Argumentation targets logical persuasion. As described in Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2, logical persuasion is expressed in the gist of argumentative newspaper articles, i.e. the macrostructure affected by the superstructure. Therefore, the reproduction of ideology in the argumentation of Source Text 2 and its translations will be analysed with reference to the gists of texts in order to investigate whether translators reproduce the ideology expressed in the argumentation of the source text.

Evaluative beliefs in Source Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 3 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 4 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 7 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 8 (No. of Sentence)	Remark
<i>dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásában</i> (6)	---	<i>defiant Sunday night reactions</i> (6)	<i>insolent Sunday night reactions</i> (6)	<i>insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions</i> (6)	In Target Text 3, this is not an evaluative belief.
<i>engedékenyebb hírokat pengetett</i> (6)	<i>sounded more moderate</i> (6)	<i>sounded softer</i> (6)	<i>his speech was more manageable</i> (6)	<i>sounded more agreeable</i> (6)	
<i>vádaskodó hang</i> (8)	---	<i>accusing tone</i> (8)	<i>accuses</i> (8)	<i>accusations</i> (8)	In Target Text 3, this is not an evaluative belief.
<i>gondosan homályban hagyatott</i> (12)	<i>was not elaborated on</i> (11)	<i>deliberately obscured</i> (11)	<i>deliberately cloaked</i> (13)	<i>deliberately cloaked</i> (13)	
<i>népszavazással Magyarország [...] veszített</i> (13)	---	---	<i>Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum</i> (14)	<i>Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum</i> (14)	In Target Texts 7 and 8, the referent proposition of Source Text 2 is reproduced as an evaluative belief.
<i>kissé letargikus</i> (13)	<i>mildly melancholic</i> (12)	<i>mildly lethargic</i> (12)	<i>slightly lethargic</i> (14)	<i>slightly lethargic</i> (14)	
<i>hírhedt hazugságbeszéd</i> (16)	---	<i>infamous Öszöd speech of lies</i> (14)	<i>infamous Öszöd speech of lies</i> (17)	<i>infamous Öszöd speech of lies</i> (17)	In Target Text 3, this is not an evaluative belief.

<i>szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító</i> (17)	<i>passionate Cipolla though not quite as talented as the great Hungarian actor Latinovits</i> (16)	<i>played Cipolla passionately but not at actor Latinovits's standard</i> (16)	<i>passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits</i> (18)	<i>passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits</i> (18)	
<i>meglehetősen enerváltan</i> (17)	<i>rather enervated manner</i> (16)	<i>rather enervated manner</i> (16)	<i>enervated tone</i> (18)	<i>enervated tone</i> (18)	
<i>őrült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer</i> (18)	<i>This be madness and there is no method in 't.</i> (17)	<i>This be madness and there is no method in 't.</i> (17)	<i>This be madness and there is no method in 't.</i> (19)	<i>This be madness and there is no method in 't.</i> (19)	

Table 8-5: Evaluative beliefs in Source Text 2 and in its four translations

Opinions in Source Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 3 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 4 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 7 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 8 (No. of Sentence)
<i>sikertelenül hadakozott</i> (4)	<i>vehemently opposing</i> (4)	<i>opposing fiercely</i> (4)	<i>strongly opposing</i> (4)	<i>(unsuccessfully) moving heaven and earth</i> (4)
<i>önző háromigenesek</i> (10)	<i>selfish ones</i> (10)	<i>selfish ones</i> (10)	<i>selfish persons</i> (10)	<i>selfish persons</i> (10)
<i>Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje</i> (15)	<i>Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection</i> (14)	<i>Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection</i> (14)	<i>All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this</i> (16)	<i>All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as little as this</i> (16)

Table 8-6: Opinions in Source Text 2 and in its four translations

The gist of Source Text 2 translated literally into English is as follows (expressions appearing in square brackets are only included to make the text more meaningful for the interpretation of the results):

Then he [the President of Hungary] warned that legislators and politicians are to draw the conclusions with reference to the referendum. This was attempted yesterday in the House of the Parliament. The Liar of Ószöd [the Prime Minister] and other actors [governing coalition politicians] think people having voted yes want to use services for free. The Leader of the Parliamentary Group of Fidesz, Mr. Tibor Navracsics stated that health care and education are not free services but governing coalition politicians kept repeating the contrary [textually slightly shortened for our purposes]. Hungary lost with the referendum. This is as much as the Prime Minister could say. The Liar of Ószöd made another attempt to seem to speak the truth while lying [textually slightly shortened for our purposes]. As far as the contents of his [Prime Minister's] several speeches are concerned, the audience conceptualised the following Shakespearean paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't." [i.e. nonsense].

The argumentation features the following arguments and ideology. The first step in the argument is that, on the basis of the Referendum result, the conclusions of the Social Referendum are to be drawn by politicians. This argument immediately positions the article ideologically as it claims that after the overwhelming victory of Fidesz both political sides will have to act accordingly. This suggestion foreshadows that the article is going to examine the standpoints of the two opposing political sides and will eventually attack the government.

The next step in the argument is to make a comparison between the Government's and the Opposition's arguments: the Prime Minister and the MPs of the governing coalition claim those who have voted in favour of the repeal of the fees acted to save money, whereas the Leader of the Parliamentary Group of Fidesz notes that people do pay for education and health care. Here the article describes the ideology of MSZP and Fidesz from its own ideological perspective: while MSZP is positioning those having voted against the fees as tight-fisted persons making decisions on grounds that financially benefit them the best, Fidesz's claims are based on the fact that people do pay for education and health care through paying taxes and contributions, therefore requesting extra money for these services is intolerable. The ideology behind this method of presentation is to make readers realise that Fidesz's claims are based on facts, whereas MSZP's claims are unsupported. Also, Source Text 2 presents a picture of MSZP expressing its low opinion of "Yes" voters. Through this method of presentation the article reinforces the ideology that Fidesz is competent in the issue and understanding towards the voters whereas MSZP is not. Considering the fact that such a Referendum result could have provoked early general elections at the time when Source Text 2 was published, making the Government and the governing coalition look incompetent, might have been part of a well-planned, ideologically carefully positioned campaign.

The subsequent step in the argument is making references to the Prime Minister, who claims that Hungary has lost with the Referendum. Here again the article leaves the Prime Minister's point unsupported and concludes that the Prime Minister could say as much as this. The ideology behind this is not only to portray the Prime Minister as a lame duck and but also to influence public opinion by focalising PM Gyurcsány's incompetence through not publishing referent supports in the article and concurrently foregrounding Fidesz's political aptness.

The next step in the argumentation is to refer readers to the Prime Minister's Ószöd Speech, in connection with which the Prime Minister is pictured as a notorious liar. This ideologically serves to undermine the credibility of the Prime Minister, which may consequently lead to his fall. The last step in the argumentation is to question the sound judgement of the Prime Minister through interpreting his speech as nonsense. Ideologically this assumption declares the Prime Minister unfit for his position.

In our understanding, the main ideology expressed in Source Text 2 is retained in all target texts as the steps of the argumentation are identical with the steps described above. Thus, argumentation is not manipulated by translators. However, the different lexical choices of the gists of the four translations signal translators' different ideological interpretations of the arguments as the reproduction of ideology can happen through stylistic features and/or lexical choice. Below, lexical choice in the four gists (provided in Section 8.3) will be compared to reveal in what ways lexical choice supports or undermines the ideology expressed in the referent gists.

The gist of Target Text 3 rendered by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP pictures the President of Hungary as somewhat autocratic. Sentence 2 contains *he declared* as if the President was firmly instructing parliamentary parties what to do. This negative portrayal ideologically is very much in line with MSZP's rhetoric, which repeatedly attacked the President of Hungary in the years preceding the Social Referendum. People having voted against the payment of the visit, hospital and tuition fees are termed *bargain hunters* in sentence 10, which expression does not necessarily convey negative judgement unlike the term *ingyenesség hasznonlesői* [mercenary people of free meals] in sentence 10 of Source Text 2. This ideologically serves the purpose of combating the negative associations Source Text 2 provokes in connection with the Government and MSZP for their negative judgement of people having voted "Yes" at the Referendum. The term *korteszbeszéd* [canvass speech] in sentence 11 of Source Text 2 is rendered with the help of the neutral word *speeches* in sentence 11 of Target Text 3 in order to avoid negative associations with MSZP thereby reinforcing a balanced presentation of MSZP and consequently its ideology. The phrase *gondosan homályban hagyatott* [carefully not mentioned] in sentence 12 of Source Text 2 is rendered as *was not elaborated on* in sentence 11, where the idea of purposefully failing to quote referent facts is omitted, which ideologically fails to position MSZP in a negative light.

In sum, Translator 1 seems to be concerned about making ideological adjustments by failing to reproduce certain lexical items expressing ideology to create a more favourable text for MSZP. Consequently, the ideology of Source Text 2 is manipulated: the ideology included by Translator 1 is trying to undermine the ideology expressed in the gist of Source Text 2. The above causes an intriguing scenario: the

arguments reproduce Fidesz's ideology, while certain lexical elements that of MSZP. Still, the pragmatic situation of posting this translation on the web page of MSZP seems to position and guide readers in their interpretation of the ideology exhibited in the target text.

The gist of Target Text 4 rendered by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz reproduces all the lexical items expressing the ideology shared by the article and Fidesz. The following lexical items reflect the ideology shared by Fidesz: the President of Hungary in sentence 2 *motioned* that consequences be drawn, where the lexical item *motion* does not suggest any abuse of power on the part of the President, which is line with Fidesz's ideology as Fidesz did not attack the President for that. The phrases *money grubbers* in sentence 10, *performers of [...] canvass speeches* and *was deliberately obscured* (both in sentence 11) as well as the lexical item *reprimanding* in sentence 15 describing the Prime Minister's criticism against the President of Fidesz present MSZP and MSZP's political rhetoric in a negative light, therefore reproduce Fidesz's ideology of focusing on the negative features of MSZP. This suggests that Translator 1 realised that the ideology exhibited by Target Text 2 is shared by Fidesz and consequently reproduced the ideological content of the source text without any changes.

The gist of Target Text 7 rendered by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP shows no instances of ideological manipulation through lexical choice. The lexical items in Source Text 2 reflecting ideology are reproduced to reflect the original ideology of the source text, however, they are phrased in an ideologically less offensive way in line with the client's ideological expectations. Thus, the phrase *Őszödi Bösztme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* in sentence 10 of Source Text 2 is rendered as *the Dimwit of Őszöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány's team* in sentence 10 of Target Text 7, where, even if the original ideology of the negative presentation of the Prime Minister and his circle is reproduced, the use of *team*, for instance, does not imply criticism. The same is true to the translation of sentence 15 of Source Text 2 *Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje*, which is rendered as *All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this* in sentence 16 of Target Text 7, where *as much as this* could easily lend itself to a different phrasing through for instance explicitation involving a harsher phrasing of the opinion. This becomes

especially obvious if we compare the translation of the above phrases in Target Texts 7 and 8 and compared (*PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this* as opposed to *PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as little as this*). Even in the case of lexical items potentially yielding themselves for manipulation such as the item pointed out above, no further ideology is included on the part of Translator 2. Therefore, the ideology of Source Text 2 is reproduced without any supporting or undermining ideological content.

The gist of Target Text 8 rendered by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz includes further pro-Fidesz ideology through the use of certain lexical items. The phrase *Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* in sentence 10 of Source Text 2 is rendered as *Dimwit of Őszöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány's cronies* in sentence 10 of Target Text 8, where *cronies* ideologically negatively positions the Prime Minister and his team, thus reproducing Fidesz's ideology. The translation of sentence 15 of Source Text 2 *Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje*, which is rendered as *All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as little as this* in sentence 16 of Target Text 8, reflects explicitation through the use of *little*, which ideologically negatively comments on the Prime Minister's speech. Here we must note that this reinforces the ideology behind Source Text 2, which pictures Mr. Gyurcsány as an incompetent Prime Minister. The inclusion of the phrase *long-winded* with reference to the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament in sentence 19 of Target Text 8 reproduces Fidesz's ideology by the inclusion of an evaluative belief that signals that the speech in question was boring and did not make any sense, which contributes to picturing the Prime Minister as incompetent. It seems that in terms of lexical choice translators reproduce the ideology contained in the gist of the source text but also manipulate the gists through the inclusion of the ideology shared by the actual client.

Stylistic features and lexical choice can reproduce ideology elsewhere than exclusively in the gist. Lexical choice in the identification of political actors plays a crucial role in the reproduction of ideology in Source Text 2. Source Text 2 carefully separates the two opposing political sides by using ideologically charged nicknames of Government and MSZP politicians or by purposefully not giving their titles only their names, while retains the official titles of Fidesz politicians and that of Mr. László

Sólyom President of Hungary. In Source Text 2 the Prime Minister is referred to as *Gyurcsány Ferenc* (without title – sentence 5), *Őszödi Bőszme* [Liar of Őszöd] (sentences 10 and 16), *Gyurcsány* (without title – sentence 17) and only once is he referred to as *kormányfő* [Prime Minister] (sentence 13). Government and MSZP politicians are collectively called *a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* (*Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller*) [the Liar of Őszöd other minor actors of the cast Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller] (sentence 10). As opposed to this, references to the President of Hungary or Fidesz politicians are as follows: *Sólyom László köztársasági elnök* [László Sólyom President of Hungary] (sentence 1), *Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője* [Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz] (sentence 11), *Fidesz elnöke* [the President of Fidesz] (sentence 15). This reproduces the ideology shared by Fidesz: nicknaming those who are ideologically opposed and ensuring reverence for those sharing Fidesz's ideology.

In the four target texts, irrespective of the client, most of the above ideologically-rooted naming practices are retained and/or are adjusted to the target language norms, e.g. the surname of the Prime Minister or other public political figures, as a rule, cannot stand on its own without the title. Accordingly, *Gyurcsány Ferenc* (without title – sentence 5 of Source Text 2) is referred to as *Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány* (sentence 5 in Target Texts 3 and 4) and as *PM Ferenc Gyurcsány* (sentence 5 in Target Texts 7 and 8), *Őszödi Bőszme* [Liar of Őszöd] (sentences 10 and 16 of Source Text 2) is translated as *the Jackass of Őszöd* (sentences 10 and 15 in Target Texts 3 and 4) and as *the Dimwit of Őszöd* (sentences 10 and 17 in Target Texts 7 and 8), *Gyurcsány* (without title – sentence 17 of Source Text 2) is rendered as *PM Gyurcsány* (sentence 16 of Target Texts 3 and 4 and sentence 18 of Target Texts 7 and 8) and *kormányfő* is translated as *head of government* (sentence 12 of Target Texts 3 and 4) and *Prime Minister* (sentence 14 of Target Texts 7 and 8). The collective term *színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* (*Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller*) [other minor actors of the cast Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller] is rendered as *more insignificant members of the cast* (*Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller*) (sentence 10 of Target Texts 3 and 4). The phrase *Sólyom László köztársasági elnök* is translated as *Mr. László Sólyom President of the Republic of Hungary* (sentence 1 of Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8), *Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője* is rendered as *Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group*

of *Fidesz* (sentence 11 of Target Texts 3, 4, 7 and 8), and *Fidesz elnöke* as *President of Fidesz* (sentence 15 of Target Texts 3 and 4 and sentence 16 of Target Texts 7 and 8). This suggests that the ideology surfacing in the naming practice in Source Text 2 is reproduced in the target texts unless linguistic norms otherwise dictate.

Metaphors also play a vital role in the reproduction of ideology in Source Text 2. As mentioned above with reference to perspective, Source Text 2 uses a chain of metaphors throughout the text for describing the Prime Minister as a second-rate musician-actor in a cheap melodrama staged in Parliament. This also works towards picturing the Prime Minister as a political performer, which presents *Fidesz*'s ideology of undermining the political reputation of the Prime Minister. In Source Text 2 the textual realisations of the above chain of metaphors are the following phrases: *a fő szólamot Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni* [the main tune was played by Gyurcsány] (sentence 5), *valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett* [played more lenient tunes] (sentence 6) and *az Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* [the Liar of Őszöd other minor actors of the cast] (sentence 10) and *nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány* [Gyurcsány passionately acting Cipolla but not as well as actor Latinovits] (sentence 17).

The above chain of metaphors expressing ideology is mostly reproduced as metaphors expressing ideology in all four target texts. The reproduction of these metaphors, however, is influenced by the client of the target text in question. In order to compare the textual realisations of the metaphors, Table 8-7 presents the metaphors and their translations in the four target texts.

Apart from the fact that Translator 2 does not translate the metaphor *Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői* as a metaphor, it is revealing that Target Texts 3 and 7 for MSZP do not reproduce the metaphor *a fő szólamot Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni*. This seems to suggest that all metaphors in the source text expressing ideology are reproduced on condition the ideology they express is shared by the ideology of the client. If this is not the case, the translators only partly reproduce these metaphors.

The reproduction of ideology can be carried out by **implicature**, which plays an important role with reference to the political message of a text. In Sections 3.6 and 7.9.1.2, it was argued that political messages realise emotive persuasion and that lexical

choice in political messages plays a crucial role in inducing emotive persuasion. It has also been claimed that due to the shortness of political messages, such a message builds on implicature in the context of the full text from which the political message in question has been construed. It follows from this that the ideological interpretation of political messages is only possible once the ideological interpretation of the texts from which they have been construed has been established.

In order to explore how translation potentially alters political messages, the political message of Source Text 2 will be analysed and compared with the political messages of the four translations of Source Text 2. The political message of Source Text 2, which is made up of sentences 3 and 18, is as follows: Ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni tegnap az Országgyűlésben. Sokszori megszólalásai tartalma kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazódhatott meg a hallgatóságban: őrült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer.

Metaphors expressing ideology in Source Text 2 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 3 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 4 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 7 (No. of Sentence)	Target Text 8 (No. of Sentence)	Remark
<i>a fő szólamot Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni (5)</i>	---	<i>Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány played the dominant tune (5)</i>	---	<i>MP Ferenc Gyurcsány acted as the lead piper (5)</i>	Not reproduced in Target Texts 3 and 7.
<i>kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett (6)</i>	<i>sounded more moderate (6)</i>	<i>sounded softer (6)</i>	<i>his speech was more manageable (6)</i>	<i>his speech sounded more agreeable (6)</i>	
<i>az Őszödi Bösze és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői (10)</i>	<i>“Jackass of Őszöd” and the more insignificant members of the cast (14)</i>	<i>“Jackass of Őszöd” and the more insignificant members of the cast (14)</i>	---	---	Not reproduced as a metaphor in Target Texts 7 and 8.
<i>nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány (17)</i>	<i>PM Gyurcsány, like a passionate Cipolla though not quite as talented as the great Hungarian actor Latinovits (16)</i>	<i>PM Gyurcsány, who played Cipolla passionately but not at actor Latinovits’s standard (16)</i>	<i>PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits (18)</i>	<i>PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits (18)</i>	
<i>shakespeare-i parafrázis (18)</i>	<i>Shakespearean line paraphrased (17)</i>	<i>Shakespeare paraphrased (17)</i>	<i>Shakespearean paraphrase (19)</i>	<i>Shakespearean paraphrase (19)</i>	

Table 8-7: Metaphors expressing ideology in Source Text 2 and in its four translations

The political message translated verbatim into English for our purposes (with explanatory remarks in square brackets) reads like this:

This [drawing the conclusions] was attempted yesterday in the House of the Parliament. As far as the contents of his [Prime Minister's] several speeches are concerned, the audience conceptualised the following Shakespearean paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

In view of the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 2, the above political message implies that the conclusion to be drawn from the Prime Minister's interpretation of the results of the Social Referendum is that the Prime Minister has gone mad. The ideology in the implicature expressed by the political message is to position the Prime Minister as an incompetent political performer, who should be removed from power, through which the alternative of a new election and a Fidesz-led government can be furthered.

It must be noted here that the translator's space of ideologically altering or manipulating the political message of the target texts is very limited as the focalised part of the political message is the slightly altered Shakespearean quotation, "*This be madness and there is no method in 't'*", which is unlikely to be translated freely.

The political message of Target Text 3, which is made up sentences 3 and 17 and has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for MSZP, is as follows:

This task [drawing the conclusions] was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. His [Prime Minister's] manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearian line paraphrased in the audience: "This be madness and there is no method in 't.'" [i.e. nonsense].

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 2 but through the use of the verb *conjure up* does not equate the Prime Minister's speech with a madman's words: it presents this only as a possible interpretation. In the MSZP supporter receivers of Target Text 3 this emotively generates some sympathy towards the Prime Minister and a way of escape from the perceived reality presented in the article, thus promoting MSZP's ideology.

The political message of Target Text 4, which is made up sentences 3 and 17 and has been translated by MSZP supporter Translator 1 for Fidesz, is as follows:

This task [drawing the conclusions] was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. The content of his [Prime Minister's]

manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.” [i.e. nonsense].

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 2 and through the use of the verb *remind* equates the Prime Minister’s speech with the talk of a madman. In the Fidesz supporter receivers of Target Text 4 this emotively generates a feeling of reassurance in the Prime Minister’s low mental capacity formerly communicated by Fidesz, which is in line with Fidesz’s ideology.

The political message of Target Text 7, which is made up sentences 3 and 19 and has been translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for MSZP, is as follows:

The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so [drawing the conclusions] yesterday. For the audience, the essence of his [Prime Minister’s] numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.” [i.e. nonsense].

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 2 and through the use of the verb *summarize* equates the Prime Minister’s speech with a madman’s words. In the MSZP supporter receivers of Target Text 7 this is likely to emotively generate a determination to defend the Prime Minister and thus the text causes political mobilisation, thus promoting the ideology of MSZP.

The political message of Target Text 8, which is made up sentences 3 and 19 and has been translated by Fidesz supporter Translator 2 for Fidesz, is as follows:

The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so [drawing the conclusions] yesterday. For the audience, the essence of his [Prime Minister’s] numerous long-winded speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: This be madness and there is no method in ‘t. [i.e. nonsense].

The translation reproduces the ideology contained in the full text of Source Text 2 and through the use of the verb *summarize* equates the Prime Minister’s speech with that of a madman. In the Fidesz supporter receivers of Target Text 8 this emotively generates reassurance of Fidesz’s interpretation of the Prime Minister’s mental capacity and thus furthers Fidesz’s ideology.

Even if the translation of the above particular political message allows very limited space for translators’ ideological manipulation, it still appears to reflect the

clients' ideology in its lexical choice and thus the gists are suited to the clients' ideological expectations.

The reproduction of ideology can also happen through **formulaic language**. Formulaic language does not appear in Source Text 2 or in its translations, thus we shall skip this point. It must, nonetheless, be pointed out that formulaic language can potentially play a vital role in the reproduction ideology and the fact that no instance of such language appears in Source Text 2 or the target texts does not mean that the analysis of formulaic language should be excluded when effecting ideology analysis in the scope of Translation Studies.

The reproduction of ideology can also present itself through making a **distinction between US vs. THEM**. The US vs. THEM distinction is present throughout the entire Source Text 2. As the article has been written with a pro-Fidesz perspective, the Prime Minister, the government and the coalition are pictured in a negative way whereas Fidesz is portrayed in a positive way. The most obvious proof of this is the naming practice of referring to government and MSZP seniors by nicknames and to Fidesz seniors and the President of Hungary by their official titles, as noted above with reference to stylistic features and lexical choice.

The Government, MSZP and the governing coalition politicians are noted for their negative deeds: fighting against the public will of requesting the repeal of the visit fee, the hospital daily fee and the tuition fee (*a megszüntetésük [vizitdíj, tandíj és kórházi napidíj] ellen sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypártok* – sentence 4 of Source Text 2), belittling those having voted for the repeal of the fees (*3,3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni* – sentence 6), making accusations against the public will (*vádaskodó hang* – sentence 8), touching upon certain questionable privatisation deals involving the Prime Minister (*a Szalay utcai ingatlan és az őszödi üdülő megszerzése* – sentence 14), the recurrent practice of the Prime Minister to disguise his lies for truth (*újfent kísérletet tett arra, hogy hírhedt hazugságbeszédét átcsomagolja igazságbeszéddé* – sentence 16) and the Prime Minister acting as if he had a part in a cheap melodrama (*Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány* – sentence 17). These negative Government, MSZP and governing coalition politician presentations are opposed by the positive presentation by Fidesz politicians: Fidesz politicians initiating the repeal of the the visit, hospital daily and tuition fees (*a vizitdíj, tandíj és kórházi napidíj eltörlését*

kezdeményező Fidesz és KDNP – sentence 4) and the Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz supporting Fidesz’s position through the fact that all taxpayers pay for health care and education services (Hiába hívta fel a figyelmet Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője, hogy senki nem gondolja az egészségügyről és az oktatásról, hogy azért soha egy árva petákot sem kellett fizetni – sentence 11).

The US vs. THEM ideological distinction is reproduced in all target texts in the referent target sentences: in Target Texts 3 and 4 in sentences 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15 and 16; and in Target Texts 5 and 6 in sentences 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 17 and 18. The presentation of these arguments, however, is supported or alternatively undermined by lexical choices signalling ideology appearing in these sentences, as described above. It appears that the US vs. THEM distinction is retained in the translations but the lexical choice appearing in the referent sentences can support or undermine the effectiveness of the ideology behind the distinction as illustrated above.

In terms of the reproduction of ideology in Source Text 2 and its translations, it can be concluded that the translators produce their target texts primarily with the client in mind. They reproduce or occasionally manipulate (support or undermine) the ideology of the source text to satisfy their clients, while the majority of the ideology expressed in the source text is in fact reproduced in the target texts. It is noteworthy that translators rarely include their own ideology if that opposes the ideology of their actual client.

8.4.3 Summary of CDA results

This section summarises the results of the CDA analysis along the four components of the TDSI Model. The findings with reference to the target texts are collated and described below broken down by the four components. This summary will be used as the input for the next component of the Political Bias Screener, the TPMC Model.

The analysis has revealed that the target texts reproduce all properties of the source texts in terms of the component of **Action**: the **intentionality** and the **perspective** of the source texts are fully reproduced, **implications and consequences** are reproduced in an attempt to satisfy client expectations. In connection with the textual features associated with the component of **Context** it can be established that there is a tendency to satisfy the political expectations of the client in the target texts:

even if **participant** related features and **higher-level action** are not manipulated, references to **local and global contexts** are manipulated to reflect the political expectations of the client. As far as textual features related to the component of **Power** are concerned, target texts seem to undermine the dominance of the ruling elite irrespective of client expectations.

As far as target textual features related to the component of **Ideology** are concerned, based on the findings, the following detailed conclusions will be drawn as suited to the complexity of the diverse aspects of the component of **Ideology**. It appears that translators reproduce all **evaluative beliefs and opinions** of the source text once they are translating for clients who share the same ideology as the one expressed in the source text. If the client does not share the same ideology as the one surfacing in the source text, translators only partially reproduce such ideological contents. This seems to suggest that translators always keep the client and the ideology shared by the client in mind and they produce texts that ideologically suit the client. The **arguments**, on the other hand, are not manipulated by translators, however the **lexical choice** in the gists are manipulated. Lexis is selected in a way that the choice of lexis will, as a rule, reflect the client's ideology.

Furthermore, **stylistic features and metaphors** expressing ideology in the source text are reproduced on condition the ideology they express is identical to the ideology of the client. Otherwise, translators only partly reproduce such stylistic features and metaphors. With reference to the implicature expressed by the political message of the target texts, it is phrased in the target texts to reflect the ideology shared by the client. In a similar fashion, the **US vs. THEM distinction** is retained in target texts, however the lexical choice appearing in the referent sentences can support or undermine the effectiveness of the ideology behind the distinction. The lexical choice in the reproduction of the US vs. THEM distinction is again suited to the client's ideology.

Strange as it may seem, it is noteworthy that translators rarely include their own ideological beliefs that oppose the ideology of their actual client. On the other hand, on the basis of the above results, it can be stated that translators produce target texts the ideological and political bias of which clearly reflect client expectations. As a summary, it can be concluded that the target texts reflect the political bias of the client.

Consequently, we propose to term the translation strategy in the scope of which translators manipulate target texts in a way that the resulting ideological and/or political bias expressed in these texts ideologically and/or politically suits the actual client's ideological and/or political expectations and promotes the given client's ideological and/or political objectives **ideological and political approximation**. It can thus be concluded that ideological approximation can be observed in the case of all target texts under scrutiny within the scope of the present undertaking.

In order to provide an explanation for the above target textual features and such translator strategy in the political mass communication context, which the target texts are part of, the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model will be applied.

8.5. The results and discussion of the political mass communication analysis

This section describes the results obtained with the help of the TPMC Model (c.f. Section 5.5). The input data of the TPMC Model are the research results produced with the help of the TDSI Model (c.f. Section 4.6.4). The components of **Action** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model will serve as input for the TPMC Model component of **Bias**, while the components of **Context** and **Power** of the TDSI Model will serve as input for the TPMC Model component of **Reality** (c.f. Section 5.5).

It has been pointed out in Section 8.4.3 that translators adjust their target texts to the political and ideological bias related expectations of their actual clients. This finding can be explained by the political mass communication context in which the source and target texts exist with the help of the TPMC Model. Within the scope of the political mass communication analysis, on the basis of the findings of the CDA analysis, a parallel between the features of source texts and the target texts will be drawn with reference to the professional behaviour of the journalists having produced the source texts and the translators having created the target texts.

In Section 8.4.3 it has been argued in relation to the TDSI Model component of **Context** that translation shifts in the target texts surface in connection with references to local and global contexts. It has been concluded that local and global contexts are manipulated to reflect the political expectations of the client. As far as textual features

related to the component of **Power** of the TDSI Model are concerned, target texts through translation shifts seem to undermine the dominance of the ruling elite irrespective of client expectations. With these findings as input to the component of **Reality** of the TPMC Model, it is argued that journalists rely on their own **subjective reality** in the construction of newspaper articles: in their articles they represent the reality they perceive. Similarly, translators rely on their own subjective realities, which surface as translation shifts in the target text. The import of translators' subjective realities is supported by the following findings of the CDA analysis: ideological additions surface in the target texts that are not present in the source text, the interpretation of local and global contexts in the target texts are different from that in the source text and translators seem to undermine the dominance of the ruling elite, which reveals they perceive a different subjective reality from that of the ruling elite.

On the basis of the input of the results produced with the help of the components of **Context** and **Power** of the TDSI Model, it is argued that journalists and translators similarly relate to the aspect of **constructed reality**: journalists present a constructed reality through the articles they create that is congruent with the political and ideological expectations of the newspaper publishing their articles. Translators present different constructed realities in target texts for different clients depending on the political and ideological expectations of the actual client. Regarding constructed reality, it seems that client expectations, let them be those of a newspaper or a political party, are of primary importance.

In connection with the input of the TPMC Model component of **Bias**, it has been argued in Section 8.4.3 that textual features related to the TDSI Model components of **Action** and **Ideology** show translators' strategy to reproduce the political standpoint and the ideology shared by the client, and that translators only include their political and ideological convictions in the target texts if these convictions are shared by the client. With these findings as input to the **structural bias** aspect of the component of **Bias**, it can be established that journalists produce texts that are biased towards the newspaper publishing their articles, while translators produce target texts that are biased towards their client. Source and target texts, thus, tend to exhibit structural bias towards the clients. This suggests that in political mass communication settings journalists and

translators behave in the same manner: they produce texts that are suitable for their client, let it be a newspaper or a political party.

Based on the findings established with the help of the components of **Action** and **Ideology** of the TDSI Model, with reference to the **personal political bias** aspect of the component of **Bias** of the TPMC Model, it can be stated that journalists include their own political affiliations in the articles they create, while translators only include their own personal political convictions if those are shared by the client. If the client opposes to the political views shared by the translator, translators refrain from reproducing their own political convictions in their target texts. Therefore, target texts exhibit translators' personal political bias if and only if this is in line with client expectations.

The results obtained with the help of the two components of the TPMC Model suggest that the political mass communication setting of the target texts under scrutiny prompts translators to create target texts that politically and ideologically meet the political and ideological expectations of the actual client, which is very similar to journalists' behaviour in the same communicative context. It follows from this that, with reference to the translation of argumentative newspaper articles, translator behaviour is obviously and primarily influenced by client expectations and that the level of translators' critical awareness is low.

The current research has shown that, in terms of the (re)production of ideology and bias, translators work with the actual client in mind: they are likely to (re)produce the ideology shared by the client and to incorporate bias favouring the client in the target texts they produce. This, on the one hand, is commendable as this attitude shows that translators professionally strive to satisfy their clients. On the other hand, though, with reference to political discourse, this attitude communicates that translators write whatever clients want to read. In other words, in a political sense, translators exhibit a servile attitude to clients.

8.6. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data, it may be concluded that the Political Bias Screener has proved to be a valid and reliable analytical tool capable of revealing ideological and political bias in source and target language texts. Furthermore, the Screener allows for

the comparison for ideological and political bias in source and target texts and provides an explanation of translator behaviour associated with the communicative context of argumentative newspaper articles and their translations. Chapter 9 discusses the conclusions of the research.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

9.1. Overview

This chapter summarises the features of the analytical tool and the research results and describes the limitations of the research. The advantages of the analytical tool will also be highlighted and conclusions regarding translator behaviour will be formulated. Implications for translator training and translators' awareness raising will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter ends with outlining possible directions of further research will be outlined.

9.2. The analytical tool

Within the scope of the present undertaking a text-type translation oriented analytical tool has been developed for the identification and comparison of political and ideological bias in source and target texts. The analytical tool called Political Bias Screener, which focuses on argumentative political newspaper articles and their translations in a political mass communication context, incorporates four models: 1) Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution Model 2) for the analysis of superstructure, 2) Tirkkonen-Condit's (1985) Macrostructure Model for the analysis of macrostructure, 3) the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model for the Critical Discourse Analysis of source and target texts and 4) the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model for the interpretation of the CDA results in the context of political mass communication, which the source newspaper articles and their translations are part of. A hierarchical relationship holds between the four constituent models of the analytical tool: the output of a given constituent serves as the input of the following constituent (c.f. Chapter 6.4). In the current research, the analytical tool has been tested for validity and reliability in the analysis of the two Hungarian source language argumentative political newspaper articles and their eight English target language translations.

9.3. Summary of the results of the analyses and limitations of the research

Research results are summed up here with reference to the four models making up the Political Bias Screener and with respect to the source and target texts analysed within the scope of the current undertaking. The superstructure analysis has shown that translators fully reproduce the superstructure of source texts in their target texts. The macrostructure analysis has revealed that the propositional content of the macrostructure of source texts in their referent target texts are identical. This indicates that translators do not alter the superstructure or the macrostructure of target texts in an attempt to effect ideological or political manipulation.

With the help of the diverse components of the CDA analysis, it has been revealed that there is a tendency for translators to produce target texts that reflect and/or reinforce the ideology and political orientation shared by the actual client and to lean towards the actual client biaswise in their target texts. The political mass communication analysis has further underscored the existence of translator behaviour to approximate the actual client's expectations in terms of the ideology and bias reproduced in the target texts. It must at the same time be noted that in case the source text shares a different or opposing ideology or political bias to that of the client, the resulting target texts are likely to become ideological or political hybrids, i.e. texts that feature two or more diverse or different, possibly opposing, ideologies or political orientations. A parallel between the work of journalists and translators has been established in the examined political mass communication context and it has been shown that both journalists and translators adjust their texts primarily to the expectations of the client.

In terms of the limitations and future applicability of the current undertaking, it must be pointed out that the current research is intended as an exploratory, qualitative study. Its aim has been to produce a discourse-specific theory and to develop, introduce and test a text-type specific analytical tool by way of the application of the tool in a case study. Given that the research is based on a limited number of source and target texts, the results cannot be generalized to any other text or text type than argumentative political newspaper articles, any other language pairs than Hungarian and English, any other political contexts than the Hungarian political climate of 2008 or any other translators than the two participants of the research. The results, however, show possible

tendencies to be justified by later research and are transferable to other research focusing on the analysis of political and ideological bias in other text types or texts written in other languages, let them be translations or not. The Political Bias Screener can be used or adapted for such purposes as necessitated by the research in question.

9.4. Merits of the Political Bias Screener

The advantages of the Screener include that it is a language-independent tool, which enables it to be used with any language pairs in any text linguistic research. At the same time, the Screener is also ideology-independent, which allows for it to be used in any ideological setting for the identification and comparison of ideological bias. With some alteration, the Screener can be adjusted to the analysis of texts used in other communicative contexts than that of political mass communication (e.g. in a communicative context of government activity related documentation of political discourse): in such a case the Translation-centred Political Mass Communication Model constituent of the Screener will be replaced by any similar model that, on the one hand, reflects the communicative context the text(s) under scrutiny in the given analysis exist(s) in and that, on the other hand, takes the results of the CDA analysis as input.

9.5. Conclusions regarding translator behaviour

With reference to translator behaviour, the Political Bias Screener showed that translators primarily strive to satisfy clients when they translate political discourse and that they uncritically reproduce ideological and political bias in their target texts. In our view, such an attitude does not reflect positively on the professional reputation of the community of translators as in this respect translators do not seem sensible human text producers but simple programmable text producing machines. In connection with this attitude Baker (2006) also discusses translation ethical and moral issues, which are inseparable from professional ones.

In our interpretation, the healthy and exemplary professional attitude in the case of the translation of political texts would be if translators refrained from including any ideology or bias in their target texts that are not present in the source text and did not

amplify ideological or political bias present in the source text. Any ideological or political bias-related translation shifts, let them be in favour of the client or a textual surfacing of the translator's own political and ideological convictions, distort the political and ideological message of the source text in question. Such distortions, in turn, undermine professionalism. In this respect, translator training and translators' awareness raising should ideally extend to professional, ethical and moral issues related to the translation of political discourse.

9.6. Implications for translator training and translators' awareness raising

It is assumed that translator training and translators' awareness raising, especially given that translation and politics are increasingly international activities, should ideally extend to the analysis of translated political discourse. Target textual distortions and manipulations in political discourse should be analysed as part of translator training. With a view to this, the Political Bias Screener and the CDA-based Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model can function as very user-friendly, effective and thought-provoking tools.

The Political Bias Screener offers a complex analytical tool for the comparison of source and target texts in their political mass communication contexts. The Screener also helps comparing and evaluating different target language realisations of the same source text, thereby providing feedback in translator training. With reference to the Translation-centred Discourse–Society Interface Model, students as well as educators can easily understand what the components of the Model and the constituting aspects of the components in the Model relate to and what textual features can be analysed through them. The model is easy to be used in the comparison of source and target texts through the critical approach offered. With the help of in-class discussions, the Model-based analysis of source and target texts can extend to professional, ethical and moral issues. The Model in fact facilitates such a discussion as it incorporates information about the social, cultural, political and historical contexts of source and target texts, which contributes to and guides the discussion of textual features.

Through the incorporation of CDA in translator training and translators' awareness raising, translators could be familiarised with and focused on ideological

textual manipulation. Translators could learn and practice how to explore ideological and political translation shifts, they could be sensitised to be able to spot manipulative shifts of this kind in others' and in their own target texts and, through self-reflection and increased professional awareness, they could fight against such manipulation of translated texts. Practical activities could include exploring and carefully editing out translation shifts reflecting ideological and political manipulations in one's own and others' target texts.

9.7. Further research

It has been pointed out in Section 9.3 that the current research results are transferable and show possible tendencies. Therefore, the results can serve as a basis for further research of the relationship between translation, politics and ideology. Such further research may take a larger population of participants and a larger population of argumentative political newspaper articles as source texts in a similar translation assignment (i.e. two clients with opposing ideologies) to reveal if and to what extent this larger population of data reflects the same tendencies as those obtained in the current research and to possibly uncover other yet unknown tendencies.

Another potential direction of further quantitative research could be to analyse other political texts than argumentative newspaper articles and to explore in what ways and to what extent ideology and bias are reproduced in such texts. The results of this research could in turn be compared with the results of the current undertaking. In the scope of such research, conclusions could be drawn with reference to translators' (re)production of ideological and political bias in several text types. Through the inclusion of a range of text types, conclusions on general translator behaviour in the wider context of the translation of political texts could be drawn.

Yet another possible direction of further qualitative research could be to design a translation assignment as part of which an ideologically and politically neutral text gets translated by translators sharing opposing ideologies for clients with opposing ideologies or no ideology. In the scope of such research, it could be revealed what ideological additions or manipulations surface in the target texts depending exclusively on the ideology and political convictions shared by the client or in the absence of an

ideology or political conviction. Such research could explore what ideological and political translation shifts suited to the expectations of the client surface in target texts and what ideology and political bias translators include in the target texts if the client has no ideology. On the basis of the results of such a research, implications on translator behaviour could be formulated.

It is trusted that future larger scale Translation Studies research on ideological and political translation shifts will be able to reveal what tendencies characterise translator behaviour with reference to the translation of political discourse in general.

References

- Adamik T., Jászó A. and Aczél P. 2004. *Retorika [Rhetorics]*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
- Álvarez, R. and Vidal, M. C.-Á. (eds.). 1996. *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Árvay A. 2003. A manipuláció és a meggyőzés pragmatikája magyar reklámszövegekben [The Pragmatics of Manipulation and Persuasion in Hungarian Advertisements]. *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok*. Vol. 20. 11–35.
- Árvay A. 2004. Pragmatic Aspects of Persuasion and Manipulation in Written Advertisements. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*. Vol. 51. 231–263.
- Árvay A. and Tankó Gy. 2004. A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Theoretical Research Article Introductions. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*. Vol. 42. 71–100.
- Baker, M. 1992. *In Other Words*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Baker, M. 2006. *Translation and Conflict. A Narrative Account*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Baker, M. 2007. Activist Communities of Translators and Interpreters. Paper presented at *Translation, Interpreting and Social Activism 1st International Forum*. Granada: University of Granada.
- Bakker, M., Koster, C. and van Leuven-Zwart, K. 1998. Shifts of translation. In: Baker, M. *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge. 226–231.
- Bánhegyi M. 2006. A kanadai politikai diskurzus vizsgálata fordítástudományi szempontból [Canadian Political Discourse from a Translation Studies Perspective]. *Fordítástudomány*. Vol. VIII. No. 2. 21–38.
- Bánhegyi M. 2008. A Translation Studies Oriented Integrative Approach to Canadian Political Discourse. *Across Languages and Cultures*. Vol. 9. No. 1. 77–107.
- Bánhegyi M. 2009. Imaginative Spaces in Canadian Political Discourse – An Integrative Approach to the Translation of Political Texts. In: Molnár J. (ed.). *Canada in the European Mind. Imaginative Spaces: Canada in the European Mind, Europe in the Canadian Mind*. Brno: Masaryk University. 17–30.

- Bartlett, F. C. 1932. *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Beaugrande, R. d. 1997. *New Foundations for a Science of Text and Discourse: Cognition, Communication, and Freedom of Access to Knowledge and Society*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Bell, A. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bell, A. 1998. The Discourse Structure of News Stories. In: Bell, A. and Garrett, P. (eds.). *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. 64–104.
- Bell, A. and Garrett, P. (eds.). 1998. *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Bhatia, V. K. 1993. *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*. New York: Longman.
- Blumler, J. G. and Gurevitch, M. 1990. Political Communication Systems and Democratic Values. In: Lichtenberg, J. (ed.). *Democracy and the Mass Media*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. 269–289.
- Brewer, W. F. 1982. Stories are to Entertain – A Structural-Affect Theory of Stories. *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol. 6. No. 5-6. 473–486.
- Bruner, J. 1991. The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*. Vol. 18. No. 1. 1–21.
- Calzada Pérez, M. 2007. Translating Conflict Advertising in a Globalised Era. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 149–165.
- Chadwick, B. 2007. A ‘hip-hop’ Translation of a Poem by the Russian Futurist Poet Velimir Khlebnikov (1885-1922). In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 199–220.
- Chan, R. 2007. One Nation, Two Translations: China’s Censorship of Hillary Clinton’s Memoir. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 119–131.
- Chilton, P. and Schäffner, Ch. (eds.). 2002. *Politics as Text and Talk. Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

- Chilton, P. and Schäffner, Ch. 1997. Discourse and Politics. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications. 206–230.
- Conover, P. J. and Searing, D. D. 1994. Democracy, citizenship and the study of political socialization. In: Budge, I. and McKay, D. (eds.). *Developing Democracy*. London: Sage Publications. 24–55.
- Corcoran, P. E. 1990. Language and Politics. In: Swanson, D. L. and Nimmo, D. D. (eds.). *New Directions in Political Communication*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. 51–85.
- Crespi, F. 1994. *Le vie della sociologia [Pathways in Sociology]*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Crismore, A., Markkanen, R. and Steffenson, M. 1993. Metadiscourse in persuasive writing: a study of texts written by American and Finish university students. *Written Communication*. Vol. 10. No. 1. 39–71.
- Cronin, M. 2003. *Translation and Globalisation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Crothers, E. J. 1972. Memory Structure and the Recall of Discourse. In: Freedle, R. O. and Carrol, J. B. (eds.). *Language Comprehension and the Acquisition of Knowledge*. Washington: Winston. 201–238.
- Dimitriu, I. 2002. Translation, Diversity and Power. *Current Writing*. Vol. 14. No. 2. i–xiv.
- Dragovic-Drouet, M. 2007. The Practice of Translation and Interpreting During the Conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia (1991-1999). In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 29–40.
- Edelman, M. 1987. *Costruire lo spettacolo politico [The Construction of Political Reality]*. Torino: Nuova Eri.
- Entman, R. 1993. Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. Vol. 42. No. 4. 6–27.
- Ericsson, K. A. and Kintsch, W. 1995 Long-Term Working Memory. *Psychological Review* 102. 211–245.
- Evans, K. U. H. 1998. Organizational patterns of American and German texts for business and economics: A contrastive study. *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol. 29. 681–703.

- Fairclough, N. 1992. Introduction. In: Fairclough, N. (ed.). *Critical Language Awareness*. London and New York: Longman. 1–29.
- Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power*. London and New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. Critical Discourse Analysis. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications. 258–283.
- Fillmore, Ch. 1981. Ideal Readers and Real Readers. In: Tannen, D. (ed.). *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk, Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1981*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 248–270.
- Fisher, W. 1987. *Human Communication as Narration: Towards a Philosophy of Reason, Value, and Action*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Fletcher, C. 1981. Short-term memory processes in text comprehension. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 20. 264–274.
- Foster, I. 2007. The Translation of William Le Queux's The Invasion of 1910: What Germany Made of Scaremongering in The Daily Mail. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 169–182.
- Fowler, R. 1985. Power. In: van Dijk, T. A (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Vol. 4*. London: Academic Press. 61–82.
- Fowler, R. and Kress, G. 1979. Critical Linguistics. In: Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (eds.). *Language as Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 185–213.
- Gagnon, Ch. 2006. Language Plurality as Power Struggle, or: Translating Politics in Canada. *Target*. Vol. 18. No. 1. 69–90.
- Gamson, W. A. and Modigliani, A. 1987. The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action. In: Braungart, R. G. and Braungart, M. M. (eds.). *Research in Political Sociology*. Vol. 3. Greenwich: JAI Press. 137–177.
- Gitlin, T. 1990. *The Whole World is Watching. Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grimes, J. 1975. *The Thread of Discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Gurevitch, M. and Blumler, J. G. 1990. Political communication systems and democratic values. In: Lichtenberg, J. (ed.). *Democracy and the Mass Media*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 269–289.
- Gutt, E.-A. 1998. Pragmatic Aspects of Translation: Some Relevance-Theory Observations. In: Hickey, L. (ed.). *The Pragmatics of Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 41–53.
- Hatim, B and Mason, I. 1997. *The Translator as Communicator*. London: Routledge.
- Hatim, B. and Mason, I. 1990. *Discourse and the Translator*. London: Longman.
- Hatim, B. and Munday, J. 2004. *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hoey, M. 1994. Signalling in discourse: a functional analysis of a common discourse pattern in written and spoken English. In: Coulthard, M. (ed.). *Advances in Written Text Analysis*. London: Routledge. 26–45.
- Hoey, M. 2001. *Textual Interaction. An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L. and Kelley, H. H. 1953. *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hutchins, J. Summarization: Some Problems and Methods. In: Jones, K. P. (ed.). 1987. *Meaning: the frontier of informatics. Informatics 9 Conference Proceedings*. London: Aslib. 151–173.
- Jamieson, K. H. 1988. *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Transformation of Political Speechmaking*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Károly K. 2006. The Rhetorical Move Structure of English Academic Discourse. A Comparative Analysis of Expert and EFL Student Writing. In: Heltai P. (ed.). *XVI. Országos MANYE Kongresszus előadásainak gyűjteményes kiadása*. Gödöllő: Szent István Egyetem.
- Károly K. 2002. *Lexical Repetition in Text*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Károly K. 2007. *Szövegtan és fordítás [Text Studies and Translation]*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kárpáti E. 2007. *A szöveg fogalma [The Notion of Text]*. Budapest: Typotex Kiadó.

- Katan, D. 1999. *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters, and Mediators*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Kinneavy, J. L, McCleary, W. J. and Nakadate, N. 1985. *Writing in the Liberal Arts Tradition. A Rhetoric with Readings*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Kintsch, W. 1974. *Representation of Meaning in Memory*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kintsch, W. 1988. The use of knowledge in discourse processing: A construction-integration model. *Psychological Review* Vol. 95. 163–182.
- Kintsch, W. 2002. On the notions of theme and topic in psychological process models of text comprehension. In: Louwerson, M. and van Peer, W. (eds.). *Thematics: Interdisciplinary Studies*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 157–170.
- Kintsch, W. and van Dijk, T. A. 1978. Toward a model of text comprehension and production. *Psychological Review*. Vol. 85. No. 5. 363–394.
- Klaudy K. 1998. Explicitation. In: Baker, M. *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge. 80–84.
- Kopperschmidt, J. 1985. An Analysis of argumentation. In: Van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Dimensions of Discourse. London: Academic Press. 159–169.
- Kraus, S and Davis, D. 1976. *The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behaviour*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University.
- Kress, G. 1985. Ideological Structures in Discourse. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press. 27–41.
- Kuhiwczak, P. 2007. The Grammar of Survival. How Do We Read Holocaust Testimonies? In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 61–73.
- Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lakoff, G. 1973. Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts. *Journal of Philosophical Logic*. Vol. 2. 458–508.
- Larson, Ch. U. 2001. *Persuasion, Reception and Responsibility*. Stamford: Wadsworth.
- Lasswell, H., D. 1948. The Structure and Function of Communication in Society. In: Bryson, L. (ed.). *The Communication of Ideas*. New York: Harper and Row. 37–51.

- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H. 1944. *The People's Voice*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Le, E. 2004. Active participation within written argumentation: metadiscourse and editorialist's authority. *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol. 36. 687–714.
- LeBaron, M. 2003. *Bridging Cultural Conflicts: A New Approach for a Changing World*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lemaire, B., Mandin, S., Dessus, Ph. and Denhière, G. 2005. Computational Cognitive Models of Summarization Assessment Skills. In: Bara, B. G., Barsalou, L. and Bucciarelli, M. (eds.). *Proceedings of the 27th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*. Mahwah: Erlbaum. 1266–1271.
- Lincoln, J. E. 1986. *Writing. A College Handbook*. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Longacre, R. E. 1974. Narrative versus other discourse genres. In: Brend, R. (ed.). *Advances in Tagmemics*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing. 357–376.
- Losito, G. 1994. *Il potere dei media [The Power of the Media]*. Roma: Nis.
- Lucy, J. J. 1996. The scope of linguistic relativity: An analysis and review of empirical research. In: Gumperz, J. J. and Levinson, S. C. (eds.). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 37–69.
- Maier, C. 2007. The Translator's Visibility: the Rights and Responsibilities Thereof. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 253–266.
- Marletti, C. 1985. *Prima e dopo. Tematizzazione comunicazione politica [Before and After. The Thematisation of Political Communication]*. Torino: Eri/Vpt.
- MATESZ. 2008. Print-Gyorsjelentés - megjelenésenkénti átlagok ['Print' Quick Report – Average copies sold]. Available: [http://www.matesz.hu/data/index.php - mainpart_1](http://www.matesz.hu/data/index.php-mainpart_1) [last accessed: 10th November 2008].
- Mazzoleni, G. 2002 [1998]. *Politikai kommunikáció [Political Communication]*. Osiris Kiadó: Budapest.
- McCombs, M. 1996. I media e le nostre rappresentazioni della realtà. Un'analisi della seconda dimensione dell'agenda-setting. In: Bentivegna, S. (ed.). *Comunicare politica nel sistema dei media [The Media and the Presentation of Reality. An*

- Analysis of the Second Dimension of Agenda Setting*]. Genova: Costa and Nolan. 152–163.
- McQuail, D. 1994. *Mass Communication Theory. An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Mead, G. H. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, B. J. F. 1975. *The Organization of Prose and its Effects on Memory*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Meyer, B. J. F. 1977. The structure of prose: effects on learning and memory and implications for educational practice. In: Anderson, J. R. C., Spiro, R. J., Montague, W. E. (eds.). *Schooling and the Acquisition of Knowledge*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 179–200.
- Meyer, B. J. F. and Grice, E. 1982. The interaction of reader strategies and the organization of text. *Text*. 2. 155–192.
- Munday, J. 2007. Translation and Ideology. A Textual Approach. *The Translator*. Vol. 13. No. 2. 195–217.
- Newmark, P. 1989. Introductory Survey. In: Picken, C. (ed.). *The Translator's Handbook. 2nd edition*. London: ASLIB. 1–26.
- Nikolaou, P. 2007. The Troy of Always: Translation of Conflict in Christopher Logue's War Music. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 75–95.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. 1984. *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Nord, C. 1997. *Translating as a Purposeful Activity. Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Oakeshott, M. 2001 [1962]. *Politikai racionalizmus [Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays]*. Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó.
- Országos Választási Iroda. 2008. Országos népszavazás [Nationwide Referendum]. Available: <http://www.election.hu/nepszav08/index.html> [last accessed: 10th December 2008]
- Palmer, J. 2007. Interpreting and Translation for Western Media in Iraq. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 13–28.

- Pym, A. 1992. *Translation and Text Transfer – An Essay on the Principles of Intercultural Communication*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Pym, A. 2000. *Negotiating the Frontier. Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History*. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.
- Rose, J. 1993. Government Advertising in a Crisis: The Québec Referendum Precedent. In: *Canadian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 18. No. 2 [Online]. Available: <http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=166> [last accessed: 28th May 2008].
- Rumelhart, D. E. 1977. Understanding and Summarising Brief Stories. In: Laberge, D. and Samuels, S. J. (eds.). *Basic Processes in Reading*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Salama-Carr, M. 2007. Introduction. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 1–9.
- Schäffner, Ch. 1997. Strategies of Translating Political Texts. In: Trosborg, A. *Text Typology and Translation*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins. 119–143.
- Schäffner, Ch. 1998. Hedges in Political Texts: A Translational Perspective. In: Hickey, L. (ed.). *The Pragmatics of Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 185–202.
- Schäffner, Ch. 2001. *Annotated Texts for Translation: English – German*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Schäffner, Ch. 2003. Third Ways and New Centres – Ideological Unity or Difference? In: Calzada-Pérez, M. (ed.). *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology. Ideologies in Translation Studies*. Manchester: St Jerome. 23–41.
- Schäffner, Ch. 2004. Political Discourse Analysis from the Point of View of Translation Studies. *Journal of Language and Politics*. Vol. 3. No. 1. 117–150.
- Schäffner, Ch. and Adab, B. (guest eds.). 2001a. *Across Languages and Cultures*. Special Issue on Hybrid Texts and Translation. Vol. 2. No. 2.
- Schäffner, Ch. and Adab, B. 2001b. The Idea of the Hybrid Text in Translation: Contact as Conflict. *Across Languages and Cultures*. Vol. 2. No. 2. 167–180.
- Schäffner, Ch. and Kelly-Holmes, H. (eds.). 1996. *Discourse and Ideology*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Schank, R. C. and Abelson, R. P. 1977. *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Schelesinger, P. and Lumley, B. 1985. Two Debates on Political Violence and the Mass Media: The Organisation of Intellectual Fields in Britain and Italy. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Discourse and Communication, New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. 324–349.
- Seidel, G. 1985. Political Discourse Analysis. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press. 43–60.
- Seleskovitch, D. 1983. Faut-il sauver les langues nationales? Role de la traduction et de l'interprétation [Do we have to save national languages? The role of translation and interpretation]. *Traduire*. Vol. 116. 5–6.
- Semetko, H., Blumler, J. G. and Weaver, D. 1991. *The Formation of Campaign Agendas: A Comparative Analysis of Party and Media Roles in Recent American and British Elections*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Simpson, P. 1993. *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Somers, M. R. and Gibson, G. D. 1994. Reclaiming the Epistemological 'Other': Narrative and the Social Construction of Identity. In: Calhoun, C. (ed.). *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell. 37–99.
- Szabó M. 2003. *A diszkurzív politikatudomány alapjai [The Foundations of Discursive Political Science]*. L'Harmattan: Budapest.
- Tang, J. 2007. Encounters with Cross-cultural Conflicts in Translation. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 135–147.
- Tankó Gy. 2005. *A Move Structure Model of the Anglo-American Formal Argumentative Essay*. PhD Dissertation. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University.
- Tankó Gy. and Tamási G. J. 2008. A Comprehensive Taxonomy of Argumentative Thesis Statements: A Preliminary Pilot Study. *Working Papers in Language Pedagogy*. Vol. 2. 1–17.
- Jones, J. and Wareing, Sh. Language and Politics. In: Thomas, L. and Wareing, S. (eds.) *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge. 32–48.
- Tirkkonen-Condit, S. 1985. *Argumentative Text Structure and Translation*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

- Toledo, P. F. 2005. Genre analysis and reading of English as a foreign language: Genre schemata beyond text typologies. *Journal of Pragmatics*. Vol. 37. 1059–1079.
- Trosborg, A. 1997. *Text Typology and Translation*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Tymoczko, M. 2000. Translation and Political Engagement. *The Translator*. Vol. 6. No. 1. 23–47.
- Tymoczko, M. 2002. Connecting the two infinite orders. Research methods in translation studies. In: Herman, T. (ed.). *Crosscultural Transgressions. Research Methods in Translation Studies II. Historical and Ideological Issues*. Manchester: St. Jerome. 9–25.
- Tymoczko, M. 2003. Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense is a Translator ‘in between’? In: Calzada-Pérez, M. (ed.). *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology. Ideologies in Translation Studies*. Manchester: St Jerome. 181–202.
- Tymoczko, M. and Gentzler, E. 2002. Introduction. In: Tymoczko, M. and Gentzler, E. (eds.). *Translation and Power*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press. i–xxviii.
- Valdeón, R. A. 2007. Ideological Independence or Negative Mediation: BBC Mundo and CNN en Español’s (translated) Reporting of Madrid’s Terrorist Attacks. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 99–118.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1977. *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. London: Longman.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1979. Recalling and Summarizing Complex Discourse. In: Burghardt, W. and Hölker, K. (eds.). *Text Processing*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 49–118.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1980. *Macrostructure. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structure in Discourse, Interaction and Cognition*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1985. Semantic Discourse Analysis. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press. 103–135.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1990 [1980]. *La noticia como discurso: comprensión, estructura y producción de la información [The Notion of Discourse: The Comprehension, Structure and Production of Information]*. Barcelona: Paidós.

- van Dijk, T. A. 1993. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*. Vol. 4. No. 1. 249–283.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1997. Discourse as interaction in society. In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications. 1–37.
- van Dijk, T. A. 1998. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: Thousand Oaks.
- van Dijk, T. A. 2001. Critical Discourse Analysis. In: Tannen, D., Schiffrin, D. and Hamilton, H. E. (eds.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Oxford Blackwell. 352–371.
- van Dijk, T. A. 2002. Political Discourse and Political Cognition. In: Chilton, Ch. and Schäffner, Ch. (eds.). *Politics as Text and Talk. Analytical Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins. 203–237.
- van Dijk, T. A. 2003. *Ideology and Discourse – A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.discourses.org/download/articles/> [last accessed: 29th April 2008].
- van Dijk, T. A. 2006. Discourse and Manipulation. *Discourse and Society*. Vol. 17. No. 2. 359–383.
- Venuti, L. (ed.). 1992. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Vermeer, H. J. 1996. *A Skopos Theory of Translation*. Heidelberg: TextconText.
- Wadensjö, C. 1998. *Interpreting as Interaction*. Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Williams, J. 2007. Ferdinand Freiligrath, William Wordsworth, and the Translation of English Poetry into the Conflicts of Nineteen Century German Nationalism. In: Salama-Carr, M. (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 183–198.
- Wilson, J. 2001. Political Discourse. In: Tannen, D., Schiffrin, D. and Hamilton, H. E. (eds.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Oxford Blackwell. 389–415.
- Winter, E. 1977. A Clause-relational Approach to English Texts. *Instructional Science*. Vol. 6. 1–92.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds.). 2001. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Thousand Oaks.

- Wodak, R. and van Dijk, T. A. (eds.). 2000. *Racism at the Top: Parliamentary Discourses on Ethnic Issues in Six European States*. Klagenfurt: Drava Verlag.
- Young, R. 1977. Text Understanding. A Survey. *American Journal of Computational Linguistics*. Vol. 4. No. 4. Microfiche 70.

Appendix 1

Section A

Invitation sent out to translator to participate in the research

Kedves Kollégák!

Jelen levelemben nem mint kolléga, hanem mint disszertációját író PhD hallgató fordulok hozzátok. Disszertációm témája a politikai szövegek fordítása.

A disszertáció keretében végzett kísérlethez keresek lelkes, a téma és a politika iránt érdeklődő fordítókat.

Kb. 450 szó hosszúságú újságcikkeket kellene lefordítani, összesen fejenként négyet.

Sajnos az elkészült fordításokért honoráriumot nem tudok fizetni, ám cserében a kísérlet eredményét szívesen ismertetem a résztvevőkkel, és ha kéritek, a leadott szövegeket is lektorálom.

A fordítás elkészítése mellett egy nagyon rövid szóbeli interjúra is sor kerülne, amelynek keretében a szakmai életutadról, a politikai elkötelezettségedről és az azt befolyásoló esetleges családi szálakról is beszélénk. Ez kötetlen, őszinte beszélgetés lenne.

A kísérletben résztvevők anonimitása garantált, amennyiben ezt kérik.

Amennyiben szívesen részt vennének a kísérletben, kérem, jelezzétek nekem a banhegyi_matyas@kre.hu e-mail címen.

Hálás köszönettel:

Bánhegyi Mátyás

Section B

Issues and topics to be touched upon during the guided oral interviews

Professional career and experience:

- ❖ graduation (place, year)
- ❖ translation and other jobs held
- ❖ professional experience in translating political texts
- ❖ types of political texts regularly translated

Politics:

- ❖ political affiliation since 1989
- ❖ political affiliations in the family
- ❖ political activity and positions in political organisations
- ❖ newspapers read

Questions to guide the oral interviews

The interviews were conducted in Hungarian using Hungarian questions. Below, the English translation of these questions is provided.

Professional career and experience:

- ❖ Where and when did you graduate (place, year)? What programme did you complete (BA or MA, etc.)?
- ❖ What translation and other jobs have you held since you graduated (full time, part time)?
- ❖ What and how many years of professional experience do you have in translating political texts?
- ❖ What types and what genre of political texts do you regularly translate (e.g. tender documentation, newspaper articles, reports, etc.)?

Politics:

- ❖ What is your current political affiliation? Which political party do you support? How has your political affiliation developed since 1989?
- ❖ What decisive political affiliations are there in your family? Has anyone in your family held jobs or positions closely connected with politics?
- ❖ Are you engaged in any political activity? Do you hold a position in any political party?
- ❖ What political newspapers do you read?

Section C

Instruction of the translation assignment in Hungarian.

Kérlek, fordítsd le a mellékelt két újságcikket magyarra. Az újságcikkek a Népszabadságban, illetve a Magyar Nemzetben jelentek meg. A lefordított cikkeket az MSZP, valamint a FIDESZ saját honlapján szeretné megjelentetni. A megrendelők a lefordított cikkeket külföldi újságírók és média munkatársak körében végzett imázsépítésükre szeretnék felhasználni. A fordításokat a pártok weblapjukon, a 2008 történései a média tükrében c. rovatban jelentetnék meg. A cikkek a 2008. március 8-án megtartott Szociális Népszavazással foglalkoznak.

Appendix 2

The two Hungarian source text articles.

Kompenzáció (Compensation) by Ákos Tóth
published in *Népszabadság* on 13th March 2008

NÉPSZABADSÁG • 2008. MÁRCIUS 13., CSÜTÖRTÖK

Magyarország • 3

Kompenzáció

Tóth Ákos

totha@nepszabadsag.hu



A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak. Gyurcsányék megpróbálták egy utat – nem vált be. Meg kell próbálni egy újabbat. Ha az sem válik be, akkor egy még újabbat. Ha az sem, akkor meg menni kell. Ez ennyire egyszerű. Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell.

A hozzáértők azt mondják, hogy a gyenge emberek szoktak kompenzálni, miközben a kompenzáció nem feltétlenül a gyengeség jele. Erőt is mutathat. A miniszterelnök most bebizonyíthatja, hogy nemcsak a győztes nagyvonalúsága van benne, miként azt igazolta 2006-ban, amikor egyetlen rossz szava nem volt a vesztesek felé (saját pártja irányában később annál inkább), hanem veszíteni is tud úgy, ahogy veszíteni kell. Ennek igazolásával még késlekedik, bár volt egy pillanat, amikor azt lehetett hinni, nem fog: akkor, amikor vasárnap este urnazáráskor bejelentette, hogy a kormány minden jogszabályi módosítást előkészített a vizit- és a napidíj, valamint a tandíj visszavonása érdekében. Aztán ugyanazzal a mozdulattal azt is közölte, hogy az emberek a pénztárcájukra szavaztak, de el kell gondolkodniuk azon, hogy ez nem lehet így tovább. Azóta pedig koalíciós elnöktársával, Kóka Jánossal szinte versengve bizonygatják, hogy a háziorvosok a Fidesz népszavazásával nagyon rosszul jártak, hiszen úgy 150 ezer forint havi fixet kiszavaztak a zsebükből. Ők pedig nem kompenzálnak.

Ez könnyen érthető álláspont, és elfogadhatóvá kiváltképp akkor válik, amikor a magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora, Éger István orvoskamara elnök most a kétszeresére akarja emeltetni a háziorvosok finanszírozását, miközben eddig azzal kürtölte tele a világot, hogy a vizitdíj semmit nem javított a helyzeten...

A „milyen ember az ilyen” felkiáltás most mellékes. Mellékes, hogy pár száz háziorvos mégiscsak deklarálta, jó a vizitdíj rendszere. Mellékes, hogy komoly közgazdászok egész sora állt ki a reformelem mellett. Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnákhoz, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából. Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni. Ettől válik mellékessé, hogy Gyurcsány Ferenc és Kóka János meg van győződve a saját igazságáról, amiben természetesen igazuk van, hiszen nem lehet komoly politikus, aki nem hisz önmagában, a hitet elvéé köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes. A sértődöttség pedig kiváltképp.

A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak. Gyurcsányék megpróbálták egy utat – nem vált be. Meg kell próbálni egy újabbat. Ha az sem válik be, akkor egy még újabbat. Ha az sem, akkor meg menni kell. Ez ennyire egyszerű. Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell, és nem azért, mert a Fidesz és Éger István, meg még ki tudja, ki mindenki ezt követeli, hanem azért, mert ez a kormányzás felelőssége. Vissza kell állítani a korábban megszüntetett amortizációs költséget, ami becslések szerint úgy hetvenezer forint volt havonta, praxisonként. És hogy a háziorvosok így is rosszabbul járnak, mintha lenné vizitdíj: az már valóban legyen az ő bajuk, tetszettek volna...

Ez Gyurcsány Ferencnek is elemi érdeke. Ha komolyan gondolja a többpénztáros biztosítási rendszert, ha komolyan gondolja, hogy reformer miniszterelnök, akkor legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy egy újabb – a reform velejét érintő – kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot. Az ugyanis miniszterelnöki tevékenységének csődje lenne.

Es akkor azt már nem lehet kompenzálni.

PONT

Kompenzáció with sentence numbers

Kompenzáció Tóth Ákos

[1] A hozzáértők azt mondják, hogy a gyenge emberek szoktak kompenzálni, miközben a kompenzáció nem feltétlenül a gyengeség jele. [2] Erőt is mutathat. [3] A miniszterelnök most bebizonyíthatja, hogy nemcsak a győztes nagyvonalúsága van benne, miként azt igazolta 2006-ban, amikor egyetlen rossz szava nem volt a vesztesek felé (saját pártja irányában később annál inkább), hanem veszíteni is tud úgy, ahogy veszíteni kell. [4] Ennek igazolásával még késlekedik, bár volt egy pillanat, amikor azt lehetett hinni, nem fog: akkor, amikor vasárnap este urnazáráskor bejelentette, hogy a kormány minden jogszabályi módosítást előkészített a vizit- és a napidíj, valamint a tandíj visszavonása érdekében. [5] Aztán ugyanazzal a mozdulattal azt is közölte, hogy az emberek a pénztárcájukra szavaztak, de el kell gondolkodniuk azon, hogy ez nem mehet így tovább. [6] Azóta pedig koalíciós elnöktársával, Kóka Jánossal szinte versengve bizonygatják, hogy a házi orvosok a Fidesz népszavazásával nagyon rosszul jártak, hiszen úgy 150 ezer forint havi fixet kiszavaztak a zsebükből. [7] Ők pedig nem kompenzálnak.

[8] Ez könnyen érthető álláspont, és elfogadhatóvá kiváltképp akkor válik, amikor a magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora, Éger István orvoskamara elnök most a kétszeresére akarja emeltetni a házi orvosok finanszírozását, miközben eddig azzal kürtölte tele a világot, hogy a vizitdíj semmit nem javított a helyzeten...

[9] A „milyen ember az ilyen” felkiáltás most mellékes. [10] Mellékes, hogy pár száz házi orvos mégiscsak deklarálta, jó a vizitdíj rendszere. [11] Mellékes, hogy komoly közgazdászok egész sora állt ki e reformelem mellett. [12] Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnához, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából. [13] Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni. [14] Ettől válik mellékessé, hogy Gyurcsány Ferenc és Kóka János meg van győződve a saját igazságáról, amiben természetesen igazuk van, hiszen nem lehet komoly politikus, aki nem hisz önmagában, a hitet elvé köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes. [15] A sértődöttség pedig kiváltképp.

[16] A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak. [17] Gyurcsányék megpróbálták egy utat – nem vált be. [18] Meg kell próbálni egy újabbat. [19] Ha az sem válik be, akkor egy még újabbat. [20] Ha az sem, akkor meg menni kell. [21] Ez ennyire egyszerű. [22] Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell, és nem azért, mert a Fidesz és Éger István, meg még ki tudja, ki mindenki ezt követeli, hanem azért, mert ez a kormányzás felelőssége. [23] Vissza kell állítani a korábban megszüntetett amortizációs költséget, ami becslések szerint úgy hetvenezer forint volt havonta, praxisonként. [24] És hogy a házi orvosok így is rosszabbul járnak, mintha lenne vizitdíj: az már valóban legyen az ő bajuk, tetszetek volna...

[25] Ez Gyurcsány Ferencnek is elemi érdeke. [26] Ha komolyan gondolja a többpénztáros biztosítási rendszert, ha komolyan gondolja, hogy reformer miniszterelnök, akkor legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy egy újabb – a reform velejét érintő – kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot. [27] Az ugyanis miniszterelnöki tevékenységének a csődje lenne. [28] És akkor azt már nem lehet kompenzálni.

Másnap (The Next Day) by Attila Farkas
published in *Magyar Nemzet* on 11th March 2008

08. március 11., kedd Nézőpont · Magyar Nemzet 7

Magyar Nemzet

„...a dolgot őt magát nézzük...”

Másnap

FARKAS ATTILA

Az eddigi referendumokkal összevetve is kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás estéjén Sólyom László köztársasági elnök kijelentette: az eredmény egyértelmű. Majd arra intett, a törvényhozókon és a politikusokon a sor, hogy megtegyék a szükséges lépéseket és levonják a következtetéseket.

Ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni tegnap az Országgyűlésben. Az már előzetesen nyilvánvaló volt, hogy mind a vizitdíj, a tandíj és a kórházi napidíj eltörlését kezdeményező Fidesz és KDNP, mind a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevétve sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypártok törvénymódosítással kívánnak eleget tenni a nép akaratának, méltányolván a napirend előtti felszólalásokban is oly sokszor emlegetett voks populit.

Napirend előtt a fő szöveget Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni. És az eredmények nyomán keletkezett első sokkot – amelynek hatására dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni, illetve a 3,3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni – kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett. Többszöri megszólalásai elején, nyilván némiképp számot vetve a helyzettel, még azt mondta: tiszteletben tartják az eredményt, mely szerint úgymond legalább hárommillió ember nem ért egyet „az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával”. Később azonban előkerült a megszokott vádaskodó hang; az igennel voksoló túlnyomó többség arról nem döntött, hogy ki fizesse a kieső díjakat. Majd megkapták magukét szép sorjában az újságírók, akik nem ezt kérdezték lépten-nyomon, az Alkotmánybíróság – s áttételesen említve annak első elnöke, a jelenlegi államfő –, hogy merészelték ilyen kérdéseket egy népszavazáson feltehetőnek ítélni. Az Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői (Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller) azzal érveltek, hogy az önző „háromigenesek” az ingyenesség haszonlesői. Hiába hívta fel a figyelmet Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője, hogy senki nem gondolja az egészségügyről és az oktatásról, hogy azért soha egy árva petákot sem kellett fizetni, az újrhangolt kormánypárti kortesbeszédnek előadói arról győzködtek képviselőtársaikat és a tévénezőt: nemhogy kétszer, de egyszer sem fizetünk-fizettünk az orvosnál, az egyetemeken és a főiskolákon. Persze mindeközben az oktatásra, gyógyításra és megelőzésre fordított GDP-arányos állami hozzájárulás mint tényadat gondosan homályban hagyatott.

Ezzel szemben a kissé letargikus kormányfőtől megtudtuk, hogy a népszavazással Magyarország hosszú távon veszített. S nyilván saját tapasztalataiból – a Szalay utcai ingatlan és az őszödi üdülő megszerzéséből – levezetve, hogy nem vezet az erős és modern Magyarországhoz, ha a polgárokat lebeszéljük arról, hogy saját önrésszel vegyenek részt a szolgáltatások igénybevételeiben. Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje. Az Őszödi Böszme régi-új énjét megcsillantva a Fidesz elnökét ostromozó harmadik felszólalásában újfent kísérletet tett arra, hogy hírhedt hazugságbeszédét átcsomagolja igazságbeszéddé.

A kampányfinitóban a kecskeméti szocialista törzsközönség előtt szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány most a „Nincs a teremtésben vesztes, csak én” Bánk báni szöveget igyekezett kiénekelni – meglehetősen enerváltan. Sokszöri megszólalásai tartalma kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazódott meg a hallgatóságban: örült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer.

Másnap with sentence numbers

Másnap Farkas Attila

[1] Az eddigi referendumokkal összevetve is kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás estéjén Sólyom László köztársasági elnök kijelentette: az eredmény egyértelmű. [2] Majd arra intett, a törvényhozókon és a politikusokon a sor, hogy megtegyék a szükséges lépéseket és levonják a következtetéseket.

[3] Ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni tegnap az Országgyűlésben. [4] Az már előzetesen nyilvánvaló volt, hogy mind a vizitdíj, a tandíj és a kórházi napidíj eltörlését kezdeményező Fidesz és KDNP, mind a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevétve sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypártok törvénymódosítással kívánnak eleget tenni a nép akaratának, méltányolván a napirend előtti felszólalásokban is oly sokszor emlegetett voks populit.

[5] Napirend előtt a fő szöveget Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni. [6] És az eredmények nyomán keletkezett első sokkot – amelynek hatására dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni, illetve a 3,3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni – kialudva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett. [7] Többszöri megszólalásai elején, nyilván némiképp számot vetve a helyzettel, még azt mondta: tiszteletben tartják az eredményt, mely szerint úgymond legalább hárommillió ember nem ért egyet „az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával”. [8] Később azonban előkerült a megszokott vádaskodó hang; az igennel voksoló túlnyomó többség arról nem döntött, hogy ki fizesse a kieső díjakat. [9] Majd megkapták magukét szép sorjában az újságírók, akik nem ezt kérdezték lépten-nyomon, az Alkotmánybíróság – s áttételesen említve annak első elnöke, a jelenlegi államfő –, hogy merészeltek ilyen kérdéseket egy népszavazáson feltehetőnek ítélni. [10] Az Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői (Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller) azzal érveltek, hogy az önző „háromigenesek” az ingyenesség haszonlesői. [11] Hiába hívta fel a figyelmet Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője, hogy senki nem gondolja az egészségügyről és az oktatásról, hogy azért soha egy árva petákot sem kellett fizetni, az újrhangolt kormánypárti kortesbeszédok előadói arról győzködték képviselőtársaikat és a tévénezőt: nemhogy kétszer, de egyszer sem fizetünk-fizettünk az orvosnál, az egyetemeken és a főiskolákon. [12] Persze mindeközben az oktatásra, gyógyításra és megelőzésre fordított GDP-arányos állami hozzájárulás mint tényadat gondosan homályban hagyott.

[13] Ezzel szemben a kissé letargikus kormányfőtől megtudtuk, hogy a népszavazással Magyarország hosszú távon veszített. [14] S nyilván saját tapasztalataiból – a Szalay utcai ingatlan és az őszödi üdülő megszerzéséből – levezetve, hogy nem vezet az erős és modern Magyarországhoz, ha a polgárokat lebeszéljük arról, hogy saját önrésszel vegyenek részt a szolgáltatások igénybevételében. [15] Körülbelül ennyi volt a gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje. [16] Az Őszödi Böszme régi-új énjét megsillantva a Fidesz elnökét ostorozó harmadik felszólalásában újfent kísérletet tett arra, hogy hírhedt hazugságbeszédét átsomagolja igazságbeszéddé.

[17] A kampányfinisben a kecskeméti szocialista törzsközönség előtt szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány most a „Nincs a teremtésben vesztes, csak én” Bánk báni szöveget igyekezett kiénekelni - meglehetősen enerváltan.

[18] Sokszöri megszólalásai tartalma kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazódhatott meg a hallgatóságban: örült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer.

Appendix 3

The eight English language target texts with sentence numbers

Target Text 1

Compensation

By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people compensate, while compensation is not a sign of weakness. [2] It can also show strength. [3] The Prime Minister will now prove that he does not only have the generosity of the victor, as was shown in 2006, when he did not have a single word of resentment towards those who lost (instead, he later criticized his own party), but when he loses, he does so like a gentleman. [4] He is still in the throes of proving this, though there was a moment when it could be believed that he was already doing this: when he announced at the Sunday night closing of the ballot boxes that the government was determined to make all legal alterations to withdraw the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [5] And, in the same announcement, he also said that people had made the most financially favorable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere.

[6] Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. [7] And the government is not in a position to compensate for this.

[8] This is an easily understandable viewpoint and it is acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber running amok in Hungarian public life, wants to have the financing of general practitioners doubled while so far he had been complaining at every forum that allegedly the visit fee did not in any way help doctors' finances.

[9] I am not asking "What his motives are!" [10] It's a fact that a few hundred general practitioners have declared that the system of the visit fee works. [11] It's a fact that a whole group of well-respected economic experts have been in support of this element of the reforms. [12] It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signaled that they do not want to pay those fees. [13] This cannot be ignored. [14] Now it is not important that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth, in which they are naturally right as serious politicians believe in themselves, however, to make principles out of beliefs in politics is a risky business. [15] And taking offence is even more dangerous.

[16] The government has obligations. [17] PM Gyurcsány and his government tried something that did not work. [18] They will have to try another thing. [19] If that one fails, then another one. [20] And if that does not work, either, then they will have to resign. [21] It is as simple as that. [22] So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must; not as a result of Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and heaven knows who else demanding it but because it is the responsibility of the government. [23] The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. [24] And if general practitioners come off worse without the visit fee than with it, it is their business. [25] Now the die is cast...

[26] PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question.

[27] Should he fail to do so, this would mean the end of his career as a prime minister.

[28] And that would be impossible to compensate.

Target Text 2
Compensation
By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people compensate, while compensation is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [2] It might also show strength. [3] The Prime Minister can now prove, if he may, that he does not only have the generosity of the victor, as was shown in 2006, when he did not show resentment towards those who lost (rather towards his own party), but when he loses, he does so with his head high up. [4] He still owes proving this, though there was a moment when it could be believed that he would not further delay this: when he announced at the Sunday night closing of the ballot boxes that the government would prepare all the legal conditions of the withdrawal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [5] And, in the same announcement, he also said that people had voted to spare money, which can no longer be tolerated. [6] Since then they have been overdoing each other with Mr. János Kóka in proving that general practitioners will suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000 due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign. [7] And they will not compensate for this.

[8] This is an easily understandable viewpoint and it is acceptable especially when a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, wants to have the financing of general practitioners doubled while so far he had been explaining that the visit fee did not help doctors' finances.

[9] The exclamation "Such a person!" is irrelevant at this point. [10] It is irrelevant that a few hundred general practitioners have declared that the system of the visit fee works. [11] It is irrelevant that a group of economic experts have been in support of this element of the reforms. [12] It is irrelevant what we think: what cannot be overlooked is the votes of the some 3 million people who took the trouble to cast a ballot and so declared that they do not want to pay those fees. [13] This cannot be overlooked. [14] Now it is not important that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth, in which they are self-evidently right as leading politicians believe in themselves, however, to make principles out of beliefs in politics verges on foolhardiness. [15] And getting offended is really dangerous.

[16] Any government has obligations. [17] PM Gyurcsány and his crew tried something that did not work. [18] They will have to try another thing. [19] If that thing fails, then another one. [20] And if that does not work, either, then they will have to go. [21] It is as simple as that. [22] So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must; not as a result of Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and any other people demanding it but because it is the responsibility of a government. [23] The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. [24] And if general practitioners come off worse without the visit fee than with it, it is their problem. [25] They might as well have done something about it...

[26] PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he needs to give it a try that he can possibly face another closely reform-related question. [27] Should he fail to do so, it would mean his fiasco as prime minister.

[28] And it will be impossible to compensate.

Target Text 3
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong ‘Yes’ victory, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, claimed that the result speaks for itself. [2] Then he declared that now it is legislators’ and politician’s turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps.

[3] This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. [4] It was obvious from the beginning that both Fidesz-KDNP (Hungarian Civic Union – Christian Democratic People’s Party) initiating the abandonment of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee and the governing parties vehemently opposing the abandonment want to take legislative steps to submit to the wish of the people in an appreciation of the popular vote frequently mentioned also in pre-agenda speeches.

[5] Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány’s speeches dominated the pre-agenda session. [6] This time, more relaxed, he sounded more moderate than in his castigating Sunday night reactions when he envisioned all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people reluctant to pay. [7] At the beginning of his manifold statements, surely resulting from his evaluation of the situation, he said that the referendum result will be respected, according to which at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years.” [8] Later, however, the usual critical tone: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed. [9] Criticism was communicated towards everyone: the journalists who did not keep on asking this question, the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary, how they deemed such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The “Jackass of Ószöd” and the more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times ‘Yes’ are the bargain hunters of free deals. [11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz called attention in vain to the premise that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: speeches advocating the standpoint of the government were trying to convince fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was not elaborated on.

[12] At the same time we learnt from the mildly melancholic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. [13] And, obviously judging from his own experience of the privatization of the Szalay utca building and the Ószöd holiday complex, PM Gyurcsány stated that it does not lead to a strong and modern Hungary to talk citizens out of taking part in using services when concurrently paying their own contribution. [14] Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsany’s introspection. [15] The “Jackass of Ószöd”, showing a glimpse of his old-new self, attempted again to convert his widely-known Ószöd speech into a speech of justice in his third speech directing criticism at the President of Fidesz.

[16] At the finish of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, like a passionate Cipolla though not quite as talented as the great Hungarian actor Latinovits, appeared in front of the socialist supporters of Kecskemét and tried to sing the Bank Ban opera tune “There is no one unluckier on earth than me” in a rather enervated manner. [17] His manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearian line paraphrased in the audience: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.”

Target Text 4
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong ‘Yes’ victory, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said that the result speaks for itself. [2] Then he motioned that now it is legislators’ and politician’s turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps.

[3] This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. [4] It was obvious from the beginning that both Fidesz-KDNP (Hungarian Civic Union – Christian Democratic People’s Party) initiating the abandonment of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee and the governing parties opposing the abandonment fiercely, at all costs and to no avail want to take legislative steps to fulfill the wish of the people in an appreciation of the popular vote frequently mentioned also in pre-agenda speeches.

[5] Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány played the dominant tune of the pre-agenda session. [6] This time, more relaxed, he sounded softer than in his defiant Sunday night reactions when he tried to vision all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people favoring their wallet. [7] At the beginning of his manifold statements, surely resulting from his evaluation of the situation, he said that the referendum result will be respected, according to which at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years.” [8] Later, however, the usual accusing tone: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed. [9] And then everyone was disapproved of: the journalists who did not ask this question all the time, the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary, how they dared consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Jackass of Ószöd and more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times ‘Yes’ are the money grubbers of free deals. [11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz in vain called the attention to the fact that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: the performers of the retuned pro-government canvass-speeches tried to convince their fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was deliberately obscured.

[12] At the same time we learnt from the mildly lethargic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. [13] And, obviously judging from his own experience of privatizing the Szalay utca building and the Ószöd holiday complex, PM Gyurcsány stated that it does not lead to a strong and modern Hungary to talk citizens out of taking part in using services when concurrently paying their own contribution. [14] Approximately this was the essence of the Gyurcsanyesque introspection. [15] The Jackass of Ószöd, showing his old-new self, attempted again to convert his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a speech of justice in his third speech reprimanding the President of Fidesz.

[16] At the finish of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, who played Cipolla passionately but not at actor Latinovits’s standard in front of the socialist supporters of Kecskemét, now tried to sing the Bank Ban opera tune “There is no other loser on earth but me” in a rather enervated manner. [17] The content of his manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.’”

Target Text 5
Compensation
By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people will compensate. [2] Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [3] It can show strength, too. [4] The Prime Minister can now show that he does not only have the winner's generosity, like in 2006, when he did not have a belittling word towards the losers (he later targeted his own party), but also that he is able to lose in style. [5] Justification still remains to be furnished, although there was a moment when one believed that he would not postpone to do so at the closing of the ballot boxes on Sunday night, when he announced that the government had made all preliminary legal arrangements to abolish the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [6] In the same announcement, he then also stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and they were to realize that this cannot be continued like this. [7] Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. [8] And the government will not compensate.

[9] This standpoint is easily understandable and it will become acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, and at the same time a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, is now intent on demanding a twofold increase in general practitioners' financing whereas that far he had been telling the world that the visit fee was an impasse.

[10] "What a person!" is unimportant now to consider. [11] It is unimportant that the visit fee has been rendered efficient by a few hundred general practitioners. [12] It is unimportant that numerous respectable economic experts have stood by this element of the reforms. [13] It is unimportant what one believes. [14] What cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they do not wish to pay those fees. [15] This is what cannot be neglected. [16] And this makes it unimportant that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth: no serious politician can afford not to believe in himself, which, from their own point of view, is certainly right. [17] Nonetheless, turning beliefs into principles is a shaky venture in politics. [18] Showing resentment is even shakier.

[19] Governance entails obligations. [20] The Gyurcsány team tried to follow a pathway – it did not work. [21] Another pathway must be sought. [22] If that does not lead anywhere, yet another has to be found. [23] And if that is also a dead end, they will have no other choice but to resign. [24] This is so simple! [25] That is: a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation. [26] Not because Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and whoever else demand so but because it is the responsibility of any government. [27] The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. [28] And if general practitioners are still worse off than with the visit fee, it is their problem. [29] And it is exclusively *their* problem.

[30] This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. [31] If he is determined about introducing a multi-fund health insurance system and is a PM committed to reforms, he needs to ensure that he avoids failure in a next issue closely associated with the reforms. [32] If he did not manage, this would indicate his failure as a Prime Minister.

[33] And in such a situation, no compensation would be possible.

Target Text 6
Compensation
By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people will compensate. [2] Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [3] It can show strength, too. [4] The Prime Minister can now show that he does not only have the winner's generosity, like in 2006, when he did not have a belittling word towards those losing the elections (he later targeted his own party), but also that he is able to lose like a loser. [5] Justification is yet to be furnished, although there was a moment when one could believe that he would not postpone to do so at the closing of the ballot boxes on Sunday night, when he announced that the government had made all preliminary legal arrangements to abolish the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [6] However, in the same announcement, he immediately stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and it was time they realized that this cannot continue like this forever. [7] Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. [8] And the government will by no means compensate.

[9] This standpoint is easily understandable and it will seem acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, and at the same time an allegedly dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, is now intent on demanding a twofold increase in general practitioners' financing whereas that far he had been telling the world that the visit fee was an impasse.

[10] "What a person!" is unimportant now to consider. [11] It is unimportant that the visit fee has been rendered acceptable by some general practitioners. [12] It is unimportant that a few economic experts have stood by this element of the reforms. [13] Irrespective of what one believes: what cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they will not pay those fees. [14] This is what cannot be neglected. [15] And this makes it unimportant that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are still convinced of their own truth. [16] No politician can afford not to believe in himself, which is certainly right – from their own point of view. [17] Nonetheless, turning beliefs into principles is a foolhardy venture in politics. [18] But showing resentment is even more foolhardy.

[19] Governance entails obligations. [20] Gyurcsány and his cronies tried to follow a pathway – it did not work. [21] Another pathway must be sought. [22] If that does not lead anywhere, yet another has to be found. [23] And if that is also another dead end, they will have no other choice but to step down finally. [24] This should be so simple! [25] That is: a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation. [26] Not because Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and whoever else demand so but because it is the responsibility of any government. [27] The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. [28] And if general practitioners are still worse off than with the visit fee, it is their problem. [29] They should have done things differently.

[30] This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. [31] If he is determined about introducing a multi-fund health insurance system and is a PM committed to reforms, he needs to at least try to ensure that he avoids failure in a next issue closely associated with the reforms. [32] If he does not manage, this will indicate his failure as a Prime Minister.

[33] And in such a situation, no compensation will be possible at last.

Target Text 7
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum, characterised by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong victory of the 'Yes' side, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said the result speaks for itself. [2] Consequently, he urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and to take the necessary steps.

[3] The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. [4] From the beginning of session, both Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) and KDNP (Christian Democratic People's Party), the parties having initiated the repeal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee, as well as the governing parties, who had been strongly opposing the repeal, have obviously felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the 'popular vote' frequently referred to in the pre-agenda speeches.

[5] MP Ferenc Gyurcsány gave the keynote speech in the pre-agenda session. [6] More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech was more manageable than his insolent Sunday night reactions, when he imagined all 'No' voters as socialist supporters while the 3.3 million 'Yes' voters as people deciding purely on financial grounds. [7] Most probably as a result of his evaluation of the current situation, at the beginning of his numerous speeches, he announced that the results of the referendum will be respected with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the "speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years." [8] Yet, later there came the usual accuses: the majority voting 'Yes' did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed. [9] And then the journalists got scolded, who failed to ask this question time and time again, to be followed by the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary with the Prime Minister questioning how come they did consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány's team (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES's in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. [11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, was in vain trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. [12] Parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing pro-government propaganda tried to persuade fellow MPs and the TV viewers that one does not pay at the doctor and at the university once, let alone twice. [13] Naturally, at the same time, data on the GDP proportionate state contribution allocated to education, health care and preventive medicine were deliberately cloaked.

[14] However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. [15] And, obviously based on his experience of privatizing the Szalay Street building and the Ószöd holiday resort, PM Gyurcsány assured us that no strong and modern Hungary can be built if citizens are convinced that using services can by no means entail having to pay one's own contribution. [16] All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this. [17] While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self.

[18] At the close of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits in front of socialist supporters in Kecskemét, this time was trying to sing the part in the opera *Bank Ban* "There is no one unluckier on earth than me" in an enervated tone. [19] For the audience, the essence of his numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

Target Text 8
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum, characterised by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong victory of the ‘Yes’ side, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said the result speaks for itself. [2] Consequently, he urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and take the necessary steps.

[3] The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. [4] From the beginning of session, both Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) and KDNP (Christian Democratic People’s Party), the parties having initiated the repeal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee, as well as the governing parties, who had been (unsuccessfully) moving heaven and earth to campaign against the repeal, have obviously felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the ‘popular vote’ frequently referred to in the pre-agenda speeches.

[5] In the pre-agenda session MP Ferenc Gyurcsány acted as the lead piper playing the domineering tune. [6] More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech sounded more agreeable than his insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions, when he fantasized that all ‘No’ voters were socialist supporters while the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters were people deciding purely on financial grounds. [7] Most probably as a result of his evaluation of the current situation, at the beginning of his numerous speeches, he announced that the results of the referendum would be respected with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the “speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years.” [8] Yet, later there came the standard accusations: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed. [9] And then the journalists got scolded, who were to ask this question time and time again, to be followed by the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary with the Prime Minister questioning how come they did consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány’s cronies (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES’s in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. [11] In vain was Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. [12] Parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing pro-government propaganda were making all efforts to persuade fellow MPs and the TV viewers that one does not pay at the doctor and at the university once, let alone twice. [13] Naturally, at the same time, data on the GDP proportionate state contribution allocated to education, health care and preventive medicine were deliberately cloaked.

[14] However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. [15] And, obviously based on his experience of privatizing the Szalay Street building and the Ószöd holiday resort, PM Gyurcsány assured us that no strong and modern Hungary can be built if citizens are convinced that using services can by no means entail having to pay one’s own contribution. [16] All in all, Gyurcsány’s introspection extended to as little as this. [17] While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self.

[18] At the close of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits in front of socialist supporters in Kecskemét, this time was trying to sing the part in the opera Bank Ban “There is no one unluckier on earth than me” in a enervated tone. [19] For the audience, the essence of his numerous long-winded speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: “This be madness and there is no method in ‘t.”

Appendix 4

The superstructures of the two source language and the eight target texts are given below. The different functional parts have been marked in the texts.

For reasons of page layout, please see the superstructures on the following pages.

Source Text 1

Kompenzáció

Tóth Ákos

[1] A hozzáértők azt mondják, hogy a gyenge emberek szoktak kompenzálni, miközben a kompenzáció nem feltétlenül a gyengeség jele. [2] Erőt is mutathat. [3] A miniszterelnök most bebizonyíthatja, hogy nemcsak a győztes nagyvonalúsága van benne, miként azt igazolta 2006-ban, amikor egyetlen rossz szava nem volt a vesztesek felé (saját pártja irányában később annál inkább), hanem veszíteni is tud úgy, ahogy veszíteni kell. [4] Ennek igazolásával még késlekedik, bár volt egy pillanat, amikor azt lehetett hinni, nem fog: akkor, amikor vasárnap este urnazáráskor bejelentette, hogy a kormány minden jogszabályi módosítást előkészített a vizit- és a napidíj, valamint a tandíj visszavonása érdekében. [5] Aztán ugyanazzal a mozdulattal azt is közölte, hogy az emberek a pénztárcájukra szavaztak, de el kell gondolkodniuk azon, hogy ez nem mehet így tovább. [6] Azóta pedig koalíciós elnöktársával, Kóka Jánossal szinte versengve bizonygatják, hogy a házi orvosok a Fidesz népszavazásával nagyon rosszul jártak, hiszen úgy 150 ezer forint havi fixet kiszavaztak a zsebükből. [7] Ők pedig nem kompenzálnak.

[8] Ez könnyen érthető álláspont, és elfogadhatóvá kiváltképp akkor válik, amikor a magyar közélet egyik veszélyes kalandora, Éger István orvoskamara elnök most a kétszeresére akarja emeltetni a házi orvosok finanszírozását, miközben eddig azzal kürtölte tele a világot, hogy a vizitdíj semmit nem javított a helyzeten...

[9] A „milyen ember az ilyen” felkiáltás most mellékes. [10] Mellékes, hogy pár száz házi orvos mégiscsak deklaráta, jó a vizitdíj rendszere. [11] Mellékes, hogy komoly közgazdászok egész sora állt ki e reformelem mellett. [12] Mellékes, hogy mit gondolunk: amit nem lehet mellőzni, az annak a három-egész-valahánymillió embernek a szavazata, aki nem volt rest elmenni az urnákhoz, és azt mondani, hogy nem kér a díjából. [13] Ezt nem lehet figyelmen kívül hagyni. [14] Ettől válik mellékessé, hogy Gyurcsány Ferenc és Kóka János meg van győződve a saját igazságáról, amiben természetesen igazuk van, hiszen nem lehet komoly politikus, aki nem hisz önmagában, a hitet elvévé köviteni azonban a politika területén már igencsak veszélyes. [15] A sértődöttség pedig kiváltképp.

Situation

Problem

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[16] A kormányzásnak kötelezettségei vannak. [17] Gyurcsányék megpróbáltak egy utat – nem vált be. [18] Meg kell próbálni egy újabbat. [19] Ha az sem válik be, akkor egy még újabbat. [20] Ha az sem, akkor meg menni kell. [21] Ez ennyire egyszerű. [22] Vagyis a józan kompromisszum mértékével kompenzálni kell, és nem azért, mert a Fidesz és Éger István, meg még ki tudja, ki mindenki ezt követeli, hanem azért, mert ez a kormányzás felelőssége. [23] Vissza kell állítani a korábban megszüntetett amortizációs költséget, ami becslések szerint úgy hetvenezer forint volt havonta, praxisonként. [24] És hogy a házi orvosok így is rosszabbul járnak, mintha lenne vizitdíj: az már valóban legyen az ő bajuk, tetszettek volna...

Response 2

Neg. evaluation 2

[25] Ez Gyurcsány Ferencnek is elemi érdeke. [26] Ha komolyan gondolja a többpénztáros biztosítási rendszert, ha komolyan gondolja, hogy reformer miniszterelnök, akkor legalább az esélyét meg kell teremtenie annak, hogy egy újabb – a reform velejét érintő – kérdésben ne szenvedjen kudarcot. [27] Az ugyanis miniszterelnöki tevékenységének a csődje lenne.

Response 3

Positive

result

[28] És akkor azt már nem lehet kompenzálni.

Target Text 1

Compensation

By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people compensate, while compensation is not a sign of weakness. [2] It can also show strength. [3] The Prime Minister will now prove that he does not only have the generosity of the victor, as was shown in 2006, when he did not have a single word of resentment towards those who lost (instead, he later criticized his own party), but when he loses, he does so like a gentleman. [4] He is still in the throes of proving this, though there was a moment when it could be believed that he was already doing this: when he announced at the Sunday night closing of the ballot boxes that the government was determined to make all legal alterations to withdraw the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [5] And, in the same announcement, he also said that people had made the most financially favorable decision for them, but they must come to realize that this does not lead anywhere.

[6] Since then he has been trying to explain, hand in hand with Mr. János Kóka, that general practitioners will, due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign, suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000. [7] And the government is not in a position to compensate for this.

[8] This is an easily understandable viewpoint and it is acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber running amok in Hungarian public life, wants to have the financing of general practitioners doubled while so far he had been complaining at every forum that allegedly the visit fee did not in any way help doctors' finances.

[9] I am not asking "What his motives are!" [10] It's a fact that a few hundred general practitioners have declared that the system of the visit fee works. [11] It's a fact that a whole group of well-respected economic experts have been in support of this element of the reforms. [12] It is not important what we think: what cannot be ignored now is the votes of the some 3 million people who this time took the trouble to cast a ballot and signaled that they do not want to pay those fees.

[13] This cannot be ignored. [14] Now it is not important that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth, in which they are naturally right as serious politicians believe in themselves, however, to make principles out of beliefs in politics is a risky business. [15] And taking offence is even more dangerous.

Situation

Problem

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[16] The government has obligations. [17] PM Gyurcsány and his government tried something that did not work. [18] They will have to try another thing. [19] If that one fails, then another one. [20] And if that does not work, either, then they will have to resign. [21] It is as simple as that. [22] So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must; not as a result of Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and heaven knows who else demanding it but because it is the responsibility of the government. [23] The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. [24] And if general practitioners come off worse without the visit fee than with it, it is their business. [25] Now the die is cast...

Response 2

Neg. evaluation 2

[26] PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he definitely needs to give it a chance that he successfully faces another closely reform-related question.

Response 3

[27] Should he fail to do so, this would mean the end of his career as a prime minister.

[28] And that would be impossible to compensate.

Positive result

Target Text 2

Compensation

By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people compensate, while compensation is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [2] It might also show strength. [3] The Prime Minister can now prove, if he may, that he does not only have the generosity of the victor, as was shown in 2006, when he did not show resentment towards those who lost (rather towards his own party), but when he loses, he does so with his head high up. [4] He still owes proving this, though there was a moment when it could be believed that he would not further delay this: when he announced at the Sunday night closing of the ballot boxes that the government would prepare all the legal conditions of the withdrawal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [5] And, in the same announcement, he also said that people had voted to spare money, which can no longer be tolerated. [6] Since then they have been overdoing each other with Mr. János Kóka in proving that general practitioners will suffer the loss of a monthly sum of HUF 150 000 due to Fidesz's (Hungarian Civic Union) referendum campaign. [7] And they will not compensate for this.

[8] This is an easily understandable viewpoint and it is acceptable especially when a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, wants to have the financing of general practitioners doubled while so far he had been explaining that the visit fee did not help doctors' finances.

[9] The exclamation "Such a person!" is irrelevant at this point. [10] It is irrelevant that a few hundred general practitioners have declared that the system of the visit fee works. [11] It is irrelevant that a group of economic experts have been in support of this element of the reforms. [12] It is irrelevant what we think: what cannot be overlooked is the votes of the some 3 million people who took the trouble to cast a ballot and so declared that they do not want to pay those fees. [13] This cannot be overlooked. [14] Now it is not important that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth, in which they are self-evidently right as leading politicians believe in themselves, however, to make principles out of beliefs in politics verges on foolhardiness. [15] And getting offended is really dangerous.

Situation

Response 1 Problem

Neg. evaluation 1

[16] Any government has obligations. [17] PM Gyurcsány and his crew tried something that did not work. [18] They will have to try another thing. [19] If that thing fails, then another one. [20] And if that does not work, either, then they will have to go. [21] It is as simple as that. [22] So compensation, in a dose of healthy compromise, is a must; not as a result of Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and any other people demanding it but because it is the responsibility of a government. [23] The depreciation expense repealed earlier has to be restored, which is approximately a monthly HUF 70 000 per medical praxis. [24] And if general practitioners come off worse without the visit fee than with it, it is their problem. [25] They might as well have done something about it...

Response 2

Neg. evaluation 2

[26] PM Gyurcsány's basic interest lies with this: if he is serious about the idea of a multi-fund health insurance system and considers himself an advocate of reforms, then he needs to give it a try that he can possibly face another closely reform-related question. [27] Should he fail to do so, it would mean his fiasco as prime minister.

Response 3

Positive
result

[28] And it will be impossible to compensate.

Target Text 5

Compensation

By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people will compensate. [2] Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [3] It can show strength, too. [4] The Prime Minister can now show that he does not only have the winner's generosity, like in 2006, when he did not have a belittling word towards the losers (he later targeted his own party), but also that he is able to lose in style. [5] Justification still remains to be furnished, although there was a moment when one believed that he would not postpone to do so at the closing of the ballot boxes on Sunday night, when he announced that the government had made all preliminary legal arrangements to abolish the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [6] In the same announcement, he then also stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and they were to realize that this cannot be continued like this. [7] Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been competing to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss. [8] And the government will not compensate.

[9] This standpoint is easily understandable and it will become acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, and at the same time a dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, is now intent on demanding a twofold increase in general practitioners' financing whereas that far he had been telling the world that the visit fee was an impasse.

[10] "What a person!" is unimportant now to consider. [11] It is unimportant that the visit fee has been rendered efficient by a few hundred general practitioners. [12] It is unimportant that numerous respectable economic experts have stood by this element of the reforms. [13] It is unimportant what one believes. [14] What cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they do not wish to pay those fees. [15] This is what cannot be neglected. [16] And this makes it unimportant that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are convinced of their own truth: no serious politician can afford not to believe in himself, which, from their own point of view, is certainly right. [17] Nonetheless, turning beliefs into principles is a shaky venture in politics. [18] Showing resentment is even shakier.

Situation

Response 1 Problem

Neg. evaluation 1

[19] Governance entails obligations. [20] The Gyurcsány team tried to follow a pathway – it did not work. [21] Another pathway must be sought. [22] If that does not lead anywhere, yet another has to be found. [23] And if that is also a dead end, they will have no other choice but to resign. [24] This is so simple! [25] That is: a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation. [26] Not because Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and whoever else demand so but because it is the responsibility of any government. [27] The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. [28] And if general practitioners are still worse off than with the visit fee, it is their problem. [29] And it is exclusively *their* problem.

[30] This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. [31] If he is determined about introducing a multi-fund health insurance system and is a PM committed to reforms, he needs to ensure that he avoids failure in a next issue closely associated with the reforms. [32] If he did not manage, this would indicate his failure as a Prime Minister.

[33] And in such a situation, no compensation would be possible.

Response 2

Neg. evaluation 2
Response 3

Positive
result

Target Text 6

Compensation

By Ákos Tóth

[1] According to experts, only weak people will compensate. [2] Compensation, however, is not necessarily a sign of weakness. [3] It can show strength, too. [4] The Prime Minister can now show that he does not only have the winner's generosity, like in 2006, when he did not have a belittling word towards those losing the elections (he later targeted his own party), but also that he is able to lose like a loser. [5] Justification is yet to be furnished, although there was a moment when one could believe that he would not postpone to do so at the closing of the ballot boxes on Sunday night, when he announced that the government had made all preliminary legal arrangements to abolish the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee. [6] However, in the same announcement, he immediately stated that people had voted on purely financial grounds, and it was time they realized that this cannot continue like this forever.

Situation

[7] Since then, him and Coalition partner President Mr. János Kóka have been having a little contest to prove that general practitioners will come very badly off the Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) initiated referendum, as, due to this, they will incur a monthly HUF 150 000 loss.

Problem

[8] And the government will by no means compensate.

} Response 1

[9] This standpoint is easily understandable and it will seem acceptable especially when Mr. István Éger, President of the Hungarian Medical Chamber, and at the same time an allegedly dangerous adventurer of Hungarian public life, is now intent on demanding a twofold increase in general practitioners' financing whereas that far he had been telling the world that the visit fee was an impasse.

[10] "What a person!" is unimportant now to consider. [11] It is unimportant that the visit fee has been rendered acceptable by some general practitioners. [12] It is unimportant that a few economic experts have stood by this element of the reforms. [13] Irrespective of what one believes: what cannot be neglected is the votes of people in excess of 3 million who appeared in front of the ballot boxes and cast a vote demonstrating that they will not pay those fees. [14] This is what cannot be neglected. [15] And this makes it unimportant that PM Ferenc Gyurcsány and Mr. János Kóka are still convinced of their own truth. [16] No politician can afford not to believe in himself, which is certainly right – from their own point of view. [17] Nonetheless, turning beliefs into principles is a foolhardy venture in politics. [18] But showing resentment is even more foolhardy.

Neg. evaluation 1

[19] Governance entails obligations. [20] Gyurcsány and his cronies tried to follow a pathway – it did not work. [21] Another pathway must be sought. [22] If that does not lead anywhere, yet another has to be found. [23] And if that is also another dead end, they will have no other choice but to step down finally. [24] This should be so simple! [25] That is: a healthy compromise must be offered as compensation. [26] Not because Fidesz, Mr. Éger, and whoever else demand so but because it is the responsibility of any government. [27] The formerly repealed depreciation expense of approximately HUF 70 000 per medical praxis per month has to be restored. [28] And if general practitioners are still worse off than with the visit fee, it is their problem. [29] They should have done things differently.

[30] This is also PM Gyurcsány's most vital interest. [31] If he is determined about introducing a multi-fund health insurance system and is a PM committed to reforms, he needs to at least try to ensure that he avoids failure in a next issue closely associated with the reforms. [32] If he does not manage, this will indicate his failure as a Prime Minister.

[33] And in such a situation, no compensation will be possible at last.

Response 2

Response 3 Neg. evaluation 2

Positive result

Source Text 2

Másnap

Farkas Attila

[1] Az eddigi referendumokkal összevetve is kiemelkedő részvétellel lezajlott és az igenek elsöprő sikerét hozó szociális népszavazás estéjén Sólyom László köztársasági elnök kijelentette: az eredmény egyértelmű. [2] Majd arra intett, a törvényhozókon és a politikusokon a sor, hogy megtegyék a szükséges lépéseket és levonják a következtetéseket.

[3] Ezt a feladatot kísérelték meg abszolválni tegnap az Országgyűlésben. [4] Az már előzetesen nyilvánvaló volt, hogy mind a vizitdíj, a tandíj és a kórházi napidíj eltörlését kezdeményező Fidesz és KDNP, mind a megszüntetésük ellen mindent bevetve sikertelenül hadakozott kormánypartok törvénymódosítással kívánnak eleget tenni a nép akaratának, méltányolván a napirend előtti felszólalásokban is oly sokszor emlegetett voks populit.

[5] Napirend előtt a fő szótartó Gyurcsány Ferenc igyekezett megadni. [6] És az eredmények nyomán keletkezett első sokkot – amelynek hatására dacos vasárnapi megnyilatkozásaiban a nem szavazókat a szocialisták támogatójaként próbálta meg vizionálni, illetve a 3,3 millió igennel szavazót pénztárcapártiként feltüntetni – kialszva valamelyest engedékenyebb húrokat pengetett. [7] Többszöri megszólalásai elején, nyilván némiképp számot vetve a helyzettel, még azt mondta: tiszteletben tartják az eredményt, mely szerint úgymond legalább hárommillió ember nem ért egyet „az elmúlt másfél év változásának mélységével, tempójával”. [8] Később azonban előkerült a megszokott vádaskodó hang; az igennel voksoló túlnyomó többség arról nem döntött, hogy ki fizesse a kieső díjakat. [9] Majd megkapták magukét szép sorjában az újságírók, akik nem ezt kérdezték lépten-nyomon, az Alkotmánybíróság – s áttételesen említve annak első elnöke, a jelenlegi államfő –, hogy merészeltek ilyen kérdéseket egy népszavazáson feltehetőnek ítélni. [10] Az Őszödi Böszme és a színlap egyéb kisbetűs szereplői (Kóka, Lendvai, Hiller) azzal érveltek, hogy az önző „háromigenesek” az ingyenesség haszonlesői. [11] Hiába hívta fel a figyelmet Navracsics Tibor, a Fidesz frakcióvezetője, hogy senki nem gondolja az egészségügyről és az oktatásról, hogy azért soha egy árva petákot sem kellett fizetni, az újrhangolt kormánypartú kortesbeszéd eladói arról győzködtek képviselőtársaikat és a tévénézőt: nemhogy kétszer, de egyszer sem fizetünk-fizettünk az orvosnál, az egyetemeken és a főiskolákon. [12] Persze mindeközben az oktatásra, gyógyításra és megelőzésre fordított GDP-arányos állami hozzájárulás mint tényadat gondosan homályban hagyatott.

Situation

Problem

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[13] Ezzel szemben a kissé letargikus kormányfőtől megtudtuk, hogy a népszavazással Magyarország hosszú távon veszített. [14] S nyilván saját tapasztalataiból – a Szalay utcai ingatlan és az őszödi üdülő megszerzéséből – levezetve, hogy nem vezet az erős és modern Magyarországhoz, ha a polgárokat lebeszéljük arról, hogy saját önrésszel vegyenek részt a szolgáltatások igénybevételében. [15] Körülbelül ennyi volt a Gyurcsányi önvizsgálat veleje.

[16] Az Őszödi Bösme régi-új énjét megcsillantva a Fidesz elnökét ostromozó harmadik felszólalásában újfent kísérletet tett arra, hogy hírhedt hazugságbeszédét átcsomagolja igazságbeszéddé.

[17] A kampányfőnökben a kecskeméti szocialista törzsközönség előtt szenvedélyesen, ám nem latinovitsi fokon Cipollát alakító Gyurcsány most a „Nincs a teremtésben vesztes, csak én” Bánk báni szöveget igyekezett kiénekelni - meglehetősen enerváltan. [18] Sokszori megszólalásai tartalma kapcsán pedig inkább egy shakespeare-i parafrázis fogalmazódhatott meg a hallgatóságban: örült beszéd, de nincs benne rendszer.

Response 2
Neg. evaluation 2

Response 3

Pos. evaluation

Target Text 3
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong ‘Yes’ victory, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, claimed that the result speaks for itself. [2] Then he declared that now it is legislators’ and politician’s turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps.

Situation

[3] This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. [4] It was obvious from the beginning that both Fidesz-KDNP (Hungarian Civic Union – Christian Democratic People’s Party) initiating the abandonment of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee and the governing parties vehemently opposing the abandonment want to take legislative steps to submit to the wish of the people in an appreciation of the popular vote frequently mentioned also in pre-agenda speeches.

Problem

[5] Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány’s speeches dominated the pre-agenda session. [6] This time, more relaxed, he sounded more moderate than in his castigating Sunday night reactions when he envisioned all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people reluctant to pay. [7] At the beginning of his manifold statements, surely resulting from his evaluation of the situation, he said that the referendum result will be respected, according to which at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years.” [8] Later, however, the usual critical tone: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed. [9] Criticism was communicated towards everyone: the journalists who did not keep on asking this question, the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary, how they deemed such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The “Jackass of Öszöd” and the more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times ‘Yes’ are the bargain hunters of free deals. [11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz called attention in vain to the premise that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: speeches advocating the standpoint of the government were trying to convince fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was not elaborated on.

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[12] At the same time we learnt from the mildly melancholic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. [13] And, obviously judging from his own experience of the privatization of the Szalay utca building and the Ószöd holiday complex, PM Gyurcsány stated that it does not lead to a strong and modern Hungary to talk citizens out of taking part in using services when concurrently paying their own contribution. [14] Approximately this was the essence of PM Gyurcsány's introspection. [15] The "Jackass of Ószöd", showing a glimpse of his old-new self, attempted again to convert his widely-known Ószöd speech into a speech of justice in his third speech directing criticism at the President of Fidesz.

Neg. evaluation 2 **Response 2**

Response 3

[16] At the finish of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, like a passionate Cipolla though not quite as talented as the great Hungarian actor Latinovits, appeared in front of the socialist supporters of Kecskemét and tried to sing the Bank Ban opera tune "There is no one unluckier on earth than me" in a rather enervated manner. [17] His manifold statements conjure up a Shakespearian line paraphrased in the audience: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

Pos. evaluation

Target Text 4
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum with a record high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong ‘Yes’ victory, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said that the result speaks for itself. [2] Then he motioned that now it is legislators’ and politician’s turn to draw the consequences and take the necessary steps.

Situation

[3] This task was attempted to be absolved in the House of Parliament yesterday. [4] It was obvious from the beginning that both Fidesz-KDNP (Hungarian Civic Union – Christian Democratic People’s Party) initiating the abandonment of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee and the governing parties opposing the abandonment fiercely, at all costs and to no avail want to take legislative steps to fulfill the wish of the people in an appreciation of the popular vote frequently mentioned also in pre-agenda speeches.

Problem

[5] Mr. Ferenc Gyurcsány played the dominant tune of the pre-agenda session. [6] This time, more relaxed, he sounded softer than in his defiant Sunday night reactions when he tried to vision all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters and the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people favoring their wallet. [7] At the beginning of his manifold statements, surely resulting from his evaluation of the situation, he said that the referendum result will be respected, according to which at least 3 million people disagree with the “speed and depth of the changes of the recent one and a half years.” [8] Later, however, the usual accusing tone: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not decide on who is to pay the fees repealed. [9] And then everyone was disapproved of: the journalists who did not ask this question all the time, the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary, how they dared consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Jackass of Ószöd and more insignificant members of the cast (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) argued that those selfish ones who voted 3 times ‘Yes’ are the money grubbers of free deals.

Response 1

[11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz in vain called the attention to the fact that nobody thinks that nothing ever has had to be paid for health care or education: the performers of the retuned pro-government canvass-speeches tried to convince their fellow MPs and TV viewers that we have not been paying at the doctor and in higher education twice, not even once while the GDP proportionate state contribution spent on education, healing and prevention was deliberately obscured.

Neg. evaluation 1

[12] At the same time we learnt from the mildly lethargic head of government that Hungary lost with the referendum in the long run. [13] And, obviously judging from his own experience of privatizing the Szalay utca building and the Ószöd holiday complex, PM Gyurcsány stated that it does not lead to a strong and modern Hungary to talk citizens out of taking part in using services when concurrently paying their own contribution. [14] Approximately this was the essence of the Gyurcsanyesque introspection. [15] The Jackass of Ószöd, showing his old-new self, attempted again to convert his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a speech of justice in his third speech reprimanding the President of Fidesz.

Neg. evaluation 2 **Response 2**
Response 3

[16] At the finish of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, who played Cipolla passionately but not at actor Latinovits's standard in front of the socialist supporters of Kecskemét, now tried to sing the Bank Ban opera tune "There is no other loser on earth but me" in a rather enervated manner. [17] The content of his manifold statements reminds the audience of Shakespeare paraphrased: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

Pos. evaluation

Target Text 7
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum, characterised by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong victory of the ‘Yes’ side, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said the result speaks for itself. [2] Consequently, he urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and to take the necessary steps.

Situation

[3] The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. [4] From the beginning of session, both Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) and KDNP (Christian Democratic People’s Party), the parties having initiated the repeal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee, as well as the governing parties, who had been strongly opposing the repeal, have obviously felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the ‘popular vote’ frequently referred to in the pre-agenda speeches.

Problem

[5] MP Ferenc Gyurcsány gave the keynote speech in the pre-agenda session. [6] More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech was more manageable than his insolent Sunday night reactions, when he imagined all ‘No’ voters as socialist supporters while the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters as people deciding purely on financial grounds. [7] Most probably as a result of his evaluation of the current situation, at the beginning of his numerous speeches, he announced that the results of the referendum will be respected with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the “speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years.” [8] Yet, later there came the usual accuses: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed. [9] And then the journalists got scolded, who failed to ask this question time and time again, to be followed by the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary with the Prime Minister questioning how come they did consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány’s team (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES’s in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. [11] Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, was in vain trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. [12] Parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing pro-government propaganda tried to persuade fellow MPs and the TV viewers that one does not pay at the doctor and at the university once, let alone twice. [13] Naturally, at the same time, data on the GDP proportionate state contribution allocated to education, health care and preventive medicine were deliberately cloaked.

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[14] However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. [15] And, obviously based on his experience of privatizing the Szalay Street building and the Ószöd holiday resort, PM Gyurcsány assured us that no strong and modern Hungary can be built if citizens are convinced that using services can by no means entail having to pay one's own contribution. [16] All in all, PM Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as much as this. [17] While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self.

Neg. evaluation 2
Response 2
Response 3

[18] At the close of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not as perfectly as Latinovits in front of socialist supporters in Kecskemét, this time was trying to sing the part in the opera Bank Ban "There is no one unluckier on earth than me" in an enervated tone. [19] For the audience, the essence of his numerous speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

Pos. evaluation

Target Text 8
The Next Day
By Attila Farkas

[1] On the evening of the referendum, characterised by an unprecedented high participation rate compared to other similar occasions so far, and a strong victory of the ‘Yes’ side, Mr. László Sólyom, President of the Republic of Hungary, said the result speaks for itself. [2] Consequently, he urged legislators and politicians to draw the conclusions and take the necessary steps.

Situation

[3] The House of Parliament was engaged in doing so yesterday. [4] From the beginning of session, both Fidesz (Hungarian Civic Union) and KDNP (Christian Democratic People’s Party), the parties having initiated the repeal of the visit fee, the daily fee for hospital treatment and the tuition fee, as well as the governing parties, who had been (unsuccessfully) moving heaven and earth to campaign against the repeal, have obviously felt motivated to take the necessary legislative steps to guarantee the fulfilment of the wish of the people appreciating the ‘popular vote’ frequently referred to in the pre-agenda speeches.

Problem

[5] In the pre-agenda session MP Ferenc Gyurcsány acted as the lead piper playing the domineering tune. [6] More in terms with the actual situation, this time, his speech sounded more agreeable than his insolent and impertinent Sunday night reactions, when he fantasized that all ‘No’ voters were socialist supporters while the 3.3 million ‘Yes’ voters were people deciding purely on financial grounds. [7] Most probably as a result of his evaluation of the current situation, at the beginning of his numerous speeches, he announced that the results of the referendum would be respected with at least 3 million people disagreeing with the “speed and depth of the changes in the recent one and a half years.” [8] Yet, later there came the standard accusations: the majority voting ‘Yes’ did not in fact settle who is to compensate for the fees to be repealed. [9] And then the journalists got scolded, who were to ask this question time and time again, to be followed by the Constitutional Court and indirectly its first president, the current President of the Republic of Hungary with the Prime Minister questioning how come they did consider such questions suitable for a referendum. [10] The Dimwit of Ószöd and the less significant members of PM Gyurcsány’s cronies (Mr. Kóka, Ms. Lendvai, Mr. Hiller) claimed that those selfish persons who cast three YES’s in the ballot boxes in fact wish to receive services for free. [11] In vain was Mr. Tibor Navracsics, Leader of the parliamentary group of Fidesz, trying to highlight that nobody thinks no contribution whatsoever has had to be paid for health care or education services. [12] Parliamentary advocates of the re-echoing pro-government propaganda were making all efforts to persuade fellow MPs and the TV viewers that one does not pay at the doctor and at the university once, let alone twice. [13] Naturally, at the same time, data on the GDP proportionate state contribution allocated to education, health care and preventive medicine were deliberately cloaked.

Response 1

Neg. evaluation 1

[14] However, the slightly lethargic Prime Minister revealed that in the long term Hungary will sadly miss something as a result of the referendum. [15] And, obviously based on his experience of privatizing the Szalay Street building and the Ószöd holiday resort, PM Gyurcsány assured us that no strong and modern Hungary can be built if citizens are convinced that using services can by no means entail having to pay one's own contribution. [16] All in all, Gyurcsány's introspection extended to as little as this.

[17] While having the President of Fidesz under fire, the Dimwit of Ószöd made yet another attempt to translate his infamous Ószöd speech of lies into a talk of truthfulness in his third pre-agenda speech revealing his new-old self.

[18] At the close of the campaign, PM Gyurcsány, while passionately acting in the role of Cipolla but not nearly as perfectly as Latinovits in front of socialist supporters in Kecskemét, this time was trying to sing the part in the opera Bank Ban "There is no one unluckier on earth than me" in a enervated tone. [19] For the audience, the essence of his numerous long-winded speeches can be summarized in a Shakespearian paraphrase: "This be madness and there is no method in 't."

Neg. evaluation 2 Response 2

Response 3

Pos. evaluation

Appendix 5

The macrostructures of the two source language and the eight target texts appear below. First, the macrostructures of the source text article *Kompenzáció* and its four translations (Target texts 1, 2, 5 and 6) are shown, followed by the macrostructures of the source text article *Másnap* and its four translations (Target texts 3, 4, 7 and 8).

The columns of the tables display the sentence numbers constituting the text, separated along the superstructure element they make up. The rows show the diverse levels of the macrostructure. The macrolevel constituting the gist has been marked GIST and the level constituting the political message has been marked P. M. on the right hand side of the table.

	SITUATION					PROBLEM					RESPONSE 1					NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1					RESPONSE 2					NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2					RESPONSE 3					POSITIVE RESULT				
Macrolevel 6						6																														28 P. M.				
Macrolevel 5						6					7															23										28				
Macrolevel 4						6					7										16					23					25					28				
Macrolevel 3	5					6					7					12					16					23					25					28 GIST				
Macrolevel 2	5					6					7					10 12					16					23					25					28				
Macrolevel 1	1 4 5					6					7					8 10 11 12 14 15					16					17 19 20 21 22 23					25					27 28				
Microlevel	1 2 3 4 5					6					7					8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15					16					17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24					25					26 27 28				

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Source Text 1 entitled *Kompenzáció*. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1	RESPONSE 2	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2	RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE RESULT	
Macrolevel 6		6						28	P. M.
Macrolevel 5		6	7			23		28	
Macrolevel 4		6	7		16	23	26	28	
Macrolevel 3	5	6	7	12	16	23	26	28	GIST
Macrolevel 2	5	6	7	12	16	23	26	28	
Macrolevel 1	1 4 5	6	7	8 10 11 12 14 15	16	17 19 20 21 22 23 24	26	27 28	
Microlevel	1 2 3 4 5	6	7	8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	16	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	26	27 28	

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Target Texts 1 and 2. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1					RESPONSE 2	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2					RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE RESULT		
Macrolevel 6		7														33	P. M.	
Macrolevel 5		7								27						33		
Macrolevel 4		7	8						19	27					30	33		
Macrolevel 3		6	7	8	14					19	27					30	33	GIST
Macrolevel 2		6	7	8	11 14					19	22 24 27					30	33	
Macrolevel 1	1	5 6	7	8	9	11 12	14	16	18	19	20	22	24 25	27	30	33		
Microlevel	1 2 3 4 5 6	7	8	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	19	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	30	31 32 33										

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Target Texts 5 and 6. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1	RESPONSE 2	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2	RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE EVALUATION	
Macrolevel 6		3						18	P. M.
Macrolevel 5		3			13			18	
Macrolevel 4		3			13	15		18	
Macrolevel 3	2	3		10 11	13	15	16	18	GIST
Macrolevel 2	2	3	6	10 11	13	15	16	18	
Macrolevel 1	2	3	5 6 8 10	11	13	15	16	18	
Microlevel	1 2	3	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	11 12	13	14 15	16	17 18	

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Source Text 2 entitled Másnap. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1	RESPONSE 2	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2	RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE EVALUATION	
Macrolevel 6		3						17	P. M.
Macrolevel 5		3			12			17	
Macrolevel 4		3		11	12	14		17	
Macrolevel 3	2	3	10	11	12	14	15	17	GIST
Macrolevel 2	2	3	6	10	11	12	14	15	17
Macrolevel 1	2	3	5 6 8 10	11	12	14	15	17	
Microlevel	1 2	3	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	11	12	13 14	15	16 17	

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Target Texts 3 and 4. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text

	SITUATION	PROBLEM	RESPONSE 1	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 1	RESPONSE 2	NEGATIVE EVALUATION 2	RESPONSE 3	POSITIVE EVALUATION	
Macrolevel 6		3						19	P. M.
Macrolevel 5		3						19	
Macrolevel 4		3		11	14	16		19	
Macrolevel 3	2	3	10	11	14	16	17	19	GIST
Macrolevel 2	2	3	6	10	11	14	16	17	19
Macrolevel 1	2	3	5 6 8 10	11 12	14	16	17	19	
Microlevel	1 2	3	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	11 12 13	14	15 16	17	18 19	

The macrolevels: the gist and the political message of Target Texts 7 and 8. Numbers denote sentence numbers in the analysed text