

**Stance in Political Discourse:  
Arabic Translations of American Newspaper Opinion  
Articles on the ‘Arab Spring’**

**Mohammad Al-Shunnag**

School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences  
College of Arts and Social Sciences  
University of Salford, Salford, UK

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To my beloved son, Ahmed

To my father and my mother

To my wife

To my brothers

To my uncle, Abu Ra'ed

And in memory of my grandfathers, Abu Odeh and Abu Fawzi, who always believed in me.

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## Abbreviations

CDA	Critical discourse analysis
G	<i>Al-Ghad</i>
I	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NT	The <i>New York Times</i>
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
ST	Source text
TT	Target text
WP	The <i>Washington Post</i>

## Abstract

This thesis aims to introduce the theoretical concept of stance, as an aspect of interpersonal meaning, into the discipline of Translation Studies and to explore the reproduction of stance in translations of a heavily opinionated political genre commissioned by newspapers. It seeks to provide an account of how patterns of stance are conveyed in newspaper opinion articles on the ‘Arab Spring’ originally published in English in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and then how these patterns are re-conveyed in full translations of these articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*.

A triangulation of methods is employed for providing a coherent analysis of stance at different levels: lexico-grammatical, textual, and contextual. Accordingly, the methodology chosen for the purposes of the study is a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that operate within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. The former is drawn from the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006), while the latter is drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). Also, the combined methodology is complemented by some aspects of Fairclough’s model of critical discourse analysis (1992, 1995a) and Baker’s narrative theory (2006), which, to varying degrees, allow for the contextualisation of the findings and the explanation of translational behaviour.

The main contribution of the thesis is that it introduces a new theoretical concept into the field – the concept of stance. This has not previously been approached within translation studies, although it has been high on the research agenda for the past two decades or so within the field of linguistics and its neighbouring disciplines. Also, the thesis has designed and tested a new combined theoretical approach to analyse this phenomenon within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. Moreover, this thesis contributes to the field as well by addressing a new form of shifts in translation, namely shift in stance. The examination of the conveyance and re-conveyance of stance reveals that significant shifts in stance occurred in the Arabic translations produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These shifts result in the weakening, accentuation, and entire loss of original stance.

# Chapter One:

## Introduction

### 1.1 Scope of the study

One of the most important things we do with words is take a stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value.

John Du Bois (2007: 139)

On 17 December 2010, a twenty-six-year-old street vendor named Mohammad Bouazizi set himself on fire publicly in Tunisia in protest at the oppression, poverty, exploitation and humiliation which he had suffered. The young man, who was struggling to support his family by selling fruit and vegetables, suffered severe burns over his whole body and died soon afterward. His desperate act sparked spontaneous mass demonstrations that ultimately toppled the country's president, Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali. The uprising in Tunisia inspired a wave of revolts across other Arab countries such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and elsewhere seeking freedom and dignity for their people in what later became widely known as the 'Arab Spring'<sup>1</sup>. The 'Arab Spring', which "may have taken the world by surprise in 2011" (Noueihed and Warren, 2012:

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Arab Spring' appears to be relatively misleading inasmuch as it is used for describing uprisings which are associated with a great deal of uncertainty and are still of unknown sequences as well as unimaginable violence. Other terms have been used to describe these events but with a limited circulation, such as 'Arab Awakening' and 'Arab Uprisings'. The term 'Arab Spring' will be used in this study as it is the most commonly used and this applies in particular to the corpus of this study.

46), has been considered “the biggest geopolitical event since the end of the Cold War” (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2012: 13).

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring, a large number of newspaper opinion articles in the West have been written about this dramatic political change in the Arab world, which has captured a remarkable degree of global attention. Due to the social, political, and cultural issues at stake, such articles typically do not simply report on this topic in a neutral and objective sense. On the contrary, they do openly provide readers with analyses and opinions that can influence and perhaps even shape their own opinion and then position them in a similar position of writers’ own. Many of these articles are translated for Arabic-language newspapers on a daily basis in order, among other reasons<sup>2</sup>, to let Arab readers consider the way others see them. Opinion articles published in Western quality newspapers<sup>3</sup> appeal to the interest of those readers, who draw on the content of these articles to gain the perspectives of outsiders with regard to issues that affect them as well as to strengthen their political awareness and improve their political judgement. By ‘quality newspapers’ here is meant those papers that are “fairly serious in tone and content, and are concerned with news and features about politics, economic and financial problems, sport, literature and the arts, and give in-depth analytical coverage in longer articles and news stories” (Browne, 2011: 310).

This study was motivated by the idea that the consideration of other voices, which presumably observe the political scene from an outsider and detached perspective, may provide new analyses and different opinions. As a much translated genre, newspaper opinion articles are, therefore, of relevance not only for source-culture readers, towards whom they are specifically oriented, but

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<sup>2</sup> For the reasons behind translating these articles for Arabic-language newspapers, see section 6.2 on the corpus.

<sup>3</sup> As the broad term ‘printed media’ refers to different forms of printed publications (newspapers, magazines, brochures, leaflets, posters, newsletters, etc.) and for the sake of clarity, to be less general and more specific, the term ‘newspapers’ will be used in this study instead.

also of interest for readers of other linguistic and cultural backgrounds operating in a different socio-political context.

Writers of articles within this genre usually project themselves into their texts and engage readers with whom they communicate. They publicly adopt a position towards any specific object of interest based on their personal feelings, values, assessments, judgements, ideologies, and/or the values of the discourse community to which they belong. To achieve this, they tend to subtly employ a different set of communicative means, i.e., linguistic resources, that reflect various kinds and degrees of commitment to and/or certainty of the position adopted. Technically speaking, this area of language use is referred to in the field of linguistics and in its neighbouring disciplines as ‘stance’.

When considering the translation of Western newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring for Arabic-language newspapers, it has been noted that significant shifts in stance do occur in the translated texts compared with the original. In this study, shifts in stance are accounted for in terms of the changes in stance meaning or its function that occurred in the Arabic translations. These include those cases in which stance is weakened, accentuated, or even entirely lost. It is argued that when translating such a heavily opinionated political genre, translators sometimes fail to clearly identify and then accurately re-convey or reproduce this aspect of *interpersonal*<sup>4</sup> meaning in the target language, thus missing or distorting a pivotal strand of the original meaning.

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<sup>4</sup> As described in the Hallidayan model of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the *interpersonal* meaning is one of the three strands of meaning or *metafunctions* of language (alongside the *ideational* and the *textual*) that operate together interactively in any piece of communication that has meaning within a communicative context, despite the fact that one or another of them may become more prominent. *Interpersonal* meaning refers to “a strand of meaning running throughout the text which expresses the writer’s role relationship with the reader, and the writer’s attitude towards the subject matter” (Egins, 2004: 11) (see detailed description in chapter four).

Before proceeding further, it is crucial to clarify the concept of stance and to spell out what is meant by ‘stance’ in the current study. In the most general terms, stance is an aspect of *interpersonal* meaning that provides the means by which writers/speakers put across their “personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments” (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 966) of anything of interest being addressed, “construct and maintain relations” (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 6) with their readers/listeners, express their degree of commitment to and/or certainty of a given proposition, “assign value to objects of interest” and reflect their own value system as well as the “presupposed systems of sociocultural value” (Du Bois, 2007:139) of the discourse community they represent.

Defining stance is not an easy task due to the complexity of this concept<sup>5</sup>. Such complexity can be viewed in terms of the diverse linguistic manifestation and functions of stance in discourse. The concept of stance, as the discussion will reveal in chapter six, can be used to signify a wide range of meanings and functions in discourse that can be realised or expressed through a wide array of linguistic features. In the introduction to his edited volume *Stancetaking in Discourse*, Englebretson (2007b) offers an overview of stance and points out some principles for the conception of stance in the following terms:

First, stance refers to physical embodied action ... . Secondly, stance is a public act, which is recognizable, interpretable, and subject to evaluation by others ... . Thirdly, stance is a relational notion ...; stance is interactional in nature, collaboratively coming into being among the participants in an exchange and/or by virtue of opposition to other stances. Fourthly, specific stances are indexical, evoking larger aspects of the physical context or the socio-cultural systems in which they are embedded. Finally, stancetaking is consequential ...; i.e., taking a stance has real consequences for the persons or institutions involved (P. 14-15).

Furthermore, Englebretson (2007b) considers the theoretical term ‘stance’ to be an inclusive term that covers under it the subordinate concept of ‘evaluation’; for him, stance “can be

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<sup>5</sup> See chapter four for further discussion on the concept of stance.

subdivided into evaluation (“value judgments,” “assessments,” and “attitudes”), affect (“personal feelings”) ..., and epistemicity (“commitment”)” (P.17). In the same sense, Du Bois (2007: 142) argues that evaluation is a “form of stancetaking”. For this reason, the umbrella term ‘stance’ has been adopted over other related terms for the current study<sup>6</sup>.

Within the field of linguistics and its neighbouring disciplines, the phenomenon of stance has been approached from many different perspectives and sometimes applying related concepts, by researchers whose backgrounds, interests and aims are as varied as the disciplines themselves (see section 4.5). Accordingly, multiple definitions of stance have been suggested. Stance in the context of this study is

... a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. (Du Bois, 2007: 163)

This definition is relevant to the current study in that it recognises the complex nature of stance and the linguistic manifestation and functions of this concept. The definition also provides a sense of a potentially dynamic mechanism to organise the analysis of any pattern or instance of stance (see a description of this mechanism in chapter six). More specifically, Du Bois’s definition covers four key components<sup>7</sup> that constitute any instance of stance, which in turn are setting the scene for a systematic analysis of the phenomenon, and these are: (1) stancetaker (“a social actor”); (2) stance marker (“achieved ... through overt communicative means”); (3) stance object (“evaluating objects ... any salient dimension of the sociocultural field”); and (4) stance function (“positioning subjects (self or others), and aligning with other subjects”) (ibid., p. 163).

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<sup>6</sup> For more on other related terms to the theoretical concept of stance, see chapter four, subsection 4.4.1.

<sup>7</sup> A detailed discussion on the components of any stance being taken is provided in chapter six.

Identifying these components can be taken as the basic system of organising stance analysis in both the original and translated articles.

The explicit conveyance of stance in original American<sup>8</sup> newspaper opinion articles and then how this stance is re-conveyed or reproduced when translating these articles for Arabic-language newspapers are the focus of the present study. A general principle which informs this study is that the concept of stance is viewed, from a purely operational perspective, as “a linguistically articulated form of social action whose meaning is to be construed within the broader scope of language” and within its socio-political context (Du Bois, 2007: 139). With this in mind, a triangulation<sup>9</sup> of methods is thus employed for providing a coherent analysis of the concept of stance at different levels: lexico-grammatical, textual, and contextual. Accordingly, the methodology chosen for the present study is a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that operate within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. The former is drawn from the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; and Biber, 2006), while the latter is drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005)<sup>10</sup>. Also, in an attempt to provide further insight into the description of the concept of stance, the combined methodology is complemented by some aspects of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis (1992, 1995a) and Baker’s narrative theory (2006), which, to varying degrees, allow for the contextualisation of the findings and the explanation of translational behaviour. These two approaches will be referred to as complementary analytical tools in the present study.

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<sup>8</sup> The original opinion articles under investigation were published in two leading papers in the United States: The *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* (see chapter six).

<sup>9</sup> For definition of the term ‘triangulation’, see section 5.4.

<sup>10</sup> Appraisal theory is a discourse analytical framework that is developed out of the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics model. It focuses on the construal of interpersonal meaning at the level of discourse semantics and “provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14).



A considerable amount of research has already been undertaken on the concept of ‘stance’ in the past two decades or so (see Section 4.5). It has been dealt with in such fields as sociology, anthropology and education, but has been far more extensively dealt with in various subdisciplines of linguistics including corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Jaffe (2009b: 3) similarly points out that

The study of stance ... has a robust history in a number of analytic traditions, ranging from corpus-linguistic treatments of authorial stance as connected to particular academic genres, to critical discourse analyses of embedded stances in political, cultural, and persuasive texts, to studies of stancetaking as an interactional and discursive phenomenon, to the analysis of stance-saturated linguistic forms as they are used to reproduce (or challenge) social, political, and moral hierarchies in different cultural contexts.

Work on stance has intensified with the publication of many textbooks and monographs (e.g., Englebretson, 2007a; Gardner, 2001; Hunston and Thompson, 2000; Hyland and Sancho Guinda, 2012; Jaffe, 2009a; Kärkkäinen, 2003; Mushin, 2001; Wu, 2004), with the organisation of several conference panels and symposia (e.g., “Englebretson 2004; Jaffe 2004; Shoaps and Kockelman 2002”) and with the appearance of a large number of journal articles (e.g., Baratta, 2009; Biber, 2004; Biber and Finegan, 1988, 1989; Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Charles, 2006; Clift, 2006; Damari, 2010; Haddington, 2004; Henderson and Barr, 2010; Hyland, 2005; Hyland and Tse, 2005; Jaffe, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Matoesian, 2005; Myers, 2010; Precht, 2003; Richardson and Corner, 2011; Silver, 2003; just to mention a few) on the topic (Englebretson, 2007b: 1). But despite the notable growing interest in stance, the phenomenon remains a totally unexplored area in English-Arabic translation studies. As a result, the current study seeks to fill at least part of this gap through studying the translation of stance in a genre that is designed to carry a heavy load of interpersonal meaning. Such a characteristic makes it an ideal genre for investigating this phenomenon.

## 1.2 Aims and research questions

The present study aims to introduce the theoretical concept of stance into the discipline of Translation Studies and to explore the reproduction of stance in translations commissioned by newspapers. It aims to provide an account of how patterns of stance are conveyed in newspaper opinion articles on the ‘Arab Spring’ originally published in English in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and how these patterns are re-conveyed in full translations of the articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* (الغد) and *Al-Ittihad* (الاتحاد)<sup>11</sup> as well as to provide a description of the shift in stance identified in the Arabic translated texts, with a view to making a contribution to understanding this phenomenon. This ultimately may provide valuable insight for those translating or studying this specific political genre or this aspect of interpersonal meaning. Also, it is hoped that the study will contribute to raise awareness among translators and writers of newspaper opinion articles of the linguistic manifestations of stance and its interpersonal functions in both English and Arabic political discourse.

To achieve the aims of this study, the research questions then were formulated as follows:

- How is stance encoded in the language of newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring written in English for American quality newspapers?
- How can the meanings of stance patterns identified be construed across individual texts within this genre as resources for conveying interpersonal functions?

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<sup>11</sup> *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* are two quality Arabic-language newspapers in their respective countries from which the translated articles under analysis were extracted (see subsection 6.2.2 for information on choosing *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*).

- To what extent is stance accurately re-conveyed when translating such articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*?
- What shifts in stance can be identified in the translation of these opinion articles in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*?
- How can the findings of the study inform the notion of stance in translation studies?

The methodology chosen that drives this study is interdisciplinary in nature. It is informed, to varying degrees, by four approaches: (1) the lexico-grammatical framework of stance laid out by Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006); (2) appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005); (3) critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a); and (4) narrative theory (Baker, 2006). For identifying how stance is encoded in the language of the original opinion articles published in American newspapers (the first research question), a corpus-analytical method is chosen, which represents the methodological point of departure, so that markers and expressions of stance can be accurately identified in these naturally occurring original texts. This corpus analysis is carried out manually based on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance laid out by Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006). Once this is achieved, the findings from this analysis, i.e. patterns of stance identified, will serve as an input into the subsequent description of the meaning of each pattern of stance identified and its function in the source texts and in relation to the context where it occurs using a discourse analytical method that is drawn from the model of appraisal theory (the second research question). After identifying and describing the meaning of each pattern of stance and its function in the original texts, these can be examined in the corresponding target texts to find out how stance is reproduced when translated into the target language (the third research question); and then what shifts in stance are identified in the

translations (the fourth research question). Also, in order to add further insight into the description of the concept of stance, an attempt is made to contextualise the findings and arrive at an explanation of the translational behaviour. To achieve this end, the combined methodology is complemented by some aspects of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006) as complementary analytical tools, which allow the findings to more or less be placed within their broader social and political context.

## **1.3 Background to the study**

### **1.3.1 Why stance?**

Three reasons suggest themselves as answers to this question. First, the concept of stance cannot be seen simply as “a matter of private opinion or attitude”, but as a phenomenon of considerable importance (Du Bois, 2007: 171). It is, indeed, a pervasive phenomenon that can be found “in the choice of word and in the intonation that accompanies it in speech, in the syntax, in the arrangement of an argument, in the choice of genre, and form of language or dialect” (Munday, 2012: 11).<sup>12</sup> Stance is a significant component of both language use and all domains of sociocultural life. Part of human cognitive development through life involves making sense of the world and sharing that sense with others. A process that inevitably involves evaluating either positively or negatively people, entities, propositions or anything one may encounter (Bednarek, 2006). Then, this leads to providing others with personal stance that can be interpreted within the discourse community or, more specifically, within the context in which it occurs. Furthermore, stance has a central role in giving readers/listeners a derived sense of the subjective voice of writers/speakers in any piece of written or spoken language and in tracing that presence. It is one

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<sup>12</sup> Munday uses the term ‘evaluation’ much the same way the term ‘stance’ is used in the current study.

of the most prevalent aspects of language production as no text or talk is entirely free from subjective voice or even “there is no such thing as a completely neutral position vis-à-vis one’s linguistic production, because neutrality is itself a stance” (Jaffe, 2009b: 3). Moreover, stance can perform completely different functions. Usually, it reflects the value system of the stancetaker and/or the “presupposed system of sociocultural value” of the community he/she represents, but in some cases, stance can contribute to (re)shaping those value systems, or even it may eventually be developed into a sociocultural value (Du Bois, 2007: 139). On this ground, such a pervasive phenomenon deserves closer attention and systematic investigation in the field of Translation Studies. Stubbs (1986, cited in Englebretson 2007b: 17) argues for the importance of this aspect of interpersonal meaning in the following terms:

... whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it ... The expression of such speakers’ attitudes is pervasive in all uses of language. All sentences encode such a point of view, ... and the description of the markers of such points of view and their meanings should therefore be a central topic for linguistics.

Second, as pointed out in Section 1.1 and discussed in depth in chapter four, although a substantial amount of research work on the phenomenon of stance has been conducted in recent years primarily in the field of linguistics and in its neighbouring disciplines, this specific phenomenon remains a virtually unexplored area within the field of Translation Studies. Munday (2012: 12), for example, describes the neglect of the phenomenon in translation studies as a surprising matter.

The third point is that the initial work by Biber and other linguists (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006)<sup>13</sup> on the phenomenon of stance has laid sound foundations for this area of language use. Biber and his colleagues use automated quantitative corpus-based methodologies to examine the

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<sup>13</sup> See further discussion of this work in chapter four, section 4.5.

linguistic resources through which stance is expressed in large amounts of naturally occurring data across spoken and written registers with special focus on its grammatical marking. Their work is built on a heavy quantitative base that allows the identification of particular forms associated with the expression of stance and the description of a limited number of basic types of stance meaning that are straightforwardly derived only from the stance marker. But it is notable that their work does not thoroughly account for the wide range of stance meaning or its function within the textual level and the context in which stance is taken, as stance can be properly grasped only through looking at it within the whole text and in its specific context. Also, it is now an acknowledged fact among scholars and researchers working within this area of language use that approaching stance “entails more than simply locating those forms” that mark it (Hunston, 2007:28). So, it is argued here that stance markers merely represent useful indicators of the act of stancetaking and those markers do not carry the stance meaning, but they, to varying degrees, co-occur with it and recur in any text or talk (*ibid.*). For this reason, one of the purposes of the current study is to build on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; and Biber, 2006) in order to account for stance meaning and function within the whole text as well as its socio-political context and particularly with regard to the tradition of descriptive translation studies. Thus, the work of Biber and colleagues has given further impetus to conduct the current study.

### **1.3.2 Why newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring?**

The Arab Spring, as a major contemporary political event, has several characteristics that make the newspaper opinion articles written about it and their translations a particularly suitable corpus for studying the translation of stance in political discourse. Firstly, the Arab Spring, which has “gained more widely spread attention than basically any other societal developments

around the world of recent years” (Andersson and Djefalt, 2013:1), has been met both inside and outside the Arab world with a wide range of opinions and analyses, especially in the media, between those who advocate and support this political change, those who serve their own interests, those who oppose it, and those who prefer to wait and see the outcome of the Arab Spring. These opinions and analyses are varied significantly according, among other things, to the social actors who are engaged in such interactions, their source of information, their value system, their community’s value system, the entities or propositions addressed, the institutional and the wider socio-political contexts in which those opinions and analyses appear. Secondly, the Arab world has witnessed a slight but noticeable shift in its political discourse since the outbreak of the Arab Spring. This shift can be noted in the relatively large degree of freedom in political expression and the rise of interest and engagement by individuals and institutions in politics compared with that before the emergence of this event. So, it is suggested here that this shift may have an impact on how stance can be conveyed and, more importantly, how it can be reproduced in the translation for Arabic-language newspapers. Finally, the Arab Spring has contributed to much more freedom of the media and to be less tied to governmental agenda or to those in power. As a result, it has increasingly been able to promote more diverse opinions and analyses than Arab readers and listeners have ever experienced before.

#### **1.4 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Following chapter one, an introductory chapter which gives a general overview of the current study, the thesis is then structured as follows. Chapter two goes over key characteristics of political discourse, as this discourse represents the broad social domain that covers the genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles. It is argued that these articles, which almost always address given prominent political events,

constitute a political genre of their own. The chapter focuses on how political discourse has been dealt with in the discipline of Translation Studies and reviews most salient contributions to the translation of political discourse as well as other relevant work on the translation of the specific political genre under investigation. It also discusses the relationship between political discourse and the media and then provides a general background of the characteristics of newspaper opinion articles as a political genre in order to set the scene for the discussion in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter three offers a detailed description of the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in both English and Arabic, as this type of discourse represents the genre under which the corpus of texts selected for this study is subsumed. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first provides an account of the characteristic features that are associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English. This part begins with a general description of the basic features of the language used in Western newspapers. The language of newspapers is understood here as the distinctive lexical, structural, stylistic and functional features that distinguish it from other varieties of language. The first part then moves on to outline the notions of ‘objectivity’ and ‘subjectivity’, as two discrete conceptions of voices associated with newspapers. The first part focuses then on the notion of subjectivity, since it can serve as a useful starting point for providing a general background of the common types of opinion pieces normally published in English-language newspapers and then, more importantly, for discussing the specific key characteristics of English newspaper opinion articles. This is followed by a special emphasis placed on the text-type conventions informing these articles in English. In the second part of the chapter, an account of the characteristic features that are associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in Arabic,



as the target language, is provided. To begin with, this part goes over the nature of language used in Arabic-language newspapers. It then, more specifically, moves on to discuss the key characteristic features of authentic Arabic newspaper opinion articles and continues by focusing on the argumentative text-type conventions that inform the targeted articles in Arabic.

As a central concept under investigation, chapter four introduces the features of the concept of stance, explores the theorisation of this concept, and reviews the work that has been done on it in the field of Translation Studies as well as familiarizes the reader with some concepts and terminology pertinent to this central concept. The chapter begins with a brief description of the concept of stance before spelling out how this term is used in the current study. Then once this has been articulated clearly, it goes on to address a category within systemic functional linguistics, in which the concept of stance can be placed and by means of which it can be best understood. This leads to a consideration of the interpersonal nature of stance, since, as the discussion in the chapter will show, the concept of stance relates to Halliday's *interpersonal metafunction* of language that pertains to the relationship between the writer and the reader. The chapter then moves on to make a distinction between the concept of stance and a range of theoretical terms to which this central concept appears to be more or less similar, prominent among these are *evaluation*, and *appraisal*. This is followed by a consideration of how the concept of stance has been theorised within the domain of language use. The chapter then ends with a review of the literature on the concept of stance within the field of Translation Studies.

Chapter five provides the general theoretical background for the research methodology within which the study will be carried out. The main objective of this chapter is to offer a theoretical base prior to considerable follow-up methodological work in chapter six. Accordingly, chapter five very selectively highlights those theoretical trends in the discipline of Translation Studies

that are relevant to the scope of this study, namely corpus-based translation studies and discourse-oriented translation studies. It also focuses on two main approaches that most often serve as a fertile ground for researchers working on the analysis of political discourse and its translation, by means of which interpretations can be made that allow the findings to be more or less placed within their broader social and political context, i.e., critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006). These two approaches are referred to in the context of this study as complementary analytical tools. This is followed by a discussion from the perspective of Translation Studies of the utility of using a combined research methodology.

The methodological core of the study is presented in chapter six. The aim of this chapter is to outline the design of the corpus that is subject to the analysis in the subsequent chapter and the research methodology that will be used to answer the research questions that have been posed in chapter one. Chapter six begins with a description of the corpus designed for the purposes of the current study. This includes an overview of this corpus, the criteria on which the corpus was compiled, the limitations of the corpus, how the texts that make up this corpus were collected, the size of the corpus, and the arrangement of the source and target texts that make up the corpus and their sources in the form of tables. The discussion in the chapter then moves on to outline the combined methodology used for the analysis of the conveyance of stance in the corpus of the original newspaper opinion articles and their translations for two quality Arabic-language newspapers from which the translated articles were extracted, namely *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. The proposed methodology, which is a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods used here within the tradition of descriptive translation studies, is based mainly on the lexicogrammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; and Biber, 2006) and appraisal theory

(Martin and White, 2005). The chapter then proceeds to introduce the key components that constitute a pattern or an instance of stance. Identifying these components in each single instance of stance examined, as the discussion will show, is taken as the basic system of organising the analysis of stance in both the original and translated texts.

Chapter seven constitutes the analytical core of the thesis as it examines the conveyance of stance in the source texts and the re-conveyance of this stance in the target texts and then reports on the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations. The chapter is designed to address the first, the second, the third, and the fourth research questions. It begins with an analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance in the source texts in order to describe how stance is encoded in the language of these texts (the first question). The analysis then focuses on the construal of stance meaning conveyed and its function in the source texts as well as in relation to the context where it occurs and then on the examination of the re-conveyance of these in the corresponding target texts. This analysis is carried out in two stages, which leads to addressing the second and the third research questions, respectively. Once this has been achieved, the analytical discussion moves on to uncover the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations by means of comparing patterns of stance in the source texts and their translations in the target texts (the fourth question). The chapter concludes with interpretations of the findings and explanations of translational behaviour.

Finally, the concluding chapter revisits the research questions and provides a summary of the major research findings. It also outlines the implications and contributions of this thesis to the discipline of Translation Studies and highlights the limitations of the study. It ends with suggestions of avenues for further research.

## **Chapter Two: Political Discourse**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Politics is as inevitable an aspect of human society as weather is a part of our natural environment. Just as the sky rains upon us regardless of whether we understand why it rains, so, too, no matter how well or poorly we understand political events, however much or little we choose to participate in political activities, our lives are shaped by political circumstances, changed by political decisions, and limited by the political possibilities left to us and others.

Larry Johnston (2007: 17)

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the key characteristics of political discourse, as this discourse represents the broad social domain that covers the specific genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles. It seeks to pave the way for a more in-depth discussion of this genre in English and Arabic in the subsequent chapter. The current chapter consists of five sections. The first one goes over the central role of language in politics. The second section presents the general nature and the basic principles of political discourse. The third looks at how political discourse has been dealt with in the discipline of Translation Studies and reviews key research on political discourse in this discipline and then more specifically reviews other relevant work on the translation of the genre of newspaper opinion articles. The fourth section explores the essential nature of political discourse in the media and then, more importantly, provides a general background of the characteristics of newspaper opinion articles as a political genre. The final section offers a conclusion to this chapter.

## 2.2 Politics and language

In spite of its ubiquity in “every aspect of human thought and activities to a greater or a lesser degree” (Newmark, 1991: 146), politics has no specific definition that is settled and agreed upon by all political scientists. The term ‘politics’ has been conceptualised in somewhat different ways at different times. In her introduction to *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, Hawkesworth (2004) talks of the significant transformations that have taken place in defining this term since the time of Aristotle. She points out that the term ‘politics’ has shifted from a ‘classical conception’ suggested by Aristotle, to the ‘institutional definition’ that dominated the field of political science throughout the first half of the twentieth century and then to the ‘struggle-for-power definition’ that is now widely used. These three different conceptualisations of the term ‘politics’ are discussed below.

Aristotle viewed politics as a relation among equal citizens in an atmosphere of freedom. In this atmosphere, citizens participate in “collective decision making concerning the content and direction of public life” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 20). In doing so, they can ultimately determine both what is useful to the community as a whole and how to attain that usefulness. He also emphasised the importance of sharing a common system of values among those citizens and having a common sense of the just and the unjust. According to Aristotle’s classical conception, there is no relationship between the activities of ruling and those of politics (ibid.).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the ‘institutional definition’ of politics was largely adopted to refer to the “activities of the official institutions of state” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 22). These activities obtain power and governance from the constitution and tradition of a particular state. Politics here solely revolves around the state and the governmental system and would

necessarily require a perception of law. In contrast to the Aristotelian conception, this definition does not involve any reference to values or ethically based practice (ibid.).

Hawkesworth (2004) points out that the ‘institutional definition’ has been criticised on a number of grounds by many political scientists. First, questions have been raised about the existence of politics, as “activities of the official institutions of state” (ibid., p. 22), in societies where no state exists, in states which have no constitution and in the case of revolutionary movements. Second, this definition fails to account for political actors like, for example, “political bosses, political parties, and pressure groups operating behind the scenes to influence political outcomes” (ibid., p. 22). It needs to be noted here that the term *political actors* will be used in the current study to refer to any participant, individuals, groups or institutions, involved in “political environments to achieve political goals”, including writers of newspaper opinion articles (Wilson, 2001: 398). Third, the definition does not account for most forms of political violence. Fourth, it does not consider aspects of human freedom and justice in international relations (Hawkesworth, 2004: 22). Thus, the ‘institutional definition’ has been rejected as not being adequate and comprehensive enough to “encompass the full range of politics” (ibid.).

More recently, there has been a trend among political scientists towards viewing politics as a “struggle for power” (Hawkesworth, 2004: 23). Since this conception emerged, the notion of power has been used more widely within the realm of politics. It has now become more and more the locus of politics. Today, those in high positions, for instance, with the authority to govern are always described as they are ‘in power’. This view essentially entails an extension of politics beyond the boundaries of the state and governmental bodies to include every use of power by individuals or groups in order to attain desired outcomes. The struggle-for-power conception views politics as being more ubiquitous than do earlier conceptions of this term.

Most recent working definitions of politics sustain the view that politics can be understood in a more comprehensive way than has been previously employed, i.e., to encompass more broadly power relations beyond solely the level of government institutions. Bardes *et al.* (2010: 5), for example, define politics as “the struggle over power or influence within organizations or informal groups that can grant or withhold benefits or privileges”. Another broader definition is provided by Rosati and Scott (2011: 6), who state that politics is “competition between different individuals and groups for control of the government, and for support of the public and influence throughout society, in order to promote certain ends”. In an earlier work, Redekop (1983, cited in Johnston, 2007: 18) offers a more functional definition that emphasises the different purposes of doing politics, but certainly within the frame of the notion of power. Politics for him refers to

all activity whose main purpose is one or more of the following: to reshape or influence governmental structures or processes; to influence or replace governmental office holders; to influence the formation of public policies; to influence the implementation of public policies; to generate public awareness of, and response to, governmental institutions, processes, personnel and policies; or to gain a place of influence or power within government.

It is necessary here to point out that this third definition of politics will be adopted for the purposes of this study and also because it corresponds with most of the purposes for which political newspaper opinion articles are written.

In the course of their discussion of how politics has been considered in both conventional studies of politics and discourse studies of politics, Chilton and Schäffner (2002b: 5) observe that within different orientations to define politics there are two cross-cutting elements: (1) “micro-level behaviours”, and (2) “macro-level institutions”. The former pertains to any political act that involves an exercise of power by an actor over another for a purpose or involves co-operation between these actors. These behaviours include, *inter alia*, “conflicts of interest, struggles for

dominance and efforts at co-operation between individuals, between genders, and between social groups of various kinds” (ibid.). While, the latter pertains to actors, be they individuals or groups, who are involved in a political activity. These include, inter alia, “the political institutions of the state”, “parties”, “professional politicians”, and “other social formations - interest groups, social movements” (ibid.). They go on to state that the micro-level behaviours are types of “linguistic action – that is, discourse”, whereas the macro-level institutions are considered to be “types of discourse – for example, parliamentary debates, broadcast interviews – with specific characteristics” (p. 5).

After having introduced the term ‘politics’ and identified how it has been conceptualised as well as how it is understood in the context of the present study, the remainder of this section discusses the fundamental role of language in politics. It is generally agreed that conducting politics is impossible without the strategic use of language or as Chilton (2004: 14) puts it, “politics [*is*] very largely the use of language”. Language here is not deemed to be a mere means of communication like that in any other simple form of daily social interaction, but a powerful and sophisticated tool for organising, processing and conveying political views or messages. What distinguishes political communications from others is perhaps that messages are usually conveyed in formal settings (e.g., parliamentary debates, presidential speeches) by participants who are perceived to have high status or power (e.g., ministers, leaders of political parties). Also, the topics being addressed in these communications are of collective importance at the domestic level and sometimes at the international level as well.

It is only through language that different political actors, including writers of newspaper opinion articles, put across their political views or messages, persuade their audience of the validity of those views or messages, express their own ideologies, legitimise their aims or actions,



delegitimise their political opponents' aims and actions, mobilise public support or exert power and influence over other actors. An illustrative example of the role of language in mobilising public support for achieving a political goal is provided by Munday (2012). In this example, he highlights how language has been carefully chosen by UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's inner circle of advisers for mobilising significant public support for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and for persuading members of parliament, other decision-makers and opinion-formers of the necessity to that act. Blair's problem before the invasion was that the majority of British public opinion including the parliament opposed the military act. In an attempt to achieve his goal and turn both the parliamentary and public opinion, Blair took a decision at that time to publish a dossier<sup>14</sup> designed to convincingly show the urgency of the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction threat based on an intelligence assessment. For so doing, the evaluative language used to express degrees of certainty and truth in the dossier was manipulated to shift from opinions and less certain judgements in relation to the information provided by the intelligence agencies, towards this being presented as unqualified facts. A comparison between the first draft dossier written on 10 September 2002 and the final draft published on 24 September 2002 shows this manipulation of language. Munday (2012: 6) gives the following example (bold and italics are his):

Within the last month intelligence has **suggested** that the Iraqi military **would be** able to use their chemical and biological weapons within 45 minutes of an order to do so.

*(draft dossier 10.9.2002)*

Intelligence **indicates** that the Iraqi military **are** able to deploy ...

*(draft dossier 19.9.2002 and published dossier 24.9.2002)*

The published dossier was subsequently "the source of much controversy, as the government of the time was accused of 'sexing up' the report, rewriting the intelligence to exaggerate the threat

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<sup>14</sup> See more about this dossier, which was entitled "Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction", in Dubnick and O'Kelly (2005).

and thus to garner support for war” (ibid.). This example clearly shows language as a powerful tool that is subtly employed by political actors to serve their goals.

Political actors tend to employ, whether consciously or not, a wide range of linguistic strategies in their written or spoken language in order to achieve their political goals or their desired ends. These include, among others, intertextuality, repetition and parallelism, exaggeration, substitution, presupposition, implicature, metaphor, simile, euphemism, personification (see Bax, 2011; Chilton, 2004; Chilton and Ilyin, 1993; Chilton and Lakoff, 1995; Hodges, 2011; Holly, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Newmark, 1991; Van Dijk, 1989; Wilson, 1990; inter alia).

The way in which language is used in politics has been conspicuously neglected in conventional studies of politics “precisely because of its complexity” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002b: 4), despite the fact that the analysis of political language can open up new insights and advance understanding of politics. In this regard, Chilton and Schäffner (2002b) criticise the ignorance of the significant role of the analysis of political language in both political science and political philosophy. They assert that “[W]hat is distinctive about the linguistic and discourse-based approach to politics ... is that it adduces a specific kind of empirical evidence, a kind so obvious that it is ignored in political science and even in political philosophy” (p. 4). In line with this, Van Dijk (2001a: 360) points out that most of the work on the use of language and “the enactment, reproduction, and legitimization of power and domination” in written and verbal political communication has been so far “carried out by linguists and discourse analysts, because political science is among the few social disciplines in which discourse analysis has remained virtually unknown”. Thus, the study of the language used in political communications has been chiefly addressed in the realm of political discourse. Within this realm, the focus is on linguistic analysis side by side with political analysis of any given written or verbal political

communication. Key features of political discourse are the subject of the discussion in the next section.

### **2.3 Key features of political discourse**

From the outset, it is necessary to define the concept of ‘discourse’, as it is considered a somewhat vague and difficult term “largely because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints” (Fairclough, 1992:3). For the purposes of the present study, the term ‘discourse’ will be used to refer to a piece of written language “that has describable internal relationships of form and meaning ... that relate coherently to an external communicative function or purpose and a given audience” (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, 2001:4).

Given the explicit and implicit influence politics has on every social practice and the recent orientation towards defining politics in terms of the general notion of ‘power’, Wilson (2001) draws attention to the ambiguity of the term ‘political discourse’ and points out that it has been defined in two different ways. The first of these takes a broad view of political discourse to the extent that almost any discourse and even any discourse analysis, in one sense, may be seen as political, as long as there is implication of power or any of its related concepts. Wilson criticises this definition as being indecisive and warns against possible overgeneralisation of the concept of ‘political discourse’. To clarify this point, he cites a study by Diamond (1995). In that study, the researcher refers to the specific discourse of staff meetings at a psychotherapeutic training institution as ‘political’ just because forms of control and power are being employed in that discourse. The second way in which political discourse has been defined is narrower and is identified by certain formal constraints. These constraints include only dealing with the discourse

produced by politicians and with essential political events, excluding daily communication about politics by ordinary people.

In the current study, political discourse is viewed as a social domain that includes public arguments put forward by social/political actors within a specific context about political events. This discourse consists of a range of genres with different communicative functions, with different forms of representation and with specific socio-political and/or institutional contexts. Genres in political discourse include, inter alia, political speeches, parliamentary debates, official government reports, treaties, press conferences, interviews with politicians or statesmen, editorials and opinion articles in newspapers.

As mentioned above, a wide range of linguistic strategies and features are almost always employed in political discourse to serve a variety of political functions. These functions vary according to, among other things, the political activities in which political actors are engaged, interests and power relations with other participants, institutional and wider contexts. In this direction, Chilton (2004; see also Chilton and Schäffner, 1997) puts forward three general *strategic functions* prevalent in political discourse: *coercion*, *legitimisation* and *delegitimisation*, and *representation* and *misrepresentation*. It might be argued at this point that these general strategic functions may indirectly correlate with stance functions in the political genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles.

The coercive function pertains to the political actor's power and resources which he/she uses to control, among other things, the topics to be discussed in communication, the flow of discussion, the relationships between participants and even the course of reality obtained. People usually find it "difficult to evade or may not even notice" such coercive acts (Chilton, 2004: 45). Also,

coercive power can be recognised in the control of “others’ use of language – that is, through various kinds and degrees of censorship and access control” (ibid.), especially in the case of the media through which most political messages and communications are disseminated.

In dictatorial and totalitarian regimes or systems, it is possible to act politically using “physical force alone” (ibid., p. 46), but not in the case of democratic societies. Political actors, in these societies, often focus more heavily on constructing explicit and implicit linguistic communications in order to establish “the right to be obeyed, that is, ‘legitimacy’” (ibid.). They know very well that “[T]hose who control discourse control society” (De Landtsheer, 1998: 4). A range of techniques can be subsumed under the strategic function of legitimisation, including arguments for, *inter alia*, preserving national interests and security, maintaining discourse community values, gaining or maintaining a positive public image. On the other side of this strategic function is delegitimisation. In the realm of politics, political actors most often make every effort to distort their opponents’ image and negatively present them. For doing so, they employ techniques of using “ideas of difference and boundaries, and speech acts of blaming, accusing, insulting, etc.” (Chilton, 2004: 46).

The third strategic function pertains to the quantitative and qualitative control of information. In its broadest sense, representation is associated with “the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think” (Wilson, 2001: 401). In politics, the representation of reality is the primary function that political discourse is expected to perform. Sometimes, political information is quantitatively misrepresented. In this case, it fails to meet the needs and expectations of readers or listeners. While the qualitative misrepresentation of political information is “simply lying, in its most extreme manifestation, but includes various kinds of omissions, verbal evasion and denial” (Chilton, 2004: 46).

Manipulation and its goal are crucial concepts for an understanding of the representation of political discourse. Political actors, be they individuals or groups, frequently have the intention of manipulating reality through making very careful choices in their use of language in order to achieve political goals and for obtaining political effect. Their focus here is on painting a positive picture of the issues being addressed in the minds of their interlocutors and “hide the negative within particular formulations” (Wilson, 2001: 400).

Political discourse, which has been described as “a complex form of human activity” (Chilton and Schäffner, 1997: 207), represents an area of difficulty for discourse analysts and translation researchers alike. This difficulty can be attributed not only to the uncertain boundaries of political discourse or to the sensitive nature of spoken and written political material particularly in formal contexts, but also largely to the underlying relationship in this type of discourse between text, ‘discursive practices’<sup>15</sup> and context (see Fairclough 1992; 1995a: chapter five). By nature, political discourse and its socio-political context are mutually shaped by one another. Each of both the former and the latter constructs and is constructed by the other. Studying political discourse is, therefore, most fruitful when using an interdisciplinary framework that incorporates methods of linguistic analysis, political analysis and social analysis (Fairclough, 2000; 2009). In this regard, Wilson (2001) argues for a balance between linguistic analysis and socio-political analysis in discourse studies of politics. For him, the main point here is not to “lose linguistic rigor for the sake of sociopolitical claims, but equally not to simply continue producing language-based analyses which do not fully consider why, in social and political terms, specific linguistic choices have been made” (Wilson, 2001: 411).

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<sup>15</sup> Discursive practices is a term used in Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis to refer to three processes that should be taken into account in critical analysis of a political text, i.e. text production, distribution and consumption.

Wilson's point, just mentioned, will be given the utmost attention in the analysis of stance in the political genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles. The analysis here will cover both linguistic analysis and socio-political analysis. In the case of the former, a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods has been adopted to analyse both the linguistic manifestation and functions of stance. While in the latter, two complementary analytical tools of critical discourse analysis and narrative theory have been employed to interpret how, from a socio-political perspective, linguistic choices used to convey stance have been made and to arrive at an explanation of the translational behaviour. As stance in this study will be analysed in both original and translated political discourse, the next section considers how political discourse has been dealt with in the discipline of Translation Studies and reviews key research on political discourse in this discipline.

## **2.4 Political discourse in Translation Studies**

For political communication at the international level or even in multilingual countries/communities, translation is indispensable. Normally, the importance of political information extends the boundaries of one language and such information is increasingly crucial for readers and listeners with different language and culture. In this sense, the act of translation becomes inevitable. Schäffner (2007: 135) argues in this regard that:

In an increasingly globalised world, processes of text production and reception are no longer confined to one language and one culture. This applies to practically all spheres of human interaction, particularly to politics. The universality of political discourse has consequences for intercultural communication, and thus for translation. Political communication relies on translation, it is through translation (and also through interpreting) that information is made available to addressees beyond national borders.

Translation here is seen as a systematic linguistic and social activity in which meaning in a political text or talk is transferred from a given source language to another target language in

accordance with the specific linguistic and cultural requirements of the target language and within the respective context(s) of that text or talk.

The significant role of translation in the realm of politics generally goes unnoticed. Those who read or listen to political discourse beyond their national borders are most often not aware of the fact that the material they have is a translation product, it is produced based on a translated text or talk, or part of it is obtained through translation. The role of translation in the production of political discourse is hardly visible. In most political materials, for example, produced by media institutions especially in the case of international news reporting, it is common not to find any explicit information that translation has been involved in the production of these materials (Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010b). Within the political arena, it is only the information that represents the core focus rather than anything else related to the translation of this information like fidelity to the source, degree of accuracy, power relations between participants involved in its production, etc.

The field of political discourse has only recently come to the fore in the discipline of Translation Studies. A growing body of research has approached the translation of political discourse from a number of different perspectives and with different levels of emphasis and analysis. Salient contributions to this area have focused on, among other things, particular linguistic issues and problems related to translated political discourse (e.g., Newmark, 1991), underlying ideologies and power relations involved in the production of translated political discourse (e.g., Schäffner, 2003), the incorporation of narrative theory into translation studies of political conflict (e.g., Baker 2006; 2007; 2010)<sup>16</sup>, and political discourse analysis from the perspective of translation studies (e.g., Schäffner, 2004). Most salient contributions to the translation of political discourse

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<sup>16</sup> See a detailed discussion of Baker's narrative theory in section 5.3.2.



and other relevant work on the translation of the political genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles, are reviewed in the remainder of this section.

In an edited volume on major areas of interest in translation studies and areas of interaction between translation and other (sub)disciplines, Schäffner (2007) addresses the area of ‘politics and translation’ from three perspectives ‘the politics of translation’, ‘the translation of political texts’ and ‘the politicisation of translation (studies)’. As to the first perspective, she points out that, as the act of translation is carried out in socio-political conditions and contexts, “any decision to encourage, allow, promote, hinder or prevent to translate is a political decision” (ibid., p. 136). For her, even the choice of source language/text and/or target language/text is sometimes determined on a political ground including power relations and hidden ideological agendas.

The second perspective pertains to most of the research that has been undertaken on the translation of political discourse. Schäffner here focuses on the term ‘political text’. She describes it as “an umbrella term” that subsumes several types of texts with different functions (ibid., p. 143). The topics of these texts are “primarily related to politics, i.e. political activities, political ideas, political relations” (ibid.). Moreover, she reviews under this perspective a variety of recent translation studies that have examined “specific features of political language, at individual political texts and/or genres, and at the socio-political causes and effects of particular translation solutions” (ibid., p. 142).

Under the perspective of ‘the politicisation of translation’, Schäffner discusses how translated political documents produced in a number of languages by international or multinational institutions (e.g., the United Nations) “may give rise to different political interpretations or

activities” (ibid., P. 145). To clarify this point, she provides an example of the UN Security Council Resolution 242, which was adopted in 1967. The English version of this resolution calls for the “withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict”, while the French version says Israeli withdrawal “from the territories” occupied in that conflict. The (non-)existence of the definite article in these two versions “allows for two different readings, i.e. withdrawal from some of the territories or withdrawal from all the territories” (ibid.). As a consequence, the different versions of the resolution stimulate a wide political debate.

Schäffner also raises the point that, within the discipline of Translation Studies, there are no “major monographs” on the translation of political discourse and even “the keywords ‘politics’ and ‘political texts’ do not show up in reference works (e.g., Baker, 1998; Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1997; Snell-Hornby *et al.*, 1998)” (Schäffner, 2007: 135). More recently, the most widely used reference work in the discipline, i.e., Baker and Saldanha (2008), does not contain a chapter or a section on ‘political discourse’, ‘political genres’ or ‘political texts’ and these keywords do not even appear in its index. On these grounds, it might be argued here that the discipline of Translation Studies has not paid sufficient attention to the realm of political discourse. In this sense, the current study can, then, be seen as a step forward in that direction.

Another salient contribution to the translation of political discourse came from Newmark (1991), who took a largely prescriptive view. Newmark dedicated a whole chapter to ‘the translation of political language’ in which he focused on lexical aspects of political discourse. For him, “[T]he core of political language lies in abstract conceptual terms” (p.147). Newmark specifically discussed issues and problems related to political jargon, euphemisms, metaphors, neologisms, acronyms and euphony, pronouns and collocations. Furthermore, he provided some suggestions for dealing with such issues and their related problems and emphasised four main facts regarding

political concepts that “they are partly culture-bound, mainly value-laden, historically conditioned and like all concepts, abstractions in spite of continuous efforts to concretise them” (ibid., p. 149). Most of his discussion throughout the chapter was built upon a decontextualised ground where meanings, for him, can mainly be derived from words. One of the most crucial points he addressed is that within political discourse “the translators’ neutrality is a myth” (ibid., p. 161). This point might give a rough indication that the impossible neutrality of translators involved in translating political discourse, as suggested by Newmark, is likely to impinge upon the translation of stance in the political genre under investigation.

In her work on the translation of political discourse produced in a supranational community of multiculturalism, namely the European community, Trosborg (1997) distinguishes between ‘inner-state’ and ‘inter-state’ political discourse (also see Schäffner, 1997). The inner-state discourse pertains to political texts that are heavily culture-bound and are produced within a given society and its specific cultural conditions (e.g., speeches of politicians addressing an audience within national borders), while the inter-state discourse pertains to political texts that are “interactively negotiated in a supranational setting, for the overall purpose of achieving and reflecting consensus” (e.g., documents produced by the European Union institutions) (p. 145). Within political discourse which she views as “an umbrella term covering a variety of text types, or genres” (ibid.), Trosborg introduces the term ‘hybrid political text’ to denote any political text that is derived “from a translation process and shows features that somehow seem ‘out of place’/‘strange’/‘unusual’ for the receiving culture” (ibid., p. 146). For her, hybrid texts emerged as a result of the incorporation of different conventions or norms of the specific cultures involved in the intercultural communication (i.e., translation). Her discussion of the ‘strange’ or ‘unusual’

features of hybrid political texts gives the indication that these features appear to be common and integral components of the translations produced by the institutions of the European Union.

Schäffner (1997), in a function-oriented study, addresses strategies of translating a variety of text types within political discourse with the aim of developing “an awareness for some phenomena typical for political texts” (p. 121). For her, a text can best be characterised as political based on functional and thematic grounds. Schäffner points out that each text type in political discourse has more or less its own text-typological conventions or features which in turn carry specific problems for translators engaged in this discourse. To overcome such problems, she suggests some translation strategies to be employed. According to her, these strategies can largely be determined by the “functions of the ST and the TT in their respective cultures” (p. 120). It is notable that in her study there is no attention at all to newspaper opinion articles as a political genre or even as a political text.

Another important piece of work is Schäffner (2004) which constitutes a call for closer ‘interdisciplinary cooperation’ between Translation Studies and political discourse analysis. Schäffner argues that the two fields have much to offer each other as both of them share certain concepts and aspects of analytical tools that can be fruitfully applied to both. She points out, in this regard, that analysing political discourse from a translational point of view can lead to new insights and understanding of politics or political behaviour and therefore suggests the importance of taking “full account of the phenomenon of translation in analysing political texts” (p. 120). In her work, Schäffner provides general discussion of the mutual benefit and relation between the two fields through presenting a number of examples of naturally occurring translations of different political texts without focusing on a particular text type or political genre and commenting on these examples from the perspective of translation studies.

Having reviewed salient contributions to the translation of political discourse, the review at this point will move on to other work on the translation of the specific political genre under investigation, i.e., newspaper opinion articles. The translation and analysis of this genre has not attracted much attention from Translation Studies researchers. A few studies have examined this topic with different level of analysis and focus. In a comparative study, Puurtinen (2007), for example, addresses the use of evaluative premodified noun phrases, where “the writer’s subjective opinion of a person, group, or action is expressed by a premodifier” (p. 213), in original English and Finnish newspaper and magazine texts, namely articles, columns and editorials. The topic of these texts was mainly a politician, a political institution or a political event. At the beginning, she compares the frequencies, functions and effects of the noun phrases in the original English and Finnish texts and then discusses the relevance of potential differences in the frequencies, functions and effects of such phrases to translation. She observes that evaluative noun phrases in Finnish may be only found in argumentative text, while in English they are likely to be used in every text type “even in “neutral” articles” (p. 216). This might be taken to indicate some differences between the two languages in conventions governing text types. Puurtinen suggests that the differences here “might give rise to modification of NPs in translation” (p. 213). She concludes that the frequency of using ‘strong’ evaluative noun phrases in English newspaper and magazine texts is higher than that in Finnish. Also, she points out that, when using premodified evaluative noun phrases in these texts, both English and Finnish writers are more likely to express negative than positive subjective evaluations. It is noted in her study that no explicit justification has been given for specifically choosing premodified evaluative noun phrases despite the fact that many linguistic features can be used to express subjective evaluation.

After reviewing salient contributions to the analysis and translation of political discourse as well as other relevant work on the translation of the political genre under investigation, it can be noted that there are still many untouched areas that need to be explored in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of this type of discourse from the perspective of Translation Studies. Schäffner (2012: 105) asserts, in this regard, that “[M]uch remains to be investigated in order to get a deeper insight into political discourse in translation”. The conveyance of stance in political discourse is among those areas that are still untouched and in response to this the present study aims to systematically investigate this area with reference to American newspaper opinion articles on a major contemporary political event, i.e., the ‘Arab Spring’, and their translations for Arabic-language newspapers as its corpus. It is a bit surprising that the concept of stance in political discourse and more specifically in the genre of newspaper opinion articles has not previously been approached within the discipline of Translation Studies despite the fact that this aspect of interpersonal meaning is prevalent in such a particular political genre as well as stance has increasingly been a topic of interest primarily in the field of linguistics and in its neighbouring disciplines, especially over the last couple of decades (for details, see chapter four).

In an attempt to delineate the boundaries of language used in politics, Burkhardt (1996, cited in Wodak and de Cillia 2009: 724) differentiates between public talking about politics, private communication on political events or issues, and the political discourse produced by the media. What is relevant for the present study is the political discourse produced by one significant kind of media institutions, i.e., newspapers. This will be discussed in the following section.

## **2.5 Political discourse and the media**

As set out earlier in this chapter, political discourse is a social domain that includes public arguments put forward by social/political actors within a specific context about political events. In the modern era, the media plays a crucial role in the construction and dissemination of political discourse and this role is clear in “the increasingly mediatized character of politics” (Fairclough, 2009: 297). There is actually a general perception among political actors, be they individuals, groups or institutions, that their discourse has to go through mass media channels in order to reach a large number of people and to achieve its communicative purposes. This may explain why “[A] certain amount of political discourse is designed from the outset to be reported and represented in the media” (Busch, 2009: 580). The media provides an effective means both for political actors to disseminate their political discourse and for the public to encounter or have probably sole access to this discourse. In other words, the media does indeed mediate between those political actors who seek to publicise and promote their political views and the public who needs to know what is going on around and to have access to analyses and opinions that may contribute to a better understanding of the political information.

Political discourse is not a static phenomenon, but open to different variable forces which contribute to constituting and shaping it; important among these forces is the media domain. In this regard, Bourdieu (1982, cited in Busch, 2009:580) argues that political discourse “is doubly determined”, internally in accordance with the traditional field of politics and externally through the role of the public as well as that of other related fields; the media is one among them. One of the key factors involved in the process of producing political discourse is the role of the media. An example of this role is the impact of different forms of subtle editing that political discourse is subject to, when it goes through mass media channels. Accordingly, political actors more or

less “adapt their agenda and style to the requirements of media presence (e.g., short statements, studied gestures, hair style) and of media formats (live debates, talk shows)” (Busch, 2009: 580).

Political discourse produced by the media (or mediated political discourse) and its translation inevitably undergo a complex process of recontextualisation. By recontextualisation, here is meant the representation of a political event or a given argument about that event in a new context. In this respect, Fairclough (2003: 139) points out that in representing any social event (including political) the information about that event gets recontextualised. He emphasises that elements of a social event are “selectively ‘filtered’” and choices are made to include or exclude certain elements and to give some of them a greater or lesser degree of prominence. Following Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), Blackledge (2005) differentiates between four transformation types of recontextualisation of political discourse: addition, deletion, rearrangement and substitution. He argues that, in the process of recontextualisation,

representations of events are not merely repeated. Rather, they are transformed in their new setting, perhaps through the addition of new elements, or through the deletion of others. The arrangement of events may change in the new context, or some elements may be substituted for others. (ibid., p. 121)

The recontextualisation of political discourse produced by the media represents a process of choices in meaning potential using the above mentioned transformation types that reflects, to varying degrees, the opinions, values and ideologies of political actors, as well as the power relations between those actors.

Recontextualisation is an important process in the production of newspaper opinion articles. Typically, texts belonging to this genre provide little factual or objective information about the political topic being addressed, and most of the arguments provide readers with personal opinions and analyses. The authors of these articles generally recontextualise a given topic in the



domain of politics that has already been reported in the media. As political actors, they subtly employ processes of recontextualisation to support their arguments. They may therefore focus on particular aspects of arguments at the expense of others, add new aspects to given arguments, ignore others altogether or rearrange their arguments to best serve their purposes.

In the present study, opinion articles on political events or issues that are produced by quality newspapers are deemed to represent a political genre of its own which has its linguistic form or structure, specific communicative functions, style and social or institutional context(s). The genre of newspaper opinion articles will be elaborated on in the following section and in greater detail in the subsequent chapter, which is devoted to this genre in English and Arabic.

### **2.5.1 Newspaper opinion articles as a political genre**

Discourse generally consists of a range of “relatively stable patterns” of language use with different communicative functions, with different forms of representation and with specific socio-political and/or institutional contexts (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002b: 18). These relatively stable patterns are commonly referred to in discourse studies as ‘genres’. In the present study, the notion of ‘genre’ is defined, following Fairclough (2009: 293), as:

... a more or less stabilized and habitual linguistic way of acting and interacting, characterized by a distinctive linguistic form or structure, associated with specific communicative purposes, and with particular social or institutional contexts.

Chilton and Schäffner (2002b: 18) argue that discourse in general is “neither absolutely homogeneous nor absolutely heterogeneous”, and that discourse exhibits significant variability. This variability does not necessarily mean that there is no “perceptible pattern” of discourse that can be arrived at (ibid.). A distinct pattern, for them, can be found in the notion of ‘genre’, which

is “necessary to handle” that variability and to largely serve as a helpful representative pattern of discourse (ibid.).

In accordance with the above view of genre, political discourse will be dealt with in the current study as a broad domain that covers a range of genres with *relatively stable linguistic patterns*. These genres are typically used to achieve one or more specific communicative purposes in a specific context. Genres in political discourse include, inter alia, political speeches, parliamentary debates, official government reports, treaties, press conferences, interviews with politicians or statesmen, editorials and opinion articles in newspapers. Each of these has its own representation and its specific generic features which can be more or less recognised or predicted by members of a discourse community<sup>17</sup>.

Materials produced by newspapers normally cover a variety of topics. Most of the texts published in papers are political. Among these texts are newspaper opinion articles, which openly provide analyses and offer opinions with an explicit or implicit authorial stance on political events. This type of discourse, which can be distinguished from others (i.e., genres) by its common internal structure (also known as generic structure), content, style, communicative purpose, intended audience and its particular context, is treated in the present study as an autonomous political genre. It is argued here that newspaper opinion articles constitute a political genre of their own addressing political events that have already been reported in news media in the form of news reports. When such events are analysed and evaluated in opinion articles, their form and content are recontextualised according to the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles.

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<sup>17</sup> The term ‘discourse community’ is defined here as “a diffuse group of individuals with different levels of expertise and changing social relations, whose communicative needs more or less coincide at different points of time” (Corbett, 2009: 291).

As the corpus of the present study consists of original American newspaper opinion articles on a particular political event and their translations for Arabic-language newspapers, it is worth digging deeper and identifying common characteristic features that are conventionally associated with this genre in both English and Arabic before engaging in any systematic analysis of the conveyance of stance in the original and translated opinion texts. These features in both English and Arabic will therefore be thoroughly discussed in the subsequent chapter. By taking into account the generic features of newspaper opinion articles in both English and Arabic, this study will explore the conveyance of stance both in the source language and the target language, and will focus on how the translation of this aspect of interpersonal meaning has been shifted and try to provide explanations of this shift within its specific socio-political context.

## **2.6 Concluding remarks**

This chapter has been devoted to discussing political discourse as the broad social domain that covers the specific genre under investigation. It has provided the reader with the necessary background information on key concepts such as ‘politics’, ‘discourse’, ‘political discourse’ and ‘genre’ and identified how they are understood in the context of the present study. The discussion has illustrated the central importance of language in the realm of politics and then focused on the general nature and the basic principles of political discourse. Following this discussion, the chapter has provided a review of both most salient contributions to the translation of political discourse and other relevant work on the translation of the political genre of newspaper opinion articles. It has been noted that there are still many untouched areas that need to be explored in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of this field. The conveyance of stance in political discourse is among those areas that are still untouched within the discipline of Translation Studies. The discussion has then moved on to explore the nature of

political discourse produced by the media and more importantly provide a general background on the common characteristic features of newspaper opinion articles as a political genre.

In this chapter, it has been argued that newspaper opinion articles, which have their linguistic form or structure, specific communicative functions, style and social or institutional context(s), constitute a distinct political genre of their own. So, it is worth identifying common characteristic features that are conventionally associated with this genre in both English and Arabic before engaging in any systematic analysis of the conveyance of stance in the original and translated opinion texts. This chapter has indeed set the stage for the discussion in the next chapter which places special emphasis on the generic features of newspaper opinion articles in the source language and the target language.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **Newspaper Opinion Articles in English and Arabic**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The aim of the present chapter is to offer a detailed description of the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in both English and Arabic, as this type of discourse represents the genre under which the corpus of texts selected for this study is subsumed. Identifying those features of authentic opinion articles published in quality newspapers in both languages allows us to gain a better insight into source texts and recognise whether translated texts, as opinion articles in their own right, elegantly maintain the generic features of authentic opinion articles within the target language, i.e., Arabic, and conform to the expectations of the target language readers. Since discourse in general “subsumes (and is expressed through) genre, which in turn subsumes texts” (Hatim, 2009b: 52) and the genre of newspaper opinion articles in particular employs structures and strategies of argumentative text-type to achieve its specific communicative purposes (see Alonso Belmonte, 2009; Smirnova, 2009; and Wilson *et al.*, 2012), the specific text-type conventions that inform signed newspaper opinion texts in the two languages will also be prominently highlighted in the current chapter. By ‘quality newspapers’ here is meant those papers that are “fairly serious in tone and content, and are concerned with news and features about politics, economic and financial problems, sport, literature and the arts, and give in-depth analytical coverage in longer articles and news stories” (Browne, 2011: 310). An important terminological specification here refers to the term ‘newspapers’, which in the present study denotes only these ‘quality newspapers’.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first provides an account of the characteristic features that are associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English. Examining this specific genre initially requires background knowledge of the language of newspapers. This part therefore begins with a general description of the basic features of the language used in Western newspapers. The language of newspapers is understood here as the distinctive lexical, structural, stylistic and functional features that distinguish it from other varieties of language. The first part then moves on to outline the notions of ‘objectivity’ and ‘subjectivity’, as two discrete conceptions of voices associated with newspapers. It is subjectivity which is of concern here, since it can serve as a useful starting point for subsequently providing a general background of the common types of opinion pieces normally published in English-language newspapers and then, more importantly, for discussing the specific key characteristics of English newspaper opinion articles. This is followed by a special emphasis placed on the text-type conventions informing these articles in English. In the second part of the chapter, an account of the characteristic features that are associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in Arabic, as the target language, is provided. To begin with, this part goes over the nature of language used in Arabic-language newspapers. It then, more specifically, moves on to discuss the key characteristic features of authentic Arabic newspaper opinion articles and continues by focusing on the argumentative text-type conventions that inform the targeted articles in Arabic.

### **3.2 The language of newspapers**

Language<sup>18</sup> is the locus of newspapers’ production and representation of the information that is of interest to the consumers. The language of newspapers is the output of a process of

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<sup>18</sup> An emphasis is placed in this study on written language, rather than on spoken, as the corpus chosen for this study is in the written form.

communication that involves, to varying degrees, social and political influences that affect or perhaps shape how this variety of language is produced and interpreted. At the same time, the language of newspapers plays a significant role in shaping and structuring social and political communications as well as public opinion (Conboy, 2010). Thus, the language of newspapers is a reflection of the language used in the wider society as well as a reflection of societal practices and values and thus can contribute to the understanding of such society and its culture.

Bell (1991: 7) views the mass media, including newspapers, as “main language-forming institutions in society” that provide an important means of constructing reality. The influence of the language of newspapers on everyday communications usually goes unnoticed. People often do not realise that the content of newspapers they are considering is channelled through different aspects of subtle employment of language depending mainly on the interests of the newspaper and its perception of readers’ needs and interests. Such employment of the language that carries the content of newspapers has increasingly become a focus of research interest.

The language of the media in general and that of newspapers in particular have received much attention from linguists and others working in related disciplines (e.g., Bell 1991, 1995; Bell and Garrett 1998; Conboy 2010; Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Iedema *et al.* 1994; Reah 1998; Van Dijk 1988, 1998; just to mention a few). Bell (1995: 23) posits four reasons for this attention: (1) the media provides a readily available and easily accessible rich source of several types of language data; (2) the product of the media makes up a large amount of the language that individuals encounter in their daily lives. This product “reflects and shapes both language use and attitudes in a speech community”; (3) the ways how language is subtly used by the media are “interesting linguistically in their own right”; and (4) the media is a mirror of “culture, politics, and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed”.

In considering the language of newspapers, it is necessary to differentiate between reporting the events of the day (i.e., news reports) and providing analyses and opinions on these events (i.e., opinion pieces)<sup>19</sup>. The basic purpose of the former is the representation of presumably factual and impersonal information that is new for the reader and essential to make up his/her mind. The reporter or journalist, who is here supposed to be objective, normally does not offer his/her personal interpretation and opinion about the topic being reported, but if any of these are provided, then they are attributed to external voices. In the case of the latter, analyses and opinions about prominent recent events are so common with prominent presence of authorial subjective voice. News reports are generally characterised by a high degree of ‘objectivity’, while opinion pieces exhibit greater degree of ‘subjectivity’ (see Iedema *et al.*, 1994). The next section examines in detail the notions of objectivity and subjectivity, as two discrete conceptions of voices associated with the language of newspapers. It is subjectivity that will be given more consideration, since it serves as a useful starting point for subsequent discussion of the common types of opinion pieces normally published in English-language newspapers and then, more specifically, of the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English.

### **3.2.1 Objectivity and subjectivity**

In its broadest sense, the language of newspapers can be conceptualised, following Iedema *et al.*, (1994), in terms of two major voices: objective and subjective voices. The former pertains to those texts published in newspapers which presumably carry factual and impartial information (e.g., news report), while the latter pertains to those which carry opinionated information that is

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<sup>19</sup> Opinion pieces here refer to opinion material of various types published in quality newspapers. These include letters to the editor, editorials (or leading articles) and opinion articles with the writer’s name given (or signed opinion articles).



intimately tied to the writer's views, values, beliefs, feelings, etc. (e.g., opinion articles). Writers in the latter case exert much more control over the text than those in the former.

Iedema *et al.*, (1994) address the notions of objectivity and subjectivity in relation to journalistic discourse and highlight certain language features that are associated with each notion in journalistic texts. For them, an 'objective text' is "constructed in such a way that there is no explicit linguistic evidence of the author's value judgements", whereas in the case of 'subjective text', "at least some of the author's value judgements are explicitly revealed in the language" of that text (p. 4). Iedema and his colleagues argue that journalistic texts can be categorised with respect to the degree of how the use of language reveals the authorial voice throughout the text. To do this, they posit a 'system of authorial voice' that consider the language resources which reflect the varying degrees of objectivity and subjectivity in journalistic texts. This system identifies two categories of voices: 'reporter voice' and 'writer voice', the latter is further subdivided into two subcategories, which they term 'correspondent voice' and 'commentator voice'.

Reporter and writer voices can be situated on a continuum of authorial presence ranging between being strictly objective and being extremely subjective. Iedema *et al.* (1994: 5) describe the reporter voice as "not reporting on what 'I' think or feel, but on what has been seen and what can be supported by means of what others have to say", while the writer voice is seen as openly "including personal thoughts, judgements and feelings" of the author in the journalistic text. In the case of the correspondent voice subcategory, authors can pass judgement that is limited to explicit values of 'social esteem', whereas authors of the commentator voice texts have "access to the full array of judgement values" (*ibid.*, p. 16). In this sense, the commentator voice, within

journalistic texts, is “typically only found in the context of commentary, opinion and editorials” (Martin and White, 2005: 170).

The claim of purely factual or objective texts in journalistic discourse has been questioned by many linguists (e.g., Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Martin and White, 2005). They argue that all texts, including news reports, are assumed to be in some way subjective. Iedema *et al.*, (1994: 3) point out, in this regard, that “[E]ven the most ostensibly ‘factual’ report will be the product of numerous value judgements”. This point coincides with what has been discussed in chapter one about the nonexistence of text or talk that is entirely free from subjective voice.

Given the difference between the notions of objectivity and subjectivity, a logical distinction can be drawn between news reports and newspaper opinion pieces as typical examples. While news reports are presumably free from explicit authorial voice, opinion pieces offer a full array of that voice or perhaps provide the most obvious authorial voice within newspapers’ content. Also, the information presented in the case of news reports is entirely new for readers, whereas authors of opinion pieces presume that their readers have at least background information about the topic being addressed. Moreover, news reports have their own communicative purpose, internal structure, style and rhetorical features which largely differ from those of newspaper opinion pieces. In this context, the aim of the next section is to provide a general background of the common types of opinion pieces normally published in English-language newspapers and to distinguish the specific signed opinion articles under consideration from other types of opinion pieces.

### 3.2.2 English-language newspaper opinion pieces

Newspaper opinion pieces are argumentative texts<sup>20</sup> written to provide readers with analyses and opinions about prominent recent events of general interest. Such analyses and opinions are justified or even legitimized by means of a set of effective arguments that carry a persuasive function (Van Dijk, 1992). English-language newspaper opinion pieces include letters to the editor, editorials (also referred to as ‘leading articles’ or ‘leaders’ in British newspapers) and signed opinion articles (also known as ‘opinion columns’ and ‘Op-Ed articles’). For Van Dijk (2012: 26), “letters to the editor, editorials, and opinion articles” are typical examples of argumentative discourse in newspapers. Each type of these opinion pieces has slightly different conventions of language use and representation of analyses and opinions.

The newspaper opinion piece ‘letters to the editor’ provides space for readers not only to make their voices heard, but also to publicly express their own personal feelings, judgements and opinions on a given subject, usually from a different perspective of what has been previously published. These letters are often produced in response to material previously published in a particular paper. They are normally written by the newspaper’s readers, “drawing on their cultural and linguistic resources and reflecting their ideas, stories, jokes and arguments” (Richardson, 2008: 65). A letter to the editor is shorter than an editorial, usually with two or three paragraphs.

An editorial is a newspaper argumentative text that has a stable physical position in the paper, where it can always be found, and usually has “a typical header” that marks the newspaper’s editorial column (Van Dijk, 1992: 244), e.g., the header in the *Washington Post* is “The Post’s

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<sup>20</sup> See definition of argumentative texts in section 3.2.2.1.1

View". This genre, as described by Van Dijk (1992; 1998), is mainly written to express the official opinion of a newspaper on prominent recent events of general interest. More specifically, it reflects the opinions of newspaper's editorial board and/or those of the publishers of the paper on such events. These opinions are "usually supported by a series of arguments, which overall are intended to contribute to the persuasive social function of the editorials" (Van Dijk, 1992: 243). Van Dijk (1992) went on to assert that editorials tend to serve four major functions. First, editorials serve an interactional function by establishing interactional relations between writers and readers that involves a persuasive vigour. Second, they serve a cognitive function by influencing readers' cognitions. Third, they have a socio-cultural function by addressing members of a community including influential social actors, evaluating their actions and by suggesting alternative courses of actions. And fourth, editorials serve a political function when they are used to justify or even legitimize different aspects of power relations. He specified these functions in the following terms:

Firstly, in the framework of communicative interaction, they primarily have an argumentative and persuasive function: Newspaper editors thus intend to influence the social cognitions of the readers. Secondly, by doing so, editors try to reproduce their own ... attitudes and ideologies among the public at large. Thirdly, however, editorials are usually not only ... directed at the 'common reader'. On the contrary, they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors, viz., by evaluating the actions of such actors or by recommending alternative courses of actions. Thus, ... one of the power elites, viz., the press, directed at other power elites, typically the politicians. This means, fourthly, that editorials are functioning politically as an implementation of power, that is, as strategic moves in the legitimation of the dominance of a specific elite formation (e.g., the government, ...) or in the maintenance of power balances between different elite groups in society. (p. 244)

Signed newspaper opinion articles, like editorials, address prominent recent topics that are of particular interest only for a short period of time, after being published in the form of news reports (Le, 2004). The interest of both readers and writers in such topics is of a time-sensitive

nature. But unlike editorials which reflect the official opinion of the paper, newspaper opinion articles are texts written and signed by professional guest, freelance or in-house journalists/writers with a special expertise. Authors here are directly responsible for the analyses and opinions expressed in these articles. Signed newspaper opinion articles, then, are not supposed to reflect the official opinion of the newspaper.

An essential terminological specification here refers to the term ‘newspaper opinion articles’, which in the current study denotes those argumentative texts written for and published in newspapers to mainly provide analyses and opinions with a persuasive function on prominent recent political events. These articles, which are treated here as an independent genre, are normally signed by a professional writer, who is not necessarily one of the regular staff members of the paper. These articles, as mentioned above, only reflect the opinion of their writers, as opposed to editorials that reflect the official opinion of the newspaper and in which the name of the writer is not specified. Although ‘Opinion columns’ and ‘Op-Ed articles’ are other terms that may also be used to refer to newspaper signed opinion texts, the covering term ‘newspaper opinion articles’ will be adopted in the current study to avoid the possibility of confusion. Having briefly provided a general background of the common types of opinion pieces normally published in English-language newspapers, the discussion will next turn to explore the specific characteristic features that are associated with the type (or genre) of opinion pieces under consideration in this chapter, i.e., the genre of newspaper opinion articles.

### **3.2.2.1 The genre of newspaper opinion articles**

As briefly discussed in chapter two, discourse, by its very nature, consists of a range of “relatively stable patterns” of language use with different communicative functions, with

different forms of representation and with specific socio-political and/or institutional contexts (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002b: 18). These patterns display certain common characteristic features, viz., internal and external features. It is almost commonplace knowledge that such patterns, which are commonly referred to in discourse studies as ‘genres’ (e.g., parliamentary debates; editorials; research article abstracts; etc.), are taken to be “recognizable by their adherence to conventions of form, content, and use of language” (Corbett, 2009: 286). Following Fairclough (2009: 293), the notion of ‘genre’, for purposes of this study, is defined as:

... a more or less stabilized and habitual linguistic way of acting and interacting, characterized by a distinctive linguistic form or structure, associated with specific communicative purposes, and with particular social or institutional contexts.

The characteristics mentioned here in Fairclough’s definition constitute the fundamental criteria for the identification and conceptualisation of a particular genre. From a general perspective, genre can be viewed as a type of discourse that is composed of a relatively homogeneous group of texts with similar communicative purposes. Texts within such a group share certain common characteristic features that are central to account for genres and to distinguish one genre from another. Building on these arguments, newspaper opinion articles, which employ structures and strategies of argumentative text-type to achieve their communicative purpose, represent a genre of their own with a distinctive internal structure (also known as generic structure), content, style, communicative purpose, intended audience, and with a particular context.

Before engaging in a discussion on the specific key characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English, it is perhaps instructive to cast a glance at the distinction between ‘genre’ and ‘text type’. When using these two terms, a somewhat confusing picture emerges, as they are often used interchangeably, regardless of the

specific social domain or the kind of discourse within which they operate (see Trosborg, 1997a; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002b). While genre is a “conventionalized ‘communicative event’” with a specific goal (Hatim, 2009b: 36), text type is a classification of texts largely based on their communicative functions. Also, a genre may employ more than one text type (e.g., novels), whereas a single text type can be found in more than one genre (e.g., the argumentative text-type is employed in the genre of editorials and that of signed newspaper opinion articles). Furthermore, external features (i.e., communicative purpose, intended audience and contextual aspects) are inherently more salient in genres, while internal features (i.e., structure, content and style) have a more prominent status in text types.

Every genre has its own specific generic features that can be more or less recognised or predicted by members of a discourse community. As pointed out in chapter two, the term ‘discourse community’ is understood, following Corbett (2009: 291), as “a diffuse group of individuals with different levels of expertise and changing social relations, whose communicative needs more or less coincide at different points of time”. Corbett asserts the importance of the notion of ‘discourse community’ in the way genre is understood (ibid.). Moreover, Chilton and Schäffner (2002b: 20) go further and argue that “[T]here is no genre form independent of the participants’ conceptions and preconceptions”. Members of a discourse community share a set of expectations as well as common knowledge of different sets of genres typically used within their community. Those members, therefore, have the ability to more or less recognise or predict whether a given text or talk goes with the conventions of a specific related genre, which they are usually exposed to.

As has been discussed earlier in chapter two, materials produced by quality newspapers normally cover a wide variety of topics. Most of the texts published in newspapers deal with political

events and issues. Among these texts are newspaper opinion articles, which openly provide analyses and offer opinions with a wide array of explicit authorial stance on recent prominent political events. This type of discourse, which can be distinguished from others (i.e., genres) by its common internal structure, content, style, communicative purpose, intended audience and its particular context, is treated in the current study as an autonomous political genre. Opinion articles in newspapers almost always address those political events that have already been reported in news media in the form of news reports. When such events are analysed and evaluated in newspaper opinion articles, their form and content are recontextualised according to the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles. The central question here concerns what these features are. In the remainder of this section, the focus will only be on external features of the genre of newspaper opinion articles, namely its communicative purpose, intended audience and contextual aspects. The internal features of this genre will thoroughly be highlighted when a special emphasis, in the next subsection, is placed on the argumentative text-type conventions that inform these articles in English.

Opinion articles are written for and published in most newspapers on a daily basis to discuss recent prominent political events and issues of particular interest to readers in an interpretive and (positively or negatively) evaluative way. Such events and issues, which have already been reported elsewhere in the media, are recontextualised in ways that correspond to the writer's feelings, values, assessments, judgments, ideology and his/her discourse community values. As social/political actors, authors of newspaper opinion articles most often appear to be much more concerned with building a series of convincing arguments that justify or even legitimize their



analyses and opinions on the political topic being addressed than they are with the factual or objective elements of that topic.

The main communicative purpose of opinion articles, which constitutes a long and well established tradition in Western newspapers, is to influence and persuade readers of the validity of authorial analyses and opinions provided. Writers of these articles usually are in full control of the material they produce, a privilege not often granted to reporters or journalists in papers. They take advantage of this privilege to freely present their own analyses and opinions and to employ a series of convincing arguments to justify or even legitimize these analyses and opinions and sometimes to refute or even attack those of others. In this sense, the reader, as a mere consumer of a newspaper product, becomes more likely to be influenced and perhaps persuaded to accept such analyses and opinions and ultimately to share or take a stance similar to the writer's own. The specific communicative purpose that these articles seek to achieve "shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choices of content and style" (Swales, 1990: 58).

Opinion articles attract regular readers, who look for logical analyses and convincing opinions on recent political events from well-known politicians, public figures and professional writers/journalists with a special expertise. Authors of these articles most often share with their readers more or less similar political, social and cultural background within a specific discourse community. Usually, regular readers value those authors' ideas and views and enjoy the way their arguments are presented and their style, to the extent that the readers are likely to more or less incorporate authorial stance into their lives. This view implies that the intended audience of opinion articles is most likely middle class, well educated readers, politicians and professionals, who are fairly informed and interested in local, national and international politics.

As the above discussion shows, newspaper opinion articles is treated in the current study as a political genre that openly provides analyses and offers opinions with a wide array of explicit subjective voice on prominent political events. These analyses and opinions are justified or even legitimized by means of subtle employment of a series of arguments that carry a persuasive function. By the same token, those analyses and opinions of others are sometimes refuted or attacked through employing a series of counter-arguments that also carry a persuasive function. Therefore, this genre employs structures and strategies of argumentative text-type, which in turn can best serve the above mentioned communicative purpose (see Alonso Belmonte, 2009; Smirnova, 2009; and Wilson *et al.*, 2012). In this context, the specific argumentative text-type conventions that inform newspaper opinion texts in English are fleshed out in the following subsection.

### **3.2.2.1.1 Conventions of the argumentative text-type with respect to English newspaper opinion articles**

Since the 1970s, there has been considerable interest in text typology and the criteria to be used in arriving at a consistent classification of texts. Thus, a number of text typologies have been proposed based on different textual criteria, which have been regarded as decisive in the classification of texts. Some have focused on external criteria, like the overall communicative function of the text, rhetorical purpose, etc. (e.g., Werlich 1976; Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), while others have concentrated on internal features such as the lexical and syntactic features frequently employed in a text (e.g., Biber 1988, 1989).

Within the discipline of Translation Studies, two influential typologies of texts have been proposed by Reiss (1976) and Hatim and Mason (1990). In these two typologies, the

communicative functions (or rhetorical purposes) of texts are the fundamental criteria upon which text classification is based. For Reiss, the overall communicative function (or rhetorical purpose) of a text has a major impact on the way how text is constructed in both source and target languages. It also has an impact on the particular structural, semantic and stylistic choices that original authors and translators make. In order to guarantee the preservation of the overall function of a given text when translated into another language, Reiss (1976) argued that a robust correlation does exist between a text type and translation method or strategy.

Another important text typology within Translation Studies is the one that has been adopted by Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997). In this text typology, Hatim and Mason (1990: 140) look at the notion of ‘text type’ as “a conceptual framework which enables us to classify texts in terms of communicative intentions serving an overall rhetorical purpose”. Their classification of texts has been developed out of Werlich’s (1976) typology and based on what he terms “dominant contextual focus” (p. 19). Hatim and Mason share with Werlich the point that despite the multifunctional nature of all texts, only one communicative function is predominant in one particular text. This is what they refer to as *dominant contextual focus*. More specifically, Hatim (1997: 42) acknowledges the multi-functionality of texts and the fact that texts are “normally displaying features of more than one type”, i.e. *text hybridization*. To handle these facts, he maintains that each text has one and only one predominant function that is deemed to be the decisive criterion in classifying texts. Hatim (1997:42) explains this in the following terms:

no text can serve two equally predominant functions at one and the same time. By the same token, no text can be sustained by two subsidiary functions without one of these somehow becoming predominant.

Hatim and Mason's typology has three basic text types: *argumentative*, *expository* and *instructional* texts. It is Hatim and Mason's (1990) text typology which is of concern in the current study, as it has been developed for translation purposes and, equally important, the argumentative text-type, which is of particular interest here, has been thoroughly described in their subsequent work, i.e., Hatim and Mason (1997: chapter eight). Also, Hatim (1989, 1991, 1997) has shown an interest in argumentation, particularly within the context of comparative research into argumentation across languages and cultures, with special focus on argumentation in English and Arabic from a translational perspective.

It is important to recognize that argumentative texts are understood here, following Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 184), as "those utilized to promote the acceptance or evaluation of certain beliefs or ideas as true vs. false, or positive vs. negative. Conceptual relations such as reason, significance, volition, value and opposition should be frequent". Hatim and Mason's text typology shows that argumentative texts can be divided into two basic forms, depending on their structure: *through-argumentative* and *counter-argumentative* texts. They assert that through-argumentative texts have a particular structure, which is made up of particular stages (or elements) that occur in the following order: (a) an idea or 'thesis' is presented at the beginning; (b) a series of arguments is followed throughout the text to substantiate this thesis; and (c) ends with a conclusion ("thesis – substantiation – conclusion") (Hatim, 1991: 194) . In through argumentative texts, the authorial voice is the predominant throughout the text with no reference to opposite analyses or opinions. Counter-argumentative texts, on the other hand, are made up of the following stages: (a) they begin with a thesis presented to be opposed or rebutted; (b) an opposition or rebuttal of the thesis cited is subsequently provided; (c) a series of arguments is followed to substantiate the opposition or rebuttal; and (d) finally a conclusion is drawn ("thesis

– opposition – substantiation – conclusion” (ibid.)). Hatim and Mason (1997: 110) points out that the balance in some counter-argumentative texts “weighs heavily in favour of the counter-arguer’s stance, in others in favour of a desire to be objective, whether genuine or not”. Moreover, they note that there is “a noticeable tendency in English towards counter-argumentation” (p. 111). The preference of either one of the two forms of argumentative texts over the other, as suggested by Hatim (1997: 47), is likely to be intimately tied to “societal norms such as politeness or ‘saving face’” and to “other factors of a socio-political nature such as attitude to the truth, freedom of speech and so on”. As such, it is suggested here that the overall organisational structure of newspaper opinion articles, which employ strategies of the argumentative text-type, is likely to follow the structure of through-argumentative text or that of counter-argumentative text.

The above discussion of the organizational structure of through-argumentative and counter-argumentative texts shows that a central thesis, which is the predominant element in these texts, is usually advanced. Such thesis is initially presented in a manner that requires putting forward a series of logical arguments in order to justify or even legitimize the central thesis in the case of through-argumentative text or to refute or even attack it in that of counter-argumentative text. Thoughtful supporting arguments are, therefore, extremely essential for successful “changes of the belief system of the hearer/reader”, i.e., persuasion, which argumentative texts ultimately intended to achieve (Van Dijk, 1992: 247). Hatim and Mason (1997: 109) assert in this regard that argumentative texts “seek to promote or simply evaluate certain beliefs or ideas, with conceptual relations such as reason, significance or opposition becoming naturally meaningful and frequent”.

Besides highlighting their structure, Hatim and Mason (1997: 114) emphasise that argumentative texts are units of communication with persuasive function exhibiting “predominantly evaluative texture”. Such evaluation can be “realized by the linguistic expression of emphasis (recurrence, parallelism, etc.), as well as by aspects of text constitution such as word order, the use of modality and so on” (ibid.). In a different text typology that is proposed through conducting corpus-based investigation, Biber (1988) highlights the linguistic features that are typically associated with certain text types and, according to him, that can contribute to distinguish one text type from another. He specifies that argumentative texts, which are chiefly “written to persuade the reader” (p. 150), tend to be associated with the presence of a number of linguistic features, such as *predictive modals*, *possibility modals*, *conditional clauses* and *necessity modals*. It is noted here that most of these linguistic features are considered to be markers of stance (see detailed description of stance markers in chapter six). After having provided an account of the characteristic features that are associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English, which is necessary to gain a better insight into the source opinion texts, the discussion then turns to the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with this genre in Arabic, as the target language.

### **3.3 The language of Arabic newspapers**

The Arabic media in general and newspapers in particular are the primary domain in which Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is used. Therefore, the media is crucial as a source of data for any study of this variety of Arabic. Ryding (2005: 8) points out in this regard that “the modern Arabic written language used for media purposes” can conceivably constitute the basis for the identification of MSA. The importance of this specific variety of language for MSA has become a major theme, to the extent that MSA has been defined and delimited by “the language of

written Arabic media” (ibid., p. 5). Monteil (1960: cited in Ryding, 2005: 8) observed that by defining MSA as the language of Arabic news or written media, it is

a useful way to delimit it since it is not officially codified as a phenomenon separate from Classical Arabic and because Arabic speakers and Arabic linguists have differing opinions on what constitutes what is referred to as *al-lughah al-fuSHâ*.

So, the language of Arabic newspapers is familiar territory for linguists who are interested in MSA. In this context, it is reasonable to assume that the language used in authentic Arabic newspaper opinion articles is MSA.

Given the above mentioned importance, the language of Arabic newspapers has been the focus of linguists’ attention as an ideal rich source of data, especially for those who are interested in MSA. Arabic newspapers language is an ideal representative variety of modern written and formal Arabic or as Ryding (2005: 8) puts it, “a prime example of modern written Arabic usage”. In this sense, Ryding (2005), for example, has chosen the language of Arabic newspapers as the main source of data for her comprehensive reference grammar of MSA. She gives three main reasons for this choice as follows: (1) the contemporary information that newspapers provide; (2) the wide variety of topics they cover; and (3) the naturally occurring activities of daily news reporting, writing and editing.

The language of Arabic newspapers is not different from that used in English newspapers in terms of bringing about the differentiation between the notions of objectivity and subjectivity. As noted earlier in this chapter, these notions are two discrete conceptions of voices associated with the language of newspapers. Abdel Nabi (1989: cited in Mellor, 2005: 88) emphasises that, in Arabic-language newspapers, “objectivity is a major characteristic of the news compared to the subjectivity expressed in opinion articles”. Objective voices within Arabic-language newspapers,

like those within their English counterparts, pertain to materials in which writers eschew explicit personal interpretations and opinions about any topic of interest being addressed (e.g., news reports). Authorial interpretations and opinions on factual information published elsewhere in the media are usually found in the opinion pieces, where they can be, to varying degrees, freely expressed and where subjective voices are prominent. The main goal of these pieces is to influence readers' perception and persuade them to accept authorial interpretations and opinions provided. It is important to acknowledge here that opinion pieces that are normally published in Arabic-language newspapers have a relatively small or perhaps marginal role to play in influencing political, social and cultural activities of Arab communities, compared to those published in Western newspapers. This may be attributed to the fact that "the flow of opinions is rather restricted" in the Arab press (Rugh 2004: 16). A question may here, perhaps, suggest itself, whether or not such restriction also applies to English newspaper opinion articles that are usually translated for Arabic-language newspapers. An answer to this question can be given after analysing the Arabic full translations of American newspaper opinion articles that were chosen for the purpose of the current study.

The types of opinion pieces published in Arabic-language newspapers are letters of readers (known as 'letters to the editor' in Western newspapers), editorials and signed opinion articles. Both editorials and signed opinion articles are most common products of these newspapers, but letters of readers are rare and "published only in some papers" (Rugh, 2004: 16). Arabic newspaper opinion articles are embedded in language and are characterised by a set of features. Identifying these features of authentic opinion articles published in Arabic-language newspapers allows us to recognise whether translations into Arabic, as opinion articles in their own right, elegantly maintain the generic features of these authentic articles and conform to the



expectations of the target language readers (see Schäffner, 2004). In the same sense, Trosborg (1997a: 18) points out that a genre in general is “often a highly structured and conventionalised communicative event. This specific structure and convention is of great importance to the translator”. The next section, therefore, outlines the key features of this genre in Arabic.

### **3.3.1 The genre of newspaper opinion articles in Arabic**

As a genre of their own, newspaper opinion articles in Arabic share certain common characteristic features that are central to distinguish it from other genres. These features can be divided into external (communicative purpose, intended audience and a particular context) and internal features (internal structure, content and style). The external features *per se* have a major impact on the way how the internal features are formed or constructed, viz., an impact on the particular structural, semantic and stylistic choices that authors make. The external features of the genre of newspaper opinion articles in Arabic are outlined in the current section and the internal ones in the subsequent subsection.

Opinion articles published in Arabic-language newspapers are argumentative texts that are typically written with the purpose of influencing and persuading readers of the validity of authorial interpretations and opinions provided on recent prominent events. These articles are normally written by professional guests, freelance or in-house journalists/writers who have a special expertise and/or reputation. As signed products, opinion articles reflect the stance of their writers, and at the same time more or less go with the editorial line of the newspapers in which they are published.

Writers of Arabic opinion articles usually share with their readers a more or less common political, social and cultural background as well as a common set of communicative purposes

within the discourse community to which they belong. Those writers are believed to be well-known politicians, public figures and professional journalists/writers, who have earned a reputation for their consistent interpretations and profound opinions on recent political events of interest to the intended audience. Regular readers of such articles often appreciate authors' values and beliefs and enjoy the way their arguments are presented and their style. In this sense, the intended audience of opinion articles published in Arabic-language newspapers can be said to be middle or well educated readers, politicians, academics and professionals, who are more or less fairly informed and particularly interested in politics.

As an established tradition, opinion articles published in Arabic-language newspapers are persuasive written materials that give reasons for readers to accept and share certain interpretations and opinions as well as to take a stance similar to the writer's own. For so doing, writers of these articles usually try to build a series of convincing arguments to justify or even legitimize their interpretations and opinions on the political event being addressed. Also, they infrequently develop counter-arguments to refute or even attack those of others, as in Arabic, according to Hatim and Mason (1997), counter-argumentation is less preferred. Thus, the genre of newspaper opinion articles in Arabic utilizes argumentative text-type, which can best serve its communicative purpose (see Abdul-Raof, 2001: 127). As such, the conventions of argumentative text-type that inform Arabic opinion articles are outlined in the following subsection.

### **3.3.1.1 Conventions of argumentative text-type in Arabic newspaper opinion articles**

In his course book on Arabic stylistics, Abdul-Raof (2001) classifies texts in Arabic, based on their form and function, into ten major text types: *news*, *advertisement*, *scientific*, *narrative*,

*letter, poetry, instructional, descriptive, expository, and argumentative*. He points out that editorials, opinion articles and letters of readers are typical examples of Arabic newspapers' argumentative texts. Like Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997), Abdul-Raof (2001: 127) distinguishes between three basic forms of argumentative texts in Arabic: "through-argumentative, counter-argumentative, and hortatory counter-argumentative". Although the structure and stylistic strategy used in Arabic *through-argumentative* and *counter-argumentative* texts that are described by Abdul-Raof (2001) are virtually identical to those identified by Hatim and Mason<sup>21</sup>, Abdul-Raof does not clearly specify whether or not his classification of Arabic argumentative texts is based or even related to Hatim and Mason's (1990, 1997). Also, in Abdul-Raof's classification, there is no difference in terms of structure and stylistic strategy used between *counter-argumentative* and *hortatory counter-argumentative* texts. But hortatory counter-argumentative texts are only used in religious domains that include "Friday prayer speeches and religious articles in newspapers or magazines" (Abdul-Raof, 2001: 128). The purpose he identifies for which these texts are used is to "provide a religious advice and consolidate faith, i.e., exhortation; therefore, examples from the Qur'an and the Hadith are usually used as supporting examples to refute the opponent's viewpoint" (ibid.).

Argumentative texts, which are employed in Arabic newspaper opinion articles, often make use of several common linguistic features and strategies that serve their communicative function, i.e., persuasion. Abdul-Raof (2001: 127) notes that the linguistic features and strategies that are most notably associated with this text-type in Arabic include figurative and emotive words and expressions, repetition, adversative conjunctions, causal conjunctions, emphatic markers (إن / أن), using "first person plural pronoun which is implicit in the verb in order to involve the

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<sup>21</sup> See discussion of through-argumentative and counter-argumentative texts identified by Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997) in section 3.2.2.1.1.

reader/hearer in the writer's/speaker's viewpoints", using conjunctions such as “للأسف) - unfortunately, لسوء الحظ, - unfortunately, و من المقلق, - what is worrying) for emphatic contrast as part of substantiation of own ideas”, and using “nominal or prepositional phrases at sentence-initial position to set the scene for the reader/hearer”.

In applying their two forms of argumentative texts to Arabic, including opinion articles, Hatim and Mason (1997: 111) observe that there is “a preference for through-argumentation” over the other form within this language and culture, whereas in English there is a fairly strong tendency for counter-argumentation (see also Hatim, 1991, 1997). Both of the two forms are inherent in Arabic, but counter-argumentation is “significantly outranked by the other” form (ibid.). This preference is likely to be viewed as a feature of writers' style in Arabic. In cases where counter-argumentation form is used in Arabic, “it is the ‘although ...’ variety that is stylistically preferred” (ibid.).

From the perspective of cross cultural communication and in connection to the notion of power, Hatim and Mason (1997) assume that by excluding the opponent's stance, as in the case of through-argumentation, the writer can impose his/her own stance on the readers. For the two scholars, this might be taken as an aspect of the exercising of power. Also, by including the opponent, as in the case of counter-argumentation, the writer tends to “cede power” (ibid., p. 116). They go on to argue that this ceding of power in English bolsters credibility, while in Arabic it might cause writer's credibility to be questioned. Hatim and Mason (1997: 116) explain this point in the following terms:

... it is interesting to note that, within the rhetorical and cultural conventions of English, to be seen to cede power, even if insincerely, enhances credibility. In Arabic, on the other hand, this relinquishing of power tends to be shunned as lacking in credibility and therefore unconvincing.

### **3.4 Concluding remarks**

In this chapter, a detailed description of the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with the genre of newspaper opinion articles in both English and Arabic has been provided. The purpose of this chapter has been to identify those features of authentic opinion articles published in quality newspapers in both languages that allows us to gain a better insight into source texts and recognise whether translated texts, as opinion articles in their own right, elegantly maintain the generic features of authentic opinion articles within the target language and conform to the expectations of the target language readers. Additionally, the specific conventions of argumentative text-type that inform newspaper opinion articles in the two languages have been outlined in the current chapter.

As a prime locus of newspapers' production and consumption, this chapter has begun by a general description of the importance and the basic features of the language of Western newspapers. It has been observed that the language of newspapers can possibly be a potent reflection of societal practices and values and thus can more or less contribute to the understanding of the society and its culture. As such, this variety of language has increasingly become a focus of research interest. In this context, two discrete conceptions of voices associated with the language of newspapers have been differentiated, namely objective and subjective voices. The former pertains to those texts published in newspapers which presumably carry factual and impartial information, while the latter pertains to those which carry opinionated information that is intimately tied to the writer's views, values, beliefs, feelings, etc. As such, a distinction has been drawn between news report and newspaper opinion pieces as typical examples of objectivity and subjectivity, respectively.

This chapter has also considered opinion pieces that are normally published in English-language newspapers. Usually, these are mainly written to provide readers with authorial analyses and opinions about prominent recent events of general interest. Such analyses and opinions are justified or even legitimized by means of a set of effective arguments that carry a persuasive function. Moreover, those analyses and opinions of others are sometimes refuted or even attacked by means of a set of more or less logical counter-arguments that also carry a persuasive function. English-language newspapers opinion pieces have been taken to include letters to the editor, editorials and signed opinion articles. It has been noted that each type of these has slightly different conventions of language use and representation of analyses and opinions.

As an autonomous genre, the distinctive characteristic features of newspaper opinion articles that include its internal structure, content, style, communicative purpose, intended audience and its contextual aspects have been explored. Logically, a distinction has been made between notions of genre and text type. The discussion of the genre of newspaper opinion articles has shown that its main communicative purpose is to influence and persuade readers of the validity of authorial analyses and opinions provided. Also, it has shown that the intended audience of opinion articles is most likely middle class, well educated readers, politicians and professionals who are fairly informed and interested in local, national and international politics.

It has been observed that the genre of newspaper opinion articles employs structures and strategies of argumentative text-type to achieve its communicative purpose. Following Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997), two forms of argumentation have therefore been identified and described: through-argumentative and counter-argumentative texts. Based on the structure, style and function of these two forms, it has been suggested that the overall organisational structure of

opinion articles under investigation is likely to follow the structure of through-argumentative or that of counter-argumentative texts.

The chapter has provided a general description of the importance and the basic features of the language of Arabic newspapers. It has been noted that this specific variety has become a major theme of the identification of MSA, to the extent that MSA has been defined and delimited by the language of written media. The types of opinion pieces published in Arabic-language newspapers have been taken to include letters of readers (letters to the editor in Western newspapers), editorials and signed opinion articles. It has been noted here that both editorials and signed opinion articles are most common products of these newspapers, but letters of readers are rare and “published only in some papers” (Rugh, 2004: 16).

After exploring the genre of newspaper opinion articles in English and Arabic, it has been observed that there are no striking differences between the two languages in relation to this type of discourse. But a preference in Arabic for through-argumentation over the other form has been noted, whereas in English a fairly strong tendency for counter-argumentation has notably been the case. Moreover, Hatim and Mason (1997) assume that by excluding the opponent’s stance, as in the case of through-argumentation, the writer can impose his/her own stance on the readers. For the two scholars, this might be taken as an aspect of power exercise. Also, by including the opponent, as in the case of counter-argumentation, the writer tends to “cede power” (ibid., p. 116). They go on to argue that this ceding of power in English bolsters credibility, while in Arabic it might cause writer’s credibility to be questioned. In the subsequent chapter, the discussion shall proceed to a more specific issue, which is the central concept under investigation, namely the concept of stance.

## **Chapter Four:**

# **The Concept of Stance**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Having described in chapter two the key characteristics of political discourse and provided in the previous chapter a detailed description of the characteristic features that are conventionally associated with genre of newspaper opinion articles in both English and Arabic as well as a description of the text-type conventions that inform these opinion articles in the two languages, this chapter turns to look at a more specific issue, which is the central concept under investigation, namely the concept of stance. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the features of the concept of stance, explore the theorisation of this concept, and review the work that has been done on it in the field of Translation Studies as well as to familiarize the reader with some concepts and terminology pertinent to this central concept.

The present chapter begins with a brief description of the concept of stance before spelling out how this term is used in the current study. Then once this has been articulated clearly, the discussion goes on to address a category within the model of Systemic Functional Linguistics, in which the concept of stance can be placed and by means of which it can be best understood. This leads to a consideration of the interpersonal nature of stance, since, as the discussion will show, the concept of stance relates to Halliday's *interpersonal metafunction* of language that pertains to the relationship between the writer and the reader. The discussion then moves on to make a distinction between the concept of stance and a range of theoretical terms to which this central concept appears to be more or less similar, prominent among these are *evaluation* and *appraisal*.



This is followed by a consideration of how the concept of stance has been theorised within the domain of language use. The discussion then continues by reviewing the literature on the concept of stance within the field of Translation Studies.

## **4.2 Defining stance**

As briefly discussed in chapter one, the concept of stance, in its most general sense, is a significant and complex area of language use in which expressing our own personal thoughts and feelings about any given entity or proposition and engaging in various ways with others are the overarching themes. This concept cannot be seen simply as “a matter of private opinion or attitude” (Du Bois, 2007: 171); rather, it is a phenomenon of considerable importance vis-à-vis everyday communication, on the one hand, and as an area of interest in social sciences, on the other. Sancho Guinda and Hyland (2012:1), for example, point out that ‘stance’ alongside ‘voice’ is one of “the most significant concepts in applied linguistics today”.

An important part of human cognitive development involves making sense of the world and sharing that sense with others. This inevitably involves evaluating either positively or negatively other people, entities, propositions or anything we may encounter (Bednarek, 2006). Then, this usually leads to providing others with our personal stance that can be understood within the discourse community or, more specifically, within the context in which it is taken. Moreover, stance has a key role in giving readers/listeners a derived sense of the authorial subjective voice in any piece of communication and in tracing that voice. In fact, stancetaking is one of the most prevalent aspects of language production, as no text or talk is entirely free from subjective voice. In this regard, Jaffe (2009b: 3) states that “there is no such thing as a completely neutral position vis-à-vis one’s linguistic production, because neutrality is itself a stance”.

Within the domain of language use, the importance of stance lies in the functions it performs. Stance provides the means through which writers/speakers put across their “personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments” (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 966) of any object of interest being addressed, project themselves into their written and verbal discourse, engage readers/listeners with whom they communicate, “construct and maintain relations” (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 6) with those readers/listeners, express their degree of certainty of and commitment to a given proposition, “assign value to objects of interest”, and reflect their own value system as well as the “presupposed systems of sociocultural value” (Du Bois, 2007:139) of the discourse community they represent. Also, stance can perform completely different functions. Usually, it reflects, for example, the value system of the writer/speaker (or the stancetaker) and/or the *presupposed system of sociocultural value* of the community he/she represents, but in some cases, stance can contribute to (re)shaping those value systems, or even it may eventually be developed into a sociocultural value (Du Bois, 2007). To achieve these functions, authors tend to subtly employ a different set of communicative means (or linguistic features) that serve a wide range of meanings and reflect various levels of commitment to and certainty of the stance adopted.

Alongside the diverse linguistic manifestation and functions of stance, what makes the issue of defining this area of language use even more difficult is that, within the field of linguistics and its neighbouring disciplines, the concept of stance has been approached from many different perspectives and sometimes applying related terms and concepts by researchers whose backgrounds, interests and aims are as varied as the disciplines themselves. Accordingly, multiple definitions of stance have been suggested. Based on the theorisation of this concept that has been considered in this chapter (see section 4.5) and the related theoretical terms that have

been used to more or less signal this area (see section 4.4.1), the concept of stance has been defined differently according to the way it has been approached, the purpose of investigation, the research methodology that has been employed, the specific data chosen for the analysis, and the specific aspects of stance that has been focused on. In the same sense, for the purposes of the current study and serving the way how the concept of stance will be approached, Du Bois' (2007) definition of stance has been adopted, which "looks set to become the generally accepted one" (Richardson and Corner, 2011: 251). Du Bois (2007: 163) concisely defines stance as:

... a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

This definition is most relevant to the current study in that it recognises the linguistic manifestation and functions of stance and, equally important, provides a sound basis for a dynamic mechanism to organise the analysis of the conveyance of stance in both source and target texts (see a description of this mechanism in chapter six). More specifically, Du Bois' definition covers four key components<sup>22</sup> that constitute any instance of stance, which in turn can contribute to a systematic analysis of this concept. These are: (1) stancetaker ("a social actor"); (2) stance marker ("achieved ... through overt communicative means"); (3) stance object ("evaluating objects ... any salient dimension of the sociocultural field"); and (4) stance function ("positioning subjects (self or others), and aligning with other subjects") (ibid.). Identifying these components can be taken as the basic system of organising the analysis of stance in both the original and translated articles. In the following section, the discussion turns to the Hallidayan model of Systemic Functional Linguistics and, more specifically, to the category of *interpersonal*

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<sup>22</sup> A detailed discussion on the components of stance adopted from Du Bois' (2007) definition, which will play a key role in organising the analysis of stance in the present study, is provided in chapter six.

*meaning*, in which the concept of stance can be placed and by means of which it can be best understood. This model serves here as a theoretical background for understanding the concept of stance.

### **4.3 The model of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)**

It should be made clear from the outset that it is not the intention here to offer a comprehensive discussion of the SFL model. Rather, it is to link the concept of stance to a specific strand of meaning within the model to which this concept relates, namely the *interpersonal* meaning (for a detailed discussion on the SFL model, see e.g., Eggins 2004). The model of SFL is a *social semiotic* theory of language as a meaning making system where the choice of a particular meaning from the language potential available is influenced by the sociocultural context in which a communicative goal is to be achieved (Halliday, 1978). Thus, what counts as appropriate meaning varies according to context and this involves a “range of options that is characteristic of a specific situation” (Halliday, 1978: 109). From these options, the most appropriate meaning to that situation is chosen and the other meanings are discarded. Making meaning in context and interpreting how this meaning is articulated through language as a semiotic system constitute the core of the SFL. This model, which was primarily developed by its central figure the British-born Australian linguist Michael Halliday (see e.g., Halliday, 1978, 1994, 2004) and elaborated upon in cooperation with other scholars (see e.g., Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), has to date provided continuity in its use as a comprehensive descriptive and interpretive approach to how meaning is made in context and how this meaning is articulated through language as a semiotic system.

In the SFL model, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on the notion of ‘context’. As far as language use is concerned, two levels of context are distinguished: cultural and situational. The former, which is known in SFL as *genre*, refers to “the impact of the context of culture on language, by exploring the staged, step-by-step structure cultures institutionalize as ways of achieving goals”, while the latter, representing what is known as *register*, refers to “the impact of dimensions of the immediate context of situation of a language event on the way language is used” (Eggins, 2004: 9). The choices writers/speakers make from language as a semiotic resource to express a particular meaning are primarily determined by the immediate context of situation of a language event and are regulated by the conventions and values of the wider context of culture in which that language is used. Such choices are expressed or realised, as will be discussed below, through lexico-grammatical patterns of language. The level of genre (or *context of culture*) is higher and broader in scope than register (or *context of situation*). Schematically, this can be represented as shown in Figure 4.1 below. The downward arrows in the Figure signal the direction of the relationship between context and language.

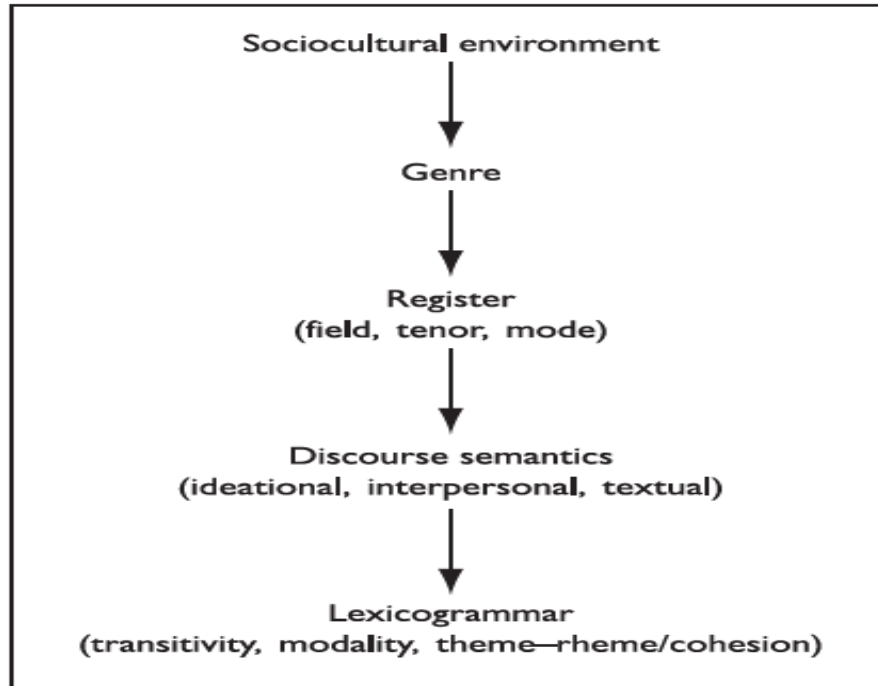


Figure 4.1 Relation of genre and register to language (from Munday, 2008: 90)

Under the notion of register, three variables have been identified, which constitute the “dimensions of the immediate context of situation of a language event” (Eggins, 2004: 9): (1) *field* (“topic or focus of the activity”); (2) *tenor* (“role relations of power and solidarity”); and (3) *mode* (“amount of feedback and role of language”) (ibid.). As major aspects of situation, these variables operate in tandem with the communicative purpose of the higher level of genre.

From the systemic functional perspective, there are three major functions language has to fulfil: “a function for relating experience, a function for creating interpersonal relationships, and a function for organizing information” (Eggins, 2004: 111). These three major functions of language (or *strands of meaning*) are associated in a systematic way with the above-mentioned register variables as follows:

- the *ideational metafunction*, which pertains to the explanation or representation of authorial experience of the world, is associated with the variable of field;
- the *interpersonal metafunction*, which pertains to the relationship constructed between participants in a social interaction, is associated with tenor; and
- the *textual metafunction*, which has to do with organising the text to be produced in a form that best serves the previous two metafunctions, is associated with mode.

These three main kinds of meaning, which, as Halliday (1994) argued, language is primarily designed to make, operate together interactively in any text or talk that is meaningful within a specific communicative context, despite the fact that one or another of them may become more prominent. In the case of newspaper opinion articles, interpersonal meaning is, as the analysis in chapter seven will reveal, more prominent than the other two strands of meaning. The simultaneous strands of meaning together constitute the *discourse semantics* of a given text or talk. As shown in Figure 4.1, these different kinds of meaning “can be related both ‘upwards’ (to context) and ‘downwards’ (to lexico-grammar)” (Eggins, 2004: 111).

It is through the semiotic system of language that a particular meaning chosen in relation to cultural and situational contexts can be expressed, or *realised*, to use systemic terms. In SFL, the relationship between context and language is recognised through the notion of ‘realisation’, which denotes “the way a meaning becomes encoded or expressed in a semiotic system” (Eggins, 2004: 65). As semantic components, the aforementioned strands of meanings, which language is designed to make, are realised through (or expressed in) specific lexico-grammatical patterns of language. More specifically, the ideational meaning is typically realised through transitivity patterns (“verb types, active/passive structures, participants in the process, etc.”), the interpersonal meaning is typically realised through modality patterns (“modal verbs and adverbs

such as *hopefully, should, possibly*, and any evaluative lexis such as *beautiful, dreadful*”), and the textual meaning through theme patterns and cohesion (Munday, 2008: 91). Based on the strong relation between these three main kinds of meanings (or metafunctions) and their lexicogrammatical patterns of language, Munday (2008: 91) points out, following Eggins (2004), that “the analysis of patterns of transitivity, modality, thematic structure and cohesion in a text reveals how the metafunctions are working and how the text ‘means’”.

The focus now turns to the category of interpersonal meaning in which the concept of stance can be placed and by means of which it can be best understood. The term ‘interpersonal meaning’ is understood here to refer to “a strand of meaning running throughout the text which expresses the writer’s role relationship with the reader, and the writer’s attitude towards the subject matter” (Eggins, 2004: 11). Whenever language is used in a communicative interaction to address a subject matter, it serves the major function of establishing and negotiating relationships between participants, who have different roles to play in that interaction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 106-111). This inevitably involves expressing the opinions of those participants. The dimensions of interpersonal meanings that participants in communicative interactions are usually engaged in include “the power or solidarity of their relationship; the extent of their intimacy; their level of familiarity with each other; and their attitudes and judgements” (Eggins, 2004: 184).

Halliday and his colleagues have focused on how language is used in particular ways to convey the interpersonal meaning (alongside the ideational and the textual). The interpersonal meanings of roles and relationships are realised through the *mood* and *modality* systems of the language. The former “covers the three basic sentence forms: the declarative, the interrogative and the imperative” (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 19), while under the latter, Halliday (2004) distinguishes between two main types of the wide grammatical area of modality: *modalization* (pertains to the



expression of degrees of *probability* and *usuality*) and *modulation* (which pertains to the expression of degrees of *obligation* and *inclination*). Halliday (1978: 17) viewed the choices and organisation of these lexico-grammatical patterns to express interpersonal meanings as an “intrusion” by the language users into the communicative interaction, by means of which they express their personal attitudes and judgements with varying degrees of certainty and commitment.

By their very nature, some genres and text types are inherently more interpersonally oriented than others (e.g., newspaper opinion articles, political speeches). As discussed in chapter three, writers of opinion articles published in newspapers exert much control over the text. A privilege that allows them to freely position themselves and to establish interpersonal relations with their intended readers that can be realised through the choices they make in the mood and modality systems of language. In line with this, those writers always take positive or negative stance towards the entities, the events, or anything with which their texts are concerned.

The concept of stance is intimately related to the realm of interpersonal meaning. Painter *et al.* (2011: 125) point out, for example, that the interpersonal meaning is concerned with several related dimensions of interaction, including “attitudes, stances and relations of power and social distance between reader and writer”. Hood (2012: 52) argues, in the same sense, that in discussing “stance we are primarily locating ourselves in the realm of interpersonal meaning”. Accordingly, the concept of stance in the present study is dealt with as an aspect of interpersonal meaning, to which the discussion now turns.

#### **4.4 Stance as an aspect of interpersonal meaning**

Several aspects of participants' relationships and roles they adopt or assign to others in a given communicative event constitute the core of the realm of interpersonal meaning. As mentioned in the previous section, these aspects include "the power or solidarity of their relationship; the extent of their intimacy; their level of familiarity with each other; and their attitudes and judgements" (Eggins, 2004: 184). That is, interpersonal meaning is bound up with how we use language to interact with other people, to establish, negotiate, and maintain relations of power and solidarity with them, to express our personal feelings, attitudes, and judgements, and to influence beliefs, values, thoughts, and opinions of those people with whom we communicate.

Since "... positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" constitute part of the definition of the concept of stance adopted in this study (see definition in section 4.2), and since stance "can be subdivided into evaluation ("value judgments," "assessments," and "attitudes"), affect ("personal feelings") ..., and epistemicity ("commitment")" (Englebretson, 2007b: 17), stance, in this sense, is an aspect of interpersonal meaning. Given this intimate relation between stance and interpersonal meaning, it therefore provides a useful perspective from which to systematically analyse the functions in context or meanings of stance in the current study (for more see discussion of appraisal theory in chapter six).

It is a well-established fact within the model of SFL that the interpersonal meanings expressed in a given text are realised through specific lexico-grammatical patterns of language, i.e., the mood and modality systems. Given this strong relation between the interpersonal meaning and its lexico-grammatical realisations, this relation is taken, following both Eggins (2004: 141-187)

and Munday (2008: 91), to mean that the analysis of these specific realisations in a given text reveals how this strand of meaning is conveyed in that text. By the same token, it is reasonable to assume that the analysis of the specific lexico-grammatical patterns, i.e., syntactic structures and value-laden words, through which stance, as an aspect of interpersonal meaning, is realised in a text can uncover and explain how stance is conveyed in that text. As will be discussed in chapter six, Biber and his colleagues (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006) identify those lexico-grammatical patterns that serve as markers of stance. They have argued that it is through these markers that stance can be realised. Also, Martin and White (2005) develop out of the interpersonal meaning category of SFL their appraisal theory, which “locates lexicogrammatical choices within a framework that examines the function of different choices” (Munday, 2012: 2). The main methodological tool adopted in the current study is built on a combination of these two approaches (see chapter six).

Within the realm of interpersonal meaning, a range of terms have been put forward to describe to varying degrees the specific aspect of interpersonal meaning under investigation. In fact, this area of language use has been approached from many different perspectives and, therefore, different theoretical terms, to which the concept of stance appears to be more or less similar, have been adopted. These related terms are discussed below.

#### **4.4.1 Other terms related to stance**

Over the past two decades, scholars and researchers from various backgrounds working within the area of stance have employed a range of theoretical terms<sup>23</sup> to more or less signal this area. Prominent among these theoretical terms are *evaluation* (e.g., Hunston, 1994; Hunston and

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<sup>23</sup> For other related theoretical terms, see Munday (2012: 20).

Thompson, 2000; Bednarek, 2006; Hunston, 2011), and *appraisal* (e.g., Martin, 2000; Martin and White, 2005). Those scholars and researchers have, indeed, engaged virtually in the same area of language use, but with a range of different terms being put forward. As a result, a state of terminological inconsistency is brought about that largely contributes to the complexity of studying the concept of stance. The theoretical terms *evaluation* and *appraisal* are discussed briefly in turn in the following subsections.

#### **4.4.1.1 Evaluation**

The work of Hunston and her colleagues on the term *evaluation* and its application in linguistic studies (Hunston and Thompson, 2000; Hunston, 1994; Hunston, 2011) has been highly influential in the theorisation of this term. They use *evaluation* as the superordinate term, which Hunston and Thompson (2000: 5) define as “the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about”. To shed light on its importance, the two scholars (ibid., p. 6) highlight three major functions that evaluation serves:

- (1) to express the speaker’s or writer’s opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
- (2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
- (3) to organize the discourse.

Drawing on Hunston (1994), Thompson and Hunston (2000: 22-26) distinguish between four main *parameters of evaluation*: (1) evaluation of *goodness* (i.e. *value* in Hunston, 1994), which pertains to how good or bad/positive or negative the propositional content presented is with regard to the value system to which writers/speakers subscribe; (2) evaluation of *certainty* (i.e. *status* in Hunston, 1994), which pertains to the degree of certainty the writers/speakers’ hold vis-

à-vis propositional content; (3) evaluation of *expectedness*, which has to do with evaluating how obvious or expected the information presented is to the readers/listeners; and (4) evaluation of *importance* or *relevance*, relates to the importance of organising texts and developing the argument in a way that allows for guiding or “directing the reader towards the main point of the text” (Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 24). In comparing between these parameters, Hunston and Thompson (2000: 24) observe that the first two parameters of evaluation largely “express the writer/speaker’s view of the status of propositions and entities”, whereas the third and fourth perform a “‘text-oriented’ function” and serve to organise texts. Each of these parameters, Hunston and Thompson (2000) point out, is prioritized depending on the specific genre under which a text is subsumed. To clarify this point, they offer a number of examples. They note, for instance, that evaluation along the goodness parameter is prominently significant in “genres whose central function is to assess the worth of something, such as restaurant reviews or character references” (ibid., p. 24). With regard to the expression of evaluation, Hunston and Thompson (2000) argue that evaluation of entities and propositions can be expressed differently through linguistic resources. They specify that evaluation of entities is usually expressed by means of adjectives, while that of propositions by means of a number of grammatical structures like modal verbs.

The framework of evaluation developed by Hunston and Thompson (2000) provides a useful but not a comprehensive conception of the territory of stance. Parameters that characterise evaluation or stance are extensive and the four parameters identified by Hunston and her colleagues are by no means exhaustive (see Bednarek, 2006: 43-44). Additional parameters of evaluation can be added to these, such as evaluation of authorial commitment to the epistemic or attitudinal information provided in a given proposition. Also, the existence of certainty and expectedness as

two parameters that characterise evaluation sounds somehow less convincing when pursuing a systematic approach that enhances the descriptive and explanatory power of studies addressing this area of language use. A more comprehensive treatment of this territory is to be found in the appraisal framework. So, the next prominent theoretical term that needs to be introduced here is that of *appraisal*.

#### **4.4.1.2 Appraisal<sup>24</sup>**

Work developed by James Martin and others at the University of Sydney over the past two decades on *appraisal*, which has its roots in the SFL, has been enormously influential in the theorization of this term (see Martin, 2000; Martin and Rose, 2003; Martin and White, 2005). They use ‘appraisal’ as a covering term for a larger system of discourse semantics that encompasses a range of resources categorised into three systems: *attitude*, *engagement*, and *graduation*. Martin (2000: 145) defines the theoretical term appraisal as “the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations, alongside amplifying and engaging with these evaluations”.

Appraisal, which is developed out of the interpersonal meaning, heavily focuses on the functions of choices that writers/speakers make to convey personal feelings, attitudes, and evaluations in any communicative interaction as well as to negotiate relations of solidarity and power with their audiences (Martin and White, 2005). As it is established on the basis of the SFL tradition, appraisal involves taxonomy of semantic systems and resources for “the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14). It places the

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<sup>24</sup> Appraisal theory, which represents a crucial theoretical constituent of the combined research methodology chosen for the present study, will receive closer consideration subsequently, in chapter six.

interpersonal meaning realised at the level of discourse semantics at the centre of its analytic schema.

Appraisal is divided into three major semantic domains that operate interactively: (1) attitude: focuses on how feelings are mapped within a text, covering concepts associated with emotions (i.e. *affect*), ethics (i.e. *judgement*), and aesthetics (i.e. *appreciation*); (2) engagement: focuses on how writers dialogically position themselves “with respect to the value position being advanced” and mark their commitment with respect to one’s own viewpoints (monogloss) and to the viewpoints of others (heterogloss); and (3) graduation: writers can turn up or down the volume of the language produced through quantification, intensification, and repetition (Martin and White, 2005: 36). An overview of appraisal resources is given in Table 6.4, chapter six.

Appraisal does not constrain itself with linguistic forms as is the case with the lexicogrammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). Appraisal theory focuses more on the functions of the expression of stance and evaluation than on the formation of a list of given linguistic indicators of these concepts. Martin and White (2005: 94), in this regard, point out that the framework of appraisal theory is oriented “towards meanings in context and towards rhetorical effects, rather than towards grammatical forms”. Appraisal treats lexicogrammatical structures only as a means to encode evaluation and stance meanings and not as an end in themselves.

The terms ‘evaluation’ and ‘appraisal’ have established themselves as prominent theoretical concepts within the territory of stance that cannot be easily ignored in studies addressing this area of language use. Each of these paradigms, including that of stance laid out by Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006), as will become clear from subsequent discussion in section 4.5,

theorises the concept of stance with varying degrees of focus on the lexico-grammatical means through which stance can be realised, the wide array of its functions at textual and contextual levels, and the pragmatic inferences associated with the expression of stance. The subsequent section outlines *stance* as a main theoretical term that has been put forward to signal the specific aspect of interpersonal meaning under investigation.

#### **4.4.2 Stance as an umbrella term**

In approaching this aspect of interpersonal meaning, it is particularly important to recognise that the theoretical term ‘stance’ has been widely used as the preferred wide-covering term that refers to the specific area of language use in which expressing our own personal thoughts and feelings about any given entity or proposition and engaging in various ways with others are the overarching themes (see e.g., Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006; Du Bois, 2007; Englebretson, 2007b; Jaffe, 2009b; Richardson and Corner 2011). Richardson and Corner (2011: 251), for example, emphasise that

The word *stance* itself seems to be taking pole position in a metalinguistic family of expressions (others include “assessment”; “evaluation”; “point of view”; “appraisal”), competing from within different disciplinary traditions to codify something important about language use.

Also, Englebretson (2007b) considers the theoretical term ‘stance’ to be the inclusive term that covers a number of subordinate concepts; for him, stance “can be subdivided into evaluation (“value judgments,” “assessments,” and “attitudes”), affect (“personal feelings”) ..., and epistemicity (“commitment”)” (P.17). In the same sense, Du Bois (2007: 142) argues that the competing term ‘evaluation’ is a “form of stancetaking”. The term *Stance* has been adopted, following Englebretson (2007) and Du Bois (2007), in the current study as the umbrella term to



refer to the specific area of language use under investigation and under which other terms associated with this specific area can be arranged.

Another important reason for specifically choosing the term ‘stance’ in the present study over the other related theoretical terms is that, as discussed briefly in the opening chapter and elaborated on in chapter six, the initial work by Biber and his colleagues on the concept of ‘stance’ (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006) has laid sound foundations for this aspect of interpersonal meaning. Their work, which is built on a heavy quantitative base that allows the identification of particular forms associated with the expression of stance and the description of a limited number of basic types of stance meaning that are straightforwardly derived only from the stance marker, does not thoroughly account for the wide range of stance meaning within the textual frame and the context in which stance is taken, i.e., they focus more on the lexico-grammatical realisation of stance at the expense of its meaning and function at the textual and contextual levels. So, it has been argued in this study, following Hunston (2007), that stance markers merely represent useful indicators of the act of stancetaking and those markers do not carry the stance meaning, but they, to varying degrees, co-occur with it and recur in any text or talk. For this reason, one of the purposes of the current study is to build on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006) in order to account for stance meaning and function within the whole text as well as its socio-political context and particularly with regard to the tradition of descriptive translation studies.

The term ‘stance’ has been preferred over the prominent one ‘evaluation’, in particular, because taking any stance involves (either explicitly or implicitly) evaluating the entity or proposition towards which the stance is to be taken (as positive or negative, good or bad, desirable or undesirable, etc.). Thus, evaluation is part of, and logically prior to, any stance being taken. In

the previous two subsections, we have considered how ‘evaluation’ and ‘appraisal’ have been introduced and theorised as two related terms used to more or less signal the specific aspect of interpersonal meaning under investigation here. In the next section, the discussion turns to consider how the central concept of stance has been theorised within the domain of language use. This consideration is of particular significance for understanding how this concept has been dealt with and for providing insights into how this area might be approached.

#### **4.5 The theorisation of the concept of stance**

Over the past two decades or so, the concept of stance has emerged as a major area of language use that gained considerable momentum in linguistics and other related disciplines. As evident from the substantial body of literature devoted to this area, stance has been dealt with in such fields as sociology, anthropology and education, but has been far more extensively approached from different angles across various subdisciplines of linguistics including corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Englebretson, 2007b). Jaffe (2009b: 3, emphasis in original) asserts in this regard that

The study of stance ... has a robust history in a number of analytic traditions, ranging from corpus-linguistic treatments of authorial stance as connected to particular academic genres, to critical discourse analyses of embedded stances in political, cultural, and persuasive texts, to studies of stancetaking as an interactional and discursive phenomenon, to the analysis of stance-saturated linguistic forms as they are used to reproduce (or challenge) social, political, and moral hierarchies in different cultural contexts.

Within these disciplines and subdisciplines, the concept of stance, as will be made clear in the course of the following discussion, has been approached from many different perspectives and sometimes applying related theoretical terms, by researchers whose backgrounds, interests and

aims are as varied as the (sub)disciplines themselves. The “notable upsurge of interest in stance” has been taken by Englebretson (2007b:1) to mark “an orientation toward conceiving of language in terms of the functions for which it is used, based on the contexts within which it occurs”. This section considers prominent work on the development of stance as a theoretical concept and outlines the analytical perspectives that have been adopted in this area. The goal of this section is not to provide an encyclopedic coverage of the substantial amount of work that has already been undertaken on the concept of stance in each of the research traditions in which it operates. Rather, this section is intended to cover only the most prominent theoretical orientations in the territory of stance.

Douglas Biber, who has earned a reputation as one of the most prominent scholars working on stance since its emergence as an area of interest in language-related research, and Edward Finegan were among the first scholars to use the term ‘stance’ in their early work (1988, 1989) on academic genres, where they defined stance as “the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message” (Biber and Finegan, 1989: 93). In the (1988) work, Biber and Finegan exclusively focused on a particular grammatical structure that functions as a stance marker in English, namely stance adverbials<sup>25</sup> (adverbs, prepositional phrases, and adverbial clauses). They drew a distinction between six *semantic categories* of stance adverbials: (1) *honestly* adverbials, which express “manner of speaking”; (2) *generally* adverbials, express *approximation*; (3) *surely* adverbials, express *conviction/certainty*; (4) *actually* adverbials, express *actuality/emphasis*; (5) *maybe* adverbials, express *possibility/likelihood*; and (6) *amazingly* adverbials, which express “attitudes towards the content independent of its epistemological status” (ibid., p. 7-8). It is

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<sup>25</sup> The term ‘adverbials’ is used to denote those single words, phrases, and clauses that function the same as adverbs and modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs in utterances.

obvious from their exclusive focus on adverbials that this grammatical structure has proven to be a major marker of stance, which can serve a range of functions. Despite the existence of a series of linguistic markers that stance can be realised through, Biber and Finegan's (1988) work was mainly designed to examine only one particular type of those markers.

In their second study, Biber and Finegan (1989) broadened the scope of their corpus-based investigations to encompass other markers of stance in English, including lexical and grammatical markers like modals, verbs, and adjectives, across a range of written and spoken registers. Also, they sought, through the study of the linguistic marking of stance, to identify and describe variation across the examined written and spoken registers. For doing so, they used a statistical technique, which is termed 'cluster analysis', for classifying texts that are seemingly similar into clusters, according to the stance markers and their occurrences in those texts. Each cluster, which in turn consists of predominant types of markers, is characterised as a stance style. The focus was on those stance markers that express degrees of *evidentiality* (also known as epistemic stance), which refers to the certainty of and commitment to the propositional content of a given message (e.g., *I think, obvious*) and *affect* (known as attitudinal stance), which refers to the expression of personal feelings and attitudes towards the content of a message (e.g., *I'm shocked, I liked*). Based on grammatical and semantic criteria, they distinguished 12 categories of stance markers: (1) affect markers (adverbs, verbs, and adjectives); (2) hedges; (3) emphatics; (4) possibility modals; (5) necessity modals; (6) predictive modals; (7) certainty verbs; (8) doubt verbs; (9) certainty adjectives; (10) doubt adjectives; (11) certainty adverbs; and (12) doubt adverbs. In both of their studies, Biber and Finegan (1988; 1989) demonstrated the importance of adverbials as a rich source for expressing varying degrees of stance meanings – specifically expressing evidentiality and affect.

The work on the concept of stance began to broaden with Biber *et al.*'s (1999) work in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE), where they devote an entire chapter to *The grammatical marking of stance* (Ch. 12) that provides a more detailed consideration of the various aspects of the expression of stance. In this chapter, they describe the linguistic devices through which stance is conveyed in four different registers (academic prose, conversation, fiction, and newspaper reportage) based on a large database of American and British English. They argue that stance can be expressed in different ways. It is most commonly expressed through a variety of lexical and grammatical devices, such as value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals and semi-modals, stance adverbials, stance complement clauses (that-clauses and to-clauses), stance noun plus prepositional phrase, and premodifying stance adverbs. Also, stance may be paralinguistically expressed through loudness, pitch, and duration. And finally, stance may be expressed through non-linguistic means, such as body position, facial expressions, gestures (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 967-968). Biber and colleagues draw a distinction between three main semantic categories of stance markers<sup>26</sup>:

(1) *epistemic stance*: pertains to the status that writers/speakers assign to the information presented in a given proposition and the degree of commitment that they have towards such information. Stance markers in this category signal meanings of “certainty (or doubt), actuality, precision, or limitation; or they can indicate the source of knowledge or the perspective from which the information is given” (e.g., adverbials such as *definitely*, modal verbs such as *must*, verbs + complement clauses such as *seems that*) (p. 972);

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<sup>26</sup> For further detailed consideration of the lexical and grammatical marking of stance, see chapter six.

(2) *attitudinal stance*: pertains to expressing attitudes and personal feelings or emotions (e.g., adverbials such as *amazingly*, modal verbs such as *ought to*, adjective + complement clauses such as *curious to*); and

(3) *style of speaking stance*: has to do with providing the writers/speakers' "comments on the communication itself" (e.g., adverbials such as *honestly*, *quite frankly*, *strictly speaking*) (p. 975).

It is worth noting here that, as its corpus of original and translated texts is in the written form, the present study is only concerned with grammatical and lexical devices used to encode the concept of stance (overt expressions of stance), namely stance adverbials, modals, stance complement clauses, and value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns).

One of the strengths of the lexico-grammatical framework of stance developed by Biber and colleagues (1999) is that it has been tested on large amounts of naturally occurring data of spoken and written American and British English that was originally compiled for the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Those scholars have noted that stance is differently attributed to writers/speakers. In many cases, it is explicitly attributed to the writer/speaker (e.g., *I think*, *I am sure*, *it seems to me*); and there are cases where stance is expressed implicitly with no reference to the author (e.g., *it might be that*, *it is perhaps more likely that*, *it seems strange that*). In other cases, it is not possible to distinguish whether the stance being taken is expressed by the writer/speaker or by a third party (e.g., *it was expected that*, *it has been suggested that*, *as anticipated*). They have also found that stance markers are much more common in conversation as compared to the written registers examined. It is important to emphasise here that Biber *et al.*'s (1999) work is built on a heavy quantitative base that allows the identification of particular

forms associated with the conveyance of stance and the description of a limited number of basic types of stance meaning that are straightforwardly derived only from the stance marker.

In another recent similar work, Biber (2006) offers a more detailed treatment of the grammatical marking of stance in English and its semantic categories. Drawing on the framework of stance developed in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, he examines, based on a large corpus, three major grammatical resources (modal and semi-modal verbs, stance adverbs, and stance complement clauses) used to overtly express stance in university spoken and written registers. Biber (2006: 92-93) makes a distinction, within each of these three grammatical resources, between several semantic units that express particular types of stance. He distinguishes, within stance adverbs, for example, between three semantic units or categories: (1) epistemic (subdivided into *certainty* adverbs such as *definitely*, *obviously* and *likelihood* adverbs such as *apparently*, *possibly*); (2) attitude (e.g., *conveniently*, *hopefully*); and (3) style adverbs (e.g., *according to*, *honestly*). He concludes that stance is much more common in spoken than in written registers. Moreover, modal verbs are turned out to be the most frequently used grammatical device for the expression of stance in the corpora examined. At the semantic level, Biber clarifies that stance markers function differently across registers due to the different communicative purposes of texts or talks and production circumstances of each specific register. For him, the functions that stance markers can serve include “the expression of epistemic certainty, likelihood, or doubt; the expression of attitudinal and evaluative meanings; or a range of directive meanings” (ibid., p. 130-131).

The initial work by Biber and his colleagues on the phenomenon of stance, just considered, has laid sound foundations for more robust research in this area of language use (see e.g., Baratta, 2009; Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Damari, 2010; Englebretson, 2007a; Henderson and Barr,

2010; Hyland and Sancho Guinda, 2012; Jaffe, 2007, 2009a; Myers, 2010; Richardson and Corner, 2011). Biber and Finegan (1988, 1989), Biber *et al.* (1999), and Biber (2006) have focused exclusively on the use of corpus-based methods to identify and quantify the various linguistic resources for expressing stance in English with special focus on its grammatical marking. They have examined large amounts of naturally occurring data across various spoken and written genres. As such, their work allows the identification of particular lexico-grammatical forms, known as stance markers, associated with the conveyance of stance and the description of a limited number of basic types of stance meaning that are straightforwardly derived only from the stance marker. Thus, it is obvious that their work does not thoroughly account for the wide range of stance meaning within the whole text and the context in which stance is taken, as approaching stance “entails more than simply locating those forms” that mark it (Hunston, 2007:28). In this regard, Du Bois (2007) and Hunston (2011) emphasise that the interpretation of stance patterns is heavily dependent on the context in which they appear.

Later treatments of stance represent a shift in viewing stance “as an activity rather than as a set of markers or expressions” (Hunston, 2011: 23). One of the most important treatments of this concept so far is to be found in the work of Du Bois (2007), whose definition of stance has been adopted in the present study (see the definition in section 4.2). In his influential work, Du Bois proposes the ‘stance triangle’ as a tool for understanding the social act of stancetaking in spoken discourse. According to which, a single stance act simultaneously involves three main elements: (1) *evaluation*: refers to the fact that the stancetaker evaluates the object he/she is addressing, where a certain value or quality is assigned to that object, in relation to those values of the stancetaker and/or the sociocultural values of the discourse community to which he/she belongs; (2) *positioning*: refers to the way in which the stancetaker situates himself/herself with respect to



the object being addressed; and (3) *alignment*: has to do with the act of aligning either convergently or divergently with the stance being taken concerning the addressed object; it comes as a response to that stance of another participant. These three elements constitute the core of the act of stancetaking in any verbal communicative interaction. Du Bois argues that stance is taken by a social actor (*stancetaker*) who evaluates an object and positions himself/herself with respect to that object and other participants in the interaction. The stancetaker chooses a position along a scale of epistemic or attitudinal meanings. The specific object of interest towards which the stance is taken is what Du Bois terms *the object of stance*. In the course of his study, Du Bois arrives at a number of interesting conclusions that are worth noting, such as:

- the interpretation of stance is heavily dependent on the context in which it appears.
- the notion of *value* is crucial in stancetaking. At all events, stance invokes and reflects “presupposed systems of sociocultural value” (ibid., p. 173). At the same time, stance, which is more or less shaped by those systems, can at a specific point shape such value systems.
- stance is consequential in nature, where the stancetaker is responsible for the information provided and the potential consequences of such a social act within the context of his/her relations with other participants in the interaction and the values and expectations of the discourse community to which the stancetaker belongs.

In a significant piece of research entitled *Using a corpus to investigate stance quantitatively and qualitatively*, Hunston (2007) offers valuable insights into the methodological tools most apt to investigate the concept of stance. She argues that using only corpus analytical methods to analyse stance is problematic, as “stance is a meaning, a type of meaning, or several types of meaning, rather than a form” (ibid., p. 27) as well as there is no straightforward connection

between “individual words, on the one hand, and stance functions, on the other” (ibid., p. 35). She comments on the relations between stance form and function and clarifies that “the relations become closer the more specific the form is taken to be” (ibid., p. 36). Therefore, she argues that a corpus analysis is useful only in identifying stance markers in their co-text and quantifying those markers and “this work must be complemented by a more qualitative approach” (ibid., p. 46), as she believes the phenomenon of stance can only be effectively analysed when looking at its context. Hunston concludes that it is unlikely to arrive at a comprehensive account of stance based on a wholly quantitative work and the availability of such work through the analysis of corpus can lay the groundwork for the investigation of stance at the level of text. Of special importance for the present study are two main points made by Hunston (2007). Firstly, she emphasises that the concept of stance needs to be investigated not as a set of independent forms that are obtained from their immediate co-text, but rather as patterns of meanings that can be interpreted through looking at their discourse as a whole and the context where these patterns appear. Secondly, she calls for a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology in the investigation of stance. These two points have been taken into account in choosing the research methodology that will be used in the current study.

What is common in the theorisation of the concept of stance in the studies that have been considered here and others elsewhere is that there is no comprehensive theoretical framework of stance upon which researchers working within this territory agree. As such, the methodology chosen to conduct the current study is built, following Hunston (2007), on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that are closely related to the concept of stance and, more importantly, can best serve the purposes of this study. Having considered in this section how the central concept of stance has been theorised within the domain of language use, the

discussion in the following section moves on to review the work that has been done on this concept within the field of Translation Studies.

#### **4.6 Studies of stance in translation**

Despite the great deal of attention that the concept of stance has received and its substantial body of research available in the field of linguistics and other related disciplines, a very different approach to this area of language use has been taken in Translation Studies. In fact, research on the concept of stance or even its related theoretical terms can hardly be found in the literature of Translation Studies. Very few researchers in the field have so far tried to address this area of language use.

An important piece of work on the concept of stance in the field of Translation Studies has been only recently provided by Munday (2012). In his *Evaluation in Translation: Critical Points of Translator Decision-Making*, Munday uses the term *evaluation* to refer to this area and adopts the definition given by Hunston and Thompson (2000) (see this definition in subsection 4.4.1.1). Munday provides a book-length work on the translation of evaluative language in various written and spoken discourse as well as on the linguistic signs of the translator's intervention and subjectivity. In this work, he adopts appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) as the main theoretical and methodological framework, where the analytical validity of this theory within the field has been tested. In order to examine the main features of the theory and its validity for translational analysis as well as the critical translation points related to subjectivity and the translational behaviour that is associated with them, Munday analyses four different *translation scenarios*. In the first, he examines the model of analysis drawn from appraisal theory in the simultaneous interpreting of a political speech, the inaugural address of President Barack Obama

in January 2009. In the second scenario, Munday examines the views of professional technical translators working in different languages and various contexts concerning critical translation points in technical texts and how conscious they are of these points. The third translation scenario involves the investigation of critical translation points in archive material of literary translations. In the last translation scenario, Munday conducts an empirical study to examine variation in multiple target versions of the same source text and the subjectivity associated with this. He concludes that the model of appraisal theory is of greater value for explaining the expression of evaluation and value judgement in the source texts examined and their translations. Logically, Munday's analysis of the presidential speech in the first translation scenario and its simultaneous interpretations can be taken to demonstrate the value of appraisal theory as a useful analytical framework for political discourse analysis.

Munday's (2012) work has been pioneering in addressing the phenomenon of subjective evaluation or stance from the perspective of Translation Studies and in testing out the validity of appraisal theory for translational analysis. Some of the strengths of his work include the fact that he has addressed different genres (political, technical, literary translation) in different languages and in two modes of translation (written translation and simultaneous interpreting) based on data gathered from the work of professional translators and student trainees. Munday focuses heavily on translator or interpreter's subjective intervention and evaluation as an active participant in the communication process and not on the translation, for example, of the stance or subjective evaluation of the source text author towards the entities or propositions addressed and how these are conveyed or reproduced in translated texts. Even his focus on the translator's subjective intervention and evaluation has in different places of his work shifted towards examining general

critical translation points like the problems associated with the translation of technical terms, culture-specific terms, polysemous words, etc.

The concept of stance (including its related theoretical terms) and its conveyance in a wide array of genres and contexts have been high on the research agenda for the past two decades or so within the field of linguistics and its related disciplines, but to date this phenomenon remains a virtually unexplored area (with the exception of Munday, 2012) within the field of Translation Studies. Munday (2012: 12), in this regard, describes the neglect of the phenomenon in Translation Studies as surprising. It thus constitutes a ripe area for new research within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. As a result, the current study seeks to fill at least part of this gap through investigating the conveyance of stance in American newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring in relation to the language used and the meaning that is derived from this conveyance and then how the original stance is re-conveyed or reproduced in the translation of these articles for Arabic-language newspapers.

#### **4.7 Concluding remarks**

This chapter has established a platform for introducing the features of the concept of stance, exploring the theorisation of this concept, and reviewing the work that has been done on it in the field of Translation Studies as well as for familiarizing the reader with some concepts and terminology pertinent to this central concept. Also, the importance of this concept has been highlighted in relation to the main functions it performs.

Based on its interpersonal nature, it has been argued in this chapter that the concept of stance is to be best understood in relation to the model of SFL, which has served as a theoretical background in this regard. The discussion has thus focused on the relationship between this

concept and the category of interpersonal meaning within the model. It turns out that stance is intimately related to the interpersonal metafunction of language and represents an aspect of this strand of meaning. This relation can therefore be taken, as the course of discussion in chapter six will reveal, to provide a useful perspective from which to systematically analyse patterns of stance meanings in the current study.

The discussion has shown that scholars and researchers from various backgrounds working within the territory of stance have used a range of theoretical terms to signal to varying degrees the specific area under investigation, prominent among these are *evaluation* and *appraisal*. The work that has been done on each of these theoretical terms, including that on stance by Biber and his colleagues, has theorised the concept of stance with varying degrees of focus on the lexicogrammatical means through which stance can be realised, the wide array of its functions at textual and contextual levels, and the pragmatic inferences associated with the expression of stance. After carefully considering the related terms, the term *stance* has been adopted, following Englebretson (2007) and Du Bois (2007), in the current study as an umbrella term to refer to the specific aspect of interpersonal meaning under investigation and under which other terms associated with this specific area can be arranged.

The chapter has also considered how the central concept of stance has been theorised within the domain of language use. This consideration has been of particular significance for understanding how this concept has been dealt with and for providing insights into how this area might be approached. It turns out from the theorisation of the concept of stance in the studies that have been considered in this chapter and others elsewhere that there is no comprehensive theoretical framework of stance upon which scholars and researchers working within this territory agree. As such, the methodology chosen to conduct the current study is built on a combination of corpus-

and discourse-analytical methods that are closely related to the concept of stance as an aspect of interpersonal meaning and, more importantly, can best serve the purposes of this study.

The final part of this chapter has focused on reviewing the work that has been done on this concept within the field of Translation Studies. The literature review has revealed that research on the concept of stance or even its related theoretical terms can hardly be found in the literature of Translation Studies. That is, to date surprisingly little attention (with the exception of Munday, 2012) has been given to the concept of stance in this field. A greater focus has been placed in this chapter on the central concept under investigation. The next chapter will provide the general theoretical background for the research methodology within which the study will be carried out.

# **Chapter Five:**

## **Theoretical Background**

### **5.1 Introduction**

... qualitative work using corpora can show typicality of use.

Susan Hunston (2007: 46)

The preceding chapter explored the key features and theorisation of the concept of stance. It reviewed previous work that has been undertaken on this concept in the discipline of Translation Studies, and highlighted some concepts and terminology pertinent to this central concept. This chapter intends to provide the general theoretical background for the methodology within which the study will be carried out. The main objective here is to offer a theoretical base prior to considerable follow-up methodological work. Accordingly, the present chapter is not designed to specifically discuss the methodology used in the current study, which is based mainly on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods, as it will receive closer consideration in the next chapter.

The present chapter selectively highlights those theoretical trends in the discipline of Translation Studies that are relevant to the scope of this study, namely corpus-based translation studies and discourse-oriented translation studies. It also focuses on two main approaches that have most often provided a more or less fertile ground for researchers working on the analysis of political discourse and its translation, by means of which interpretations can be made that allow emerging



findings to be placed within their broader social and political context, i.e., critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006). These two approaches are referred to in the current study as complementary analytical tools. This is followed by a discussion from the perspective of Translation Studies of the utility of using a combined research methodology.

## **5.2 Two relevant trends in Translation Studies**

In order to gain a better understanding of the combined methodology chosen for the purposes of the current study, which consists of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods, it is instructive at this stage to briefly consider the most significant trends that have shaped the discipline of Translation Studies and then, more importantly, to focus attention on two major trends of them, namely corpus-based translation studies and discourse-oriented translation studies, considered to be the general domains of the two aforementioned analytical methods. It needs to be noted that the aim here is only to show where those two trends are situated in relation to others and not to engage in a thorough discussion of the history of Translation Studies.

Since its emergence, the discipline of Translation Studies has witnessed various stages of growth and development and translational research has changed over time in response to different theoretical orientations. During the 1950s and 1960s, a pure linguistically oriented study of translation was the overarching theme (see, e.g., Catford, 1965; Jakobson, 1959/2004; Nida, 1964). From the 1970s, the discipline advanced broadly with the contributions and developments of semantics, pragmatics, textlinguistics, discourse analysis, communication studies, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, which prepared the ground for systematic investigation in the field. The emergence during this period of Hallidayan model of SFL, as a new comprehensive

descriptive and interpretive approach to how meaning is made in context and how this meaning is articulated through language as a semiotic system, has generated wide interest in discourse-oriented translation studies (e.g., Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997). A reorientation in Translation Studies away from equivalence at the word or sentence level towards the text appeared on the scene in the early 1970s with the work of Reiss (1971) on text typology. Towards the end of the decade and the beginning of the next, the new orientation paved the way for functionalist approaches to translation that originated with the work of Hans Vermeer in 1978 on *skopos*<sup>27</sup> theory, and which was further developed by Reiss and Vermeer (1984). These functionalist approaches include text type (Reiss, 1971), integrated approach (Snell-Hornby, 1988), translational action (Holz-Mänttari, 1984), *skopos* theory (Vermeer, 1978, 1989; Reiss and Vermeer, 1984) and Nord's (1988) text-analysis model (for more details, see Munday, 2008). Another major trend in the discipline was the paradigmatic change from prescriptive to descriptive approaches in the 1970s and 1980s. Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as a branch of the discipline was mainly developed by scholars with literary backgrounds (e.g., Toury 1985, 1995; Hermans 1985; Lambert 1988). It has provided a springboard for further developments, especially with the increasing use at a later stage of electronic corpora as a method of analysis in translation studies or what has come to be known as corpus-based translation studies (e.g., Baker, 1993, 1995; Laviosa, 1997, 2002; Olohan, 2004). In the early 1990s, there was a shift towards culture-oriented approaches or the so-called 'cultural turn' (e.g., Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, 1998). This discussion leads to the conclusion that, in the course of its evolution, the discipline of Translation Studies has witnessed several different trends and turning points as well as an extraordinary proliferation of different and often competing

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<sup>27</sup> *Skopos* is a Greek word meaning 'purpose'.

approaches or models of translation. Each of these theorises the field from a different angle and/or a different perspective and sometimes it may or may not serve the specific purposes and aims of researchers in the field. To tackle this situation and to meet the specific requirements of their studies, translation researchers commonly draw from more than one approach, or perhaps adapt and/or combine some approaches to form a new research methodology.

For the purpose of the present study, a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods within the tradition of descriptive translation studies will be employed as the combined research methodology. The next two subsections discuss in more detail two major trends within the discipline of Translation Studies in turn, namely corpus-based translation studies and discourse-oriented translation studies, which offer the theoretical background to the combined methodology.

### **5.2.1 Corpus-based translation studies**

The study of corpora in the field of Translation Studies is largely influenced and inspired by corpus linguistics<sup>28</sup>. Corpus in this field is defined as “any collection of running texts (as opposed to examples/sentences), held in electronic form and analysable automatically or semi-automatically” (Baker, 1995: 226). In fact, corpus-based analysis has proven itself as a useful research method. McEnery *et al.* (2006: 6) highlight, in this regard, four advantages that can be gained from using electronic corpora in studying language. First, processing and manipulating data in a speedy and easy manner; second, achieving accurate and consistent processing of the

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<sup>28</sup> Corpus linguistics is a branch of linguistics that involves the study of different aspects of language structure and use based on “a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002: 9).

data; third, having more reliable results that avoid human bias in the analysis of the data; and finally, the possibility of performing further processing of the same data.

The application of corpus-based methods to translation research has been growing steadily over the last couple of decades. These methods of analysis have provided a fruitful means for investigating large amounts of naturally occurring data and describing language use in original and translated texts, which are treated separately. Normally, a corpus-based method deals with a target text as an independent text within its specific target language and culture. The exploitation of these methods in the discipline, which has come to be known as corpus-based translation studies, was initiated in the early 1990s as a new methodological orientation within the field that serves to electronically examine lexical items and/or specific structures and their translations within their immediate linguistic context.

Work in this area was pioneered by Mona Baker (e.g. 1993, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2004) and then attracted much attention from other scholars like Laviosa (1997, 1998, 2002); Olohan (2004); Kenny (2001). In a seminal paper entitled *Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications*, Baker (1993: 248) put forward her view that Translation Studies “has reached a stage in its development as a discipline when it is both ready for and needs the techniques and methodology of corpus linguistics in order to make a major leap from prescriptive to descriptive statements”. In that paper, she examined a corpus consisting of translated texts against one consisting of non-translated texts in the same language in order to identify the distinctive features of translated language. On the basis of her study, she concludes that translated texts share inherent characteristics known as *translation universals*. These translation universals are “linguistic features which typically occur in translated rather than

original texts” (Baker, 1993: 243) and involve ‘explicitation’, ‘simplification’, ‘normalisation’/‘conservatism’ and ‘levelling out’<sup>29</sup>.

Baker (1995) classifies corpora into three major types designed for translation studies:

- *Parallel corpora*: this type involves “original, source language-texts in language A and their translated versions in language B. This is the type of corpus that one immediately thinks of in the context of translation studies” (ibid., p. 230).
- *Multilingual corpora*: she defines a multilingual corpus as “sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages, built up either in the same or different institutions on the basis of similar design criteria”. This type can contribute to “study items and linguistic features in their home environment, rather than as they are used in translated texts” (ibid., p. 232).
- *Comparable corpora*: the last type is used to denote two independent collections of naturally occurring texts in one specific language; “one corpus consists of original texts in the language in question and the other consists of translations in that language from a given source language or languages” (ibid., p. 234). Comparable corpora can provide insights into the identification of distinctive features that are characteristics of translated texts regardless of the source language involved (See Baker, 1993).

It is necessary here to point out that the present study is based on an English-Arabic parallel corpus<sup>30</sup> composed of naturally occurring texts published in American newspapers and their translations commissioned and published in Arabic-language newspapers.

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<sup>29</sup> For more information on these universals, see Baker (1996: 176-7).

<sup>30</sup> The corpus designed for the purpose of the current study will be described in the next chapter.

In corpus-based translation studies, it is common to see a combination<sup>31</sup> of analytical methods in a single study. Calls for such a combination have been addressed precisely because a purely corpus method of analysis is an insufficient research tool and does not necessarily always lead to well-founded conclusions (See, e.g., Doorslaer 1995; Munday 1998; Hermans 1999; Mason 2001; Baker 2004; Olohan 2004). Mason (2001), for example, acknowledges the usefulness of using corpus-based methods in translation studies, but simultaneously warns against absolute generalisations derived from such methods. He goes on to draw attention to the importance of contextual and co-textual factors as well as the influence of genre, discourse, textual purposes, achieving communicative goals of both source text producer and translator and other related factors in any given corpus. Likewise, Baker (2004) emphasises that using corpus-based analysis as a research methodology has some limitations and it should not be treated “as a free-standing methodology that does not need to be complemented by other methods of research”, but rather as “a starting point” (P. 184).

The present study will investigate the translation of stance in the genre of newspaper opinion articles using a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods. The corpus-analytical method is chosen to identify how stance is encoded in the language of newspaper opinion articles written in English for American newspapers, while the discourse analytical method is chosen to provide a description of how stance meanings can be construed in these articles as well as of the extent to which stance is accurately re-conveyed or reproduced when translating such articles for Arabic-language newspapers. In the following subsection, the second major trend within the discipline of Translation Studies that will be discussed is discourse-oriented translation studies.

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<sup>31</sup> See section 5.4 for further discussion on the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis.

## 5.2.2 Discourse-oriented translation studies

Despite the widespread use of the term ‘discourse analysis’, there is no single definition upon which scholars agree. This can be attributed to the fact that discourse analysis is multidisciplinary in nature and many disciplines may be involved, including linguistics, pragmatics, semiotics, psychology, sociology, history, anthropology, and communication research (Van Dijk, 2004). Most working definitions of the term ‘discourse analysis’ generally contain the following main ingredients: *language in use*, social and cultural contexts, *language beyond the sentence*, and text (Schiffrin *et al.*, 2001). McCarthy (1991: 5), for example, defines the term as the type of analysis that is “concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used”. A more elaborate definition is provided by Stubbs (1983: 1), who views discourse analysis as “attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchange or written texts. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts”. Brown and Yule (1983:1) offer a more specific definition that emphasises the purposes and functions of the discourse. For them, “[T]he analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs”.

As discourse analysis is basically concerned with the analysis of using language in a particular social context, it has been dealt with as a tool for both linguistic analysis (text-internal structure) and social analysis (the social scene in which a text occurs). At the early stages of its development, discourse analysis focused more on the structure and organisation of text, particularly on “linguistic devices that connected parts into wholes, such as grammatical

cohesion devices, topical markers, and semantic principles through which words and sentences became recognizable as connected texts” (Fitch and Sanders, 2005: 253). In its present form, much of the work focuses on how a piece of discourse is produced and can be interpreted in relation to “the communicative function of a text and the sociocultural meaning behind it” (Munday, 2008: 104); this is known as *pragmatics-oriented discourse analysis*<sup>32</sup>.

Widening its focus to include social, cultural and political contexts, especially with the rise of SFL model, has increased the use of discourse analysis in translation studies. It has been employed differently by different scholars in a broad range of translation research (see e.g., Baker, 1992; Blum-Kulka, 1986; Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997; House, 1997; Munday, 2002; Schäffner, 2002, 2003, 2004; Trosborg, 2000). Some have focused on Translation Quality Assessment (TQA) and how discourse analysis alongside register analysis can be used to design a model for TQA (e.g. House 1977, 1997); others have conducted research in the field with attention to relevant areas in pragmatics and sociolinguistics by means of discourse analytical methods (e.g. Baker 1992; Hatim and Mason 1990, 1997); while others have paid more attention to political discourse analysis (e.g. Schäffner, 2004; Schäffner and Bassnett, 2010a); and others to the role of discourse analysis in training translators (e.g. Trosborg 2000; Schäffner 2002). From an operational perspective, discourse analysis does not have a rigid framework, but rather it is flexible and can be adapted to suit particular research objectives and designs.

The discussion so far has highlighted the major trends in the discipline of Translation Studies that can offer a theoretical background needed to comprehend the combined methodology used in this study, which in turn will receive closer consideration in the subsequent chapter. The next

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<sup>32</sup> See Hatim (2009a: 89).



section is devoted to specific approaches related to the analysis of political discourse, which allow the facts to be placed within the broader social and political context in which they occur.

### **5.3 Approaches related to the analysis of political discourse**

In principle, the main body of the analysis in the current study is informed by a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that operate within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. The corpus-analytical method is chosen to find out how stance is encoded in the language of the original texts, which represents the methodological point of departure, so that markers and expressions of stance can be identified in the source texts. This corpus analysis offers a view of how stance operates at the lexico-grammatical level. The discourse analytical method, on the other hand, is then applied so that the epistemic and/or attitudinal meanings of each single instance of stance identified and their functions in the source texts can be described at the textual level. After the identification and description of these meanings and functions in the source texts, they can be examined in the corresponding target texts to find out how stance is re-conveyed or reproduced and what shifts in stance are identified (an extended discussion of the combined methodology and the reasons behind choosing it is to be found in the next chapter).

In an attempt to add further insight into the description of the concept of stance under analysis, two complementary analytical tools are included. The study is therefore informed, to varying degrees, by some aspects from critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006), which, to varying degrees, allow for the contextualisation of the findings and the explanation of translational behaviour. The choice of these two approaches is motivated by the conventional association between political discourse and the context of its production and interpretation. The two approaches have been widely employed as more or less productive

analytical tools in the analysis of political discourse and its translation, as they seek to explore and reveal the relationship between political discourse and the wider context in which it is produced and interpreted. In the following two subsections, these two approaches are discussed in turn, alongside the reasons why they were chosen.

### 5.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA, which developed from Critical Linguistics<sup>33</sup>, is a branch of discourse analysis that views language “as a form of social practice” (Fairclough, 1989: 20). As such, the critical analysis here is built upon the tenet that “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). It focuses on uncovering how underlying aspects of discourse like power, ideology<sup>34</sup>, dominance and social inequality, which contribute towards changing social realities, are expressed through written and spoken language. To achieve this, CDA seeks to integrate the linguistic analysis of a text (micro level) with social analysis of underlying power relations (macro level) depending on the *discursive practices*<sup>35</sup> through which the text is developed (see Figure 5.1). In this sense, the discursive practices are the “mediator” between the micro- (the textual level) and macro- (the sociocultural practice) levels (Thompson, 2004: 5). The aim of CDA then is to “bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language” (Fairclough, 1992: 92).

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<sup>33</sup> Critical Linguistics is a branch of linguistics that focuses on “a socially directed application of linguistic analysis, using chiefly concepts and methods associated with the ‘systemic-functional’ linguistics”; it views “all linguistic usage encodes ideological patterns or discursive structures which *mediate* representations of the world in language” (Fairclough, 2002:102).

<sup>34</sup> Fairclough (2002) acknowledges that the term ideology carries too many negative connotations, but, in CDA, it has to be dealt with in a neutral sense.

<sup>35</sup> The term ‘discursive practices’ is used in Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA to refer to three processes that should be taken into account in the critical analysis of a text, i.e. text production, distribution and consumption.

One of the core features of CDA is that it is an interdisciplinary approach that combines in the study of language use elements from diverse disciplinary perspectives such as sociology, psychology, history, politics, cultural studies, semiotics as well as linguistics, but the main contributions to this type of study come from linguistic and social theoretical backgrounds. CDA looks at the relationship between language and society as both of them mutually inform and influence each other. Language use is shaped by its social context and this context in turn is shaped, to varying degrees, by language.

Given the situation of the wide disciplinary inclusion mentioned above, it is not surprising, then, that there is no agreement on a single unified and homogeneous view of CDA. In an attempt to establish some common ground, Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) outline eight key theoretical and methodological principles of CDA (capitals and italics in original): (1) “*CDA Addresses Social Problems*”; (2) “*Power Relations Are Discursive*”; (3) “*Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture*”; (4) “*Discourse Does Ideological Work*”; (5) “*Discourse is Historical*”; (6) “*The Link between Text and Society is Mediated*”; (7) “*Discourse Analysis is Interpretative and Explanatory*”; and (8) “*Discourse is a Form of Social Action*”. These principles can provide a useful point of departure for understanding the theoretical view of CDA.

The theoretical scope of CDA is marked by several different approaches, where every approach comes at the subject from a different angle. In this regard, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) point out that there are a number of different theoretical approaches within the field. Three among them have been more frequently used than others: (1) the socio-cognitive approach of Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 2001b); (2) the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001); and (3) the three-dimensional model of CDA which was developed by Norman Fairclough (1992; 1995a; 2003). In spite of all this diversity, some common theoretical

conceptions can be identified across these varied theoretical approaches to CDA. They tend to be oriented towards combining the analysis of language use with its larger social context. Also, they are politically engaged and “socially committed” to examining how language in use contributes to (re)production of social power and change (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 279-280). On the other hand, Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak and other critical discourse scholars and analysts have been criticised on the grounds that they do not explicitly state their political goals in choosing to analyse a particular political discourse. Wilson (2001), for example, argues that they are much more likely to act as political actors than neutral analysts.

The present study draws on some aspects from Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a), which is used as a complementary analytical tool. As such, the majority of what follows is based on this model. Norman Fairclough is one of the founders of CDA and his work is considered by many scholars to be “[T]he most prominent and explicit elaboration and application of CDA” (Iedema, 2003: 40). In fact, the work of Fairclough has provided a stepping stone for further research in this area.

Inspired in part by principles of the Hallidayan model of SFL, Fairclough developed a model of CDA that is concerned with the analysis of both the process of meaning-making at the contextual level (macro level analysis) and of the text as an end product of that process (micro level analysis). For him, CDA “looks to establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice (text production, consumption and distribution), and wider sociocultural practice” (Fairclough, 1995a: 87). On this basis, he proposes three inter-related analytical dimensions, as shown in Figure 5.1: (1) a *text*; (2) a *discursive practice* (which includes processes of text production, distribution and consumption); and (3) a *social practice* (or

*sociocultural practice*) dimension. In this model, the analysis of a text occurs within a larger social practice, in which a discursive practice plays a mediating role.

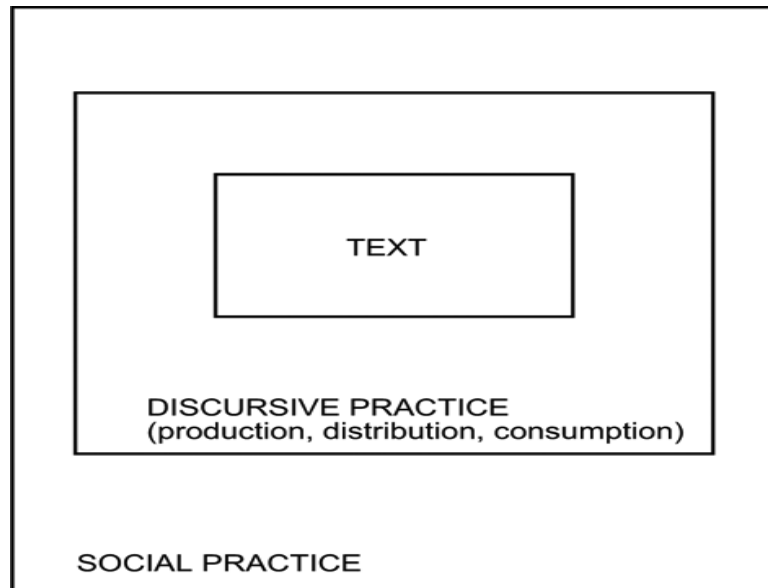


Figure 5.1: Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse (from Fairclough, 1992: 73)

The first dimension (*text*) involves the analysis of linguistic properties of a text such as lexicon, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. The analysis at the level of this dimension can be considered roughly a pure discourse analysis with no relation to the context in which the text is produced (non critical). As to the dimension of *discursive practice*, Fairclough focuses on processes of text production, distribution and consumption. Analysis here includes aspects that provide an interface between a text and its larger social context like speech acts, coherence and intertextuality. This dimension is of utmost importance in the model because it mediates between the analysis of the text as an end product (micro level analysis) and the analysis of the larger social practice (macro level analysis). In the dimension of *social practice*, the analysis here of text as a communicative event includes, to varying degrees, different contextual levels of that

particular event: this “may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture” (Fairclough, 1995b: 62). These dimensions cover three corresponding stages of critical analysis: text description, interpretation, and explanation.

With its particular interest in analysing concepts of power, dominance, discrimination, and ideology, CDA has provided a productive analytical framework for the study of both political discourse and translated political discourse (see, e.g., Calzada Pérez, 2007; Chilton, 2004; Chilton and Schäffner, 1997, 2002a; Fairclough, 2000; Schäffner, 1996, 2003, 2004; Wodak, 2009). The application of CDA to translation studies has been reinforced by the orientation towards dealing with translation as a social practice just like any other piece of naturally occurring language in use (see, e.g., Lefevere, 1992). CDA has offered translation researchers ways of investigating both original and translated texts within their social, political, cultural, and institutional contexts. On this basis, it serves as a bridge between text and context.

Newspaper opinion articles – as a heavily opinionated political genre – and their translations, which may appear in different newspapers and in different languages, equally play a crucial role in more or less (re)shaping the language and opinions of their readers as well as social realities in particular ways that serve the interests of those in power, of the writers themselves, of institutions (newspapers or governments), and of the larger society. At the same time, such opinion texts are shaped, to a greater or a lesser degree, in relation to these contextual aspects. In light of this, it is particularly crucial that language in use in both the original and translated texts be systematically linked to its context. This can be achieved through Fairclough’s model of CDA which, as already illustrated above, attempts to come to a thorough understanding of how language in text – as a product of society – is used to achieve meaning in relation to context.

Thus, the analysis of the phenomenon of stance at the contextual level will, to varying degrees, be informed by this model.

This study applies relevant aspects of Fairclough's (1992, 1995a) model of CDA as a complementary analytical tool to contextualise the findings. These aspects include the immediate situational, the institutional and the wider socio-political contexts in which text production and interpretation take place. Such aspects are put forward to provide analysis at the contextual level of both the original texts and their translations and relate these to the analysis of stance at both lexico-grammatical and textual levels. To that end, the analysis at the contextual level will concentrate on the dimension of *social practice* in which original and translated texts are produced and interpreted. As a result of adding this complementary analytical tool to the research methodology, the investigation of the translation of stance will take the form of intensive analysis and cover three different levels, namely lexico-grammatical, textual and contextual levels of analysis.

Using aspects of Fairclough's model of CDA as a complementary analytical tool informs the present study in the following ways. First, it provides a means to contextualise the findings of the linguistic realisation and textual analysis of the corpus. Second, it provides different forms of contextual analysis within the dimension of *social practice*, namely at immediate situational, institutional and wider socio-political contexts. Finally, it can contribute towards arriving at a fuller picture of the translation of stance through constructing complementary and at the same time necessary analysis at the contextual level alongside the analysis at both the lexico-grammatical and textual levels, as the "context is crucial in identifying stance" (Hunston, 2007: 36). Having introduced the first complementary analytical tool and how it will inform the study,

the next section turns to discuss Baker's (2006) narrative theory, which represents the second complementary analytical tool.

### **5.3.2 Narrative Theory (Baker, 2006)**

Inspired by Fisher's (1987, cited in Baker 2006: 5) narrative paradigm, Baker developed in her widely cited (2006) work *Translation and conflict: A narrative account* and in a series of papers (2005; 2007; 2010) a theoretical framework that addresses how narratives<sup>36</sup> are constructed in an attempt to make sense of the world in situations of conflict and how they are elaborated and promoted through translation and interpreting in order to shape, to varying degrees, social and political reality in different language(s) and culture(s). Her work, which initiated the use of narrative approach in Translation Studies, is built on ideas drawn from "social and communication theory, rather than ... narratology or linguistics" (Baker, 2006: 3). Narratives, for Baker, are "the stories we tell ourselves and other people about the world(s) in which we live. These stories are constructed – not discovered – by us in the course of making sense of reality, and they guide our behaviour and our interaction with others" (ibid., p. 169). This definition of narratives will be adopted in the context of this study. To clarify her narrative theory, Baker uses ample examples from major contemporary political conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the attacks of 11 September 2001, the so-called 'War on Terror' and bin Laden, War on Iraq, Kosovo, etc.

One of the basic principles of the narrative theory is that narratives serve "as an instrument of mind in the construction of reality" rather than a mere representation of it (Bruner 1991: 5-6, cited in Baker 2006: 20). They are the medium through which people create meanings that are

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<sup>36</sup> In Baker's narrative theory, the terms 'narrative' and 'story' are considered synonyms.



necessary to apprehend the world. And it is narrative within which human behaviour can be explained<sup>37</sup>. According to this theory, all human actions and interactions are guided or shaped by narratives.

Following the typology of narratives developed by Somers (1992; 1997: cited in Baker 2006: 28) and Somers and Gibson (1994: cited in Baker 2006:28), Baker (2006) elaborates on this typology and distinguishes, with an eye to translation, between four types of narratives: *ontological* (or personal), *public*, *conceptual* (or disciplinary), and *meta-narrative*. Each of these types is defined and briefly discussed below.

Ontological (or personal) narratives are the stories that individuals construct about themselves as members of a society and about the immediate world in which they live. Baker (2006: 28) defines this type of narratives as “personal stories that we tell ourselves about our place in the world and our own personal history”. Naturally, individuals construct narratives in an attempt to make sense of the world and their role in it, and ultimately their behaviour is guided and influenced by these narratives. On this basis, aspects of human behaviour, including those of writers’ and translators’ behaviour, can be understood through recognising the narratives to which they subscribe. It needs to be noted here that this feature of the narrative theory provides a major impetus, among others, for using this theory in the current study (this point will be discussed at the end of this section).

Building on Somers’ (1992, 1997: cited in Baker 2006: 33) and Somers and Gibson’s (1994: cited in Baker 2006: 33) definition of public narratives, Baker (2006: 33) defines this type of narratives as “stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations

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<sup>37</sup> Baker (2007: 153) does acknowledge the role of other factors that can influence human behaviour such as society, culture, religion, race, etc.

larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or educational institution, the media, and the nation”. Through constructing public narratives, these institutions irrespective of their size promote or disseminate their perception of events happening around us and of the world in general and in turn they may guide or shape personal narratives and behaviour. Media institutions in general and newspapers in particular seek to more or less promote certain narratives to which they subscribe through producing and circulating original and translated materials. The behaviour of both writers and translators in such a domain are shaped, to varying degrees, by their personal narratives and by the public narratives of their institutions. Public and to lesser degree personal narratives represent the types of potential narratives that may be encountered in the current study, as the corpus here consists of original and translated texts that are produced, translated and circulated by one of the media institutions, i.e. newspapers.

As to the conceptual (or disciplinary) narratives, Baker (2006: 39) defines this type as “the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry”. Meta-narrative is the fourth type and the broadest in scope within her typology. Meta-narratives are constructed to affect people around the world as they extend the boundaries of an institution, a community, a country, a language, or a culture. For Baker, *The Cold War* provides a typical example of this type (ibid., p. 45). Conceptual and meta-narratives will not be discussed further because they fall outside the scope of this study.

Another major feature of narrative theory which merits attention is the notion of ‘framing’. This notion refers to the ways in which narratives are projected and embedded in a particular text or talk. In the case of translation, (re)framing denotes how narratives embedded in source texts are accentuated, undermined, or modified by translator(s) and interpreter(s) in different language and culture. Baker (2007: 156) argues that this notion is

closely connected to the question of how narrative theory allows us to consider the immediate narrative elaborated in the text being translated or interpreted *and* the larger narratives in which the text is embedded, and how this in turn allows us to see translational choices not merely as local linguistic challenges but as contributing directly to the narratives that shape our social world.

In her discussion of (re)framing, Baker (2006: 112-39) offers extensive examples to show how narratives are projected using a number of devices, including temporal and spatial framing, framing through selective appropriation, framing by labelling and repositioning of participants. It is worth pointing out here that it is not the intention of the current study to offer a comprehensive discussion and analysis of how narratives are constructed, but rather to explain aspects of translational behaviour and practices of media institutions (newspapers) related to the conveyance of stance when translating newspaper opinion articles for Arabic-language newspapers.

As a result of our diverse mental abilities and of the fact that we see things in different ways, people construct different narratives in response to events happening around us, especially events emerging from situations of conflict. Such events often occur beyond individuals' community, culture, or language boundaries and in this case people depend on other parties like the media to construct narratives for them or to help them construct their own narratives in an attempt to make sense of such events. In doing so, these narratives are often constructed to justify, motivate, or legitimise individuals' behaviour or institutional practices. As such, understanding the nature of narratives and how they are framed are useful means to explain the choices that are made by speakers, writers, or translators in the process of meaning making as well as to explain institutional practices.

Contrary to the focus in Translation Studies on examining individual texts and their translations chosen for their language problems, narrative theory looks at a text depending on “the broader set of narratives in which it is embedded, and it encourages us to look beyond the immediate, local narrative as elaborated in a given text or utterance to assess its contribution to elaborating wider narratives in society” (Baker 2006: 4). In this sense, narrative theory can extend the boundaries of analysis to take it beyond heavy reliance on structural and textual material.

With its particular focus on situations of conflict, political discourse, and translation, narrative theory can serve as a fruitful complementary analytical tool in this study. Besides the combined research methodology and Fairclough’s model of CDA, the present study is also informed by some concepts and aspects of narrative theory as developed by Baker (2006) in the following ways. First, this theory can provide a means to explain different aspects of translational behaviour in relation to wider social and political contexts. Second, it can also provide explanations for practices of the media institutions (newspapers), which produce and publish the translations of newspaper opinion articles. Finally, as taking stances is part of human behaviour, this means it is possible to more or less explain any stance being taken through recognising the narrative(s) to which the stancetaker subscribes. Since the main body of the analysis in the current study will be informed by a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods, it is worthwhile at this stage to discuss the utility of combining analytical methods in conducting a research.

#### **5.4 The utility of using a combined research methodology**

As briefly discussed in section 5.2, the discipline of Translation Studies has witnessed several trends and turning points since its emergence. All of these have resulted not only in a rapid

growth and development of the field, but also in a diversity of theoretical approaches and research methods. Actually, each approach to translation looks at the subject from a different angle and/or a different perspective and sometimes it may or may not serve the specific purposes and aims of researchers within the field. Accordingly, it is quite common to see within a single translation study a combination of two or more research methods drawn from approaches in the field and/or borrowed from other related disciplines.

Research methods, in general, fall under two main types – quantitative and qualitative. The former focuses on precise and generalisable statistical findings of “a few isolated variables in larger samples”, while the latter focuses on providing accurate descriptions of “many variables that are investigated in smaller samples” (Hansen, 2010:196). In scientific research, the choice between quantitative and qualitative research methods is often determined by the purpose(s) of the study and the particular research questions being addressed. Each of these types of methods provides a tool for contributing to increase knowledge, and each has its own strengths and weaknesses.

Given the complexity of translation as a field of study, researchers most often resort to a combination of the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research methods in an attempt to increase the reliability and validity of their studies rather than would have been possible using only one of them. In this way, the strengths of one research method can compensate for the weaknesses of the other (Gorard and Taylor, 2004). Technically speaking, the process of combining research methods or tools within a single study is known as ‘triangulation’. In Translation Studies, triangulation is used to refer to:

A multi-methodological perspective which aims at explaining a given phenomenon from several vantage points combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Data can thus be cross-analysed and researchers can overcome the limitations caused by the use of a sole

method of investigation (Munday 2009: 237; an entry in the glossary by Hurtado Albir and Alves).

With a view to provide a coherent analysis of the concept of stance at lexico-grammatical, textual, and contextual levels, the current study aims at providing an account of how stance is conveyed in a heavily opinionated political genre – newspaper opinion articles – and how this stance is re-conveyed or reproduced in the translation of these articles for Arabic-language newspapers. For doing so, a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods has been used as the main methodological tool that is complemented by some aspects of Fairclough’s model of CDA and Baker’s narrative theory as complementary analytical tools. This research methodology, through which the study will be conducted, begins with identifying stance at the lexico-grammatical level using the corpus-analytical method and then the findings obtained are to be analysed using the qualitative tools at both the textual and contextual levels.

## **5.5 Concluding remarks**

This chapter has served as the theoretical basis for the research methodology employed in the current study that will be described in the following chapter. The present chapter has dealt with three broad theoretical aspects that provide the ground for considerable follow-up methodological work: 1) highlighting two major trends in the discipline that are relevant to the scope of the current study, namely corpus-based translation studies and discourse-oriented translation studies; 2) focusing on two approaches that are deemed to be relevant to and often used in the analysis of political discourse and its translation, i.e. Fairclough’s model of CDA and Baker’s narrative theory. Some concepts and aspects of these two approaches more or less inform the present study; and 3) discussing the orientation towards the combination of methods

of analysis in translation studies and accentuating some leading works which call for this type of combination.

With respect to the first aspect, the chapter has provided an overview of the corpus-based translation studies, including the conception of corpus in relation to corpus linguistics, advantages that can be gained from using corpora in translation studies, types of corpora from the perspective of translation research, main contributions in this area of translation research, and limitations of corpus-based method of analysis. Under the same aspect, the chapter has also offered an overview of the discourse-oriented translation studies, including the nature of discourse analysis, the relation between discourse analysis and the notion of context, and the use of discourse analysis in translation studies.

In the second aspect, the discussion has focused on two approaches related to the analysis of political discourse and its translation, i.e. the model of CDA (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006). The purpose of using some concepts and aspects of these approaches, as complementary analytical tools in the current study, is to gain better insight into the contextualisation of the research findings and the translational behaviour as well as related institutional practices. In the case of CDA, the chapter has gone over the relation between discourse and sociocultural context highlighting issues of focus within the approach and referring to the interdisciplinary nature of critical analysis of discourse. Moreover, the chapter has discussed the theoretical diversity of CDA and concentrated on Fairclough's model of CDA. In addition to this, the chapter has provided an overview of the relation between CDA and Translation Studies, and then specified how aspects of Fairclough's model of CDA will inform the current study. In relation to the second complementary analytical tool, the chapter has discussed the origin of Baker's narrative theory and the relation between narratives and the

construction of reality. The chapter has also dealt with the typology of narratives, the notion of (re)framing, and the influence of narratives on human behaviour, including that on translators. Furthermore, the chapter has highlighted how narrative theory will inform the analysis in the current study.

In relation to the last theoretical aspect, the chapter has discussed the utility of using a combined research methodology in a single translation study. In sum, this chapter acts as a foundation for presenting in more depth the combination of the main methods of analysis in the subsequent chapter and sets the bases for designing the proposed research methodology, within which the study will be carried out.



## **Chapter Six:**

# **Corpus Design and Research Methodology**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter frames the methodological core of the study. The aim here is to outline the design of the corpus that is subject to the analysis in the subsequent chapter and the research methodology that will be used to answer the research questions that have been posed in chapter one. The present chapter begins with a description of the corpus designed for the purposes of the current study. This includes an overview of this corpus, the criteria on which the corpus was compiled, the limitations of the corpus, how the texts that make up this corpus were collected, the size of the corpus, and the arrangement of the source and target texts that make up the corpus and their sources in the form of tables. The discussion then moves on to outline the combined methodology used for the analysis of the conveyance of stance in the corpus of the original newspaper opinion articles and their translations for two quality Arabic-language newspapers from which the translated texts were extracted, namely *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. This methodology, which is a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods used here within the tradition of descriptive translation studies, is based mainly on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006) and appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). The chapter shall then proceed to introduce the key components that constitute an instance of stance. Identifying these components in each single instance of stance examined, as the discussion will show, is taken as the basic system of organising the analysis of stance in both the original and translated texts.

## **6.2 The corpus**

This section considers the corpus that is designed for the purposes of the present study. This includes an overview of this corpus, the criteria on which the corpus was compiled, how the texts that make up this corpus were collected, the limitations of the corpus, and the arrangement of the source and target texts that make up the corpus and their sources in the form of tables.

### **6.2.1 Overview of the corpus**

The corpus of this study is comprised of naturally occurring written texts in English that address one particular topic and their translations in the form of fully translated texts published in quality Arabic-language newspapers. The direction of all the translations to be examined is from English into Arabic. In choosing the corpus, the priority was given to the translated texts and based on which the corresponding original texts were collected (see section 6.2.2). The targeted original and translated texts are signed newspaper opinion articles.

As has been discussed in detail in chapter three, opinion articles are published in most newspapers on a daily basis to consider recent prominent political events and issues of particular interest to readers in an interpretive and (positively or negatively) evaluative way. Newspaper opinion articles under investigation are chosen on the basis that they openly provide analyses and offer opinions with a wide array of explicit authorial stance on one particular prominent political event. As social/political actors, authors of these articles most often appear to be much more concerned with building a series of convincing arguments that justify or even legitimize their analyses and opinions on the political topic being addressed than they are with the factual or objective elements of that topic. Opinion articles, which are treated here as an autonomous political genre, are originally designed to carry a heavy load of interpersonal meaning. Such a

characteristic makes them an ideal genre for investigating the translation of stance and its conveyance.

As a daily practice, many of the opinion articles published in leading Western newspapers are translated for Arabic-language newspapers in order, among other reasons, to let Arab readers consider the way others see them. The orientation towards translating other voices and opinions appeals to the interest of those readers, who draw on the content of these articles for their self-image as well as their political awareness and judgement. So, the selection of foreign newspaper articles to be translated into Arabic is one of the main duties of the editors of translation departments at Arabic-language newspapers, who every day conduct a survey of the most important and leading newspapers in the west and choose the opinion materials that will be given to their team of translators (A. Abu-Zeineh, personal communication, 10 March 2011)<sup>38</sup>. The favoured articles are those that go with the editorial policy of those Arabic-language newspapers. The choice here may depend on one or more of the following (ibid.):

- To consider the way others see Arabs; this is very common in various Arabic newspapers, especially in this period of uprisings in the region (the Arab Spring).
- Some articles are chosen because their author is well-known, i.e., the author could be an expert, academic, researcher, or an official; hence they are a commercially successful product. This definitely does not mean that these articles are chosen regardless of their topic.
- Some articles are chosen because they deal with topics not given any attention by some Arabic newspapers and/or Arab readers do not know much about these topics.
- Some articles are chosen because they provide a different projection or opinion.

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<sup>38</sup> Mr. Ala'Eddin Abu-Zeineh is the chief editor of the translation department at *Al-Ghad*.

It is commonplace knowledge now that the design of a corpus for any descriptive translation study needs to take due consideration of the fact that the corpus is “put together for a particular purpose and according to explicit design criteria in order to ensure that it is representative of the given area or sample of language it aims to account for” (Baker, 1995: 225). In line with this, the following subsection outlines the particular purpose for which the corpus of this study was designed and the specific criteria on which the corpus was compiled.

### **6.2.2 Corpus selection criteria**

The primary focus of the present study is on the conveyance of stance in a heavily opinionated political genre – newspaper opinion articles – and how this stance is re-conveyed (or reproduced) as well as what shifts in stance are identified in the translations of these articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* (الغد) and *Al-Ittihad* (الاتحاد). The corpus designed for the purposes of this study consists of Western newspaper opinion articles and their Arabic translations extracted from the Jordanian daily newspaper, *Al-Ghad*; and the Emirati daily newspaper, *Al-Ittihad*.

The question that arises at this point is why Arabic-language newspapers in two different countries have been chosen rather than in one. The intention was at an early stage of the study to have two Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies in one country, i.e., in Jordan, but this was unattainable because *Al-Ghad* appears to be the only Jordanian quality newspaper that publishes full translations of Western newspaper opinion articles that are commissioned on a daily basis by its own in-house translation department. Other Jordanian quality newspapers do not have a translation department and usually depend on other sources for ready-made translations when publishing such articles. In considering these sources, it has been

observed that one of the main sources of these ready-made translations is *Al-Ittihad*. For this reason, *Al-Ittihad* was chosen as the second Arabic-language newspaper from which the target texts were extracted. This choice is underpinned by the fact that *Al-Ittihad* has a different ownership and it more or less represents a different editorial policy of that of *Al-Ghad*.

*Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* are among the most widely distributed newspapers in their respective countries. The former is a Jordanian independent and privately owned paper that is critical of the government, while the latter is a state controlled newspaper owned by the government of Abu Dhabi that tends, in one way or another, to promote and reflect the government's position and view. Also, *Al-Ghad* is considered to be more liberal in tone as opposed to that of *Al-Ittihad*, which tends to be more conservative. It is worth noting that *Al-Ghad* was launched in August 2004; and in spite of its recent emergence, it has become one of the most popular Jordanian quality daily newspapers and one of the fast developing publications in the Arab world. "According to the Jordan Mediaguide 2010 the newspaper has 35,000 subscribers and a total circulation of 65,000" (Fülbeck, 2010: 3). In the case of *Al-Ittihad*, it was launched in 1969. According to Rugh (2004), *Al-Ittihad* has a daily circulation of 58,000 copies. A more recent figure of more than 105,000 copies is given by Abu Dhabi Media Company<sup>39</sup>, which makes it alongside *Al-Khaleej* the most widely distributed newspapers in the country.

Given that *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* are the quality Arabic-language newspapers from which the target texts under analysis were extracted, it is essential here to specify the reasons for this choice. *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* have been chosen according to the following criteria:

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<sup>39</sup> The figure is taken from the website of Abu Dhabi Media Company:  
<http://www.admedia.ae/brands/publications/al-ittihad/> (Last accessed 7<sup>th</sup> Jan 2012; 02:21).

1. Both of them are among the highest circulation and the widest read newspapers in their respective countries and the Arab world. They are therefore likely to have an impact on public opinion.
2. *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* are among those Arabic-language newspapers which, on a daily basis, publish translations of opinion articles appearing in leading Western newspapers. To accomplish this, both of them have their own in-house translation departments and their own team of translators. It is worth mentioning here that some smaller newspapers in the Arab world do not have a translation department at all. They either ignore such articles or depend on other sources for ready-made translations.
3. The researcher has established contact via email with those in charge of the translation department of each newspaper. They have been willing to provide a limited amount of information about the criteria used for selecting English-language opinion articles to be translated into Arabic.
4. Each newspaper has an online version and free access to its archive.
5. The two newspapers have different ownership and divergent editorial policies. As has been just mentioned, *Al-Ghad* is a privately owned paper that is critical of the government, while *Al-Ittihad* is a state controlled newspaper owned by the government of Abu Dhabi.

As quality newspapers, *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* have in common spaces designated for expressing opinions and analyses. The two newspapers publish translated and non-translated opinion articles (original Arabic articles). The percentage of those translated is generally lower than the number of non-translated articles. No independent section in each newspaper is specifically devoted to those translated opinion articles. Rather, one section in each is devoted to

both translated and non-translated opinion articles. This section is marked out with the heading ‘أفكار و مواقف’ (thoughts and positions) in *Al-Ghad*, while in *Al-Ittihad* it is marked out with ‘وجهات نظر’ (viewpoints). It should be noted that in *Al-Ittihad*, there is no explicit reference in the published translated opinion articles to the fact that these were translated from other Western newspapers, but rather the following is provided at the end of each translated article: ‘published with special arrangement with’ the specific source from which the original article was taken. Moreover, the translator’s name is not given in *Al-Ittihad*’s translated articles, while it is given in *Al-Ghad*. In this regard, it is unknown whether the translators working for *Al-Ittihad* and *Al-Ghad* are freelance or newspaper employed translators.

The priority in selecting the corpus was given to the translated opinion articles and based on which the corresponding original articles were collected. As will be made clear in the pages to follow, the source texts under analysis were extracted from only American quality newspapers. The question that suggests itself here is: why American newspapers? In fact, opinion articles to be translated in both *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* are usually taken from different Western sources. In order to narrow down the corpus to manageable proportions, a short survey was conducted to find out the regular sources from which the opinion articles to be translated in both newspapers are taken during one particular month. In the case of *Al-Ghad*, here is a list of the sources from which at least one article was taken and published during a month (June 2011): *Foreign Policy* (USA); *Le Monde* (France); *Counter Punch* (USA); *Common Ground* (USA); *The Palestine Chronicle* (a Palestinian online newspaper); *L’express* (France); *The Economist* (UK); *The Nation* (USA); *Der Spiegel* – English version (Germany); *The Independent* (UK); *The Christian Science Monitor* (USA); *The Middle East Online* (UK); *The Guardian* (UK); *The Washington Post* (USA); *The American Conservative* (USA); *The Wall Street Journal* (USA); *The New York*

*Times* (USA); *Foreign Affairs* (USA); *The Time Magazine* (USA); *The Global Post* (USA). It has been found that the sources used by *Al-Ghad* are from different countries, but a preference has been given to the American sources, as they represent more than a half of the sources identified. In the second case of *Al-Ittihad*, here is a list of the sources from which at least one article was taken and published during that month (June 2011): *The Christian Science Monitor* (USA); *The Washington Post* (USA); *Common Ground* (USA); *The MCT International* (USA); *The Tribune Media Services* (USA); *The New York Times* (USA). It is obvious that all the sources identified in the case of *Al-Ittihad* are American. Based on this short survey, the choice of source texts in this study has been restricted to opinion articles published in American newspapers.

To further narrow down the corpus to manageable proportions, the choice of the source texts has been restricted to those opinion articles originally published in two particular American quality newspapers, namely the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, and translated in *Al-Ghad* or *Al-Ittihad*. These two American papers have been chosen because they are the sources from which most of the American opinion articles translated in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* were taken, as well as due to the fact that they are among the leading and the most influential papers in the United States. In this respect, it is worth noting that “US newspaper coverage of international affairs is largely led by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*” (Robinson, 2012: 161).

The *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* reach a broad audience at the national and international levels and they are among those papers with the largest circulation in the country. The former, which “has been publishing since 1877”, has an average daily circulation of “slightly over half a million copies” (Baranowski, 2013: 12). At the same time, the popularity of the *Washington Post* “among the most powerful people in politics” has given “the paper an



influence far greater than what the circulation numbers might suggest” (ibid.). The latter, which was launched in 1851, has an average circulation of “1.6 million on weekdays” (ibid., p. 11). Another point which merits attention here is that the *Washington Post* tends to be more conservative in tone than the *New York Times*, as “its op-ed page generally offers more room for conservative voices than the *Times* does” (ibid., p. 12). The *New York Times*, in this regard, has “a reputation for having a liberal op-ed section” (ibid., p. 133).

It is worth noting that the current study limited its sample to newspaper opinion articles on one particular political event, namely the Arab Spring, that were originally published in the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*. These articles were translated and published in two quality Arabic-language newspapers: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. The original articles are signed, where the author’s name is given. Also, the articles chosen are limited to cover a span of one year (from March 2011 to March 2012). Other Arabic-language newspapers, other American newspapers, other political events addressed in such articles, other types of opinion pieces, and opinion articles with other dates of publication are not included. The discussion so far has been focused on general description of the corpus, the sources from which this corpus was taken, and the explicit design criteria of the corpus; it now turns to the specific source and target texts that make up this corpus.

### **6.2.3 Text collection**

The corpus on which this study is based consists of ten opinion articles on the Arab Spring originally published in English in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and the Arabic full translations of these articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*, five translated articles from each newspaper. These articles cover a span of one year (from March 2011 to March 2012). This

period of time was chosen because it represents a stage after the sudden and totally unexpected initial events of the Arab Spring.

All the newspapers included in this study have been accessed in their electronic format on the Internet. The original and translated articles were extracted from each newspaper's online version. On the one hand, the full source texts were extracted from the online version of the *Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com>) and that of the *New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com>); on the other, the full target texts were extracted from the online version of *Al-Ghad* (<http://www.alghad.com>) and that of *Al-Ittihad* (<http://www.alittihad.ae>). Then, all the texts collected were stored electronically using Microsoft Word.

The corpus subject to investigation is of parallel type that composed of naturally occurring texts in English and their translations into Arabic in the form of full texts. The original opinion articles are full texts with lengths ranging from 700 to 900 words; only one source text (ST9) is longer than the rest and contains 1,980 words. The corpus of the source texts comprises a total of 9,090 words and that of the target texts a total of 7,973 words. These texts are listed in chronological order and given consecutive numbers. They divided into source texts (ST) and target texts (TT); and then the STs subdivided into those originally published in the *Washington Post* (WP) and those in the *New York Times* (NT). Then, the TTs in turn subdivided into those translated and published in *Al-Ghad* (G) and those in *Al-Ittihad* (I). The two tables below present the original and translated texts chosen for the purposes of the current study:

Source text No.	Title of the article	Published in	Date of publication	Author's name
ST 1 NT	Looking for luck in Libya	<i>The New York Times</i>	March 29, 2011	Thomas Friedman
ST 2 WP	Obama's serial indecision on the Middle East	<i>The Washington Post</i>	April 26, 2011	Michael Gerson
ST3 NT	Losing the war of words on Libya	<i>The New York Times</i>	June 15, 2011	Lynda Calvert
ST4 WP	Why is Obama so tough on Israel and timid on Syria?	<i>The Washington Post</i>	June 20, 2011	Jackson Diehl
ST5 WP	Let Libya take charge of its revolution	<i>The Washington Post</i>	August 24, 2011	Anne Applebaum
ST6 WP	The real threat in Egypt: Delayed democracy	<i>The Washington Post</i>	September 25, 2011	Jackson Diehl
ST7 NT	Rules for transition	<i>The New York Times</i>	November 25, 2011	Michael Meyer-Resende
ST8 NT	U.S. policy on Egypt needs a big shift	<i>The New York Times</i>	November 30, 2011	Marc Lynch and Steven Cook
ST9 WP	After the hope of the Arab Spring, the chill of an Arab Winter	<i>The Washington Post</i>	December 2, 2011	Daniel Byman
ST10 WP	Syria's outcome has high stakes for the entire Mideast	<i>The Washington Post</i>	February 3, 2012	Jackson Diehl

Table 6.1: Summary of the source texts

Target text No.	Title of the translated article	Published in	Date of publication	Translator's name
TT1 G	أوباما يبحث عن الحظ في ليبيا	<i>Al-Ghad</i>	April 24, 2011	Abdelrahman Al-Husseini
TT2 I	أوباما و الشرق الأوسط ... تردد دائم	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>	April 27, 2011	Not given
TT3 G	ليبيا: خسارة حرب الكلمات	<i>Al-Ghad</i>	June 29, 2011	Abdelrahman Al-Husseini
TT4 I	"الربيع العربي" و "اليونة" أوباما	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>	June 22, 2011	Not given
TT5 G	دعوا ليبيا تتولى المسؤولية عن ثورتها	<i>Al-Ghad</i>	August 28, 2011	Abdelrahman Al-Husseini
TT6 I	التهديد الحقيقي بمصر: الديمقراطية المؤجلة	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>	September 28, 2011	Not given
TT7 G	قواعد التحول في الربيع العربي	<i>A-Ghad</i>	December 2, 2011	Ala'Eddin Abu-Zeineh
TT8 G	يجب تغيير السياسة الأميركية تجاه مصر	<i>Al-Ghad</i>	December 6, 2011	Abdelrahman Al-Husseini
TT9 I	أميركا ... وتقلبات «الشتاء العربي»	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>	December 7, 2011	Not given
TT10 I	الأزمة السورية ... وخطوط الصدع الإقليمي	<i>Al-Ittihad</i>	February 4, 2012	Not given

Table 6.2: Summary of the target texts

Up to this point, the discussion has focused on providing a detailed description of the corpus that is designed for the present study, including the particular purpose for which the corpus was designed, the criteria on which it was compiled, the limitations of the corpus, the way in which

the texts that make up the corpus were collected, the size of this corpus, and the presentation of the source and target texts that make up the corpus and their sources in the form of tables. The remainder of this chapter is methodological in focus and outlines the combined methodology that will be used to answer the research questions.

### **6.3 The combined research methodology**

As briefly indicated in chapter one and five, the current study employs a combined methodology for the investigation of the translation of stance in English-Arabic parallel corpus of naturally occurring texts. Also, the consideration in chapter four of the studies that have theorised the concept of stance has shown that there is no comprehensive theoretical framework of stance upon which scholars and researchers working within this territory agree. As such, the research methodology adopted here to conduct this study is built, following Hunston (2007), on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that are closely related to the concept of stance as an aspect of interpersonal meaning and, more importantly, can best serve the purposes of this study. The former is drawn from the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006), while the latter drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). The choice of these methods was bound to the research questions which guided this study. As a reminder, the research questions of the current study were: (1) How is stance encoded in the language of newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring written in English for American quality newspapers?; (2) How can the meanings of stance patterns identified be construed across individual texts within this genre as resources for conveying interpersonal functions?; (3) To what extent is stance accurately re-conveyed when translating such articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*?; (4) What shifts in stance can be identified in the translation of these opinion articles in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-*

*Ittihad?*; and (5) How can the findings of the study inform the notion of stance in translation studies?

To answer the aforementioned research questions and based on the methodology that drives this study, the analysis of the conveyance of stance in the English-Arabic parallel corpus of the original and translated opinion articles can be summarised along the following lines. For identifying how stance is encoded in the language of the original opinion articles (the first research question), a corpus analysis is initially conducted to explore the linguistic realisations of stance in the source texts based on a previously established theoretical framework, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). To ensure its validity, the corpus analysis, which represents the methodological point of departure, is carried out manually so that patterns of stance encoded in these texts can be accurately identified. As long as the corpus of this study is relatively small, it is possible to read through it manually. The analysis here offers a view of how stance operates at lexico-grammatical level. Once this has been achieved, the findings from this analysis, i.e. patterns of stance identified, will serve as an input into the subsequent description of the meaning of each single instance of stance and its function in the source texts and in relation to the context where it occurs using a discourse analytical method that is drawn from the model of appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) (the second research question). Appraisal theory, as will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, is a discourse analytical framework that is developed out of the SFL model. It focuses on the construal of interpersonal meaning and “provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14). After identifying and describing the meaning of each instance of stance and its function in the source texts, these can be examined in the corresponding target texts to find out how stance is re-conveyed or

reproduced in the target language (the third research question); and what shifts in stance are identified in the translations (the fourth research question).

As the two approaches from which the combined methodology is drawn, the following two subsections discuss in detail the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006) and appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) in turn.

### **6.3.1 The lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006)**

First of all, it should be noted that the works of Biber *et al.*, (1999) and Biber (2006) have been discussed in chapter four, when considering the theorisation of the concept of stance, and that the intention here is to outline the linguistic resources used to mark stance in English, which have been identified in these works. The linguistic resources outlined here will be used in the manual corpus analysis to identify how stance is encoded in the language of the source texts (the first research question). Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006) have pointed out that stance can be expressed or realised in numerous ways. It is most commonly expressed through a variety of linguistic features, including value-laden words and grammatical structures. These features provide writers/speakers with the means to reflect patterns of stance meanings they have in mind in words and structures. Also, stance may be expressed through paralinguistic devices in the case of verbal communication (e.g., *pitch*, *duration*, and *intensity*). And finally, stance may be expressed through non-linguistic means (e.g., *body position*, *gestures*, and *facial expressions*) (Biber, 2006: 89). As its corpus is in the written form, the present study is only concerned with those features through which stance is overtly expressed or realised, i.e., the linguistic features of stance.

Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006) make a distinction between two major types of linguistic marking of stance in English, the lexical and grammatical marking. Under the lexical, they further distinguish between those value-laden words in which “the existence of stance is inferred from the use of an evaluative lexical item, usually an adjective, main verb, or noun” (Biber, 2006: 89). The grammatical marking of stance, on the other hand, is associated to varying degrees with the use of five grammatical devices: (1) *modals*, (2) *stance adverbials*, (3) *stance complement clauses*, (4) *stance noun plus prepositional phrase constructions*, and (5) *premodifying stance adverbs* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 969-970). The aforementioned lexicogrammatical features are referred to in this study as stance markers. Biber and colleagues explain that it is through these markers that stance can be realised in any piece of written or spoken language. These lexical and grammatical markers of stance are discussed in turn below.

### 6.3.1.1 Lexical marking of stance

The lexical marking of stance typically depends on value-laden word choice, as in the case of using evaluative adjectives (e.g., *that's **right***); evaluative main verbs (e.g., *I **hate** this stuff*) (Biber, 2006: 89; italics and bold in original); and evaluative nouns (e.g., *there is a **real possibility** of a split within the Lithuanian party*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 973; bold in original). Value-laden words have stable evaluative meanings in any context they are used and their distribution varies from one discourse to another (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). As markers of stance, value-laden words can directly refer to the affective or attitudinal state of the writer/speaker (e.g., *I'm not **happy!**; I **love** that film*); or they can signal that an evaluative judgement is true of objects or of people and the way they behave (e.g., *these experiments are **difficult**; the nurses are **wonderful** there*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 968; bold in original). Lexically marked stance is a purely semantic matter, as stance meaning largely depends on the meaning of



the value-laden word chosen, which in turn inevitably requires context-dependent interpretation. That is, lexical marking of stance is embedded in the specific value-laden words chosen and the interpretation of its meaning depends on the readers/listeners' ability to recognise the use of such words, the shared background between them and those writers/speakers engaged, and the context where these words appear (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 969).

A point which merits attention here is the fact that “[M]any of the most common words in English are evaluative and used for lexical expression of stance” (Biber, 2006: 89). This situation makes it difficult to “identify a closed set of words used to convey specific attitudes and evaluations” (*ibid.*, p. 90). Also, value-laden words are not always overt markers of stance that can be easily identified precisely because they are basically individual lexical items that operate in a sentence or an utterance just like any other lexical items that do not mark stance as well as “there is nothing in the grammatical structure of these expressions to show that they mark stance” (Gray and Biber, 2012: 21). Despite all these limitations, it is useful for the purposes of this study to include the lexical marking of stance, as it is an important means and pervasive aspect of the conveyance of stance that cannot be ignored. By contrast, a more explicit source for marking stance is to be found in the grammar.

### **6.3.1.2 Grammatical marking of stance**

In their examination of the linguistic resources used to mark stance in English, Biber *et al.*, (1999) and Biber (2006) have focused more on the grammatical marking of stance. Much of this focus can be attributed to the overt structure of grammatically-marked stance, “where a distinct grammatical structure is used to express stance with respect to some other proposition” (Biber, 2006: 88). They have identified five grammatical devices used for marking stance in English: (1)

modals, (2) stance adverbials, (3) stance complement clauses, (4) stance noun plus prepositional phrase constructions, and (5) premodifying stance adverbs. The focus here is placed on three major grammatical devices of these, namely modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. The three devices have proven to be rich sources for marking a wide range of stance patterns in English (Englebretson, 2007). This is not to deny the significance of stance noun plus prepositional phrase constructions and premodifying stance adverbs as devices that serve to mark stance. Rather, it is to concentrate on other key devices that are most frequently used in the expression of stance. As markers of stance, modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses are discussed in turn below.

#### **6.3.1.2.1 Modals**

Modals have been considered “the most common grammatical device used to mark stance” in English (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 980). As stance marker, the modal verb is “incorporated into the main clause” to epistemically or attitudinally qualify the framed proposition in that clause (*ibid.*, p. 970). Consider for instance the following example from Biber *et al.* (1999: 973; italics and bold in original): *Without international collaboration there **could** be interference and general chaos*. The modal verb ‘could’ functions here as an epistemic stance marker that reflects the author’s assessment of the likelihood of the framed proposition that there is a possibility of interference and general chaos.

Biber (2006: 92) groups modal (and semi-modal) verbs into three different semantic categories that are associated with a range of epistemic or attitudinal meanings of stance: (1) modals of *possibility, permission, and ability* (e.g., *can, could, may, and might*); (2) modals of *necessity and obligation* (e.g., *must, should, (had) better, have to, got to, and ought to*); and (3) those of

*prediction* and *volition* (e.g., *will*, *would*, *shall*, and *be going to*). Like Quirk *et al.* (1985), Biber *et al.* (1999: 485) arrange modals in two categories: (1) *intrinsic* (or deontic modality) refers to events and actions that humans control, as in using the models of permission, obligation, and volition (e.g., *We **must** be careful to avoid several logical pitfalls*) (Biber, 2006: 101; bold and underline in original); (2) *extrinsic* (or epistemic modality) refers “to the logical status of events or states” that humans cannot control (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 485), usually relating to assessments of certainty or likelihood, as in the case of using the models of possibility, necessity, and prediction (e.g., *I think you **might** be wrong*) (*ibid.*, p. 973; bold in original). In this regard, Englebretson (2007c: 71) asserts that “the grammar of English modals has proven to be a rich area for the epistemic evaluation of propositions”.

### **6.3.1.2.2 Adverbials**

Before discussing this major source for grammatical marking of stance, it is perhaps necessary to differentiate between three main types of adverbials: *stance adverbials*, *circumstantial adverbials*, and *linking (conjunctive) adverbials*. Stance adverbials are used to express author’s feelings, value judgements, assessments, or attitudes towards the propositional content of a message. In the case of circumstantial adverbials, they provide information about various circumstances such as manner, time, location, extent, and reason. The third type indicates logical connections between clauses, sentences, and paragraphs (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Kreyer, 2010; Siepmann *et al.*, 2008).

Through stance adverbials, which “have proven to be a rich source of various types of epistemic, attitudinal, and style stances” in English (Englebretson, 2007: 17), the expression of a particular stance is composed of two distinct parts: the stance marker and the specific proposition framed

by that stance contained in a clause. Consider this example from Biber *et al.* (1999: 969; bold in original): ***Unfortunately***, we cannot do anything about it. Grammatically speaking, stance here is realised through the combination of the adverb ‘unfortunately’ as the stance marker and the given proposition contained in the clause ‘we cannot do anything about it’.

Five grammatical constructions of stance adverbials have been identified: (1) single adverbs and adverb phrases (e.g. *definitely*; *quite frankly*); (2) hedges (e.g. *kind of*; *sort of*); (3) prepositional phrases (e.g. *in fact*; *without doubt*); (4) adverbial clauses (e.g. *as one might expect*; *to be honest*); and (5) comment clauses (e.g. *I think*; *I guess*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 969-975). Also, Biber (2006: 92) classifies stance adverbials from a semantic perspective into (see table below): (1) epistemic adverbials: represent how certain or reliable the author’s proposition is. He further classifies these into epistemic adverbials of certainty that signify a high level of certainty of the propositional content of a message and epistemic adverbials of likelihood that signify moderate or low level of certainty; (2) attitudinal adverbials: report personal attitudes, feelings, or value judgements of entities or propositions; and (3) style of stance adverbials: describe how information is being presented i.e. comment on the communication itself.

<p><b>Epistemic stance adverbials:</b></p> <p><b>Certainty:</b> actually, always, certainly, definitely, indeed, inevitably, in fact, never, of course, obviously, really, undoubtedly, without doubt, no doubt.</p> <p><b>Likelihood:</b> apparently, evidently, kind of, in most cases/instances, perhaps, possibly, predictably, probably, roughly, sort of, maybe.</p>
<p><b>Attitudinal adverbials:</b> amazingly, astonishingly, conveniently, curiously, hopefully, even worse, fortunately, importantly, ironically, rightly, sadly, surprisingly, unfortunately.</p>
<p><b>Style of stance adverbials:</b> according to, confidentially, frankly, generally, honestly, mainly, technically, truthfully, typically, reportedly, primarily, usually.</p>

Table 6.3: Common stance adverbials in English (Biber, 2006: 92)

The final major device wraps up the discussion of grammatical marking of stance is complement clauses.

### 6.3.1.2.3 Stance complement clauses

Like stance adverbials, stance complement clauses consist of two distinct parts: a verb, an adjective, or a noun signifies, as the controlling element, a particular stance and the proposition contained in the complement clause (that-clause or to-clause), which is framed by that controlling element. In the following example from Biber *et al.* (1999: 986; bold in original): *He is **certain** to become a leading force in South African politics*, the epistemic adjective ‘certain’ as the controlling element signifies the author’s level of certainty towards the proposition *to become a leading force in South African politics*, which is contained in the complement clause. Be they that-clause or to-clause, stance complement clauses are those constructions that contain propositions controlled by a verb (e.g. *I just **hope** that ...; the great moment **seems** to be ...*), a noun (e.g. ***the fact** that ...*), an adjective (e.g. *we can be **certain** that ...; it is **essential** to ...*), and by extraposed structures (e.g. *It’s **amazing** that ...*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 969-986).

Overall, the lexical and grammatical features outlined here “encode stance differently” (Baumgarten and House, 2007:196). Grammatical marking of stance differs from the lexical in that it involves the expression of a particular stance in relation to some other proposition, rather than be presented in a single proposition. That is, marking stance using grammatical features “includes two distinct grammatical components, one presenting a personal stance, and the other presenting a proposition that is framed by that stance” (Biber, 2006: 89). Baumgarten and House (2007: 196) similarly comment that:

The grammatical marking of stance always involves two structural components that can be said to be in a frame relation to each other: the first component presents the attitude of the speaker and frames the second, the proposition.

In its lexical marking, stance operates in a single proposition where one particular value-laden word (or more) is chosen to express that stance.

In the present study, the analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance is confined to value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. It is argued here that examining the occurrences of these major lexico-grammatical markers in the source texts allows for the accurate identification of patterns of stance encoded in the language of these texts (the first research question). To ensure its validity and since the corpus of this study is relatively small, examining the occurrences of these markers of stance in the source texts will be carried out manually rather than by means of an automated quantitative corpus analysis. The findings from this analysis will serve as an input into the subsequent description of the meaning of each pattern of stance identified and its function in the source texts using the discourse analytical method with which the manual corpus analysis is combined. Accordingly, in this combination, the lexico-grammatical markers of stance are the point of entry into the data.

There is recognition in the work that has been done on the concept of stance (see chapter four) that it is not the lexical and grammatical markers of stance alone which do the work of the conveyance of stance. In fact, these markers do not carry the stance, but they co-occur with it. As options for expressing stance, the lexico-grammatical features outlined above are thus clearly crucial issues in the manifestation of stance, but so are the textual and contextual frames within which these linguistic features function. Stance within the context of newspaper opinion articles is not isolated lexical or grammatical cases; it operates within textual and contextual frames and

is frequently associated with a set of convincing arguments presented in the text to justify or even legitimize the authorial stance taken and sometimes to refute or even attack those stances taken by others.

As discussed before in this chapter, the first research question will be addressed through conducting a manual corpus analysis to find out how stance is encoded in the language of the source texts based on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). The findings from this analysis, i.e. instances of stance identified, will serve as an input into the subsequent description of the meaning of each pattern of stance and its function in the source text and in relation to the context in which that pattern occurs (the second research question). To address the second research question, a discourse analytical method related to the concept of stance is needed to analyse these meanings and functions. The meanings and functions of stance can only be described through the appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). In this regard, Martin and White themselves state that their appraisal theory “is probably most closely related to the concept of stance, as developed by Biber and his colleagues in their corpus based quantitative studies” (*ibid.*, p. 40). The discussion now turns to appraisal theory, as the second approach from which the combined methodology is drawn.

### **6.3.2 Appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005)**

As briefly discussed in chapter four, appraisal theory is a textually oriented discourse analytical framework that is developed out of the SFL model. This framework focuses on the construal of interpersonal meaning and “provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14). It is a large discourse semantic system that encompasses a range of resources for analysing the functions of the different choices that

writers/speakers make to convey personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements, evaluations, and the degree of the strength of the stance taken in any communicative interaction as well as to “engage with socially-determined value positions and thereby align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions” (ibid.).

Appraisal is divided into three major semantic domains that operate interactively: (1) *attitude*: focuses on how feelings are mapped within a text, covering concepts associated with emotional responses or reactions (i.e. *affect*), ethics and moral evaluations (i.e. *judgement*), and aesthetic evaluations (i.e. *appreciation*); (2) *engagement*: focuses on how writers dialogically position themselves “with respect to the value position being advanced” and mark their commitment with respect to one’s own viewpoints (monogloss) and to the viewpoints of others (heterogloss); and (3) *graduation*: deals with the gradability of stance or evaluation, where writers can turn up or down the force and focus of the language produced (Martin and White, 2005: 36). An overview of appraisal resources is given in Table 6.4 below, adapted by Munday (2012: 24) from Martin and White (2005).



Domain of appraisal	Parameter	Value	Illustrative realization
<b>Attitude</b>	Affect	Through feelings and emotional reactions	<i>Happy, sad</i>
	Judgement	Of ethics, behaviour, capacity	<i>Wrong, brave</i>
	Appreciation	Of things, phenomena, reactions	<i>Beautiful, authentic</i>
<b>Graduation</b>	Force	Raise	<i>Extremely unwise</i>
		Lower	<i>Slightly corrupt</i>
	Focus	Sharpen	<i>A true father</i>
		Soften	<i>An apology of sorts</i>
<b>Engagement</b>	Monogloss	Contraction	<i>Demonstrate, show</i>
	Heterogloss	Expansion	<i>Claim, nearly, possibly</i>

Table 6.4: An overview of appraisal resources (from Munday, 2012: 24)

Appraisal does not constrain itself with lexico-grammatical forms as is the case of Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006). Appraisal theory focuses more on the meanings or functions of the resources for the expression of stance and evaluation than on the formation of a list of given linguistic indicators of these concepts. In the words of Martin and White (2005: 94), the framework of appraisal theory is oriented “towards meanings in context and towards rhetorical effects, rather than towards grammatical forms”. Appraisal treats lexico-grammatical devices only as a means to encode evaluation and stance meanings and not as an end in themselves. The three major semantic domains of the appraisal framework are discussed in turn in the following subsections, namely *attitude*, *engagement*, and *graduation*.

### 6.3.2.1 Attitude

The system of attitude focuses on different aspects of feelings within texts through “three semantic regions covering what is traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics” (Martin and White, 2005: 42). In the centre of these, for Martin and White, is emotion which

they refer to as *affect*. The sub-system of affect is concerned with resources for accounting for positive and negative emotional reactions or responses. The second semantic region that covers ethics is referred to as *judgement*, a term used for assessing the behaviour of others according to some principles. Judgements include evaluations of how normal, truthful, capable, or ethical someone is. And finally, *appreciation* is the semantic region that covers aesthetics. Appreciation deals with resources for accounting for “the value of things, including natural phenomena and semiosis” (ibid., p. 36). The resources of affect, judgement, and appreciation function in a prosodic manner across a text to build and construe attitudinal meaning (ibid., p. 43). The structure of the domain of attitude is summarised in Figure 6.1.

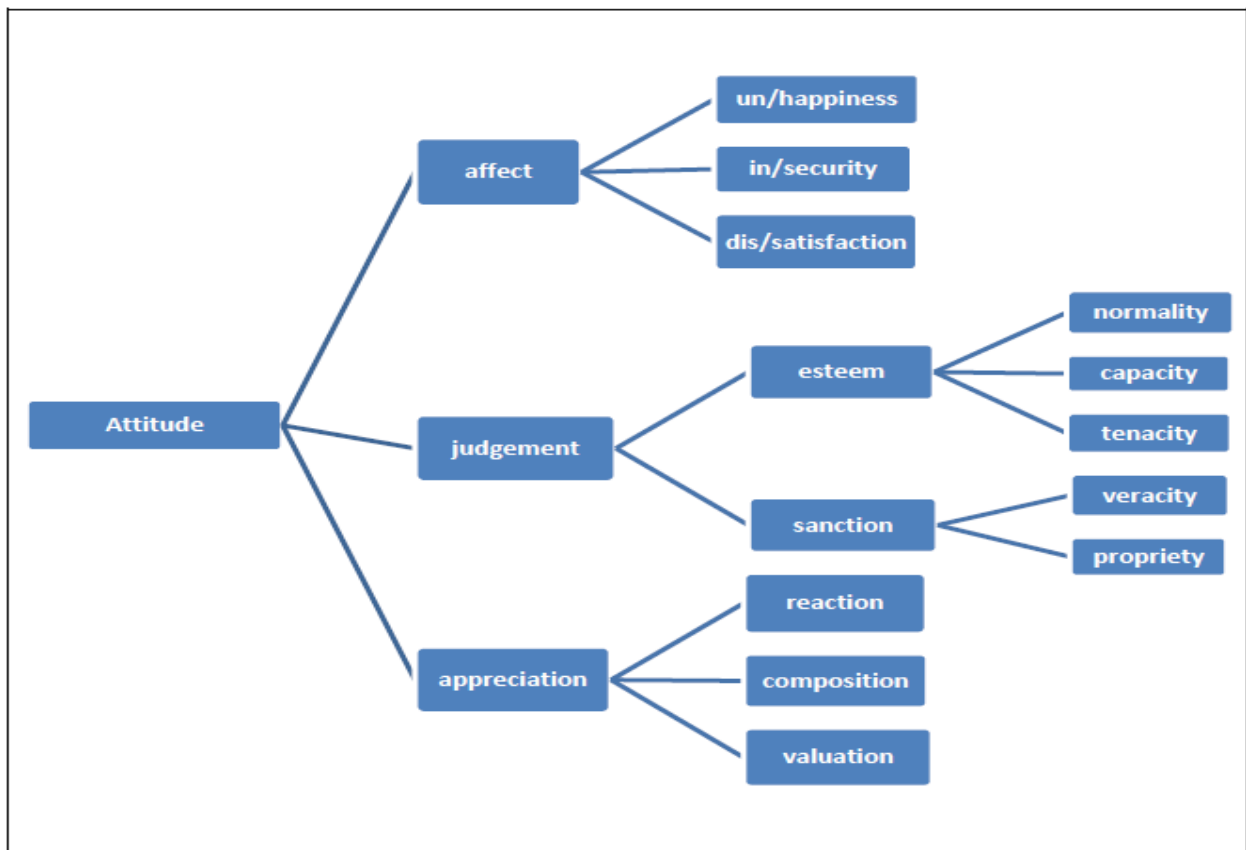


Figure 6.1: Summary of the structure of the domain of attitude (adapted from Martin and White, 2005)

### 6.3.2.1.1 Affect

Affect deals with positive and negative emotional reactions or responses. For Martin and White, emotions under the sub-system of affect are grouped into three major sets of variables (see Figure 6.1 above): *un/happiness*, *in/security*, and *dis/satisfaction*. The first variable pertains to “emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’ – sadness, hate, happiness and love” (e.g., *whimper, cheerful, miserable, adore*). The second variable pertains to “emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust” (e.g. *confident, anxious, comfortable, startled*). In the third variable of dis/satisfaction, the emotions covered are those related to “the pursuit of goals”, including “ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect” (e.g. *pleased, angry, engrossed, stale*) (Martin and White, 2005: 49). The second semantic region under the domain of attitude that is discussed next is Judgement.

### 6.3.2.1.2 Judgement

Judgement covers the semantic resources that account for attitudes towards others and their behaviour. Resources of judgement are split into those that pertain to *social esteem* and those to *social sanction* (see Figure 6.1 above). Martin and White (2005: 52) further subdivided judgements of esteem into: (1) *normality*: accounts for attitudes related to “how unusual someone is” (e.g., *odd, predictable, often, usual*); (2) *capacity*: accounts for attitudes related to “how capable someone is” (e.g., *powerful, robust, can, clever enough*); and (3) *tenacity*: accounts for attitudes related to “how resolute someone is” (e.g., *will, determined, loyal, reliable*). Judgements of sanction, on the other hand, are further subdivided into: (1) *veracity*: covers attitudes related to “how truthful someone is” (e.g., *certainly, honest, frank, authentic*); and (2) *propriety*: pertains to attitudes related to “how ethical someone is” (e.g., *should,*

*supposed to, fair, respectful*) (ibid.). Social esteem tends to be verbally conventionalised in a particular culture on the basis of shared community values between social actors, while social sanction is “more often codified in writings, as edicts, decrees, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave” (ibid.). The last semantic region under the domain of attitude that is discussed here is appreciation.

### **6.3.2.1.3 Appreciation**

Appreciation covers the semantic resources in the appraisal framework that account for attitudes towards the value of things and natural phenomena. These include “things we make and performances we give” as well as “what such things are worth (how we value them)” (Martin and White, 2005: 56). Appreciation has been categorised into (see Figure 6.1 above): (1) *reaction*: pertains to attitudes towards things that catch the attention and give a feeling of pleasure and displeasure (e.g., *remarkable, dramatic, ugly, repulsive*); (2) *composition*: pertains to the perception of how balanced and complex the thing appreciated is (e.g., *unified, consistent, irregular, contradictory*); (3) *valuation*: pertains to how innovative, authentic, etc. the thing is (e.g., *exceptional, profound, shallow, worthless*) (ibid.).

Martin and White (2005: 45; bold in original) point out that “[O]ne way to think about **judgement** and **appreciation** is to see them as institutionalised feelings, which take us out of our everyday common sense world into the uncommon sense worlds of shared community values”. In relation to this, affect can be seen as more oriented towards displaying self-feeling, where shared community values often have no role to play here. Very briefly, Judgement refers to feelings about the behaviour of others which inevitably involves the assessment of that behaviour according to some presupposed values; and appreciation refers to feelings about the value of

things and natural phenomena. In this context, Munday (2012: 24) argues that “[O]ur evaluations are strongly linked to the values instilled in us by the educational, legal, cultural and other institutions in which we are formed. However, some ... have questioned how far value judgements really are shared”. The second major semantic domain of the appraisal framework that is outlined next is that of engagement.

### **6.3.2.2 Engagement**

Engagement deals with how writers, when taking stances, position themselves with respect “to the value positions being referenced [in] the text and with respect to those they address” as well as with how this positioning is achieved linguistically (Martin and White, 2005: 92). Using Bakhtin’s terms, Martin and White indicate that utterances, in their general sense, can be *monoglossic* or *heteroglossic*. They are monoglossic when there is no explicit reference made to viewpoints other than the writer’s own (not recognising other positions). While utterances that explicitly refer to viewpoints of external voices or that recognise alternative positions are considered to be heteroglossic. Given its dialogic nature, appraisal theory focuses heavily on “those meanings which in various ways construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses” (ibid., p. 97). Moreover, engagement can be *retrospective* where writers acknowledge and agree or disagree with the viewpoints of others, and *prospective* where writers may anticipate the responses of intended readers and give counter responses in their text (ibid., p. 113).

Martin and White (2005: 102) explain that engagement covers heteroglossic resources that can be broadly categorised into those that *contract* or *expand* the discourse (see Figure 6.2 below). Contractive resources leave little room for other positions and voices and act “to challenge, fend

off or restrict the scope of” these (e.g., *X demonstrated that ...*), whereas expansive resources leave much room for “dialogically alternative positions and voices” (e.g., *X is claiming that ...*) (ibid.). Engagement resources that contract and expand the discourse are outlined in the following two subsections.

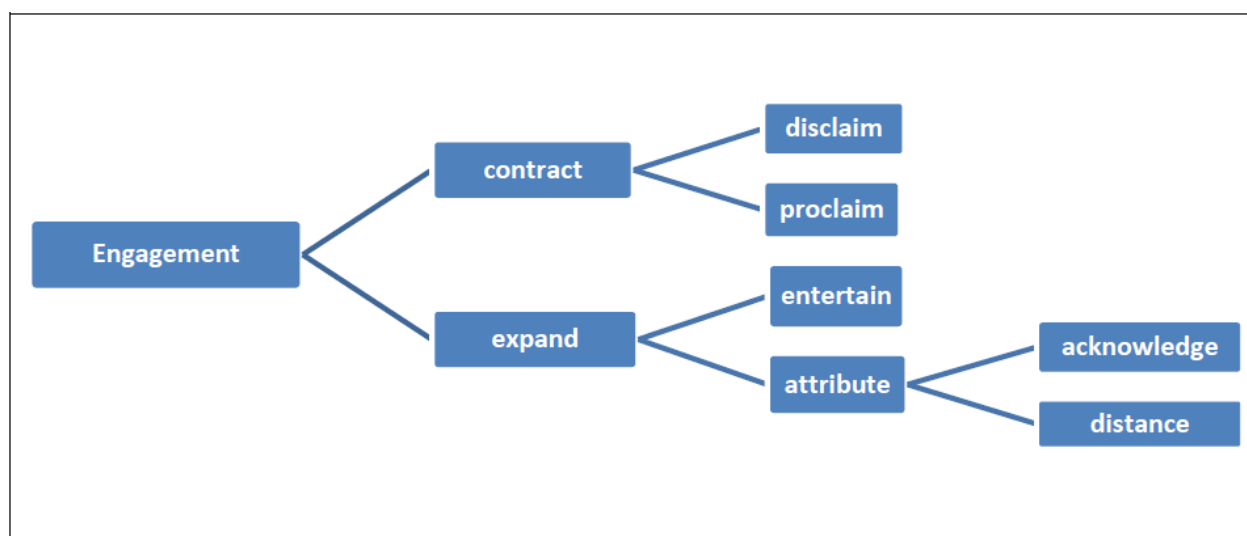


Figure 6.2: Summary of the structure of the domain of engagement (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 134)

### 6.3.2.2.1 Contract

Resources of contraction are “directed towards excluding certain dialogic alternatives from any subsequent communicative interaction or at least towards constraining the scope of these alternatives” in discourse (Martin and White, 2005: 117). These resources are divided into two categories (see Figure 6.2 above): *disclaim* and *proclaim*. The former pertains to resources in which some viewpoint or “dialogic alternative is directly rejected or supplanted, or is represented as not applying” (ibid.). By contrast, the latter deals with resources in which other viewpoints or

“dialogic alternatives are confronted, challenged, overwhelmed or otherwise excluded” (ibid., p. 118).

Under the category of disclaim, meanings include those cases in which other viewpoints or alternative positions are recognised just to be directly rejected, i.e. deny (e.g., *May I repeat my assurances that this is **not the case***) (ibid., p. 119; bold and underline in original); or to be replaced, i.e. counter (e.g. ***Even though** we are getting divorced, Bruce and I are still best friends*) (ibid., p. 120; bold and underline in original). In using resources of disclaim, writers provide their readers with particular beliefs and expectations that tend to be taken for granted, and thus leave no room for other alternative viewpoints or positions.

The category of proclaim involves formulations that act to convey an agreement and shared knowledge between the addresser and the putative addressee, i.e. *concurrence* (e.g., *of course, naturally, not surprisingly, admittedly and certainly*); formulations that contain external sources which are “construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable”, i.e. *endorsement* (e.g., *show, prove, demonstrate, find and point out*) (ibid., p. 126); and formulations that “involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations”, i.e. *pronouncement* (e.g., *I contend ..., the facts of the matter are that ..., the truth of the matter is that ..., we can only conclude that ..., you must agree that ..., really, indeed*) (ibid., p. 127). The discussion now moves on to consider engagement resources that expand the discourse.

#### **6.3.2.2.2 Expand**

Resources of expansion are directed towards opening up the dialogic space or the discourse for alternative positions and other external voices. These resources fall into two semantic categories

(see Figure 6.2 above). The first of these is referred to as *entertain* and covers those formulations which act to convey that the position of the authorial voice is “but one of a number of possible positions and thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities” (Martin and White, 2005: 104). The second is termed *attribute* and covers those formulations which act to “disassociate the proposition from the text’s internal authorial voice by attributing it [to] some external sources” (ibid., p. 111).

Entertain involves meanings that carry authorial assessment of likelihood through using modal verbs (e.g., *may, might, could*), adverbs (e.g., *probably, perhaps, possibly*), modal attributes (e.g., *it’s possible that ..., it’s likely that ...*), and through using certain mental verbs (e.g., *I think, I believe, I’m convinced that*). Also, it involves meanings that carry evidence and appearance-based postulations (e.g., *it seems, it appears, apparently, suggests ...*) (ibid., p. 105). The function of the aforementioned linguistic features is to open up the space within a particular communicative context and allow for other value positions and alternative voices to be presented, which may not share with the authorial voice the value position being conveyed.

Attribution leaves room for some external voice to be presented alongside the authorial voice. Typical examples of attribution are direct and indirect reported speech and thought. This includes constructions in which communicative process verbs frame propositions (e.g., *Mr. Mandela said the Group of Eight nations have a duty to help battle the scourge of AIDS*) and constructions in which reference mental process verbs, like *believe* and *suspect*, frame propositions (e.g., *Dawkins believes that religion is not an adaptive evolutionary vestige, but in fact a cultural virus*). Additionally, other examples of attribution include constructions in which nominalisations of the aforementioned verbs frame propositions (e.g., *Chomsky’s belief that*



*language is for individuals rather than groups*), and adverbials such as *according to* (Martin and White, 2005: 111; underline in original).

Within the framework of appraisal theory, attribution is divided into two subcategories (see Figure 6.2 above): *acknowledge* and *distance*. Acknowledge covers those formulations in which no explicit indication is provided “as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition” (Martin and White, 2005: 112). A typical example of this subcategory is found in reporting verbs, which indicate that the addresser is neutral with respect to the proposition provided (e.g., *say, report, state, declare, announce, believe, and think*). The distance subcategory covers those formulations in which the authorial voice explicitly distances itself from the attributed material. Thus, writers here take no responsibility for the reliability of the proposition advanced (e.g., *X claims that ..., it’s rumoured that ...*). Up to this point, the discussion has covered the two major semantic domains of the appraisal framework: attitude and engagement. Now, it turns to the final domain of this framework, namely graduation.

### **6.3.2.3 Graduation**

By means of the graduation resources, writers can scale up or down the strength of their stances and evaluations (Martin and White, 2005: 135). Graduation is considered a property of attitude and engagement that can assign value to both of them. With attitude, it enables writers to convey greater or lesser degrees of positive and negative feelings, as feelings naturally have depth (e.g. *slightly upset, extremely upset; a bit untidy, completely untidy*). And with engagement, the gradability system enables writers to intensify or diminish their level of involvement (e.g., *I suspect she betrayed us, I am convinced she betrayed us; she suggested that I had cheated, she insisted that I had cheated*). The importance of graduation as a semantic domain within the

appraisal framework lies in the key role it plays in conveying to what extent writers “present themselves as more strongly aligned or less strongly aligned with the value position being advanced by the text and thereby to locate themselves with respect to the communities of shared value and belief associated with those positions” (ibid., p. 94). In their framework, Martin and White have mainly focused on the lexico-grammatical realisation of graduation and on the meanings associated with the up-scaling and down-scaling of stance and evaluation.

Under the graduation domain, two major aspects of scalability are identified (see Figure 6.3 below): *force* and *focus*. The former generally pertains to the grading of stance and evaluation “according to intensity or amount” (e.g., *this greatly hindered us*), whereas the latter is generally related to the grading of stance and evaluation “according to prototypicality and the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn” (e.g., *he’s a true friend*) (ibid., p. 137). Semantic categories with intrinsically scalar assessments, as with assessments of positivity/negativity, size, proximity, extent, and vigour, are taken to be the core of the grading according to intensity and amount. Grading according to prototypicality, on the other hand, “operates as phenomena are scaled by reference to the degree to which they match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category” (ibid.). Force and focus, as the two major aspects of scalability in graduation, are outlined in turn in the following two subsections.

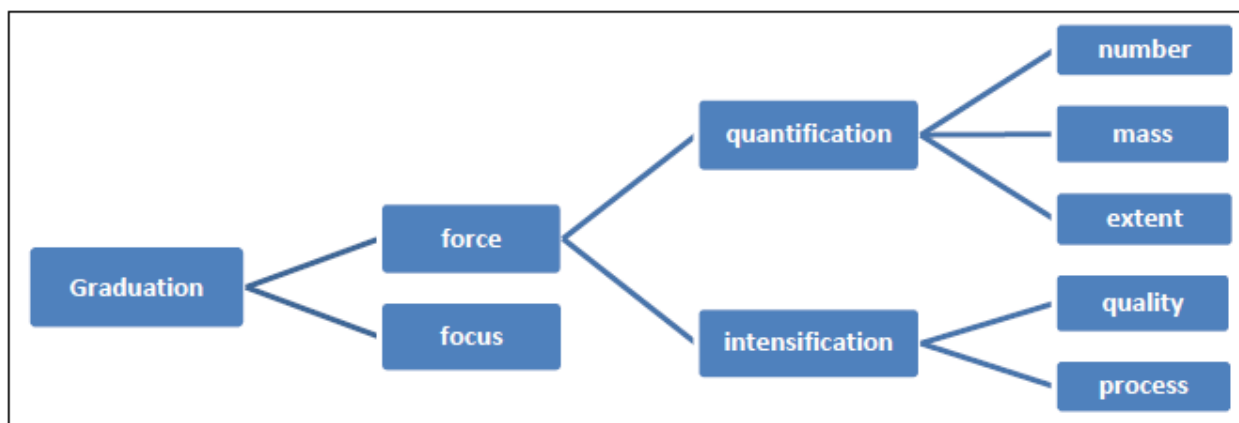


Figure 6.3: Summary of the structure of the domain of graduation (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 154)

### 6.3.2.3.1 Force

As discussed briefly above, force involves positive or negative assessments of intensity and of amount. Assessments of degree of intensity, which Martin and White refer to as *intensification*, apply to qualities (e.g. *slightly foolish*, *extremely foolish*; *it stopped somewhat abruptly*, *it stopped very abruptly*) and to processes (e.g., *slightly hindered*, *greatly hindered*) (see Figure 6.3 above); while assessments of amount, which they refer to as *quantification*, operate over entities (e.g., *few*, *many*, *small amount*, *large amount*) (Martin and White, 2005: 140-141).

Different lexico-grammatical formulations can be used for conveying up-scaling and down-scaling of intensity of qualities and processes. These include: (1) pre-modification of an adjective (e.g., *a bit miserable*, *relatively miserable*, *very miserable*, *extremely miserable*, *utterly miserable*); (2) pre-modification of an adverb (e.g., *slightly abruptly*, *somewhat abruptly*, *fairly abruptly*, *quite abruptly*, *rather abruptly*); (3) adverbially modified verbal group (e.g., *this upset me slightly*, *this upset me a bit*, *this upset me greatly*); (4) modalities (e.g., *just possible*, *quite possible*, *reasonably often*, *very often*); (5) comparatives and superlatives (e.g., *less miserable*,

*least miserable, more probable, most probable*); (6) repetition of the same lexical item (e.g., *We laughed and laughed and laughed*); and (7) repetition of lexical items which are closely related in meaning (e.g., *In fact it was probably the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address ever given by a British Prime Minister*) (ibid., p. 141-144). With regard to quantification, scaling operates in relation to “imprecise reckonings of number (e.g., *a few, many*), imprecise reckonings of mass or presence (e.g., *small, large; thin, thick; light, heavy; dim, bright*) and imprecise reckonings of extent ... (e.g., *near, far; recent, ancient*)” (ibid., p 151).

#### **6.3.2.3.2 Focus**

Within focus, graduation according to prototypicality provides the means to either scale up (or *sharpen*) the experiential category being addressed (e.g., *a real father, a true friend*) or scale down (or *soften*) that category (e.g., *they are kind of crazy, it was an apology of sorts*). When sharpening the meaning being graduated, the authorial voice is construed to be maximally committed to the value position being advanced and thereby position itself and strongly align their readers into that position (e.g. *a real wonder, a genuine hero*). When softening the meaning being graduated, “the effect is to indicate a lessening of the speaker/writer’s investment in the value position” (Martin and White, 2005:139).

The above discussion has shown that appraisal theory, from which the main part of the combined methodology is drawn, provides a large discourse semantic system that can account for the analysis of a wide range of interpersonal functions in texts. Another important feature of this theory, which makes it most relevant to the current study, is that it has emerged from within the SFL model as a development of the interpersonal functionality of language. And this is in turn

the strand of meaning which the concept of stance is intimately related to and represents an aspect of, as the discussion in chapter four has revealed. The previous discussion has provided an outline of the main semantic domains and ideas of appraisal theory. How these can relate to the present study this is what the analysis in the subsequent chapter will show.

The validity of the appraisal theory as a framework for translational analysis has been tested in the work of Munday (2012)<sup>40</sup>, who asserts, in this regard, that “[T]he system of ‘appraisal’, developed by Martin and White (2005) within a Hallidayan framework of interpersonal meaning, offers a very detailed model” that can be successfully used in the analysis of different texts within in the field of Translation Studies (Munday, 2012: 22). Additionally, this study can be seen as a further attempt in this direction, where it will be the first attempt of this kind in English-Arabic translation studies.

In the analysis laid out in the next chapter, a description of the meaning of each pattern of stance and its function in the source texts is initially provided through the combined methodology. Then, these will be examined in the target texts to find out to what extent stance is accurately re-conveyed or reproduced in the target language and what shifts in stance are identified in the translations. The analysis of each single instance of stance in the source and target texts will refer to four key components that constitute any stance being taken. These are taken as the basic system of organising the analysis of each instance. These key components are the subject of the following discussion.

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<sup>40</sup> See section 4.6.

## **6.4 Key components of any instance of stance**

As pointed out in chapter four and briefly in chapter one, Du Bois' (2007) definition of the concept of stance, which is adopted in the current study, is most relevant in that it recognises the linguistic manifestation and functions of stance and, equally important, provides a sound basis for a dynamic mechanism to organise the analysis of each instance of stance in both the source and target texts. More specifically, this definition covers four key components upon which any stance taken is built. These components are: (1) stance marker; (2) stancetaker; (3) stance object; and (4) stance function. Following Du Bois (2007), it is argued here that identifying and understanding these components can significantly contribute to a consistent analysis of stance. These components are discussed in turn below.

### **6.4.1 Stance marker**

Stance marker is the lexical and grammatical devices through which stance can be realised at the structural level. Writers use these key words or structures, which operate within a textual domain, to express varying degrees of epistemic and attitudinal stances towards entities or propositions. Based on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006), different lexico-grammatical devices can be used as markers of stance. Major markers that are widely used in the expression of stance are: value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. These markers, which are included in this study, have been discussed at length and exemplified in section 6.3.1 above. Each marker of stance can semantically be categorized along a cline of epistemic (expressing high or low degree of certainty and doubt/likelihood) and attitudinal

meanings, or as Newmark (1991: 149) puts it, can “represent a value in a scale common to the writer and the reader”.

### **6.4.2 Stancetaker**

Stancetaker is the social actor who adopts a particular stance and more or less shares with his/her addressee(s) a system of beliefs and sociocultural values, i.e. the person who is evaluating. This stancetaker positions himself/herself with respect to other voices and other positions and chooses a stance along a cline of epistemic and attitudinal meanings. The stancetaker is the source of stance and thereby is responsible for the specific stance taken. The stancetaker can be a writer/speaker or any other participants in a text including a translator.

### **6.4.3 Stance object**

Stance object is the specific object of interest towards which the stance is directed, i.e. what the stance is targeted. The term ‘object’ here refers to any person, entity, event, behaviour, process, quality, or idea being advanced. Normally, the stance object with which a stancetaker is concerned can be positively or negatively evaluated. Stance objects are the centre of the process of stancetaking.

### **6.4.4 Stance function**

Stance function refers to the communicative purpose for which stance is taken. Generally speaking, stance functions involve expressing a wide range of personal feelings, attitudes, judgements, assessments of objects of interest, constructing relations between stancetaker and other participants in communicative interactions, and grading the level of stance taken and the

level of the stancetaker's involvement. Stance functions in this study will be analysed by means of the discourse semantic system of appraisal theory outlined above.

As will be made clear in the next chapter, the analysis of each instance of stance will refer to the aforementioned key components. These may set the scene for a systematic description of the conveyance of stance in the source text and then in the target text. For the sake of clarity, tables are used in each example to summarise these key components of stance.

## **6.5 Concluding remarks**

This lengthy chapter has been concerned with framing the methodological core of the present study. The chapter has provided an outline of the corpus designed for the purposes of this study and the methodology that will be used to answer the research questions. As to the corpus, the discussion has covered an overview of this corpus, the criteria on which it was compiled, the limitations of the corpus, how the texts that make up this corpus were collected, the size of the corpus, and the arrangement of the source and target texts that make up that corpus and their sources in the form of tables. It has been shown that the current study limited its sample to newspaper opinion articles on one particular political event, namely the Arab Spring that were originally published in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. These articles were translated and published in two quality Arabic-language newspapers: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. The original articles are signed, where the author's name is given. Also, the articles chosen are limited to cover a span of one year (from March 2011 to March 2012). Other Arabic-language newspapers, other American newspapers, other political events addressed in such articles, other types of opinion pieces, and opinion articles with other dates of publication are not included.



The chapter has moved the discussion on to the combined research methodology that drives the study. This methodology is built on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that are closely related to the concept of stance as an aspect of interpersonal meaning and, more importantly, can best serve the purposes of this study. The former is drawn from the lexicogrammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006), while the latter drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). That is, the combined methodology integrates the lexicogrammatical realisations with the discourse semantic functions of stance.

An extended outline has been given of the two approaches from which the combined methodology is drawn – the lexicogrammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006) and appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). With regard to the first approach, it turns out that the analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance is confined to value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. It has been argued that examining the occurrences of these major lexicogrammatical markers in the source texts allows for the accurate identification of patterns of stance encoded in the language of these texts (the first research question). The findings from this analysis will serve as an input into the subsequent description of the meaning of each pattern of stance identified and its function in the source texts using the discourse analytical method with which the manual corpus analysis is combined. Accordingly, in this combination, the lexicogrammatical markers of stance are the point of entry into the data.

As to the second approach from which the main part of the combined methodology is drawn, the discussion has shown that appraisal theory provides a large discourse semantic system that can account for the analysis of a wide range of interpersonal semantic functions in texts. Also, this theory has emerged from within the SFL model as a development of the interpersonal

functionality of language. And this is in turn the strand of meaning which the concept of stance is intimately related to and represents an aspect of. These features make appraisal theory most relevant to the current study.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a triangulation of methods is employed as tools for providing a coherent analysis of the concept of stance at different levels: lexico-grammatical, textual, and contextual. The combination of the corpus- and discourse-analytical methods discussed in the present chapter is used within the tradition of descriptive translation studies as the main methodological tool. Also, in an attempt to add further insight into the description of the concept of stance, the main combined methodological tool is complemented by some concepts and aspects of Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis (1992, 1995a) and Baker's narrative theory (2006), which, to varying degrees, allow for the contextualisation of the findings and the explanation of translational behaviour. These two approaches are referred to as complementary analytical tools in the present study.

The final part of this chapter has focused on four key components that constitute any stance being taken. These components are: the stancetaker, the stance marker, the stance object, and the stance function. The analysis of each instance of stance will refer to these key components. It has been argued that identifying and understanding these components can significantly contribute to a consistent analysis of stance in the source texts and then in the target texts. Overall, this chapter has established a platform for outlining the corpus design and the methodology of this study. What remains to be addressed is how this methodology will be used to analyse the corpus. This is what the following chapter sets out to deal with.

## **Chapter Seven:**

### **Analysis of the (Re-)conveyance of Stance in the Corpus**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the conveyance of stance in the source texts and its re-conveyance in the target texts and then reports on the shifts in stance found in the corpus. The chapter addresses the first, the second, the third, and the fourth research questions (see section 1.2). It begins with an analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance in the source texts in order to describe how stance is encoded in the language of these texts (the first question). This represents the point of entry into the data. To ensure its validity, the corpus of the source texts will be manually analysed based on concepts and ideas drawn from a previously established theoretical framework, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). The manual corpus analysis allows for the accurate identification of patterns (or instances) of stance in their immediate textual environment (or co-text) across individual source texts. The instances of stance identified based on the corpus analysis serve as an input into the subsequent description of stance meanings conveyed and their functions in the source texts and then in the target texts.

The second part of the analysis focuses on the construal of stance meaning conveyed and its function in the source texts as well as in relation to the context where it occurs and then on the examination of the re-conveyance of these in the corresponding target texts. By this, the analysis of stance gradually moves from the lexico-grammatical level towards the textual and contextual levels. In this part, the analysis is carried out in two stages, which leads to addressing the second and the third research questions, respectively. The first stage examines the meaning of each

pattern of stance which was previously identified through the manual corpus analysis, and its function across individual source texts using a discourse-analytical method that is drawn from the model of appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), with which the corpus analysis is combined (see chapter six). After identifying and describing the meanings of these patterns of stance and their functions in the source texts, the second stage examines how these are re-conveyed or reproduced in the corresponding target texts. Once this has been achieved, the analytical discussion moves on to uncover the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations by means of comparing patterns of stance in the source texts and their translations in the target texts (the fourth question). In this study, shifts in stance are accounted for in terms of changes in the meaning or function of stance that occurred in the Arabic translations. The chapter concludes with interpretations of the findings and explanations of translational behaviour by means of some aspects of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006), where applicable.

## **7.2 Analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance in the source texts**

This section explores, as the point of entry into the data, the linguistic features through which stance can be realised in the source texts. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006) have found that stance can be realised in English through choices among specific lexico-grammatical devices, which are used to express stance with respect to other propositions. These include the following common devices, which the analysis here is confined to: value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. These devices are referred to in this study as *stance markers*. It has been argued that examining the occurrences of these lexico-grammatical markers with respect to other propositions in their immediate textual environment across individual

source texts allows for the accurate identification of patterns of stance that are encoded in the language of these texts. For the purposes of this study, it is more appropriate to start from the linguistic realisation of stance in the language of the source texts moving upwards to stance meaning and its function in text and in relation to its context. This is underpinned by the description of the realisation of stance in English that has been already provided by Biber and colleagues and by the fact that nothing has yet been done in connection to this in Arabic. It needs to be noted that the focus here is on describing the realisation of the concept of stance, as “a linguistically articulated form of social action” (Du Bois, 2007: 139), and on identifying instances of stance in a particular corpus of texts, rather than on providing quantitative evidence of the distribution or frequencies of the lexical and grammatical devices mentioned above. So, these devices are dealt with only as a means to identify patterns of stance with respect to other propositions in the source texts and not as an end in themselves. Examining the occurrences of these devices or markers of stance in their immediate textual environment across individual source texts is the purpose of the corpus analysis in the following subsection. The findings from this analysis allow for the accurate identification of patterns of stance that are encoded in the language of the source texts and set the ground for follow-up analysis of stance meanings and their functions in the source texts and then in the target texts.

### **7.2.1 A manual corpus analysis of the lexico-grammatical marking of stance**

The analysis in this study begins with a corpus analysis that aims at identifying patterns of stance employed in the source texts. The analysis here is based on the examination of occurrences of specific lexico-grammatical markers through which stance is expressed in these texts. The framework employed for this purpose is drawn from a previously established theoretical framework, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance, as outlined in Biber *et al.*

(1999) and Biber (2006) (see subsection 6.3.1). Examining the occurrences of these markers in the source texts has been carried out manually rather than by means of an automated quantitative corpus-based analysis. This raises the question as to why the corpus will be analysed manually. The reasons behind this are: (1) the corpus designed for the purposes of the current study is relatively small; (2) quantitative results, such as calculation of word frequencies, are beyond the scope of this study; (3) the manual analysis of the corpus helps ensure the validity of such analysis and the findings obtained, as it is not necessary that the occurrence of any of the markers mentioned above in any utterance should indicate stance; and (4) value-laden words, as a marker of stance, represent a group of the most widely used lexical items in English and frequently they are not explicit stance markers that can be easily identified. Thus, they are extremely difficult to account for through an automated corpus-based analysis. Overall, manual corpus analysis has the advantage of ensuring that no relevant instance of stance is missed.

The manual corpus analysis has been carried out along the following lines: first, going through each individual source text which is analysed as a meaningful unit in itself, separate from other texts in the corpus; second, noting the occurrences of value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses in the language of these texts; third, identifying patterns of realisation of stance; finally, extracting each instance of stance identified with its immediate textual environment from the source texts. In this corpus analysis, the occurrences of stance markers in the language of the source texts have been examined regardless of the corresponding target texts. It is worth pointing out here that it is not necessary that all the occurrences of the above mentioned markers in any utterance should indicate stance. Patterns of stance can be distinguished from those patterns that do not indicate stance, even when they have any of the above-mentioned markers, through the immediate co-text

and through recognising the four key components upon which any stance taken is built, i.e. stance marker, stancetaker, stance object, and stance function. These components were discussed in the previous chapter (see section 6.4).

The instances of stance identified in this analysis are those patterns that represent how stance is linguistically encoded in the source texts. These findings will be taken forward to a detailed analysis of the meanings these patterns of stance convey and the functions they perform in the source texts and then how they are re-conveyed or reproduced in the target texts. Those meanings and functions will be later analysed using the discourse semantic system of appraisal theory, with which the corpus analysis is combined. The full list of instances of stance identified in the corpus of the source texts can be found in Appendix A (stance markers, through which these instances have been identified, are shown in bold).

Without claiming to be exhaustive, the instances presented in Appendix A account for those stances that drive or shape the course of the overall argument throughout each individual source text and for which a series of more or less convincing arguments have been employed to justify or even legitimize these stances. An illustrative example from the patterns of stance identified and presented in Appendix A is:

- *[An administration that lacks a consistent foreign policy philosophy has nevertheless established a predictable foreign policy pattern]. A popular revolt takes place in country X. President Obama is caught by surprise and says little. A few days later an administration spokesman weakly calls for “reform.” A few more days of mounting protests and violence follow. Then, after an internal debate that spills out into the media, the president decides he must do something. But hoping to keep expectations low, his*

*actions are limited in scope. By this point, a strategic opportunity is missed and the protesters in country X feel betrayed.*

In this example, the writer's stance towards the Obama administration's foreign policy is presented in the first sentence, which is marked above by square brackets. This is followed by the presentation of a series of arguments to justify the particular stance he adopts. Also, it has been found that each source text generally contains between four to seven major instances of stance that drive or shape the course of the overall argument throughout each individual source text, although one text in the corpus had as many as fourteen instances of stance (text No. 9).

The analysis has shown that writers of American newspaper opinion articles prefer to use more than one type of lexical and grammatical devices (i.e. stance markers) to encode one particular instance of stance. In the following example from ST10 (see Appendix A) (stance markers appear in ***bold italics***):

- *For Russia and the United States, Syria means not a display of Security Council **clout** but a **potentially devastating** exhibition of **weakness** — one that **could greatly** diminish the standing of both in the region.*

Three different types of stance-marking devices are employed in this example, which largely contribute to the conveyance of the authorial stance towards the effect of the Syrian crisis on the position and reputation of Russia and the United States in the Middle East: (1) stance adverbs (*potentially; greatly*); (2) value-laden words (*clout; devastating; weakness*); and (3) modal auxiliary of possibility (*could*).



Lexical and grammatical markers of stance were found to have different distributions in the instances identified in the source texts. The table below shows the distribution of stance markers in all the instances of stance identified:

<b>Type of stance marker</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns)	202	71.38%
Modals	43	15.20%
Stance adverbials	29	10.24%
Stance complement clauses (that-clause and to-clause)	9	3.18%
<b>Total</b>	<b>283</b>	

Table 7.1: The distribution of stance markers in all the instances of stance identified

The analysis points to a clear preference for using evaluative lexical items in the expression of stance in these texts, as value-laden words have been found to be the most frequently used stance marker in the instances identified (approximately 71% of the total). Also, modals are found to be relatively common in these instances, as they stand at about 15% of the total. As for stance adverbials, they tend to be less frequent than modals with an occurrence of about 10%. However, stance complement constructions are found to be far less frequent in the instances identified (approximately 3% of the total). All these indicate that the concept of stance is realised differently in the language of the original opinion articles despite the fact that its linguistic realisations operate within the same genre. These differences in encoding stance can be probably attributed to the differences in each writer's style in expressing his/her own stance.

So far, the analysis has been primarily source-text-based and it has shown how stance is encoded in the language of each source text, the following analysis takes the instances of stance identified forward to a description of the meanings of stance and the specific functions it performs in discourse. In fact, the analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance *per se* does not provide a meaningful description of the conveyance of stance. Stance is not merely a set of lexical or grammatical devices through which it is realised, but a range of meanings, including epistemic and attitudinal meanings, that perform a wide array of functions in discourse. The analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance is therefore combined with an analysis of the meanings of stance and their functions in the English-Arabic parallel corpus.

### **7.3 Analysis of stance meaning and its function in the English-Arabic parallel corpus**

This section focuses on the construal of the meanings and functions of the instances of stance identified in each source text and on how these are re-conveyed or reproduced in each corresponding target text. This second part of the analysis builds on the findings in the previous analysis (see Appendix A), i.e. the instances of stance identified, which the analysis in this part is restricted to. Each given instance of stance will be construed by identifying and describing its epistemic or attitudinal meaning and the function that instance performs in its text and in relation to the context where it occurs. In this study, epistemic meaning of stance refers to the status or value that writers assign to the subjective information presented in a given proposition and the degree of certainty and commitment that they have towards such information. Attitudinal meaning of stance, on the other hand, refers to the expression of positive or negative personal feelings, emotions, and attitudes towards a given topic of interest.

The analysis in this section goes through two stages, which eventually leads to addressing the second and the third research questions, respectively. The first stage examines the meaning of each pattern of stance and its function across individual source texts using a discourse-analytical method that is drawn from the model of appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). After identifying and describing these, the second stage examines how the meanings of these patterns of stance and their functions are re-conveyed or reproduced in the corresponding target texts. Once this has been achieved, the analytical discussion moves on to uncover the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations by means of comparing patterns of stance in the source texts and their translations in the target texts (the fourth research question). As discussed in chapter six, the framework of appraisal theory is a large discourse semantic system that “provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14). So, the following analytical discussion is based on the discourse analytical framework that is drawn from this theory.

### **7.3.1 A discourse analysis of the patterns of stance identified in the corpus**

In this section, the discourse analytical framework that is drawn from appraisal theory, which was outlined in the previous chapter, will be used to construe the meanings of instances of stance identified in the corpus and their functions. Before embarking on the analysis, it is essential to point out that there are certain issues which are likely to affect the final product of translated newspaper opinion articles, such as revision, proofreading, limitation of space, etc. Such issues may, to varying degrees, impinge upon how certain stances conveyed in original articles are reproduced in their translations. Commissioning translation within newspapers inevitably involves a range of human agents alongside translators, such as editors, revisers, proofreaders, publishers, etc. As participants involved in a network of power relations, those agents usually

“take up positions and build alliances so as to be able to achieve their own aims and ambitions” (Hermans, 1995:10). It is essential therefore for any research which examines translations commissioned by newspapers that the roles those agents play in producing a translation final product are addressed.

The present study does not deny the importance of considering the roles of those agents, but unfortunately it has no access to information about the nature of their interventions in the process of producing the final translated articles in the target language. As such, this study will treat the translators of the target texts under analysis as the agents ultimately responsible for all the translational choices made, which determined the shape of the final published articles in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*.

Another point which needs to be considered before embarking on the analysis concerns the organisation of the analysis. It was extremely difficult to organise the analytical discussion according to the types of stance markers, i.e. value-laden words, modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses, or according to the three major semantic domains of appraisal, i.e. attitude, engagement, and graduation, precisely because most instances of stance under analysis contain more than one type of stance marker and usually perform more than one function in discourse. Also, it was difficult to organise the analytical discussion in terms of the instances of stance identified specifically in each source text or based on a set of textual or contextual aspects, as this would affect the analysis and focus on the central concept under investigation as well as the description and organisation of the shifts in stance identified. Accordingly, the analytical discussion is organised according to the types of shifts in stance identified in the Arabic translations.

### **7.3.1.1 Shifts in stance**

In the current study, shifts in stance are accounted for in terms of the changes in the meaning or function of stance that occurred in the Arabic translations compared with those of the stance in the original. The framework of analysis adopted in this study facilitates the uncovering of shifts in stance by examining the expression of epistemic/attitudinal meaning of each pattern of stance and the function this pattern performs in its source text and in relation to the context where it occurs and then by examining how the meaning of each pattern and its function are re-conveyed or reproduced in the corresponding target text. Once this has been achieved, a comparison of the conveyance of stance between Arabic translations and their source texts can be made. This comparison allows for discerning the changes or differences in the stance meaning conveyed and its function.

Once shifts in stance have been identified, the analytical discussion will take an explanatory view and focus on providing possible motivations for the occurrences of the shift. Interpretations, in this regard, can be made with reference to the socio-political context in which a source text is located. The presentation of the analysis here has been classified into those shifts that result in the weakening, accentuation, and loss of original stance. To add objectivity to the description of the (re-)conveyance of stance, the analysis will also cover those instances in which stance is accurately reproduced in the Arabic translations, i.e. stance maintained.

#### **7.3.1.1.1 Stance weakened**

This type of stance shift covers those cases in which one or more elements of original stance are reduced, omitted, or distorted when reproduced in the target text. As a result, the original stance is granted less weight in its Arabic translation, which may have an impact on the reception of

that stance by Arab readers. However, such changes do not substantially affect or challenge the overall argument throughout the source text. This type of shift pertains to what might be described as modest changes in the meaning of original stance.

In order to provide a systematic analytical discussion, an attempt has been made to account for those instances of stance being weakened in terms of specific categories that cover all cases of shift found. The analysis has shown that the shift resulting in the weakening of original stance can be classified into the following specific categories: (1) variation in stance object; (2) the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning; (3) the omission of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements; (4) the modification of a negating element resulting in an opposite meaning; and (5) variation in the meaning conveyed by modal auxiliaries. The following discussion is organised according to these categories.

The following analysis of each instance will first describe the conveyance of stance meaning and its function in the source texts before moving on to discuss the way these are re-conveyed in the Arabic translations. Each instance of stance under analysis will initially be represented in the form of tables to highlight the four key components of stance and to facilitate the analysis. This will go on the instance in the source text and in the target text. For referencing purposes, each example under analysis is given a number, and this is followed by a code to identify the specific source text from which the instance of stance has been taken, according to the order in which the source texts are presented in Table 6.1. Also, these are followed by another code to identify the specific newspaper from which that source text was extracted, i.e. the *Washington Post* (WP) or the *New York Times* (NT). In each example, stance markers are shown in bold. The first example

is indicative of stance being weakened due to variation in stance object between the original text and its translation:

[Example 1 ST1 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The last time the Sunni fundamentalists in Syria tried to take over in 1982, then-President Hafez al-Assad, one of those minorities, definitely did not like it, and he had 20,000 of those Sunnis killed in one city called Hama, which they certainly didn't like, so there is a lot of <b>bad blood</b> between all of them that <b>could</b> very <b>likely</b> come to the surface again.	Evaluative noun phrase (bad blood) + Modal auxiliary of possibility (could) + Epistemic adverb of likelihood (likely)	The writer: Thomas Friedman	The bad blood between Sunni fundamentalists and minorities in Syria	Attitude: negative affect + Engagement: entertain

This example is taken from source text No.1, which was written by Thomas Friedman, entitled *Looking for luck in Libya* (see Table 6.1). Friedman's opinion article appeared in English in the *New York Times* on March 29, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ghad* on April 24, 2011. Friedman is a prominent foreign affairs columnist for the *New York Times*, who is best known for his expertise on the Middle Eastern affairs and his ideas and works on globalisation. In the source text, he writes in a somewhat informal manner about President Obama's decision to intervene in Libya, which is a position he not only advocates, but also attempts to promote by proclaiming that it is justifiable on humanitarian and ethical grounds. Friedman describes the situation in the Middle East as "a dangerous, violent, hope-filled and potentially hugely positive or explosive mess — fraught with moral and political ambiguities". He argues throughout the text that although it is difficult to ensure a true transformation to democracy in Libya and in other Arab Spring countries, the United States and its allies should support such a transition.

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of the evaluative phrase *bad blood*, the modal auxiliary of possibility *could*, and the epistemic adverb of likelihood *likely*. The writer adopts the stance that between Sunni fundamentalists and minorities in Syria there is an intense feeling of hatred (*bad blood*) that both sides have been long-acquainted with. The feeling of hatred might very possibly *come to the surface again* in the current Syrian Arab Spring. The bad blood between the two sides operates in this example as the object of interest towards which the authorial stance is directed. According to the writer, the reason for the *bad blood* between the two sides is due to the fact that the regime of the late Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, who belongs to the minority Alawite sect that rules the country and the father of the current President Bashar al-Assad, ordered a military campaign in which 20,000 people were killed in the Syrian city of Hama in 1982, with the aim of suppressing Sunnis.

The writer holds it to be true that there is a feeling of deep rooted-hatred between the two sides (negative affect), which is amplified using *a lot of* (graduation: quantification). The metaphorical expression *bad blood* is used by the writer, Thomas Friedman, to evoke in the minds of his readers a sense that there has existed a prolonged or long-standing feud between the two sides, which in turn provides the ground for his follow-up assessment. For him, it is possible that this intense feeling of hatred comes *to the surface again* in the present Syrian crisis (assessment of likelihood). This assessment follows from expectation based on past experience. The force of the assessment is intensified using *very*, which assigns a high degree of likelihood, but not certainty. In this sense, the authorial voice represents the assessment as one of a number of possible alternatives and thereby, to a lesser degree, makes space for other possibilities; this is what is referred to in the framework of appraisal as *entertain*.



In each corresponding example in Arabic, a code is given to identify the specific target text from which the translation has been taken, as presented in Table 6.2, and another code to identify the specific newspaper from which that target text was extracted, i.e. *Al-Ghad* (G) or *Al-Ittihad* (I). A back translation is provided of the Arabic translation into English. Back translations (BT) are the researcher's own. Specific elements that illustrate the shifts in stance are underlined. The following is the analytical discussion of the Arabic translation of the first example:

[Example 1 TT1 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
آخر مرة حاول فيها المتشددون السنة في سورية التغلب على واحدة من تلك الأقليات، كانت في العام 1982، لكن الرئيس حافظ الأسد في حينه لم يحبهم بالتأكيد، فقتل 20000 من أولئك السنة في مدينة واحدة تدعى حماة، وهي التي لم يحبها بالتأكيد. وعليه، ثمة الكثير من الدم الأسود بين كل تلك الطوائف، والذي يحتمل جداً أن يطفو على السطح مجدداً	The last time the Sunni fundamentalists in Syria tried to overcome one of those minorities was in 1982. But President Hafez al-Assad at that time definitely did not like them. He had killed 20,000 of those Sunnis in one city called Hama, which he certainly did not like. Thus, there is a lot of <u>black blood</u> between all those sects, which could very much come to the surface again.	The writer: Friedman + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The black blood <sup>41</sup> between all those sects	Attitude: negative affect + Engagement: entertain

As the central element of the original stance, the expression of the authorial assessment of likelihood realised through the structure *could very likely* is retained in the Arabic translation even if the realisation slightly varies. In the original extract, the evaluative phrase *bad blood*, which operates as the stance object, indicates an intense feeling of hatred, which clearly shows negative affect. In the Arabic translation, *bad blood* is replaced with the expression الدم الأسود

<sup>41</sup> الدم الأسود (black blood) is a culture-specific expression used in Arabic to refer to dark red or black blood which traditional medical practitioners extract from a person's body as part of a traditional therapy that is believed to benefit a person's health.

(‘black blood’), which in turn does not carry the same original meaning that is conveyed in the source text. The choice made by the *Al-Ghad*’s translator fails to capture or recognise the phrase *bad blood* as being the stance object or as a metaphorical expression, and it is mistranslated according to its literal sense. In the target language culture, *bad blood* (دم فاسد) refers to venous blood, which appears as dark red or black, and is considered to be not beneficial from the perspective of traditional alternative medicinal therapies in the Arab world.

By comparing this instance of stance in its source text and its Arabic translation, a shift has been captured. The shift is represented by the replacement of the stance object and the distortion of the negative attitudinal meaning that it carries. This ultimately results in weakening the original stance. Shift in stance here can perhaps be attributed to the possibility that the translator may not recognise that the expression *bad blood* is the target of the stance taken and/or not fully understand the metaphorical sense of the expression.

The following is another example from Friedman’s article that further illustrates the case of stance being weakened due to variation in stance object:

[Example 2 ST1 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Some experts <b>say</b> this time it’s not like that because this time, and they <b>could</b> be <b>right</b> , the Syrian people want freedom for all.	Stance complement clause controlled by the verb <i>say</i> + Modal auxiliary of possibility ( <i>could</i> ) + evaluative adjective ( <i>right</i> )	Some experts + the writer: Friedman	The Syrian Arab Spring + Some experts to whom the first part of the stance is attributed	Engagement: attribution + Judgement of veracity

In above example, the stance identified is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of the stance complement clause controlled by the verb *say*, the modal auxiliary of possibility *could*, and the evaluative adjective *right*. This example consists of two parts. The first is the stance, which is attributed to some experts as the stancetaker, that the current Syrian uprising is different from the one which was suppressed in Hama in 1982 *because this time the Syrian people want freedom for all*. The second part is the overt authorial assessment of the truth value of the propositional content which is contained in the attributed stance, as *could be right*. This means that the writer adopts a particular stance towards the stance attributed to external voices.

Given the argumentative nature of newspaper opinion articles, which was discussed in chapter three, authors of these texts most often announce where they stand with respect to the issues being addressed, including material attributed to external sources. As a heteroglossic resource, attribution is used as a strategy to reinforce their argument. In this sense, Friedman presents the attributed proposition that “this time it’s not like that because this time ... the Syrian people want freedom for all” as might be true and thereby aligns himself with the external voices. This is realised through *could be right* that indicates a low degree of possibility for the propositional content to be true (judgement of veracity). The following shows the translation of this excerpt in *Al-Ghad* as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 2 TT1 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
بعض الخبراء يقولون إن هذا الوقت ليس مثل ذلك، لأن السنة في هذه المرة يمكن أن يكونوا محقين، فالشعب السوري يريد الحرية للجميع.	Some experts say this time is not like that <u>because the Sunnis this time could be right</u> ; as the Syrian people want freedom for all.	Some experts + The translator who weakens the writer’s original stance	The Syrian Arab Spring + The Sunnis	Engagement: attribution + Judgement of veracity

In the first part of the example, the stance, which is attributed to some experts, is retained in the Arabic translation, in which the translator has employed a strategy of literal translation. However, there is a notable shift in stance in the translation of the second part of the original example. In this second part, the authorial assessment of the truth value of the propositional content in the stance attributed to external voices *they could be right* is rendered as السنة في هذه المرة يمكن أن يكونوا محقين ('the Sunnis this time could be right'). As the second stance object in the original, *they* refers to those experts who adopt the stance in the first part of the example. In the Arabic translation, this stance object, towards which the authorial stance is directed, is misunderstood and *they* is replaced by السنة ('the Sunnis'), with the pronoun in the original text being construed as having reference to *the Sunnis*. This reveals that a variation in the stance object has occurred in the translation of the authorial stance. As a result, the original stance is weakened when translated into Arabic because the translator fails to construct the same relation of alignment between the author and other external voices as that in the original.

The following is another example from Friedman's article that is also indicative of stance being weakened due to variation in stance object:

[Example 3 ST1 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Welcome to the Middle East of 2011! You want the truth about it? You can't <b>handle</b> the truth. The truth is that it's a <b>dangerous, violent, hope-filled</b> and <b>potentially hugely positive</b> or <b>explosive mess</b> — <b>fraught</b> with <b>moral</b> and <b>political ambiguities</b> .	Evaluative verb (handle) + Eight evaluative adjectives (dangerous; violent; hope-filled; positive; explosive; fraught; moral; political) + Epistemic adverb of likelihood (potentially) + Adverb of degree (hugely) + Two evaluative nouns (mess; ambiguities)	The writer: Friedman	The Middle East	Affect: mostly insecurity + Some realisation of security

In this example, a strong stance is taken in relation to the issue being discussed. The stance is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through several elements, including the evaluative verb *handle*, the evaluative adjectives *dangerous*; *violent*; *hope-filled*; *positive*; *explosive*; *fraught*; *moral*; *political*, the epistemic adverb of likelihood *potentially*, the adverb of degree *hugely*, and the evaluative nouns *mess*; *ambiguities*. The writer, to a large extent, negatively evaluates the stance object he is targeting, i.e. the Middle East, and adopts the stance that the truth about it cannot be handled. The truth, for him, is that the Middle East is *a dangerous, violent, hope-filled and potentially hugely positive or explosive mess — fraught with moral and political ambiguities*. It is the *affect* category of appraisal framework that dominates in this example. The stance adopted is a mix of some feeling of positive security (*hope-filled* and *positive mess*) and intense feelings of insecurity which is expressed by means of a string of evaluative adjectives (*dangerous, violent, explosive, and fraught with*) and two evaluative nouns (*mess* and *ambiguities*), which in turn opening up a space for invoking judgements about the region. Also, part of the authorial stance, which is realised through the use of the epistemic adverb of

likelihood *potentially*, points to a sense of uncertainty or lack of commitment to the truth value of the accompanying proposition *hugely positive or explosive mess*.

What this example shows is that a strong feeling of insecurity is being evoked in an attempt to produce a negative image of the Middle East. The overarching theme, which sets out the overall argument throughout Friedman’s article, is a very negative view of the Middle East, which is presented as a complex and dangerous region that is full of challenges, uncertainty, and risks. By using a sequence of evaluative adjectives and nouns that all share a common function, the writer adds extra emphasis to the overall stance conveyed, and makes this salient in the minds of his readers, which may influence his readers to adopt a similar stance. The following is the translation of this example in *Al-Ghad* alongside the consideration of how it is re-conveyed:

[Example 3 TT1 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
أهلا بالشرق الأوسط للعام 2011! هل تريد الحقيقة حوله؟ إنك لا تستطيع التعامل مع الحقيقة. الحقيقة التي تكون خطيرة وعنيفة ومليئة بالأمل، والتي يحتمل أن تكون إيجابية بشكل كبير، أو مهتاجة بشكل متفجر - محفوفة بنقاط الغموض الأخلاقية والسياسية	Welcome of the Middle East of 2011! Do you want the truth about it? You cannot deal with the truth. <u>The truth that is dangerous, violent, and hope-filled; and that is potentially</u> hugely positive or explosively furious – fraught with points of moral and political ambiguity.	The writer: Friedman + The translator who weakens the writer’s original stance	The truth	Affect: mostly insecurity + Some realisation of security

In the Arabic translation, the original stance is mostly retained, where *Al-Ghad*’s translator has employed a strategy of literal translation. In this regard, the translator shows strong loyalty to the original to the extent that in most cases he uses the same punctuation marks of the original. In spite of this, the original stance has been weakened in its Arabic translation because of the notable variation in the stance object. In the original, the use of the pronoun *it* is a central

element upon it depends the identification of the specific object of interest towards which the stance is directed (stance object). The pronoun *it*, in *the truth is that it's a dangerous ...*, unambiguously refers to the Middle East. In the Arabic translation, this stance object is misconstrued and *the truth is that it's a dangerous ...* is replaced by الحقيقة التي تكون خطيرة ('the truth that is dangerous'), as if the pronoun in the original text is referring to 'the truth'. Also, the evaluative lexical item *mess* is replaced by the stronger evaluative adjective مهتاجة ('furious') in the Arabic translation. Overall, what this example reveals is that the original stance is weakened when translated into Arabic because the translator fails to direct his readers attention to the target of the stance conveyed, which is the Middle East not the truth. The shift in stance here can be largely related to the translator's competence.

The following example further illustrates the case of stance being weakened due to variation in stance object, but this time the example is from a different source text:

[Example 4 ST7 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The Muslim Brotherhood, in turn, is <b>anxious</b> about anything that <b>smacks</b> of an attempt to <b>undermine</b> the political <b>power</b> that <b>would</b> come with electoral victory.	Evaluative adjective (anxious) + Two evaluative verbs (smacks; undermine) + evaluative noun (power) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (would)	The writer: Meyer-Resende	The Muslim Brotherhood	Affect: insecurity

This example is taken from the source text No.7, which was written by Michael Meyer-Resende, entitled *Rules for transition* (see Table 6.1). The opinion article appeared in English in the *New York Times* on November 25, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ghad* on

December 2, 2011. Meyer-Resende is introduced at the end of the original article as “the executive director of Democracy Reporting International, a Berlin-based NGO promoting political participation”. He is not a regular columnist for the *New York Times*, but a professional guest writer. In the opinion article, he describes and comments on the post-revolutionary transitional process in Egypt and Tunisia, including constitutional and electoral arrangements. According to the writer, the Tunisian democratic transitional process is much more successful than that adopted in Egypt. In this regard, he highlights the key concerns of major Egyptian political groups about choosing a particular path to democracy and an appropriate electoral system.

In the above example, the stance adopted is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of elements, including the evaluative adjective *anxious*, the two evaluative verbs (*smacks* and *undermine*), the evaluative noun *power*, and the modal auxiliary of prediction *would*. The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts a particular stance directed towards a specific stance object, i.e. the Muslim Brotherhood. In highlighting the major concern of this political group about the transitional process in Egypt, the stance adopted conveys a deeply negative feeling that the Muslim Brotherhood has about any manipulation or attempt to undermine the political power the party may gain as a result of winning the elections<sup>42</sup>. This can be attributed to the fact that the Brotherhood was excluded from political life in Egypt and has been waiting for a long time to have the opportunity to take power and govern the country. The deeply negative feeling expressed (insecurity) is realised by the selection of a number of negative evaluative lexical items (*anxious*, *smacks of*, and *undermine*). This attitudinal meaning conveyed implies that the Muslim Brotherhood is sure to win the elections and the party is afraid that the political power

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<sup>42</sup> It needs to be noted here that the corpus chosen for the purposes of this study covers a time span before the Muslim Brotherhood has taken power in Egypt.



that will come with the victory might be undermined by its political opponents. The following shows the Arabic translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed:

[Example 4 TT7 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
ويشعر الإخوان المسلمون بالقلق بدورهم إزاء أي شيء ينم عن محاولة لإضعاف القوى السياسية التي ستخرج بالنصر الانتخابي.	The Muslim Brotherhood, in turn, feels anxious about anything that indicates an attempt to undermine the political powers that would <u>gain the electoral victory</u> .	The writer: Meyer-Resende + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The Muslim Brotherhood + The political power groups that would gain the electoral victory	Affect: insecurity

In *Al-Ghad's* translation of this example, most of the original attitudinal meaning is retained. More specifically, the central negative feeling that the Muslim Brotherhood has is accurately reproduced, as the negative evaluative lexical items *anxious*, *smacks of*, and *undermine* have been successfully rendered into Arabic as *القلق*, *ينم عن*, and *اضعاف*, respectively. But a shift that weakens the original stance is apparent in the addition of a new stance object. As discussed above, the original stance contains one object towards which the stance is directed, i.e. the Muslim Brotherhood. However, the original stance is reproduced in Arabic as having another stance object alongside the one just mentioned. The new object is *القوى السياسية التي ستخرج بالنصر الانتخابي* ('the political forces that would gain the electoral victory'). In the original stance, the political power that the Brotherhood would gain if the party won the elections is reproduced as 'political forces'. So, the fear of the attempt to undermine the political power of the Brotherhood in case the party wins the elections is understood in the Arabic translation as the fear of the

attempt to undermine other political forces which may win the elections. As a result, a shift in stance object has occurred between the original and translated stance. This can affect the way the target text’s readers perceive the re-conveyed stance, which is certainly different from what the source text’s readers derive.

The following example shows a different category of weakening stance. The shift this time is mainly attributed to the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning. Also, a slight variation in the stance object has occurred:

[Example 5 ST9 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Brotherhood leaders have learned to <b>mouth</b> a <b>commitment</b> to pluralism and tolerance, but it is <b>unclear that</b> they <b>would</b> act on it when in power.	Evaluative verb (mouth) + Evaluative noun (commitment) + Stance complement clause controlled by an adjective (unclear + that-clause) + modal auxiliary of volition (would)	The writer: Daniel Bymen	The Brotherhood leaders	Negative judgement: -propriety

This example was extracted from the source text No.9, which was written by Daniel Byman, entitled *After the hope of the Arab Spring, the chill of an Arab Winter* (see Table 6.1). Byman’s opinion article appeared in English in the *Washington Post* on December 2, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ittihad* on December 7, 2011. The writer is introduced at the end of the original article as “a professor in the security studies program at Georgetown University and research director at the Brookings Institution’s Saban Center for Middle East Policy”; and as “a co-author of *The Arab Awakening: America and the*

*Transformation of the Middle East* and the author of *A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism*". He is not a regular columnist for the *Post*, but a professional guest writer. In the opinion article, Byman presents his general evaluation of the Arab Spring since its emergence in late 2010 and summarises the main changes resulting from the massive Arab revolutions. The writer argues that a new phase of these revolutions is about to begin, which he called the 'Arab Winter', but, for him, this does not mean the Arab Spring has gone. Byman emphasises that the United States should be prepared to deal with the new phase, as chaos, stagnation, and misrule will be the hallmarks of this phase.

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of the evaluative verb *mouth*, the evaluative noun *commitment*, the stance complement clause that is controlled by an adjective (unclear + that-clause), and the modal auxiliary of volition *would*. The writer adopts a particular stance towards the Muslim Brotherhood leaders in Egypt as the object of interest towards whom the authorial stance is directed. In this stance, those leaders are portrayed as raising empty slogans of commitment to pluralism and tolerance, which, according to the writer, they do not believe in. Also, Byman appears to be uncertain if they are willing to act on this commitment when they take power in the upcoming elections.

The writer begins the stance with the conveyance of a negative attitude towards the behaviour of the Brotherhood leaders. More specifically, he expresses a negative judgement (-propriety) of the expression of their commitment to the principles or values of pluralism and tolerance. The writer here indicates that those leaders do not believe in these principles or values and they have recently started to argue about their commitment to these. The use of the evaluative verb *mouth* is central in realising the authorial judgement. In the *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, the verb *mouth* is found to have the following meaning: "to say something that you do not really feel,

believe or understand”<sup>43</sup>. So, the choice of this lexical item gives the source text’s readers the impression that the Brotherhood leaders are not honest and therefore are not expected to act on their commitment when in power. Also, the use of the verb *learn* is indicative here of the sense that the principles of pluralism and tolerance do not exist in their dictionary.

To avoid giving false judgement and being directly critical of the stance object, the writer, in the second part of the stance, expresses uncertainty as to whether or not the Brotherhood leaders are willing to act on their commitment to pluralism and tolerance. This is realised by using the adjective *unclear*, which controls the clause that follows. As controlled by this adjective, the modal of volition *would* signals the authorial uncertainty about the willingness of those leaders. The following are *Al-Ittihad*’s translation of this example and the discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 5 TT9 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
صحيح أن "الإخوان المسلمون" تعلموا التعبير عن التزامهم بالتعددية والتسامح، إلا أنه من غير الواضح ما إن كانوا سيفون بالتزاماتهم عندما يصلون إلى السلطة.	It is true that “the Muslim Brotherhood” have learned to <u>express</u> a commitment to pluralism and tolerance, but it is unclear that they would act on their commitments when in power.	The writer: Byman + The translator who weakens the writer’s original stance	The Muslim Brotherhood	Negative judgement: -propriety

In the Arabic translation of this example, most of the original stance is retained. However, a noticeable change in the central authorial negative judgement has occurred due to the reproduction of the evaluative verb *mouth*, which is rendered as the more neutral verb *تعبير* (‘express’). As discussed above, *mouth* in the original carries the sense that the Brotherhood

<sup>43</sup> URL: <[http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/mouth\\_2](http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/mouth_2)>, last accessed on June 15, 2014.

leaders say what they do not really believe; while in the translation تعبير ('express') does not convey that sense. By choosing a more neutral verb, the Arabic translation largely tones down the authorial judgement conveyed in the original stance. As such, the negative attitudinal meaning that the source text's readers derive is replaced by a more neutral one that shows less negativity towards the stance object. As a result of this replacement, the translational choice will affect the target reader's reception of the translated stance. Moreover, the Arabic translation shows a slight variation in the stance object. The original stance object *Brotherhood leaders* is rendered as the less specific الإخوان المسلمون ('the Muslim Brotherhood'). This means that the negative authorial judgement, which has been specifically directed towards the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, is presented in the translation as directed towards the whole members of the Muslim Brotherhood party in Egypt. Overall, the original stance is weakened when translated into Arabic because the translator relatively fails to reproduce the same negative attitudinal meaning as that in the original.

Another example of stance being weakened due to the replacement of one evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning is the following:

[Example 6 ST3 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The NATO-led coalition <b>must</b> and — as these few examples show — can make a more <b>compelling</b> case for the Libyan intervention. NATO has the high <b>moral ground</b> here: Qaddafi is a <b>brutal dictator</b> .	Modal auxiliary of necessity (must) + Two evaluative adjectives (compelling; brutal) + Evaluative noun phrase (moral ground) + Evaluative noun (dictator)	The writer: Calvert	The NATO's narrative + Qaddafi	Engagement: pronouncement + Negative judgement: -propriety

This example is part of the source text No.3, which was written by Lynda Calvert, entitled *Losing the war of words on Libya* (see Table 6.1). Calvert's opinion article appeared in English in the *New York Times* on June 15, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ghad* on June 29, 2011. The writer is introduced at the end of the original article as "a visiting scholar at the NATO Defense College in Rome". She is not a regular columnist for the *New York Times*, but a professional guest writer. In the opinion article, she focuses primarily on the Libyan Arab Spring and on the importance of another aspect of war, which she refers to as *the war of words*. The writer highlights and comments on two narratives that have currency in the intervention in Libya. On the one hand, the narrative of the NATO-led coalition that is summarised as follows: the precise purpose of the NATO's intervention is to help and protect the Libyan people. On the other hand, the counter-narrative framed by Qaddafi who proclaims that the NATO allies are the *colonialist crusader aggressors* who are not coming to Libya to protect civilians, but to massacre them. For Calvert, Qaddafi knows how to weave and promote his narrative much better than the allies under the NATO umbrella.

The stance taken, in this example, is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through several elements, including the modal auxiliary of necessity *must*, two evaluative adjectives (*compelling* and *brutal*), the evaluative noun phrase *moral ground*, and the evaluative noun *dictator*. As the stancetaker, the writer adopts the stance that the NATO-led coalition needs to develop and promote a more convincing argument or narrative for its intervention in Libya because the current narrative is not *compelling and engaging*. For Calvert, NATO has a *moral ground* to stand on when developing this narrative as the Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi is well-known as a *brutal dictator*. In this instance of stance representation, NATO's narrative and Qaddafi are the stance object.

The stance adopted begins with a *pronouncement* (a category of the domain of *engagement*), which involves overt intervention on the part of the writer to assert the value of the proposition that NATO needs and has the ability to *make a more compelling case for the Libyan intervention*. This assertion is underpinned by the use of the two modals *must* and *can*, which frame the proposition. Accordingly, the authorial voice makes its subjective role more salient, thereby reducing the communicative space available for having alternative positions. For Calvert, a *more compelling* narrative for justifying the intervention is needed, one which is based on a moral premise. The writer views the negative judgement (propriety) that Qaddafi is *a brutal dictator* as the correct moral reason for doing so. This *moral ground* is intensified using *high*. The following table shows *Al-Ghad*'s translation of this example, and this is followed by a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 6 TT3 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
يجب على الائتلاف الذي يقوده الناتو، كما تظهر هذه الأمثلة القليلة، بل ويستطيع أن يصنع قضية أكثر قبولاً للتدخل في ليبيا. وهنا يتمتع الناتو بأرضية المعنويات العالية: فالقذافي دكتاتور وحشي	The NATO-led coalition must, as these few examples show, and even can make a more <u>satisfying</u> case for the intervention in Libya. And here the NATO has the high ground of <u>morale</u> : Qaddafi is a brutal dictator.	The writer: Calvert + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The NATO's narrative and Qaddafi	Engagement: pronouncement + Negative judgement: -propriety

In the Arabic translation of Calvert's article published in *Al-Ghad*, most of the key elements of the original stance discussed before in this example are re-conveyed. More specifically, the pronouncement with its assertion and the negative judgement conveyed through the value-laden words *brutal* and *dictator* are largely maintained. However, a shift in stance in this instance has

been identified due to the reproduction of the evaluative adjective *compelling*, which is rendered as the more neutral lexical item قيولاً ('satisfying'). Also, a more important key element of the original stance is badly weakened, that is the evaluative adjective *moral*. This is replaced by the evaluative noun المعنويات ('morale'), which carries a different evaluative meaning. As such, the *more compelling case* for justifying the intervention, which the writer asserts should be developed from the *high moral ground*, is reproduced in the translation as the case or narrative needing to be developed due to NATO's high morale. As a result of this replacement, the translational choice may affect the target reader's reception of the translated stance.

A third instance of stance being weakened due to the replacement one evaluative element by another is shown below. But the replacement this time is by another element that carries a more general meaning:

[Example 7 ST8 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
And it has <b>shown that</b> Washington's present <b>approach</b> to Egypt, which has placed a premium on private diplomacy at the expense of public pressure, <b>must</b> change.	Stance complement clause controlled by a verb (shown + that-clause) + Evaluative noun (approach) + Modal auxiliary of necessity (must)	The writers: Marc Lynch and Steven Cook	Washington's present approach to Egypt	Engagement: pronouncement

This example is part of the source text No.8, which was written by Marc Lynch and Steven Cook, entitled *U.S. policy on Egypt needs a big shift* (see Table 6.1). The opinion article appeared in English in the *New York Times* on November 30, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ghad* on December 6, 2011. Marc Lynch is introduced at the end of the



original article as “an associate professor of political science at George Washington University” and Steven Cook as “a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations”. Neither of them are regular columnists for the *New York Times*, but professional guest writers. In the opinion article, the writers mainly focus on the political mismanagement of the Egyptian post-revolutionary transition by the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) and the American policy towards Egypt during this critical time. They criticise this policy and view that the passive response on the part of the American administration to the critical situation in Egypt has largely damaged the image of the United States in the eyes of those Arabs who hope to live in truly democratic societies.

In the above example, the authorial stance adopted is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of the stance complement clause that is controlled by the verb *shown*, the evaluative noun *approach*, and the modal auxiliary of necessity *must*. As the stancetakers, the writers adopt a particular stance towards Washington’s present approach to Egypt, which operates here as the stance object. The present stance conveys an explicit intervention by the authorial voice with categorical assertion that is directed against a given counter-position. That is the American administration’s approach towards Egypt, which is built on placing *a premium on private diplomacy at the expense of public pressure*. The high level of violence in Egypt, which the pronoun *it* refers to at the beginning of the example, together with the passive American approach to the country have motivated the writers to adopt the stance that this approach *must change*. A high degree of commitment to the truth value of the authorial stance is conveyed by using the verb *shown* and the modal of necessity *must*, which indicate that the authorial voice highly positions itself with respect to the value position addressed and strongly committed to the stance adopted. Thus, this authorial pronouncement does not allow for easy disagreement on the

part of the readers. The following are the *Al-Ghad*'s translation of the original stance and the discussion of its conveyance in Arabic:

[Example 7 TT8 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
كما أظهرت أن طريقة واشنطن مع مصر، والتي وضعت أولوية للدبلوماسية الخاصة على حساب الضغط الشعبي، يجب أن تتغير.	And it has shown that Washington's way with Egypt, which has placed a premium on private diplomacy at the expense of public pressure, must change.	The writers: Lynch and Cook + The translator who weakens the writers' original stance	Washington's present approach to Egypt	Engagement: pronouncement

In *Al-Ghad*'s translation, most of the original stance is re-conveyed, including the realisations of the function of pronouncement. More specifically, the verb *shown* is adequately translated into its Arabic equivalent أظهر. Also, the modal *must* is satisfactorily rendered as يجب. But, the shift that has occurred is apparent in the key evaluative noun *approach*, which is rendered as the more general noun طريقة ('way'). In the original stance, *approach* indicates the meaning of not just a way of doing things, but rather has a sense of 'method', which refers to the way of dealing with or thinking about a problem. Thus, the writers' use of the evaluative noun *approach* gives the source text's readers the impression that the Egyptian issue is of high importance to the United States and its administration needs to have a convenient policy to deal with the crisis in that country, the translator's choice of طريقة ('way') does not indeed give the target text's readers a similar impression.

The following example further illustrates how the original stance is being weakened due to the replacement of one key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal sense:

[Example 8 ST10 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
In reality, the U.N. debate <b>obscures</b> what has become one of the most <b>complex, volatile</b> and <b>momentous</b> power <b>struggles</b> in the history of the Middle East — one in which Assad and Syrian opposition forces have become virtual <b>pawns</b> , and Russia and the United States <b>bit players</b> .	Evaluative verb (obscures) + Three evaluative adjectives (complex; volatile; momentous) + Two evaluative noun (struggles; pawns) + Evaluative noun phrase (bit players)	The writer: Diehl	The power struggle in and over Syria	Affect: insecurity + Negative judgement: -propriety

In this example, the stance adopted is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through several elements, including the evaluative verb *obscures*, the evaluative adjectives *complex*, *volatile*, and *momentous*, the two evaluative nouns *struggles* and *pawns*, and the evaluative noun phrase *bit players*. The stancetaker here is the writer Diehl who adopts a specific stance oriented towards the power struggle in and over Syria. The writer presents in the stance his evaluation of the power struggle inside Syria between the regime and the opposition forces as well as that outside Syria in the U.N. between Russia and the United States.

In the above example, the writer begins by taking the view that the unproductive debate in the U.N. between the deeply divided superpowers over the Syrian crisis implicitly reflects what he describes as one of the most dangerous power struggles the Middle East has witnessed. He reveals his negative affectual response or reaction to what this crisis holds. This is realised by the writer's use of several negative evaluative adjectives (*complex*, *volatile*, and *momentous*) that all share a common function (insecurity). By this choice, the writer adds extra emphasis to the negative attitudinal sense conveyed, and makes this salient in the minds of readers. This can

contribute to influence the readers' reception of the authorial judgement that immediately follows. The writer moves on to pass a negative judgement (propriety) of the behaviour of power groups in Syria, i.e. Al-Assad's regime and the Syrian opposition forces. For him, the actions of the two sides are supported and controlled by more powerful players, who use the two sides to achieve their goals. The selection of the evaluative noun *pawn* is indicative of this sense. Moreover, another negative judgement is conveyed, but this time of the behaviour of the two superpowers: Russia and the United States. More specifically, the judgement here refers to the extent of their engagement. According to the writer, the two countries are not actively engaged in finding a peaceful solution to the Syrian crisis and they invest small amount of their real influence on the course of events there, as they both have the ability to play an important role. This negative judgement is realised by using the evaluative noun phrase *bit players*. The following shows the translation of this excerpt in *Al-Ittihad* as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 8 TT10 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
في الواقع، يحجب النقاش الدائر في الأمم المتحدة وراءه ما أصبح اليوم واحداً من أكثر صراعات القوى تعقيداً وتقلباً وخطورة في تاريخ الشرق الأوسط - صراع أصبح فيه الأسد والمعارضة السورية بمثابة ببادق، وروسيا والولايات المتحدة لاعبين هواة.	In reality, the current U.N. debate obscures what has become today one of the most complex, volatile, and momentous power struggles in the history of the Middle East – a struggle in which Al-Assad and the Syrian opposition have become virtual pawns, and Russia and the United States <u>amateur players</u> .	The writer: Diehl + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The power struggle in and over Syria	Affect: insecurity + Negative judgement: -propriety

In the Arabic translation, the authorial negative affectual response or reaction to the disagreement within the U.N. over the Syrian crisis is accurately reproduced, as the evaluative lexical items that signal this negativity *complex*, *volatile*, *momentous*, and *struggle* have been successfully rendered into Arabic as تعقيد, تقلب, خطورة, and صراع, respectively. Also, the negative judgement of the power groups in Syria is largely retained, as the evaluative noun *pawns* is satisfactorily rendered as the more marked noun in Arabic بيداق, which carries a similar negative sense. However, a shift in the original stance emerges from the reproduction of the authorial judgement of the behaviour of Russia and the United States in relation to the Syrian crisis realised by using the evaluative phrase *bit players*. This phrase is rendered as the less standard لاعبين هواة ('amateur players'). In the source text, *bit player* does not necessarily convey the idea of an amateur or unprofessional player, but rather that such player is not involved in the issue in any significant way, possibly because he/she does not find it important enough to invest his/her resources in dealing with the matter; while the phrase لاعبين هواة ('amateur players') carries, on the other hand, the sense that the player is not professional and has no ability to play an important role. As a result, the original stance is weakened when reproduced in Arabic because the translator fails to convey the same judgemental tone as in the original.

Example 9 ST9 WP, from Byman's article, illustrates a different category of weakening stance.

The shift this time arises from the omission of a key evaluative element:

[Example 9 ST9 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Bashar al-Assad <b>may</b> cling to power in Syria, but he <b>will</b> be <b>isolated</b> abroad and <b>hollow</b> at home.	Modal auxiliary of possibility (may) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (will) + Two evaluative adjectives (isolated; hollow)	The writer: Byman	Bashar al-Assad	Engagement: entertain + Negative judgement: -normality

In this example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of elements, including the modal auxiliary of possibility *may*, the modal auxiliary of prediction *will*, and the two evaluative adjectives (*isolated* and *hollow*). The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts a particular stance towards the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad as the object of interest towards whom the authorial stance is directed. Byman views that there is a possibility that al-Assad keeps a grip on power in Syria, yet this, for the writer, means that the President is likely to be *isolated* by the international community and to be *hollow at home*.

The writer begins the presentation of his stance with addressing the possibility for al-Assad to stay in power in the future. For him, it is possible that this President holds out much longer (assessment of likelihood). This assessment follows from expectation based on past experience and current situation. This is realised by the choice of the modal *may* that indicates a sense of uncertainty and a lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition that *Bashar al-Assad clings to power in Syria*. As such, the authorial voice presents the assessment as one of a number of possible alternative positions and thereby makes space for other possibilities; this is what is known in the framework of appraisal theory as *entertain*.

The writer then appears to be more certain when using the modal of prediction *will* to frame the two propositions that follow. This modal signals a high degree of probability of the following two propositions: (1) Bashar al-Assad tends to be *isolated abroad*; and (2) he tends to be *hollow at home*. In these propositions, the writer expresses a negative judgement (-normality) of how al-Assad will be dealt with or treated inside and outside his country. The writer indicates that al-Assad is likely to be marginalised at the international level and be without real value at the national level. The use of the two evaluative adjectives *isolated* and *hollow* is central in realising the authorial judgement. The following shows the translation of this example in *Al-Ittihad* as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 9 TT9 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وقد يتمسك بشار الأسد بالسلطة في سوريا، ولكنه سيصبح معزولاً في الخارج.	Bashar al-Assad may cling to power in Syria, but he will be isolated abroad.	The writer: Friedman + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	Bashar al-Assad	Engagement: entertain + Negative judgement: -normality

In the Arabic translation of this example, most of the original stance is retained. More specifically, the sense of possibility for al-Assad to stay in power is accurately reproduced, as the modal *may* has been successfully rendered into its Arabic equivalent as *قد*. Also, the modal *will* is satisfactorily rendered as the modal particle *س*, which means retaining the sense of probability and the authorial commitment to the truth value of the two framed propositions. However, the authorial judgement of how al-Assad will be treated at the international and national levels has not been fully reproduced in Arabic. This is because the judgement of the isolation of this President is retained, as the evaluative adjective *isolated* is rendered successfully into Arabic as

معزول, while the judgement of him being without real value at home is omitted altogether. As such, a key component of the authorial judgement is left out of the translated text. Thus, the original stance is weakened when translated into Arabic because the translator fails to re-convey the whole picture of the original authorial judgement.

The example below from Friedman’s article shows another shift arising from the omission of a key element, but the element this time is grammatical:

[Example 10 ST1 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
I am <b>proud</b> of my president, <b>really worried</b> about him, and just praying that he’s <b>lucky</b> .	Epistemic adverb of reality (really) + Three evaluative adjectives (proud; worried; lucky)	The writer: Friedman	President Obama	Positive and negative affect + Judgement of propriety

The stance taken in this example is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of the epistemic adverb of reality *really* and three evaluative adjectives (*proud*, *worried*, and *lucky*).

The stancetaker, Friedman, adopts a positive stance towards President Obama’s support of the humanitarian intervention in Libya. He shows a great deal of concern about the possibility of the situation in Libya taking a disastrous turn, and he hopes, and even prays, for Obama’s success in this mission.

Obama, in this example, is the stance object towards whom the authorial stance is directed. The attitudinal meaning conveyed reveals the writer’s positive attitude towards the stance object. This attitudinal meaning is oriented to the affect and judgement subsystems of the appraisal framework. The writer begins with a positive affectual or emotional response to behaviour he



strongly approves of, i.e. Obama’s decision to support the humanitarian intervention. This is realised through the evaluative adjective *proud*. In this context, and as pointed out by Martin and White (2005: 60; bold in original), the adjective *proud* “construes both **affect** and **judgement** at the same time”. In connection to this, Martin and White give other examples of evaluative lexical items that perform these two functions at the same time, including *guilty*, *embarrassed*, *jealous*, *envious*, *ashamed*, *resentful*, and *contemptuous*. In the above instance of stance, the evaluative adjective *proud* also carries judgement of propriety, i.e. how ethical humans are. Within his stance, the writer then moves on to reveal his negative feeling or fear that the intervention may turn out to be mistaken and then it is likely to cause problems for Obama (affect: insecurity). This feeling is realised through the evaluative adjective *worried*, and intensified using the epistemic adverb *really*, which emphasises the strength of the writer’s negative feeling in the minds of his readers. This is followed by a judgemental tone based on previously mentioned humanitarian and ethical grounds accompanied by the hope that Obama has every success in this mission, which is expressed through the evaluative adjective *lucky*. The following shows the Arabic translation of this example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed:

[Example 10 TT1 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
أشعر بالفخر برئيسي الذي أشعر بالقلق عليه، وأصلي من أجل أن يكون محظوظاً.	I feel proud of my president, about whom I feel worried, and am praying that he is lucky.	The writer: Friedman + The translator who slightly weakens the writer’s original stance	Obama	Positive and negative affect + Judgement of propriety

The key elements of the original stance are largely retained in the Arabic translation, where the translator has employed a strategy of literal translation. This example and others discussed above can be taken as an indication that the translators of *Al-Ghad* tend to opt for literal translation perhaps because it is a less risky option. More specifically, the affectual response and judgement realised through *proud*, the insecurity feeling (*worried*), and the judgemental tone (*lucky*) are largely maintained. But the translator makes the feelings of the original author more explicit, using the lexical item *feel* twice. One important element is that the epistemic adverb of reality *really*, which emphasises the strength of the writer’s negative feeling (*worried*) in the minds of his readers, is omitted in the translation. Thus, the evaluative lexical item *worried* has a strong attitudinal meaning in the original, when modified by *really*; the omission softens the attitudinal meaning re-conveyed in Arabic.

Example 11 ST6 WP shows an instance in which the original stance is weakened due to the omission of a key grammatical element and the replacement of another one by a cohesive element:

[Example 11 ST6 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Those who <b>worry</b> about an Egyptian <b>implosion</b> sometimes <b>hint</b> that the elections <b>should</b> be further postponed or even canceled. <b>In fact</b> , the opposite is needed.	Two evaluative verbs (worry; hint) + Evaluative noun (implosion) + Modal auxiliary of necessity (should) + Epistemic adverb of certainty (in fact)	Those who worry about an Egyptian implosion + The writer: Jackson Diehl	The Egyptian elections	Judgement of propriety + Engagement: pronouncement

This example is part of the sixth source text (see Table 6.1), which was written by Jackson Diehl, entitled *The real threat in Egypt: Delayed democracy*. The opinion article appeared in English in the *Washington Post* on September 25, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Itihad* on September 28, 2011. Jackson Diehl is a famous foreign affairs columnist for the *Washington Post* and known for his criticism of the Obama administration's foreign policy. In the opinion article, he mainly addresses the transitional process in Egypt after the overthrow of the former Egyptian President Mubarak and the threat that stems from this. The urgent threat, for him and for some Egyptians he has met, is the *prolongation of the chaotic and directionless regime the country now lives under*. Also, the writer addresses the fears of some Western observers that the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic parties could gain power and dominate the Egyptian political scene.

In the above example, the stance adopted is realised through several linguistic elements, including the two evaluative verbs (*worry* and *hint*), the evaluative noun *implosion*, the modal auxiliary of necessity *should*, and the epistemic adverb of certainty *in fact*. The present example can be divided into two parts. The first is the specific stance taken by *those who worry about an Egyptian implosion*. The second is the counter-stance taken by the writer. The writer, in the first part, presents the stance of an external source towards the Egyptian elections; while in the second he presents his own counter-stance towards the same stance object.

The writer presents, in the first part of the example, the judgement attributed to the external sources who implicitly assumed that it is necessary to further postpone or even cancel the Egyptian elections. The evaluative verb *hint* is used before the presentation of the judgement to indicate that these sources indirectly pass that judgement. To frame the given proposition, the writer chooses to use the modal *should* to indicate that *those who worry about an Egyptian*

*implosion* hold the view that it is necessary to postpone or even cancel the elections and to indicate a sense of commitment on the part of those external sources to the truth value of the framed proposition.

In the second part of the example, the writer positions himself explicitly within the subjective message addressed and against the stance of the external voices. He adopts the counter-stance that *the opposite is needed*, i.e. the Egyptian elections should be held on time. The authorial presence becomes more overt here and carries an assertion of the truth value of the given proposition when using the epistemic adverb of certainty *in fact* to assign a relatively high degree of certainty to the truth value of the propositional content of his stance. Thus, the writer, at the beginning of the example, acknowledges the presence of another alternative stance within the same communicative setting and then confronts or challenges that position. This is what is referred to in the appraisal framework as *pronouncement*. The following shows *Al-Ittihad's* translation of this example as well as a discussion of how it is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 11 TT6 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>البعض ممن يبدون قلقهم من انفجار مصر من الداخل يدعون إلى تأجيل الانتخابات أو حتى إلغائها في حين أن العكس تماماً هو المطلوب.</p>	<p>Some of those who worry about an Egyptian explosion from inside <u>call</u> for the postponement of the elections or even the cancellation of it; <u>whereas</u>, the opposite is needed.</p>	<p>The writer: Diehl + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance</p>	<p>The Egyptian elections</p>	<p>Engagement: pronouncement</p>

Although it is largely retained in the Arabic translation, the original stance in the above example is significantly weakened as a result of two noticeable changes. The first is the omission of the modal *should*, which results in losing the sense of necessity to postpone or even cancel the

elections as well as the sense of commitment on the part of the external sources. Also, the evaluative verb *hint* is rendered as the more explicit *يدعون الى* ('call for'). Thus, the sense of necessity conveyed in the original stance is reproduced as a request or demand in the Arabic translation. The second noticeable change is the replacement of the epistemic adverb of certainty *in fact* by the phrase *في حين أن* ('whereas'), which results in the removal of any indication of a relatively high degree of certainty to the truth value of the authorial proposition that the Egyptian elections should be held on time. These changes are likely to have an impact on the reception of the translated stance, as it does not carry the complete original meaning that the source text's readers derive.

Example 12 ST4 WP below vividly illustrates an instance in which stance being weakened due to the omission of more than one key evaluative element of the original stance:

[Example 12 ST4 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
It still <b>can't bring itself</b> to say that Bashar al-Assad, a <b>dictator</b> and <b>implacable</b> U.S. <b>enemy</b> who is using tanks and helicopter gunships to <b>slaughter</b> his people, is not <b>qualified</b> to lead Syria to democracy.	Modal expression of ability (can't bring itself) + Two evaluative nouns (dictator; enemy) + Two evaluative adjectives (implacable; qualified) + Evaluative verb (slaughter)	The writer: Jackson Diehl	The Obama administration + Bashar al-Assad	Negative judgement: -capacity + Negative judgement: -propriety + Affect: insecurity

This example is part of the fourth source text (see Table 6.1), which is another article written by Jackson Diehl, entitled *Why is Obama so tough on Israel and timid on Syria?* Diehl's opinion article appeared in English in the *Washington Post* on June 20, 2011 and its translation into

Arabic was published in *Al-Ittihad* on June 22, 2011. Jackson Diehl, as mentioned before, is a famous foreign affairs columnist for the *Washington Post*, who is known for his criticism of the Obama administration's foreign policy. In the opinion article, he focuses primarily on comparing how this administration has dealt with the Syrian Arab Spring and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to the writer, Obama has taken a tough stand against Israel and at the same time the measures undertaken by his administration against Bashar al-Assad's regime have been too timid. For Diehl, priority should be given to preventing *an Iranian-backed victory by Assad in Syria or the failure of NATO in Libya*.

In the above example from Diehl's article, the stance adopted is realised at the lexicogrammatical level through several elements, including the modal expression of ability *can't bring itself*, the two evaluative nouns *dictator* and *enemy*, the two evaluative adjectives *implacable* and *qualified*, and the evaluative verb *slaughter*. As the stancetaker, the writer adopts the stance that the Obama administration does not have the ability to say that the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, who is described by the writer as *a dictator and implacable U.S. enemy* and who is using the military power against his own people, is not suitable based on these criteria *to lead Syria to democracy*. In this instance, the Obama administration and Bashar al-Assad are the object towards whom the stance is directed.

The writer begins the presentation of his stance with the negative judgement of capacity that the Obama administration has failed to announce that *Bashar al-Assad is not qualified to lead Syria to democracy* and thereby Diehl set himself against what can be apparently viewed as a cautious U.S. attitude towards Syria. To supply a ground for this central element of the stance taken, the writer invokes in the minds of his readers a negative valuation of al-Assad that would resonate strongly. This valuation involves a highly negative judgement (propriety) of al-Assad's

behaviour, who is characterised as an absolute *dictator* and a total *enemy* of the United States. Also, it involves a negative affect (insecurity), as the writer tries to create an awful image of this president who, according to him, is using the military power against his own people and killing them in large numbers. The choice of the evaluative verb *slaughter* rather than the more neutral *kill* is indicative of the authorial intention to construct a deeply negative image of al-Assad in order to provide the moral ground for the central element of the stance, i.e. the writer's initial judgement. The analysis moves now to consider how this instance of stance is reproduced in the Arabic translation:

[Example 12 TT4 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وهي لحد الآن مازالت مترددة في إعلان أن بشار الأسد الذي يستخدم الدبابات والمروحيات لقصف شعبه لم يعد مؤهلاً لقيادة سوريا نحو الديمقراطية.	It is still <u>hesitant</u> to declare that Bashar al-Assad, who is using tanks and helicopters to <u>bomb</u> his people, is not qualified to lead Syria to democracy.	The writer: Diehl + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The Obama administration + Bashar al-Assad	Negative judgement: -capacity + Affect: insecurity

In the Arabic translation of Diehl's article published in *Al-Ittihad*, the negative judgement of the Obama administration's capacity to announce the proposition that *Bashar al-Assad is not qualified to lead Syria to democracy*, which is the central element of the original stance, is retained even if the realisation slightly varies. In this regard, the expression *can't bring itself* is rendered as مترددة ('hesitant'). However, two major changes that largely weaken the original stance when translated into Arabic are noticeable in this example. The first is the omission of the evaluative lexical items *dictator* and *enemy* that function as indicators of negative judgement of propriety. As discussed above, this judgement is essential to supply a ground for the initial

central element, i.e. the negative judgement of capacity. As such, this central element is presented without being supported in the target text. The second change is the omission of the evaluative adjective *implacable* that functions as indicator of insecurity. Also, the other indicator of insecurity *slaughter* has been toned down to قصف ('bomb'), which focuses on the action of the perpetrator rather than its effect on the victim. Overall, most of the original negative attitudinal meaning that supplies ground for the central element of the stance, i.e. the authorial judgement of capacity, has not been reproduced and thus the original stance is much weakened when re-conveyed in Arabic.

Example 13 ST10 WP below, from Diehl's third article in the corpus, illustrates the weakening of stance due to the occurrence of two main changes. The shift here arises from the omission of a key evaluative element as well as the replacement of another one by an element that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning:

[Example 13 ST10 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The central <b>drama</b> in Syria is now a <b>sectarian showdown</b> , one that has been gathering force around the region since the U.S. invasion of Iraq.	Evaluative noun (drama) + Evaluative adjective (sectarian) + Evaluative noun (showdown)	The writer: Jackson Diehl	The conflict in Syria	Affect: insecurity

This example is part of the source text No. 10, which was written by Jackson Diehl, entitled *Syria's outcome has high stakes for the entire Mideast* (see Table 6.1). Diehl's opinion article, which is in the corpus the third of the same writer, appeared in English in the *Washington Post*



on February 3, 2012 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ittihad* on February 4, 2012. Diehl, as mentioned above, is a famous foreign affairs columnist for the *Post*, who is known for his criticism of the Obama administration's foreign policy. In the opinion article, he focuses primarily on the Syrian Arab Spring, which, in his view, turns to be a sectarian conflict. The writer explains that the danger of such a conflict is likely to spread and threaten the whole Middle East. For Diehl, the conflict has clearly shown the weakness of the U.N. Security Council to take a decisive action on it.

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of evaluative lexical items, including the evaluative nouns *drama* and *showdown* and the evaluative adjective *sectarian*. The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts a particular stance towards the conflict in Syria, which is the object towards which the stance is directed. The authorial stance adopted is that the core of the catastrophic course of events in Syria is a decisive sectarian confrontation, which is the reason for the tension and gathering of force around the Middle East. A gathering of force the region has not witnessed before since the invasion of Iraq.

In his stance, the writer portrays the ongoing conflict in Syria as a drama of decisive sectarian confrontation. The overarching theme of the stance adopted is a negative affectual response to what is going on in Syria (insecurity). This is realised through the writer's use of the combination of the evaluative adjective *sectarian* and the evaluative noun *showdown*. The term *sectarian* is central here as it carries the sense of hatred or dislike of religious groups towards one another, which indicates that the confrontation in Syria is driven by feelings of hatred based on sectarian polarity between Sunnis and Shiites. As such, the sense the readers may derive from the authorial stance is that the Middle East is a sectarian battlefield. The following shows *Al-*

*Ittihad's* translation of this example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 13 TT10 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
فالدrama المركزية في سوريا هي اليوم، في رأيي، عبارة عن مواجهة تحشد الزخم عبر المنطقة منذ الغزو الأميركي للعراق في أبريل 2003.	The central drama in Syria today, in my opinion, is a confrontation that has been gathering momentum across the region since the U.S. invasion of Iraq in April 2003.	The writer: Diehl + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance	The conflict in Syria	Affect: insecurity

The original stance is significantly weakened in the Arabic translation as a result of two noticeable changes. The first is the replacement of the evaluative noun *showdown* by the more general *مواجهة* ('confrontation'). In the original extract, *showdown* carries the meaning of a decisive confrontation that is generated by a long-standing disagreement, a sense that the translator fails to capture and re-convey as he/she instead opts for the general term *مواجهة* ('confrontation'), which simply refers to an encounter. Also, the author's original voice becomes more explicit or noticeable in the translation with the addition of the expression *في رأيي* ('in my opinion'). The second noticeable change is the omission of the central evaluative adjective *sectarian*, which results in losing the sense of hatred or dislike conveyed in the original, which the term carries. Also, the term *force* is rendered as the more indirect *زخم* ('momentum'). Overall, the original stance is significantly weakened in the Arabic rendering. A shift that is likely to affect the way the target text's readers perceive the re-conveyed stance, which is certainly different from what the source text's readers derive. Based on the principles of CDA discussed in chapter five, it is suggested here that the translational choice at the micro-level of

realisation to leave out the term *sectarian*, which does not appear in the translation end product, i.e. the translated article, might be seen as shaped by the specific contextual aspect that the term *sectarian* is not usually used by the religious groups in the region to refer to themselves. In fact, they tend to avoid using the term. This may explain why *Al-Ittihad*'s translator opts for leaving the term out of the translated article.

The analysis has also shown that sometimes the original stance is significantly weakened due to the modification of a negating element, resulting in an opposite meaning. Example 14 ST3 NT vividly illustrates this:

[Example 14 ST3 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The nations of NATO stand united to help the Libyan people. Will this influence perceptions? It's a very <b>earnest</b> story. What it is not, any way you slice it, is <b>compelling</b> and <b>engaging</b> . It <b>may</b> win minds, but it <b>certainly won't</b> win hearts.	Three evaluative adjectives (earnest; compelling; engaging) + Modal auxiliary of possibility (may) + Epistemic adverb of certainty (certainly) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (will)	The writer: Calvert	The narrative of the NATO	Judgement of veracity + Negative appreciation + Engagement: entertain

In this example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the use of a number of elements. These include three evaluative adjectives (*earnest*, *compelling*, and *engaging*), the modal auxiliary of possibility *may*, the epistemic adverb of certainty *certainly*, and the modal auxiliary of prediction *will*. The stancetaker, Calvert, adopts the stance that NATO's narrative about its war in Libya is serious and honest. But in spite of this, she remarks that this narrative is not convincing or attractive enough to capture the audience's attention. For

her, this narrative has a limited possibility of winning minds, but indeed it has not any possibility of winning hearts.

The writer begins the stance with a judgement of how truthful NATO's narrative is (judgement of veracity). She characterises the narrative in a positive way, as being very serious and honest (*it's a very earnest story*). The force of the judgement of veracity is increased using the intensifier *very*. Then she moves on to reveal her negative feelings about the value of this narrative (negative appreciation), when she proclaims that the narrative is not convincing and attractive enough to appeal to a general audience (*what it is not ... is compelling and engaging*). So, the stance is oriented at the beginning to convey attitudinal meaning that includes positive judgement and negative feelings of appreciation. These are followed by epistemic meanings expressed by stance markers that signal degrees of certainty.

The epistemic meanings associated with this stance are expressed by the use of two grammatical formulations. The first is shown by the selection of the modal of possibility *may*, that indicates a sense of uncertainty and a lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition that NATO's narrative has the possibility of winning minds. The use of *may* signals that the proposition framed by this modal is presented as only one among multiple alternatives, and this is what is known in the appraisal framework as *entertain*. In the second formulation, the writer appears to be more certain when using the combination of the epistemic adverb of certainty *certainly* and the predictive modal *will* to frame her second proposition. This combination emphasises the writer's certainty and commitment to the predicted state of affairs that NATO's narrative will not *win hearts*. Accordingly, she ends the presentation of her stance with a criticism of the way NATO is promoting its narrative. The following shows *Al-Ghad*'s translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 14 TT3 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>إن دول الناتو تقف  موحدة في مساعدة  الشعب الليبي. فهل  سيؤثر هذا على  الأحاسيس؟ إنها قصة  جادة. وإذا لم تكن كذلك،  فهي لافتة وجاذبة وقد  تكسب عقولاً، لكنها  بالتأكيد لن تكسب  القلوب.</p>	<p>The NATO states stand united in their help for the Libyan people. Will this influence perceptions? It is <u>a serious story</u>; and <u>if it is not, it is compelling and engaging</u>. And it may win minds, but it certainly will not win hearts.</p>	<p>The writer:  Calvert  +  The translator who weakens the writer's original stance</p>	<p>The NATO's narrative</p>	<p>Judgement of veracity  +  Positive appreciation  +  Engagement: entertain</p>

The original stance has been weakened in its Arabic translation in two ways. The first is the toning down of the judgement of veracity. More specifically, the force of the judgement is reduced as a result of the omission of the intensifier *very* in the target text. The second is the change in meaning with respect to the value of the story through the loss of the negative marker *not* in the translation. The original negative attitude expressed in relation to NATO's narrative realised through the negation attached to the evaluative adjectives (*compelling* and *engaging*) is reproduced in the affirmative form. As such, these adjectives are presented as if they carry a positive feeling towards that narrative. The attitudinal meaning conveyed is thus the opposite of that found in the original stance. As a result of this, the original stance is badly weakened in the Arabic translation. Such variation may suggest that the attitudinal element of the stance taken has been misunderstood by *Al-Ghad's* translator, which in turn will have an impact upon the reception of the translated stance. Expression of modality (*may*, *will*, and *certainly*), on the other hand, and the functions they perform has been retained in the Arabic translation.

In a similar way, the following example from a different article further shows how the original stance is badly weakened due to the modification of a negating element resulting in an opposite meaning:

[Example 15 ST5 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
That was the Western policy for the war — except that the war went on <b>longer</b> than it was meant to, and it <b>might</b> not be over yet either.	Evaluative adjective in the comparative form (longer) + Modal auxiliary of possibility (might)	The writer: Anne Applebaum	The war in Libya	Negative judgement: -normality + Engagement: entertain

The example under analysis is part of the source text No. 5, which was written by Anne Applebaum, entitled *Let Libya take charge of its revolution* (see Table 6.1). The opinion article appeared in English in the *Washington Post* on August 24, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ghad* on August 28, 2011. Applebaum is a columnist for the *Post* and specialises in foreign policy issues. In her opinion article, she addresses the Libyan Arab Spring and specifically the rebels' victory over Gaddafi. For Applebaum, NATO's success in Libya is largely attributed to the policy of *leading from behind*. Also, she emphasises that it is not guaranteed that the Libyan revolution will end up with a peaceful transition to democracy.

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the evaluative adjective in the comparative form *longer* and the modal of possibility *might*. Applebaum, as the stancetaker, adopts the stance that the war in Libya went the way the Western countries planned, but that it took longer than it should have. Also, she expresses the view that it

is possible that the war is far from being over. The war in Libya is the stance object in this example.

The writer begins the presentation of her stance with passing a judgement of the way the war came to an end Libya. For her, this war ended the way it was planned to (judgement of normality). What is abnormal (negative judgement of normality) to her is that the war took longer than it should have. Also, an epistemic meaning is conveyed through using the modal of possibility *might*, which frames the proposition that the war is not *over yet*. The proposition will be made more relevant to the source text readers when considering the subsequent arguments in the second paragraph of the original article. The use of the modal *might* indicates a low degree of certainty and lack of authorial commitment to the truth value of the given proposition, which opens the communicative space for a range of other possible alternative positions (entertain). The following discussion considers *Al-Ghad*'s translation of this example and how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 15 TT5 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وتلك كانت السياسة الغربية بالنسبة للحرب - باستثناء أن الحرب لم تطل لفترة أطول مما كان مقدرًا لها. كما أنها قد لا تكون انتهت بعد أيضاً.	That was the Western policy for the war, with the exception that the war <u>did not extend</u> for a longer time than it was supposed to. And it might not be over yet either.	The writer: Applebaum + The translator who badly weakens the writer's original stance	The war in Libya	Judgement: +normality + Engagement: entertain

The judgement of how the war ended up (judgement of normality) and the epistemic meaning conveyed through using the modal *might* together with the framed proposition are all reproduced in the Arabic translation. However, in spite of this the original stance is weakened by the

addition of the negating element لم ('not'). The original negative judgement (judgement of normality) of the duration of the war realised in the expression *the war went on longer* is reproduced with a negation attached to the expression أن الحرب لم تطل لفترة أطول ('the war did not extend for a longer time'). As such, the attitudinal meaning conveyed is the opposite of that found in the original stance. This might suggest that the translator has mistakenly read *on* in *went on* as *no*.

Example 16 ST6 WP vividly illustrates a different category of weakening stance. The shift this time is due to variation in the meaning conveyed by modal auxiliaries:

[Example 16 ST6 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Is Egypt <b>imploding</b> ? A lot of people in Washington <b>seem to</b> think so, though they are talking about it quietly so far. Their <b>fears</b> are specific: that the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic <b>fundamentalist</b> parties <b>will</b> take power when Egypt's first democratic elections are held later this year.	Evaluative verb (imploding) + Stance complement clause controlled by a verb (seem + to-clause) + Evaluative noun (fear) + Evaluative adjective (fundamentalist) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (will)	The writer: Jackson Diehl + A lot of people in Washington	Egypt + the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic fundamentalist parties	Affect: insecurity + Engagement: entertain

In this example from Diehl's second article, the stance adopted is realised at the lexicogrammatical level through a number of indicators, including the evaluative verb *imploding*, the stance complement clause controlled by the verb *seem*, the evaluative noun *fear*, the evaluative adjective *fundamentalist*, and the modal that specifies a prediction *will*. Most of the stance presented in this example is attributed to an external source, as its stancetaker (*a lot of people in*



*Washington*). The authorial voice appears to be relatively engaged with those voices. With regard to stance object, Egypt together with the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic fundamentalist parties are the entities towards which the stance is directed.

This extract begins with a rhetorical question in order to open up the space for positions or views of others and to eschew the expression of commitment to the truth value of the proposition that *Egypt is imploding*. As the second stancetaker, *a lot of people in Washington* have been introduced as sharing the negative feeling presented in the proposition. At the micro-level of realisation, the evaluative verb *imploding* carries a negative affectual response to what is going on in Egypt (insecurity).

In the second part of the example, the writer appears to be more explicit in drawing the readers' attention to a more specific negative feeling that those people in Washington have towards the situation in Egypt. That is, they share a strong negative feeling of fear that the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic parties are very likely to take power in Egypt through the elections and impose their agenda upon the country. This feeling is presented in the form of a prediction using the modal *will*, which indicates a high degree of probability, but not certainty. Moreover, the evaluative adjective *fundamentalist* is used by the writer to evoke in the minds of his readers a cruel image of those Islamist parties and to intensify the readers' negative affectual reaction (insecurity), which can largely justify the fear the writer and a lot of people in Washington feel. The following shows *Al-Ittihad*'s translation of this example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 16 TT6 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
هل ستفجر مصر من الداخل؟ هذا هو السؤال الذي يتردد على أذهان الكثيرين في واشنطن في الوقت الراهن، وإن لم يطرحه بشكل علني حتى الآن؟ وما يخشاه هؤلاء على وجه التحديد أن يتمكن "الإخوان المسلمون" وغيرهم من الأحزاب الدينية الأصولية من السيطرة على السلطة في مصر عندما تجري حكومة هذا البلد أول انتخابات ديمقراطية في موعد لاحق من هذا العام	Will Egypt explode from the inside? This is the question that is currently on the minds of a lot of people in Washington, though they haven't openly talked about it so far? What they are specifically afraid of is that "the Muslim Brotherhood" and other <u>religious</u> fundamentalist parties <u>can (or are able to)</u> take power in Egypt when the government of this country holds the first democratic elections later this year.	The writer: Diehl + The translator who badly weakens the writer's original stance	Egypt + the Muslim Brotherhood and other religious fundamentalist parties	Affect: insecurity + Engagement: entertain

In the Arabic translation, most of the original stance is retained. The negative attitudinal meaning expressed using the evaluative verb *imploding* is reproduced using the more explicit phrase *ستفجر من الداخل* ('explode from the inside'). However, the second part of the example, i.e. the negative feeling that a lot of people in Washington have towards the situation in Egypt, contains two noticeable changes that weaken the original stance. The first is the replacement of the modal of prediction *will* by the modalised verb *يمكن* ('can' or 'be able to'), which carries a sense of ability. In fact, the formulations used to express modality in Arabic have proved to be problematic in the translation from or into this language (see, e.g., Abdel-Fattah, 2005; Eades, 2011). This has been attributed to a number of reasons. Among these is the fact that "Arabic does not have a defined modal system" (Abdel-Fattah, 2005: 31), and that a given English modal is often ambiguous, in that it can potentially convey numerous different modal meanings depending on the context of its use (Eades, 2011:283). From the perspective of their lexico-grammatical realisation, Eades points out that modality is conveyed by several disparate linguistic elements in

Arabic, each with significantly less ambiguous semantics than the English modals (ibid, p. 287). These are as follows: (1) *particles* (e.g. قد 'may'); (2) *full verbs* (e.g. يستطيع 'can'); (3) *prepositional phrases* (e.g. من الممكن 'it is possible'); and (4) *certain grammaticalised metaphors* (e.g. لا بد 'must', literally 'there is no way out'). The Arabic equivalent of the English modal *will* is the particle سوف/س (sa-/sawfa). But in the above translation, *will* is rendered by the verb يتمكن ('can' or 'be able to'). As a result of this, the prediction conveyed in the original stance is reproduced as a sense of ability in the Arabic translation, which is likely to impinge upon the conveyance of stance.

The second noticeable change is the modification of the expression *Islamic fundamentalist parties*. The expression can be a source of potential offense to Arab Muslim readers, as it implies a link between Islam and fundamentalism. To make it less direct and thus less potentially offensive to its mainly Muslim audience, the lexical item *Islamic* is replaced in the translation by the more general دينية ('religious'). Here the writer of the source text appears to be influenced by the narrative in the West associated with the War on Terror that presents Islam as something to be feared and as a religion associated with extremism and terrorism. In contrast, the translator presumably does not subscribe to that narrative as he/she resorts to minimise the potential offense the expression may cause. So, the re-conveyed stance has been toned down in order to avoid offending the feelings of the target text's readers. It is suggested here that the weakening of stance may be seen as a deliberate mistranslation.

In the following example, the original stance is weakened due to variation in the meaning of certainty conveyed, which results from the addition of one modal auxiliary and the omission of another:

[Example 17 ST4 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Yet the <b>damage</b> to U.S. interests from a U.N. resolution on Palestine <b>would</b> pale compared to the consequences of an Iranian-backed <b>victory</b> by Assad in Syria or the <b>failure</b> of NATO in Libya.	Evaluative noun (damage) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (would) + Two evaluative nouns (victory; failure)	The writer: Diehl	The U.S. interests	Judgement of veracity

In this example from Diehl's first article, the stance adopted is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of evaluative nouns (*damage*, *victory*, and *failure*) and the modal auxiliary of prediction *would*. The writer here is the stancetaker who adopts a particular stance towards a specific state of affairs, i.e. U.S. interests. In this instance of stance, the writer appears to be certain that U.S. interests will be damaged, and gives two sources of this concern: 1) a UN resolution to upgrade the Palestinian Authority's status from an observer to non-member state; and 2) a victory of Assad and his close ally Iran in Syria over the United States and its allies, or a failure of the NATO-led coalition in Libya. The writer makes a judgement in the form of the proposition that the damage which comes from the first pales in comparison with the consequences of the second. The writer's use of the modal *would* indicates a sense of prediction, describing the future action presented in the proposition as likely to occur, but with no certain implication that this action will definitely happen (see Biber, 2006: 98). The following shows *Al-Itihad*'s translation of this example and a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 17 TT4 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>يبدو أن الضرر الذي سيُلحق بالمصالح الأميركية من جراء التصويت الأممي على دولة فلسطين يبهت بالمقارنة مع تداعيات انتصار مدعوم إيرانياً يحققه الأسد في سوريا، أو فشل حلف شمال الأطلسي في ليبيا.</p>	<p>Yet the damage that will befall U.S. interests as a result of a U.N. resolution on a state of Palestine pales in comparison to the consequences of an Iranian-backed victory by Assad in Syria or a failure of NATO in Libya.</p>	<p>The writer: Diehl + The translator who weakens the writer's original stance</p>	<p>The U.S. interests</p>	<p>Judgement of veracity</p>

Although it is largely retained in *Al-Ittihad*'s translation, the original stance in the above example is weakened due to two noticeable changes: the addition of the Arabic modal particle *س* and the omission of the modal of prediction *would*. In the first case, the particle *س* is added and attached to the verb *يلحق* ('befall'). This addition results in weakening the original meaning of certainty into prediction and thus the affirmation of the truth value of the given information (*the damage to U.S. interests*) has been replaced by a predicted proposition framed by the modal particle *س* (الضرر الذي سيلحق بالمصالح الأميركية) ('the damage that will befall U.S. interests'). As discussed in the previous example, the particle *س* (alongside *سوف*) is the Arabic equivalent of the English modal of prediction *will*.

The second noticeable change found in this example is that the English modal *would* is omitted in the Arabic translation. This omission results in a different view of the degree of certainty conveyed, as a higher degree of certainty is conveyed in the translated stance in comparison with that in the original. Overall, the Arabic translation presents the original writer as less certain of the damage to U.S. interests and more certain of the proposition that the consequences of a U.N. resolution on Palestine pales when compared to those of a victory by al-Assad and Iran in Syria

or a failure of NATO's mission in Libya, which is different from the epistemic sense conveyed in the original text.

The analysis so far has restricted itself to one type of shift in stance – those that result in the weakening of original stance. It turns out from the analysis that 28.82% of the instances of stance identified in the corpus were weakened when re-conveyed in the Arabic translations. Moreover, 52.95% of the instances of stance being weakened were translated in *Al-Ghad* and 47.05% in *Al-Ittihad*. Overall, the analysis has revealed that original stance is weakened when re-conveyed in Arabic due to the following reasons: (1) variation in stance object (Example 1 ST1 NT; Example 2 ST1 NT; Example 3 ST1 NT; Example 4 ST7 NT); (2) the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning (Example 5 ST9 WP; Example 6 ST3 NT; Example 7 ST8 NT; Example 8 ST10 WP); (3) the omission of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements (Example 9 ST9 WP; Example 10 ST1 NT; Example 11 ST6 WP; Example 12 ST4 WP; Example 13 ST10 WP); (4) the modification of a negating element resulting in an opposite meaning (Example 14 ST3 NT; Example 15 ST5 WP); and (5) variation in the meaning conveyed by modal auxiliaries (Example 16 ST6 WP; Example 17 ST4 WP). It has been found that stance being weakened due to variation in stance object, the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning, and the omission of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements are more frequent than the other reasons. The analysis of this type of shift has shown that a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexico-grammatical realisation of stance.

So far, the examination of the translation of stance has shown that original stance was frequently not fully captured by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*'s translators. The analysis of the previous examples

reveals that one or more key elements of original stance are reduced, omitted, or distorted when re-conveyed in Arabic. These changes will necessarily have an impact on the reception of the translated stance, as it does not carry the complete original meaning or function that the writer attempts to convey or that the source text's readers derive. With the exception of Example 13 ST10 WP and Example 16 ST6 WP, most of the shift resulting in the weakening of original stance cannot be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation, rather it might be taken as an accidental mistranslation and attributed to the translator's competence to identify and then re-convey original stance in the target language. The analysis now moves on to examine the second type of shift in stance – those that result in the accentuation of original stance.

#### **7.3.1.1.2 Stance accentuated**

The shift that involves accentuation of stance covers those cases in which one or more elements of original stance are highlighted and granted more weight when reproduced in the target text, which may have an impact on the reception of the original stance by Arab readers. However, such changes do not substantially affect or challenge the overall argument throughout the source text. This type of shift usually involves the addition of some elements that are uniquely the translator's own. As a result, too much attention is drawn to those elements that are not salient or do not even exist in original stance.

Following the previous subsection, the discussion here of shifts resulting in the accentuation of stance is organised in a systematic analytical fashion. An attempt has been made to account for those instances of stance being accentuated in terms of specific categories that cover all cases of shifts of this type that were found in the corpus. The analysis has shown that shifts that result in the accentuation of original stance can be classified into the following specific categories: (1) the

increased sense of certainty and commitment conveyed that results from the omission of modal expressions; (2) the addition of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements; (3) the addition of more direct linguistic elements that refer to key elements of the original stance; and (4) the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning. The following discussion is organised according to this classification.

The first example in this subsection is vividly illustrative of stance accentuation due to an increased sense of certainty and commitment conveyed that results from the omission of a modal auxiliary:

[Example 18 ST1 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Any kind of <b>decent</b> outcome there <b>will</b> require boots on the ground.	Evaluative adjective (decent) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (will)	The writer: Friedman	The intervention in Libya	Judgement of veracity + Engagement: entertain

In this example from Friedman's article, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the evaluative adjective *decent* and the modal auxiliary of prediction *will*. In this stance, the writer explicitly presents his view of how to achieve an adequate or satisfactory outcome on the intervention in Libya, which represents the stance object in this example. For him, such an outcome would be attainable by putting military *boots on the ground*. This stance clearly reveals that the writer, Friedman, is in favour of a military engagement in Libya.

In the presentation of his stance, the writer provides the judgement (veracity) of how to achieve a satisfactory outcome and enhance the potential for success of the Libyan intervention. The



writer's use of the evaluative adjective *decent* is indicative of this judgement. The positive judgemental tone conveyed provides the ground by which the authorial voice positions itself with respect to other voices, especially those who may oppose his view. The authorial view of how to have a *decent outcome* in Libya is presented in the form of a prediction using the modal *will*, which indicates a high degree of subjective probability, but not certainty, and a sense of commitment to the truth value of the proposition that *any kind of decent outcome there requires boots on the ground*. As such, the authorial voice presents the given prediction as one of a number of possible alternative positions, and thereby making space for other possibilities; this is construed as an instance of *entertain*. The following shows *Al-Ghad's* translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 18 TT1 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
أي نتيجة لائقة هناك تتطلب وجود قوات على الأرض.	Any decent outcome there requires having boots on the ground.	The writer: Friedman + The translator who accentuates the writer's original stance	The intervention in Libya	Judgement of veracity

In the Arabic translation, the original stance is largely retained, but with an increased sense of certainty and commitment. The attitudinal meaning realised through *decent* and the function it performs (judgement of veracity) are retained in the translation provided. But it is the predictive modal *will*, which represents the central element of the original stance, and the function of engagement it performs that have not successfully been reproduced in the *Al-Ghad's* translation. As discussed before, the Arabic equivalent for the English modal *will* is the particle سوف/س (sa-/sawfa). In the above translation, the modal *will* is omitted. As a consequence, the proposition

that *any kind of decent outcome there requires boots on the ground* takes the form of factual statement, which indicates a high degree of certainty and commitment to the truth value of the proposition that is conveyed in the Arabic translation. As such, the sense of certainty and commitment conveyed in the Arabic translation is greater when compared to that conveyed in the original stance. The authorial voice is presented in the translation as closing down the space for other possible alternative positions. Accordingly, the original stance is granted more weight when reproduced in Arabic because the translator fails to re-convey the same degree of certainty and commitment as those in the original.

Example 19 ST2 WP vividly illustrates a different category of the accentuation of stance. The shift here is attributed to the addition of a key grammatical element:

[Example 19 ST2 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
This record of <b>serial indecision</b> has <b>damaged</b> American interests.	Evaluative adjective (serial) + Evaluative noun (indecision) + Evaluative verb (damage)	The writer: Michael Gerson	The Obama administration's record of serial indecision on its foreign policy towards the Middle East	Negative judgement: -tenacity

This example was extracted from the tenth source text, which was written by Michael Gerson, entitled *Obama's serial indecision on the Middle East* (see Table 6.1). Gerson's opinion article appeared in English in the *Washington Post* on April 26, 2011 and its translation into Arabic was published in *Al-Ittihad* on April 27, 2011. The writer is a famous syndicated columnist who appears regularly in the American newspaper. He worked as a senior White House aide during the presidency of George W. Bush. In the opinion article, Gerson criticises the Obama

administration's policy towards the Middle East on the ground that the President has not been decisive enough, especially in dealing with those issues that impinge on U.S. interests. For him, the current administration's policy of indecision has damaged the country's interests and resulted in a loss of its credibility. The writer proceeds to focus on the need to provide a more consistent foreign policy and to show a true leadership.

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of evaluative lexical items, including the evaluative adjective *serial*, the evaluative noun *indecision*, and the evaluative verb *damage*. The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts a particular stance towards the Obama administration's record of serial indecision on its Middle Eastern foreign policy, which in turn represents the stance object. In this stance, he presents his evaluation of that foreign policy, which he describes as being indecisive and weak. For him, such indecisiveness and weakness have damaged American interests.

The writer, who is known for his frequent criticism of the Obama administration, passes a negative judgement (-tenacity) of the performance of this administration on its Middle Eastern foreign policy. The writer indicates that this foreign policy is weak, as when every revolt that takes place in an Arab country the administration has again and again adopted the same indecisive approach. The use of the evaluative lexical items *serial* and *indecision* is central in realising the negative authorial judgement. Presenting the policy in this negative sense has provided the ground for his follow-up assessment in which he holds it to be true that the weak and indecisive foreign policy has damaged U.S. interests. The following discussion considers *Al-Itihad*'s translation of this example and how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 19 TT2 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وهذا السجل من التردد الدائم أضر ضرراً بالغاً بالمصالح الأميركية.	And this record of <u>endless</u> indecision has <u>severely</u> damaged American interests.	The writer: Gerson + The translator who accentuates the writer's original stance	The Obama administration's record of serial indecision on foreign policy	Negative judgement: -tenacity

In *Al-Ittihad*'s translation, the original stance is retained, but it is given more weight in Arabic. The authorial negative judgement of the performance of the administration on its Middle Eastern foreign policy and the assessment that immediately follows are reproduced in the Arabic translation. By comparing the given stance in its source text and translated text, a shift has been captured. The shift is mainly represented in the addition of the verbal noun ضرراً بالغاً ('severe damage') that derived from the main verb أضر ('damage'). The structure added is an example of what is called in Arabic grammar المفعول المطلق ('the cognate accusative'), which is used in standard Arabic for emphasis. In this regard, Ryding (2005: 83) points out that the cognate accusative "emphasizes or intensifies a statement by using a verbal noun derived from the main verb or predicate" of that statement. Thus, the translator's choice to add ضرراً بالغاً ('severe damage') gives more weight and strength to the authorial assessment in the minds of the target text's readers, a sense which the source text's readers have not derived. A different emphasis is also added to the translated stance when the evaluative adjective *serial* is replaced by the stronger دائم ('endless'). As a result of the addition and replacement, the original stance is accentuated and granted more weight when re-conveyed in Arabic. This shift in stance can perhaps be interpreted by means of the principles of CDA. It is suggested here that the translational choice at the micro-level of realisation to add ضرراً بالغاً ('severe damage') and to

replace *serial* by دائم ('endless') might perhaps be seen as shaped by the specific contextual aspect that the Arab moderate countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates, as the allies of the United States in the region, are not satisfied with the degree of engagement of the United States in the Arab Spring and they feel that the Obama administration has betrayed them. This may explain why the translator of *Al-Ittihad*, which is, as mentioned in chapter six, owned by the government of the United Arab Emirates, opts for the addition and the replacement of key elements that result in the accentuation of the original stance containing criticism of the Obama administration.

The example below from Meyer-Resende's article shows another shift arising from the addition of one grammatical element that intensifies the force of the re-conveyed stance:

[Example 20 ST7 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Tunisia's path to elections was <b>difficult</b> , but <b>negotiations</b> among the <b>disparate</b> political groups brought the <b>needed</b> stability. By contrast, the military council in Egypt has done <b>little consulting</b> and changed course <b>only</b> in <b>response</b> to demonstrations.	Three evaluative adjectives (difficult; disparate; needed) + Three evaluative nouns (negotiations; consulting; response) + Adverb of quantity (little) + Adverb of limitation (only)	The writer: Meyer-Resende	Tunisia's path to elections + The military council in Egypt	Appreciation: valuation

The stance taken in this example is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of elements, including the three evaluative adjectives *difficult*, *disparate*, and *needed*, the three evaluative nouns *negotiations*, *consulting*, and *response*, the adverb of quantity *little*, and the

adverb of limitation *only*. Tunisia's path to elections and the military council in Egypt are addressed here as the object of interest towards which the stance is directed. Based on a comparison between the performance of the disparate political groups in Tunisia and that of the military council in Egypt, Meyer-Resende, as the stancetaker, adopts the stance that the path chosen by Tunisians towards democratic transition was difficult, but it is achieved through negotiations between the country's different political groups that ultimately lead to restore the security and stability needed. The military council in Egypt, on the other hand, has not followed the same path, as little consultations have been conducted and some change in its policy has occurred under the pressure of demonstrations.

The writer begins the presentation of his stance by a positive valuation of the performance of disparate Tunisian political groups. He appears to appreciate the value of negotiation among these groups, which has brought a state of affairs needed that Tunisians were looking for, i.e. stability. The use of the evaluative noun *negotiations* and the two evaluative adjectives *disparate* and *needed* is indicative of the authorial positive valuation. In contrast, the performance of the military council in Egypt appears to be less valued in the second part of the example. The writer here presents a negative valuation of the council's performance, as the value of negotiation and consultation with Egyptian political groups has not been seriously raised or taken into consideration by the council. This sense is realised by using the evaluative noun *consulting*, which is expressed with a low degree of intensity (down-scaling) using the adverb *little*. The following shows *Al-Ghad*'s translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 20 TT7 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>كان مسار تونس إلى الانتخابات صعباً، لكن المفاوضات التي جرت بين الجماعات السياسية المتباينة جلبت الاستقرار اللازم. وعلى النقيض من ذلك، قام المجلس العسكري في مصر بالقليل جداً من المشاورات، وغير المسار فقط في ردة فعل على التظاهرات.</p>	<p>Tunisia's path to elections was difficult, but the negotiations which took place among disparate political groups brought the needed stability. By contrast, the military council in Egypt has done <u>very</u> little consulting and changed course only in reaction to demonstrations.</p>	<p>The writer: Meyer-Resende + The translator who intensifies the writer's original stance</p>	<p>Tunisia's path to elections + The military council in Egypt</p>	<p>Appreciation: valuation</p>

In the Arabic translation, the original positive valuation of the performance of Tunisian political groups with its linguistic realisation is adequately reproduced, whereas the negative valuation of the performance of the military council in Egypt is reproduced with an increased lowering of intensification. This has occurred through the addition of the adverbial expression جداً ('very'), which modifies القليل ('little'). By this addition, the authorial valuation is presented in a much more negative way than that conveyed in English and thus the original stance is granted more weight when re-conveyed in Arabic.

The example that follows from Gerson's article shows a different category of the accentuation of stance. The shift this time is attributed to the addition of more direct elements to original stance:

[Example 21 ST2 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
An administration that <b>lacks a consistent</b> foreign policy philosophy has nevertheless established a <b>predictable</b> foreign policy <b>pattern</b> .	Evaluative verb (lack) + Two evaluative adjectives (consistent; predictable) + Evaluative noun (pattern)	The writer: Gerson	The Obama administration	Negative judgement: -veracity

In this example from Gerson’s article, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through several evaluative elements, including the evaluative verb *lack*, the two evaluative adjectives *consistent* and *predictable*, and the evaluative noun *pattern*. The authorial stance is oriented towards the Obama administration as the stance object. The stance adopted is that this administration has no clearly defined foreign policy philosophy. But in spite of this, it has developed its own pattern of foreign policy that can be easily predicted. The writer explains in the sentences that follow the presentation of the above stance in his original article that pattern of foreign policy, which can be summarised as ‘wait and see’ policy.

In the above example, the writer passes a negative judgement of the performance of the Obama administration in connection with its foreign policy philosophy (judgement of veracity). In his view, the administration has not come up with a clear and adequate foreign policy that best serves the country’s interests. The authorial judgement is made based on current and previous experiences of an apparent inconsistency in the administration’s approach to the Arab Spring. The judgement is overtly articulated by using the evaluative lexical items *lack* and *consistent*. A touch of humour has been added to the stance when the writer moves on to indicate that in spite



of this the administration has developed a modest foreign policy pattern that can be easily predicted. In the original text, the writer immediately supplies some argumentation in the sentences that follow the above example by way of justifying the stance taken. The following is *Al-Ghad*'s translation of this example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 21 TT2 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>مما يلفت النظر بالنسبة لأداء إدارة أوباما، أنها- وهي الإدارة التي تفتقر إلى فلسفة متسقة للسياسة الخارجية- قد طورت، على الرغم من ذلك، نمطاً في تلك السياسة يمكن التنبؤ به.</p>	<p>What draws attention with regard to the Obama administration's performance is that it is the administration which lacks a consistent foreign policy philosophy has nevertheless developed a pattern of that policy that can be predicted.</p>	<p>The writer: Gerson + The translator who builds on the writer's original stance</p>	<p>The Obama administration</p>	<p>Negative judgement: -veracity</p>

Most of the original stance is retained in the Arabic translation, but with the addition of more direct elements. The negative judgement of the performance of the Obama administration and the lexical choices through which that judgement is realised are successfully reproduced in Arabic. However, the phrase *مما يلفت النظر بالنسبة لأداء إدارة أوباما* ('what draws attention with regard to the Obama administration's performance') has been added to the original stance when reproduced in Arabic. The original writer does not explicitly mention the Obama administration or its performance in his stance. The addition makes these more noticeable in the Arabic translation. So, the original stance is accentuated by the addition of these more direct elements.

The following is another example from Gerson's article that further illustrates the case of stance being accentuated due to the addition of more direct elements:

[Example 22 ST2 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
It <b>would demonstrate</b> the <b>exhaustion</b> of <b>authoritarianism</b> in the Arab world and open the <b>possibility</b> of more <b>successful, hopeful</b> societies in the region.	Modal auxiliary of prediction (would) + Evaluative verb (demonstrate) + Three evaluative nouns (exhaustion; authoritarianism; possibility) + Two evaluative adjective (successful; hopeful)	The writer: Gerson	The transformation in the Arab world	Judgement of veracity

In this example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through several devices, including the modal auxiliary of prediction *would*, the evaluative verb *demonstrate*, the three evaluative nouns *exhaustion*, *authoritarianism*, and *possibility*, and the two evaluative adjectives *successful* and *hopeful*. As the stancetaker, Gerson adopts a particular stance towards the transformation in the Arab world, as the stance object. In this stance, he holds that the transformation of the region that results from the Arab Spring can be taken as an evidence of the exhaustion of Arab authoritarian regimes and can provide the opportunity for more hopeful and successful societies in the Middle East.

The authorial stance adopted carries a judgement of the transformation in the Arab world (judgement of veracity). The writer presents the transformation in a positive sense, showing the reality of authoritarianism in the Middle East and promising of a better future for the societies of the region. The transformation has been taken as an indication of how exhausted and weakened Arab authoritarian regimes are, and as an opportunity for the development of the societies in the Arab world. The writer's use of the evaluative verb *demonstrate* conveys a sense of relative

certainty about the truth value of the subjective information presented, but as the verb is preceded by the modal auxiliary of prediction *would* this has reduced the degree of certainty conveyed. The following discussion considers *Al-Ittihad's* translation of this example and how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 22 TT2 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
إنه يظهر مدى الإنهاك الذي صارت عليه الأنظمة السلطوية ويفتح نافذة الأمل أمام تبلور مجتمعات أكثر نجاحاً وأملأ في المنطقة.	It would demonstrate the <u>extent</u> of exhaustion <u>that has befallen the authoritarian regimes</u> and open <u>a window of hope on the emergence</u> of more successful and hopeful societies in the region.	The writer: Gerson + The translator who builds on the writer's original stance	The transformation in the Arab world	Judgement of veracity

In the Arabic translation of this excerpt, the original stance is largely retained, but with the addition of more direct elements. The authorial judgement of veracity, in which the writer views the transformation in the Arab world in a positive sense, is reproduced in Arabic. However, the original stance has become more noticeable in the translation as a result of two changes: (1) the addition of the clause *مدى الإنهاك الذي صارت عليه الأنظمة السلطوية* ('the extent of exhaustion that has befallen the authoritarian regimes'). Through this addition, the original general reference to the *authoritarianism* in the region becomes more specific in the translation, when that term replaced by *الأنظمة السلطوية* ('the authoritarian regimes'); and (2) the addition of the phrase *نافذة الأمل أمام تبلور مجتمعات أكثر نجاحاً وأملأ في المنطقة* ('a window of hope on the emergence of'), which replaces the sense of possibility conveyed in the original of having more successful and hopeful societies in the region by the sense that there is an opportunity of having such societies that needs to be seized or taken advantage of. As such, the addition of these more direct elements results in the accentuation of the original stance. The

shift here might be seen from the perspective that the translator's own feeling towards his region finds its way into the translated stance.

In a similar way, the following example from Gerson's article further shows an accentuation of another original stance due to the addition of more direct elements:

[Example 23 ST2 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Now the Arab revolt has led to a <b>predictable counterreaction</b> — the attempt by regimes such as Libya and Syria to <b>prove the efficacy of brutality</b> . Their success <b>would</b> undermine American interests for decades.	Evaluative adjective (predictable) + Three evaluative nouns (counterreaction; efficacy; brutality) + Evaluative verb (prove) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (would)	The writer: Gerson	The counterreaction by the Libyan and Syrian regimes	Judgement of normality + Affect: insecurity

The stance taken here is realised through several linguistic elements, including the evaluative adjective *predictable*, the three evaluative nouns *counterreaction*, *efficacy*, and *brutality*, the evaluative verb *prove*, and the modal auxiliary of prediction *would*. In this example, the counterreaction by the Libyan and Syrian regimes is the object of interest towards which the authorial stance is oriented. The writer adopts the stance that the response of the authoritarian regimes to the Arab revolts becomes more predictable now. These regimes tend to prove, as is the case in Libya and Syria, the effectiveness of using power to suppress these revolts. For him, the success of this approach is likely to badly affect American interests.

The writer begins the presentation of his stance by passing a judgement of the behaviour of Arab authoritarian regimes in connection to their response to the revolts in their countries (judgement

of normality). The writer indicates that it becomes normal to predict the reaction of these regimes to every new revolt, as they believe in using power to suppress the revolts and they are keen to prove the effectiveness of this approach. The use of the evaluative adjective *predictable* is indicative of the judgement of normality. Moreover, a sense of insecurity is conveyed that is realised by using the evaluative noun *brutality*. The conveyance of this sense is likely to invoke in the minds of the readers a cruel image of these regimes and make those readers more apt to receive the prediction that immediately follows. The writer chooses the modal *would* to signal a sense of prediction, describing the future action presented in the proposition that the success of these regimes undermines American interests for decades as likely to occur if the Libyan and Syrian regimes succeed in their attempt. The analysis moves now to consider how this instance of stance is re-conveyed in the Arabic translation:

[Example 23 TT2 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
والآن نجد أن الثورات العربية قد أنتجت رد فعل كان ممكناً التنبؤ به وهو محاولة الأنظمة التي هبت الشعوب ضدها مثل النظام الحاكم في ليبيا وسوريا إثبات فعالية الوحشية. ونجاح تلك الأنظمة في تلك المحاولة سوف يقوض المصالح الأميركية في المنطقة لعقود قادمة.	Now we find that the Arab revolts have given rise to a reaction that could have been predicted; that is the attempt by regimes, <u>whose people have revolted against such as the two regimes</u> in Libya and Syria, to prove the efficacy of brutality. And the success of those regimes in their attempt would undermine American interests in the region for decades to come.	The writer: Gerson + The translator who builds on the writer's original stance	The counterreaction by the Libyan and Syrian regimes	Judgement of normality + Affect: insecurity

The original stance is largely retained in the Arabic translation, but with the addition of more direct elements. More specifically, the judgement of the behaviour of Arab authoritarian regimes (judgement of normality) is reproduced in Arabic, but with a difference in its linguistic

realisation. In the translation, the evaluative adjective *predictable* is replaced by the clause كان ممكناً التنبؤ به ('that could have been predicted'). Also, the authorial prediction of the proposition that the success of these regimes undermines American interests for decades, which is framed by the modal *would*, is adequately translated into Arabic, where *would* is satisfactorily rendered as سوف. However, the original sense of insecurity has become more noticeable and granted more weight by the addition of the clause التي هبت الشعوب ضدها مثل النظام الحاكم ('whose people have revolted against such as the two regimes'). The addition has resulted in a greater attention being drawn to the cruel image of these regimes in the minds of the target text's readers, a sense that is not conveyed to the readers of the source text. As a consequence, the original stance is accentuated when re-conveyed in Arabic. It is suggested that this shift in stance might also be seen from the perspective that the translator's own feeling towards these brutal regimes finds its way into the translated stance.

The following example vividly illustrates a different category of the accentuation of stance. The shift this time is attributed to the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning:

[Example 24 ST3 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
It's all about winning hearts and minds. And by any measure Qaddafi understands how to <b>communicate a good story</b> . He understands it, <b>seemingly, much better</b> than the NATO-led coalition.	Evaluative verb (communicate) + Two evaluative adjectives (good; better) + Epistemic adverb of likelihood (seemingly) + Adverb of quantity (much)	The writer: Calvert	Qaddafi's narrative of the war in Libya	Judgement of capacity

In this example from Calvert's article, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of elements, including the evaluative verb *communicate*, the two evaluative adjectives *good* and *better*, the epistemic adverb of likelihood *seemingly*, and the adverb of quantity *much*. In this example, Qaddafi's narrative of the war in Libya is the object of interest towards which the authorial stance is directed. As the stancetaker, Calvert adopts the stance that Qaddafi knows well how to construct and promote a convincing narrative of the war in Libya. For the writer, apparently he is doing this job much better than the NATO-led coalition.

Before presenting her stance, the writer highlights the employment of narratives by the two sides of the war in Libya, i.e. Qaddafi's regime and the NATO-led coalition, in an attempt to win hearts and minds. The authorial stance is mainly built on a particular judgement of capacity. That is, a judgement of Qaddafi's capacity to articulate a convincing narrative of the war. The writer here argues that Qaddafi appears to be able to subtly construct and promote such a narrative. This is realised by using the evaluative verb *communicate* and the evaluative adjective in the phrase *a good story*. By comparing the capacity of Qaddafi and that of the NATO-led coalition to communicate their narratives, the writer makes the judgement that Qaddafi apparently grasped his narrative better than his opponents did, and thus he is more likely to convey a subtler and more cleverly constructed message. The force of this judgement is intensified by using the adverb *much*. The following shows *Al-Ghad*'s translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 24 TT2 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وهي تدور حول كسب القلوب والعقول. ويدرك القذافي، بكل المقاييس، كيفية إيصال قصة محبوكة جيداً. وكما هو باد، فهو يفهمها أفضل بكثير مما يفهمها الائتلاف الذي يقوده حلف شمال الأطلسي (الناتو) را هنا	It revolves around winning hearts and minds. And Qaddafi understands by all measures how to convey a <u>well-woven</u> story. As it seems, he understands it much better than the coalition that is currently led by the North Atlantic alliance (NATO).	The writer: Calvert + The translator who accentuates the writer's original stance	Qaddafi's narrative of the war in Libya	Judgement of capacity

In the Arabic translation, the original stance is largely re-conveyed, but it is granted more weight.

In the second part of the example, the comparison between the capacity of Qaddafi and that of the NATO-led coalition to communicate their narratives, where the original writer makes the judgement that Qaddafi apparently grasped his narrative better than his opponents, is successfully reproduced in Arabic. The force of this judgement is also intensified in Arabic using *بِكثير*, which is the equivalent of *much*. However, the authorial judgement, in the first part of the example, of Qaddafi's capacity to articulate a convincing narrative of the war is reproduced, but with more weight being granted to it. This results from the replacement of the evaluative adjective *good*, which describes the noun *story*, by the much stronger *محبوكة جيداً* ('well-woven'). As such, the Arabic translation presents Qaddafi as much more skilled at constructing narratives. So, a shift has been captured in the given translation that results in the accentuation of the original stance.

Example 25 ST4 WP below, from Diehl's first article in the corpus, illustrates the accentuation of stance due to the occurrence of two different changes. The shift here arises from the addition of more direct elements as well as the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning:



[Example 25 ST4 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
Obama the <b>timid suddenly turns tough</b> when the “peace process” comes up.	Two evaluative adjectives (timid; tough) + Adverb of manner (suddenly) + Evaluative verb (turns)	The writer: Diehl	Obama	Negative judgement: -tenacity + Judgement: tenacity

At the lexico-grammatical level, the stance given in this example is realised through the use of the two evaluative adjectives *timid* and *tough*, the adverb of manner *suddenly*, and the evaluative verb *turn*. The stancetaker, Diehl, adopts a particular stance towards Obama as the object of interest towards whom the authorial stance is directed. In this stance, Obama is viewed as *timid*, a judgement which the writer holds to be true. This authorial evaluation is adopted throughout the source text because Obama has not been tough enough with the Syrian President Al-Assad. For the writer, this timid American President unexpectedly becomes strong enough when it comes to dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

The writer, who is known for his frequent criticism of the Obama administration, passes a negative judgement (-tenacity) of how resolute Obama is in dealing with the Syrian conflict. The writer, in this example and throughout the source text, indicates that Obama’s approach to Syria clearly shows the weakness, uncertainty, and lack of determination on the part of this President. In this example, the judgement is realised by the use of the evaluative adjective *timid*. By contrast, a positive judgement (tenacity) is made of how resolute Obama is in dealing with the peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis. The writer expresses that Obama has shown more determination and courage in dealing with this conflict than the Syrian one, as, for him, Obama is tougher on Israel than he is on Syria. This is clearly given in the title of the source text:

*Why is Obama so tough on Israel and timid on Syria?* The authorial positive judgement of tenacity can be realised through the use of the adverb *suddenly*, the evaluative verb *turn* and mainly through the evaluative adjective *tough*. The following shows *Al-Ittihad*'s translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 25 TT4 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
وهكذا يتحول أوباما الخجول في تحركاته الإقليمية فجأة إلى قائد ملحاح عندما يتعلق الأمر بعملية السلام.	And as such Obama the timid <u>in his regional activities</u> suddenly turns to <u>resolute leader</u> when it comes to the peace process.	The writer: Diehl + The translator who builds on the writer's original stance	Obama	Negative judgement: -tenacity + Judgement: tenacity

Although it is largely retained in the Arabic translation, the original stance in the above example is significantly accentuated as a result of two noticeable changes. The first is the addition of the phrase *في تحركاته الإقليمية* ('in his regional activities'), which modifies the adjective *خجول* ('timid') and makes it more specific and noticeable. The second change is the replacement of the evaluative adjective *tough* by the noun phrase that carries more weight *قائد ملحاح* ('resolute leader'). As such, the Arabic translation presents Obama as showing much more courage and determination when the peace process comes to the surface than the original stance does. As a consequence of this addition and replacement, the original stance is accentuated when re-conveyed in Arabic. This shift in stance might also perhaps be seen from the same perspective that has been discussed in Example 19 ST2 WP. This may explain why the translator of *Al-Ittihad* opts for the addition of elements that result in the accentuation of the original stance containing criticism of Obama.

The last example in this subsection shows an instance of stance accentuation that results from several changes. These include an addition of one evaluative element, an addition of more direct linguistic elements, and a replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning:

[Example 26 ST10 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
For Russia and the United States, Syria means not a display of Security Council <b>clout</b> but a <b>potentially devastating</b> exhibition of <b>weakness</b> — one that <b>could greatly diminish</b> the standing of both in the region.	Two evaluative nouns (clout; weakness) + Epistemic adverb of likelihood (potentially) + Evaluative adjective (devastating) + Modal auxiliary of possibility (could) + Adverb of degree (greatly) + Evaluative verb (diminish)	The writer: Diehl	Syria	Negative judgement: -capacity

In this example from Diehl’s third article, the stance taken is realised through several lexicogrammatical devices, including the two evaluative nouns *clout* and *weakness*, the epistemic adverb of likelihood *potentially*, the evaluative adjective *devastating*, the modal auxiliary of possibility *could*, the adverb of degree *greatly*, and the evaluative verb *diminish*. In this example, Syria is the object of interest towards which the authorial stance is directed. As the stancetaker, Diehl adopts the stance that the deep division between the United States and Russia over Syria does not represent an indication of the power and influence of the Security Council, but rather an indication of a potentially dangerous degree of weakness that is to a great extent possible to diminish the standing of the two countries in the Middle East.

The overarching theme that comes out of the stance conveyed in the above example is a judgement of capacity. That is, a negative judgement of the United States and Russia's capacity to deal with and agree on a settlement to the Syrian conflict. The writer here argues that the two countries have shown a great deal of weakness in the whole Syrian matter. This central negative judgement is realised through the writer's use of the evaluative noun *weakness* and the evaluative adjective *devastating*. To avoid expressing a high degree of certainty and commitment to the truth value of the negative judgement that have been made, the writer uses the adverb *potentially* to precede the above two evaluative lexical items. The writer then moves on to convey an assessment of likelihood, in which the great deal of weakness that the United States and Russia have shown is viewed to have a negative impact on the standing of both countries in the Middle East. The assessment of likelihood is realised through *could ... diminish* and its force is intensified using the adverb of degree *greatly*. The following shows *Al-Ittihad's* translation of this example as well as a discussion of how it is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 26 TT10 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
<p>أما بالنسبة لروسيا والولايات المتحدة، فإن الأزيمة السورية لا تعني إظهاراً لقوة مجلس الأمن الدولي بقدر ما تعني كشفاً يمكن أن يكون مدمراً عن الضعف الذي يعاني منه المجلس، ويمكن أن يضر بشكل كبير بمكانة القوتين الدوليتين الكبيرتين في المنطقة.</p>	<p>In relation to Russia and the United States, the Syrian <u>crisis</u> does not mean a display of the clout of the Security Council, but rather means a potentially devastating exhibition of the weakness <u>from which the council is suffering</u> that could greatly <u>damage</u> the standing of <u>the two international superpowers</u> in the region.</p>	<p>The writer: Diehl + The translator who accentuates the writer's original stance</p>	<p>Syria</p>	<p>Negative judgement: -capacity</p>

The Arabic translation of the original stance presented in the previous table has shown four noticeable changes that contribute to the accentuation of the stance. These are: (1) the addition of the evaluative noun أزمة ('crisis'), which modifies the stance object سوريا ('Syria'); this addition makes the situation in Syria more noticeable when describing it as أزمة ('crisis'); (2) the addition of the more direct clause الذي يعاني منه المجلس ('from which the council is suffering') that assigns more negativity to the status of the Security Council; (3) the replacement of the evaluative verb *diminish* by the one that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning يضر ('damage'); and (4) the addition of the more descriptive phrase القوتين الدوليتين الكبريين ('the two international superpowers') that makes the presentation of the United States and Russia even more noticeable in the translated stance. As a result of all these changes, the original stance is granted much more weight in its Arabic translation. Given this accentuation of the re-conveyed stance, the readers of the target text are likely to paint a more negative image of the Security Council as well as of the United States. The shift here might once again be seen from the same perspective that has been discussed in Example 19 ST2 WP and Example 25 ST4 WP. Through this perspective, it is suggested that the shift in stance occurred might perhaps be seen as shaped by the specific contextual aspect that the Arab moderate countries are not satisfied with the degree of engagement of the international community and in particular the United States in finding a settlement to the Syrian conflict. This may explain why the translator of *Al-Itihad*, which is a newspaper owned by the government of one of these moderate countries, opts for the addition and replacement of specific elements that result in the accentuation of the original stance.

The analysis in this subsection has focused on another type of shift in stance – those that result in the accentuation of original stance. It turns out from the analysis that 15.25% of the instances of stance identified in the corpus were accentuated when re-conveyed in the Arabic translations.

Also, 44.44% of the instances of stance being accentuated were translated in *Al-Ghad* and 55.56% in *Al-Ittihad*. Overall, the analysis has revealed that the shift identified in the corpus that results in the accentuation of original stance is attributed to one or more of the following reasons: (1) the increased sense of certainty and commitment conveyed that results from the omission of modal expressions (Example 18 ST1 NT); (2) the addition of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements (Example 19 ST2 WP; Example 20 ST7 NT; Example 26 ST10 WP); (3) the addition of more direct linguistic elements that refer to key elements of the original stance (Example 21 ST2 WP; Example 22 ST2 WP; Example 23 ST2 WP; Example 25 ST4 WP; Example 26 ST10 WP); and (4) the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning (Example 24 ST3 NT; Example 25 ST4 WP; Example 26 ST10 WP). It has been found that stance being accentuated due to the addition of more direct linguistic elements is more frequent than the other reasons. These significant changes will necessarily have an impact upon the reception of the translated stance, as it does carry more subjective information than the original meaning and function that the writer attempts to convey or that the readers of the source text have derived.

The examination of the translation of stance in this subsection has shown that original stance was frequently not accurately re-conveyed in the translated articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. Moreover, some contextual aspects have, to varying degrees, shaped the shift in stance which occurred and sometimes the translator's own feelings have possibly found their way into the translated stance. Like that in the weakening of stance, the analysis in this subsection has shown that a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexico-grammatical realisation of stance.

With the exception of Example 18 ST1 NT and Example 20 ST7 NT, it was suggested that most of the shift resulting in the accentuation of original stance might be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation or as guided by the feeling of the translator that has in some cases found its way into the stance re-conveyed. Possible interpretations of the translational choices that led to the shift in stance have been given for each example. Also, it has been noticed that the examples analysed in this subsection and in the previous are heavily saturated with negative attitudinal meaning. This is most probably due to the disastrous turn the Arab Spring has taken. In the subsequent subsection, the analysis turns to the examination of the last type of shift in stance – those that result in the loss of original stance.

#### **7.3.1.1.3 Stance loss**

The shift arising from loss of stance covers those cases in which the entire or most part of original stance is left out of the translated text. This type of shift usually involves the omission altogether of the entire original stance or a significant part of it. So, the shift here is determined by the degree of subjective information that is left untranslated. As a result, no attention is drawn to those original subjective components in the target text. Such changes will largely have an impact on the reception of the target text by Arab readers and might to some extent affect or challenge the overall argument throughout the source text.

It is understood that the examples of stance shift that have been analysed under the subheading ‘stance weakened’ can also be considered as a kind of stance loss. But, the analysis of shifts in stance in the current study has indeed differentiated, in terms of the degree or amount of the original subjective information that is left untranslated, between what can be seen as a minor or modest loss of stance, which has been accounted for under that subheading (see subsection

7.3.1.1.1), and those shifts that result from a serious or an entire loss of stance, which are the focus of the present subsection.

The first example in this subsection is illustrative of loss of stance that results from the omission of a significant part of original stance:

[Example 27 ST4 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
It wasn't that he was <b>entirely wrong</b> . But it's <b>revealing</b> of this president that he is <b>determined to</b> speak truth to Binyamin Netanyahu — and not to Bashar al-Assad.	Adverb of degree (entirely) + Evaluative adjective (wrong) + Evaluative verb (revealing) + Stance complement clause controlled by an adjective (determined + to-clause)	The writer: Diehl	Obama	Judgement of veracity + Judgement of tenacity

In this example from Diehl's first article, the stance taken is realised through a number of lexicogrammatical devices, including the adverb of degree *entirely*, the evaluative adjective *wrong*, the evaluative verb *revealing*, and the stance complement clause controlled by the adjective *determined*. The stance adopted here is oriented towards Obama as the stance object. In this example, the writer adopts the stance that Obama was not completely wrong in his view of the peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis, but what becomes increasingly clear is that the President is so tough with Netanyahu and not with Bashar al-Assad.

In the presentation of his stance, the writer makes a judgement of how truthful Obama is with regard to his approach to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (judgement of veracity). The writer appears to have no objection to Obama's approach. This judgement is realised through the negation that precedes the evaluative adjective *wrong*. Also, the force of the judgement is



intensified using the adverb of degree *entirely*. The writer then turns to be more direct when passing a judgement of how resolute Obama is in dealing with the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and the Syrian President al-Assad (judgement of tenacity). In this judgement, the writer indicates that Obama is more resolute in telling the truth to Netanyahu about what should be done to achieve the peace than in telling al-Assad the truth that he is a dictator and “not qualified to lead Syria to democracy”. The sense of the judgement of tenacity is realised through the writer’s use of the stance complement clause that is controlled by the adjective *determined*. The following shows *Al-Itihad*’s translation of this example as well as a discussion of how it is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 27 TT4 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
غير أنه في الوقت الذي أصر فيه أوباما على قول الحقيقة لنتنياهو، فقد سكت عنها عندما تعلق الأمر ببشار الأسد.	Yet, while Obama insisted on speaking the truth to Netanyahu, he kept quiet about it when it came to the matter of Bashar al-Assad.	The writer: Diehl + The translator who omits a significant part of the writer’s original stance	Obama	Judgement of tenacity

In the Arabic translation, a significant part of the original stance is omitted altogether. That is, the authorial judgement of how truthful Obama is with regard to his approach to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (judgement of veracity), which is completely left out of the translated text. Therefore, the readers of the source text have not been given the indication that the original writer has no objection to Obama’s approach. Also, the authorial judgement of how resolute Obama is in dealing with Netanyahu and al-Assad (judgement of tenacity) is largely weakened in the Arabic translation. This results from the omission of the clause *but it’s revealing of this president*, and the replacement of the evaluative adjective *determined*, which controls the stance

complement clause “to speak truth to Binyamin Netanyahu — and not to Bashar al-Assad”, by the less forceful *أصر* (‘insisted’). As a consequence, the original stance is mostly lost when re-conveyed in *Al-Ittihad*’s translation. Possibly for the same reason of the shift in stance given in Example 19 ST2 WP and Example 25 ST4 WP, the translator in this example opts for the omission altogether of the positive judgement of Obama.

Example 28 ST9 WP below from Byman’s article shows another instance of stance loss in which the entire original stance is left out of the translated text:

[Example 28 ST9 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
At home and abroad, the Saudis have spent tens of billions to <b>buy off</b> dissent. Riyadh has <b>pushed</b> fellow monarchs in the Arabian Peninsula and in Jordan to <b>stop</b> any <b>revolutionary</b> movements, and the Saudis are offering a <b>haven</b> for <b>dictators</b> down on their luck, such as Tunisia’s Ben Ali.	Evaluative phrasal verb (buy off) + Two evaluative verbs (pushed; stop) + Evaluative adjective (revolutionary) + Two evaluative nouns (haven; dictators)	The writer: Byman	The Saudis	Negative judgement: -propriety

The stance presented in this example is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through a number of evaluative lexical items. These include the evaluative phrasal verb *buy off*, the two evaluative verbs *pushed* and *stop*, the evaluative adjective *revolutionary*, and the two evaluative nouns *haven* and *dictators*. The Saudis are the object of interest towards whom the stance is directed. In this example, Byman adopts the stance that the Saudis have paid a lot of money inside and outside to prevent any revolutionary outbreak and that they provide a safe and peaceful place for those dictators who found themselves ousted from power.

The overarching theme in the stance presented in the example above is a negative attitude towards the behaviour of the stance object – the Saudis. More specifically, the writer expresses a judgement of how ethical the Saudis are in dealing with the revolutionary movements in their country and in the neighbouring countries (judgement of propriety). The writer here indicates that they have done their best to prevent any revolutionary moves in the Arabian Peninsula and they are keen to protect dictators, a behaviour which the writer disapproved of. This negative judgement is realised through the writer’s use of the following value-laden words: *buy off*, *pushed fellow*, *stop any revolutionary movements*, and *offering a haven for dictators*. The following discussion considers *Al-Ittihad*’s translation of this example:

[Example 28 TT9 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
No translation is given of this example in TT9	_____	The translator	_____	_____

In the target text, the original stance is completely lost due to its omission altogether. This might be attributed to a deliberate translational choice to leave out the original negative judgement of the Saudis’ behaviour. Based on the principles of CDA that have been outlined in chapter five, it is suggested here that the translational choice at the micro-level of realisation to deliberately leave out the entire original stance from the translation end product might perhaps be seen as shaped by the specific contextual aspect that the monarchical states of the Arabian Peninsula, namely Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, are strong allies and partners. The alliance between them is represented in the formation of a union that is known as the Gulf Cooperation Council. Given this and according to the conventions between

these states, it is uncommon and unacceptable that any of the governmental bodies of these states, especially the media, criticise or publish any information that may harm the relations between the Arab Gulf states or damage their image. Given the fact that *Al-Ittihad* is owned by the government of one of those states, this may explain why *Al-Ittihad*'s translator opts for leaving the original stance, which carries criticism of Saudi Arabia, out of the translated article.

In a similar way, Example 29 ST2 WP, from Gerson's article, further shows a loss of stance in which the entire original stance is left out of the target text:

[Example 29 ST2 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The Obama administration initially <b>stood aloof</b> from the Iranian Green Revolution, even though democratic regime <b>change may</b> be the <b>only realistic</b> alternative to American <b>confrontation</b> with the Tehran regime over its nuclear ambitions.	Evaluative verb (stood) + Two evaluative adjectives (aloof; realistic) + Two evaluative nouns (change; confrontation) + Modal auxiliary of possibility (may) + Adverb of limitation (only)	The writer: Gerson	The Obama administration	Negative judgement: -tenacity + Engagement: entertain

The stance presented in this example is realised through a number of lexico-grammatical devices, including the evaluative verb *stood*, the evaluative adjective *aloof* and *realistic*, the two evaluative nouns *change* and *confrontation*, the modal auxiliary of possibility *may*, and the adverb of limitation *only*. The Obama administration is addressed here as the object of interest towards which the stance is directed. The stancetaker Gerson adopts the stance that the Obama

administration did not show any interest in the Iranian Green Revolution and thereby it missed the opportunity of ending the American confrontation with Iran through supporting a democratic regime change in that country, which is, for the writer, the only reasonable solution to the whole matter.

In the expression of his stance, the writer begins with a judgement of how resolute the Obama administration was in dealing with the Iranian Green Revolution (judgement of tenacity). He provides the negative judgement that this administration was from the beginning not involved or interested enough to take advantage of the opportunity this revolution provided. The writer's use of the expression *stood aloof from* is indicative of the authorial negative judgement. For the writer, the opportunity was to bring about a regime change, which is, according to his assessment, the only reasonable solution to the considerable tension between Iran and the United States over the former's nuclear program (assessment of likelihood). This assessment follows from expectation based on past experience and current situation. The assessment is realised by the choice of the modal *may* that indicates a sense of uncertainty and a lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition that 'regime change is the only realistic alternative to American confrontation with the Tehran regime over its nuclear ambitions'. As such, the authorial voice presents the assessment as one of a number of possible alternative positions and thereby makes space for other possibilities (entertain), but such space is slightly reduced with the use of the adverb *only*. The following discussion considers *Al-Ittihad's* translation of this example:

[Example 29 TT2 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
No translation is given of this example in TT2	_____	The translator	_____	_____

In the target text, the original stance is again completely lost due to its omission altogether. This might be attributed to a deliberate translational choice to leave out the original reference to a regime change in Iran. It is suggested here that the translational choice at the micro-level of realisation to deliberately leave out the entire original stance from the translation end product might perhaps be seen as shaped by the specific contextual aspect that there is an ongoing territorial tension between Iran and the United Arab Emirates, the source of which is taking control over three strategic islands in the Arabian Gulf. Given the fact that *Al-Itihad* is owned by the government of the UAE, a translational choice might be taken to deliberately avoid making any reference to a regime change in Iran probably to show that the newspaper, or more specifically the government of the UAE, is not interested in the Iranian interior affairs or to avoid a further escalation of the tension between the two countries. This may explain why *Al-Itihad*'s translator opts for leaving the original stance, which carries explicit reference to a regime change in Iran, out of the translated article.

The example below, from Byman's article, shows another instance of stance loss in which the entire original stance is left out of the target text:

[Example 30 ST9 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The Saudi royals not only <b>worry</b> about their own power <b>diminishing</b> , but <b>fear</b> that <b>change</b> elsewhere <b>would</b> be an opening for their <b>arch-rival</b> Iran and for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.	Two evaluative verbs (worry; fear) + Evaluative adjective (diminishing) + Two evaluative nouns (change; arch-rival) + Modal auxiliary of prediction (would)	The writer: Byman	The Saudi royals	Affect: insecurity

The stance presented in this example, which is taken by the writer Byman, is realised through the use of several lexico-grammatical devices, including the two evaluative verbs *worry* and *fear*, the evaluative adjective *diminishing*, the two evaluative nouns *change* and *arch-rival*, and the modal auxiliary of prediction *would*. The Saudi royals are addressed here as the object of interest towards whom the stance is oriented. The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts the stance that the Saudi royals are anxious about instability in the region and losing their power and influence. Also, they fear that dramatic change in the region could lead to a serious threat to security in the Arabian Peninsula. For them, their main opponent Iran and al-Qaeda are the major sources of the threat.

It is the stance function of insecurity within the subsystem of appraisal theory *affect* that dominates in this example. In the above stance, the writer conveys the negative affectual response or reaction of the Saudi royals to what the revolutions of the Arab Spring hold for them. This is realised by the writer's use of several negative evaluative lexical items (*worry*, *diminishing*, *fear*, and *arch-rival*) that all share a common function (insecurity). The negative affectual response or reaction of the Saudi royals is represented in the form of a negative feeling

about their power being diminished as well as another negative feeling about the security of the Arabian Peninsula. As to the latter, the writer chooses the modal *would* to signal a sense of prediction, describing the future action presented in the proposition that ‘change elsewhere is an opening for their arch-rival Iran and for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula’ as likely to occur, but with no certain implication that this action will definitely happen. The following discussion considers *Al-Ittihad*’s translation of this example:

[Example 30 TT9 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
No translation is given of this example in TT9	_____	The translator	_____	_____

Again, what is lost is the entire original stance, which is omitted altogether from the target text. The shift here might also be attributed to a deliberate translational choice to leave out the original negative attitudinal meaning that portrays the Saudi royals as weak and frightened of losing their power. The translational choice at the micro-level of realisation to deliberately leave out the entire original stance can probably be seen from the same contextual perspective outlined in Example 28 ST9 WP.

The last example in this subsection further points to a tendency in the translations produced by *Al-Ittihad* to deliberately leave out any original stance that may harm or damage the image of the Arab Gulf states:



[Example 31 ST10 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The emirates say their goal is Syrian democracy — but their <b>motives</b> are <b>purely sectarian</b> . Their <b>target</b> is not Assad but Iran, the Persian Shiite <b>enemy</b> of the Arab Sunni monarchies.	Three evaluative nouns (motives; target; enemy) + Adverb of degree (purely) + Evaluative adjective (sectarian)	The writer: Diehl	The emirates (the Arab Gulf states)	Negative judgement: -veracity

The stance presented in this example from Diehl’s third article is realised at the lexico grammatical level through the use of the three evaluative nouns *motives*, *target*, and *enemy*, the adverb of degree *purely*, and the evaluative adjective *sectarian*. The emirates (or the Arab Gulf states) are addressed here as the object of interest towards which the stance is directed. The writer, as the stancetaker, adopts the stance that the Arab Sunni Gulf states tirelessly pushed the Arab League and the Security Council to take a decisive action against Bashar al-Assad in an attempt to bring about democracy to Syria, but in reality they use democracy as a cover for their secret sectarian motives. According to the writer, what they are after is not al-Assad, but their Shiite arch-rival – Iran, which is al-Assad’s closest ally.

The overarching theme that comes out of the stance presented in the above example is a judgement of veracity (how truthful people are). That is, a negative judgement of how truthful the Arab Gulf states are in their argument about Syria. The writer here characterises their argument in a negative way, as being misleading. For him, these Sunni states have not come up with demands to take a decisive action against al-Assad for the sake of bringing democracy to Syria, but rather for their own sake and their sectarian motives precisely because Iran, their main

Shiite opponent, is the closest ally to al-Assad. The authorial judgement is overtly articulated by using the evaluative lexical item *their motives, purely sectarian, target, and enemy* as well as by using the conjunction *but* twice. The following discussion considers *Al-Ittihad*'s translation of this example:

[Example 31 TT10 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
No translation is given of this example in TT10	_____	The translator	_____	_____

Again and again, what is lost is the entire original stance, which is omitted altogether from *Al-Ittihad*'s translation. The shift here might also be attributed to a deliberate translational choice to leave out the original negative judgement that portrays the Arab Gulf states as dishonest players in the region, and thus it is difficult for the readers of the target text to derive this sense. The translational choice at the micro-level of realisation to deliberately leave out the entire original stance can probably be seen from the same contextual perspective outlined in Example 28 ST9 WP.

In this subsection, the analysis has centred on the last type of shift in stance – those that result in the loss of original stance. It turns out from the analysis that 8.47% of the instances of stance identified in the corpus have shown serious or entire loss of original stance when re-conveyed in the Arabic translations. Moreover, all the instances of stance being lost were only translated in *Al-Ittihad*. Overall, the analysis has shown that the loss of the original stance identified in the corpus is classified, in terms of the degree or amount of the original subjective information that

is left untranslated, into those that have led to a serious loss of original stance (Example 27 ST4 WP); and those that have led to an entire loss (Example 28 ST9 WP; Example 29 ST2 WP; Example 30 ST9 WP; Example 31 ST10 WP). It has been found that those shifts with an entire loss of original stance are more frequent than those with a serious loss. These significant changes will inevitably have an impact upon the reception of the target texts.

The examination of the translation of stance in this subsection has shown that some specific contextual aspects have more or less shaped the shift in stance occurred. It was suggested that almost all the shifts resulting in the serious and entire loss of original stance might perhaps be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation. Possible interpretations have been given of most translational choices that led to the serious and entire loss of original stance. Findings from the analysis of stance loss reveal a tendency in those translations produced by *Al-Ittihad* to deliberately leave out any original stance that may harm or damage the image of the Arab Gulf States. Also, it has been noticed that the examples analysed in this subsection and in the previous two are heavily saturated with negative attitudinal meaning. The following subsection provides further discussion and interpretation of the shift in stance identified in the corpus.

#### **7.3.1.1.4 Discussion and interpretation of the shifts in stance identified**

The examination of the conveyance and re-conveyance of stance reveals that significant shifts in stance have occurred in the Arabic translations produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These shifts result in the weakening, accentuation, and loss of original stance. The table below shows the distribution of all the instances of stance identified in the corpus in terms of the shift occurred or being maintained in the Arabic translations.

	<b>Types of shift</b>	<b>Number of instances</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Shift in stance	Stance being weakened	17	28.82%
	Stance being accentuated	9	15.25%
	Stance being lost	5	8.47%
Stance maintained		28	47.46%
<b>Total</b>		<b>59</b>	

Table 7.2: The distribution of the instances of stance identified in the corpus

The corpus analysis conducted at an initial stage of this chapter has identified 59 instances of stance in the corpus (see Appendix A). Based on the discourse analysis that has been conducted of the (re-)conveyance of these instances of stance in their source texts and target texts and then the comparison of the conveyance of each instance in its source text and its re-conveyance in the corresponding target text, they have been classified in terms of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a shift in stance into: (1) those instances in which a shift has occurred when reproduced in Arabic, which in turn have been further classified into those in which original stance being weakened, accentuated, and lost; and (2) those instances in which stance is maintained (see the subsequent section). It turns out from the analysis that 17 (28.82%) instances of all the instances of stance identified were weakened, nine (15.25%) instances were accentuated, five (8.47%) instances were lost, and 28 (47.46%) instances of stance were maintained.

The analysis of the weakening of stance has revealed that this type of shift occurs for one of the following reasons: (1) variation in stance object (Example 1 ST1 NT; Example 2 ST1 NT; Example 3 ST1 NT; Example 4 ST7 NT); (2) the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning (Example 5 ST9 WP; Example 6 ST3 NT; Example 7 ST8 NT; Example 8 ST10 WP); (3) the omission of one or more key evaluative

or grammatical elements (Example 9 ST9 WP; Example 10 ST1 NT; Example 11 ST6 WP; Example 12 ST4 WP; Example 13 ST10 WP); (4) the modification of a negating element resulting in an opposite meaning (Example 14 ST3 NT; Example 15 ST5 WP); and (5) variation in the meaning conveyed by modal auxiliaries (Example 16 ST6 WP; Example 17 ST4 WP). Most of the shift that led to the weakening of original stance cannot be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation, rather it might be taken as an accidental mistranslation and attributed to the translator's competence to identify and then re-convey that original stance in the target language. Findings from the analysis of this type of shift suggest that translators of *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* sometimes may not be finely attuned to the original attitudinal or epistemic meaning conveyed or even they may not be fully conscious of the original stance conveyed in the source text with its key components (stance markers, stancetaker, stance object, and stance function), which means they are unlikely to re-convey that stance in the target text accurately. So, the examination of the translation of stance within this type of shift has shown that original stance was frequently not fully captured by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*'s translators.

The analysis of the accentuation of stance has revealed that this type of shift occurs for one or more of the following reasons: (1) the increased sense of certainty and commitment conveyed that results from the omission of modal expressions (Example 18 ST1 NT); (2) the addition of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements (Example 19 ST2 WP; Example 20 ST7 NT; Example 26 ST10 WP); (3) the addition of more direct linguistic elements (Example 21 ST2 WP; Example 22 ST2 WP; Example 23 ST2 WP; Example 25 ST4 WP; Example 26 ST10 WP); and (4) the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning (Example 24 ST3 NT; Example 25 ST4 WP; Example 26 ST10 WP). The examination of the translation of stance within this type of shift has shown that original stance was frequently

not accurately re-conveyed in the translated articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These significant changes will necessarily have an impact upon the reception of the translated stance, like reducing the freedom of the reader to interpret the intended meaning expressed by the author of the original article. As with the weakening of stance, the same finding emerged from the analysis of those examples in which stance was accentuated. That is, a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexicogrammatical realisation of stance.

Some contextual aspects have, to varying degrees, shaped the shift resulting in the accentuation of original stance and sometimes the translator's own feelings have perhaps found their way into those stances re-conveyed. With the exception of Example 18 ST1 NT and Example 20 ST7 NT, it was suggested that most of the shift in stance that led to the accentuation of stance might be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation or as guided by the feeling of the translator that has in some cases found its way into the translated stance. Possible interpretations of the translational choices that led to this type of shift have been given at the end of each example. The analysis of the weakening and accentuation of stance has shown that a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexicogrammatical realisation of stance.

The analysis of the shift resulting in the loss of original stance has revealed that this type can be classified, in terms of the degree or amount of the original subjective information that is left untranslated, into those that have led to a serious loss of original stance (Example 27 ST4 WP); and those that have led to an entire loss (Example 28 ST9 WP; Example 29 ST2 WP; Example 30 ST9 WP; Example 31 ST10 WP). It turns out from the analysis of this type that those shifts

with an entire loss of original stance are more frequent than those with a serious loss. These significant changes will inevitably have an impact upon the reception of the target texts.

The examination of the translation of stance within this type of shift has shown that specific contextual aspects have more or less shaped the shift in stance occurred. Almost all the shift that led to a serious or an entire loss of original stance might be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation. One very interesting finding that emerged from the analysis of this type of shift is that there is a tendency in the translations produced by *Al-Ittihad* to deliberately leave out any original stance that may harm or damage the image of the Arab Gulf States (Example 28 ST9 WP; Example 30 ST9 WP; Example 31 ST10 WP). In this regard, it has been found that entire loss of stance often emerges in relation to the translation of those stances that carry sensitive, critical, or counter-viewpoints, which can be a source of potential harm or damage to the official stance of the Arab Gulf states and their image. Therefore, translators of *Al-Ittihad* resort to leaving out those stances and thus avoid the potential harm or damage they may cause. Based on this tendency, one important initial conclusion to be drawn is that state-owned Arabic-language newspapers tend to be less faithful in the reproduction of critical foreign voices and counter-stances than those privately owned, as no entire loss of stance has been found in the target texts produced by *Al-Ghad*. Overall, the examination of the (re-)conveyance of stance in the corpus has clearly shown that this phenomenon is largely context-dependent, to the extent that the investigation of stance is almost impossible to accomplish out of the context in which it is produced.

It has been noticed that the examples of shift in stance examined are heavily saturated with negative attitudinal sense. This is most probably due to the disastrous turn the Arab Spring has taken. An important finding that emerged from the analysis is that the original newspaper

opinion articles examined are heavily loaded with the specific stance function *judgement*, and to a lesser degree with the function of affectual response *insecurity*. The former can be viewed as a key characteristic feature that is conventionally associated with this specific genre of political discourse, while the latter can be seen as a feature of the topic being addressed in the original articles, i.e. the Arab Spring. In relation to this, it turns out from the analysis that linguistic features of attitudinal stance and more specifically value-laden evaluative lexis used for the expression of judgement and affectual response are subject to frequent shifts.

Shifts in stance identified are likely to more or less have an impact on the reception of original stance by the readers of the target texts as well as on the personal position and image of the original writer. In particular, these changes may, to varying degrees, reduce the freedom of readers' interpretation, open up little space for them to think of other alternative views, or perhaps even direct their response. Given the significant finding that more than half of the instances of stance identified in the corpus show different degrees or amounts of shift, it seems reasonable to assume that shift in stance is a tendency in the Arabic translation of foreign opinion articles produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this is that original stance is frequently not accurately re-conveyed in the translated articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. In the final part of this chapter, an attempt is made to provide an objective analytical discussion and acknowledge those cases in which stance is maintained when reproduced in the Arabic translations.

### **7.3.1.2 Stance maintained**

The analysis here addresses those instances of stance identified in the corpus in which original stance is accurately re-conveyed in its target text. This inevitably means the attitudinal and/or



epistemic meanings as well as the function of original stance are all maintained in the given Arabic translation. The successful reproduction of these instances of stance contributes to preserve the overall argument throughout their source texts.

The following example from Lynch and Cook’s article vividly illustrates an instance in which original stance is successfully re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 32 ST8 NT]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
This <b>cautious, passive</b> response has done <b>considerable damage</b> to President Obama’s <b>admirable efforts</b> to <b>place</b> the United States on the side of Arabs who want to live in democratic societies.	Four evaluative adjectives (cautious; passive; considerable; admirable) + Two evaluative nouns (damage; efforts) + Evaluative verb (place)	The writers: Lynch and Cook	The Obama administration’s response to violence in Egypt	Negative judgement: -tenacity + Negative appreciation: -valuation

In the above example, the stance taken is realised at the lexico-grammatical level through the choice of a range of value-laden words. These include the four evaluative adjectives *cautious*, *passive*, *considerable*, and *admirable*, the two evaluative nouns *damage* and *efforts*, and the evaluative verb *place*. The Obama administration’s response to violence in Egypt is the object towards which the given stance is oriented. The two writers, as the stancetakers, adopt here the stance that the cautious and passive response to the violence in Egypt on the part of the Obama administration has caused much damage to the efforts the President has made to show that the United States is keen to stand up for those Arabs who are looking for a better life in free democratic societies.

In the expression of their stance, the writers begin with a judgement of how resolute the Obama administration was in its response to the violence in Egypt after the overthrow of the former Egyptian President Mubarak (judgement of tenacity). They pass the negative judgement that this administration was not determined and engaged enough to deal more effectively with the violence in that country. The use of the two evaluative adjectives *cautious* and *passive* to modify the head noun *response* is indicative of the given negative judgement. This judgement in turn provides the ground through which the authorial voice presents its follow-up valuation. A negative valuation of the performance of the administration is then presented, in which the two writers maintain that the negative response on the part of this administration has badly affected Obama's efforts to show that the United States is keen to stand up for those Arabs who are looking for a better life in free democratic societies. The negative valuation is realised through the use of the evaluative noun *damage*, and the force of which is intensified using the evaluative adjective *considerable*. The following shows *Al-Ghad*'s translation of the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 32 TT8 G]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
لقد ألحقت هذه الاستجابة الحدرة والسلبية الكثير من الضرر بجهود الرئيس أوباما المثيرة للإعجاب لوضع الولايات المتحدة في جانب العرب الذين يريدون العيش في مجتمعات ديمقراطية.	This cautious and passive response has caused much damage to President Obama's admirable efforts to place the United States on the side of Arabs who want to live in democratic societies.	The original writers: Lynch and Cook	The Obama administration's response to violence in Egypt	Negative judgement: -tenacity + Negative appreciation: -valuation

By comparing the Arabic translation given in this table and the original stance presented in the previous one, no shift has been captured and the original stance clearly turns out to be

successfully re-conveyed in *Al-Ghad*'s translation. More particularly, the original negative judgement (-tenacity) of how resolute the Obama administration was in its response to the violence in Egypt is adequately reproduced in Arabic. The linguistic realisation of this judgement is retained, as the two key evaluative adjectives *cautious* and *passive* are adequately translated into their Arabic equivalents *حذرة* and *سلبية*, respectively, and thereby they reflect the original sense that the administration was not determined and engaged enough to deal more effectively with the violence in that country. Moreover, the original negative valuation of the performance of the administration together with its linguistic realisation are satisfactorily reproduced in Arabic. More specifically, the evaluative noun *damage*, which is a central element in the expression of that valuation, is adequately translated into its Arabic equivalent *ضرر*. Also, the force of the valuation is intensified in Arabic using *كثير* ('much'), which satisfactorily re-conveys the sense that the original evaluative adjective *considerable* signals. As such, the Arabic translation shows the same original valuation that the negative response on the part of this administration has badly affected Obama's efforts to show that the United States is keen to stand up for those Arabs who are looking for a better life in free democratic societies. As a result, the entire original stance is successfully reproduced in Arabic and thus the readers of the target text are presented with a similar stance as that presented to the readers of the source text.

The following is another example that further illustrates the case of original stance being successfully re-conveyed in Arabic, but this time translated in the other newspaper – *Al-Ittihad*:

[Example 33 ST10 WP]

Original containing stance pattern	Stance marker	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
The lines of what <b>could easily</b> become a regional <b>sectarian</b> war are <b>clearly</b> drawn.	Modal auxiliary of possibility (could) + Adverb of manner (easily) + Evaluative adjective (sectarian) + Epistemic adverb of certainty (clearly)	The writer: Diehl	The ongoing crisis in the Middle East	Judgement of veracity

The lexico-grammatical devices used for the articulation of the stance presented in this example and through which it is realised are the modal auxiliary of possibility *could*, the adverb of manner *easily*, the evaluative adjective *sectarian*, and the epistemic adverb of certainty *clearly*.

The ongoing crisis in the Middle East is the object of interest towards which the given stance is directed. The writer Diehl, as the stancetaker, adopts the stance that the direction towards which the Middle East is possibly moving becomes more explicit for him, i.e. *a regional sectarian war*.

The overarching theme in the stance presented in the example above is a judgement of the truth value of a given possibility. More particularly, the writer expresses the possibility that a sectarian war between Sunnis and Shiites might break out in the Middle East. Such assessment is explicitly articulated using the modal *could*, which indicates a low degree of possibility. This means that the writer is keen not to present himself as certain and committed to the truth value of the given proposition that a regional sectarian war is going to break out. But he appears to be more certain in his judgement of veracity that all the signs of such a war have become more visible. The use of the epistemic adverb of certainty *clearly* in the affirmative clause *the lines ... are clearly drawn* is indicative of that judgement. The following shows *Al-Ittihad*'s translation of

the preceding example as well as a discussion of how the original stance is re-conveyed in Arabic:

[Example 33 TT10 I]

Arabic translation	BT	Stancetaker	Stance object	Stance function
خطوط ما يمكن أن يصبح بسهولة حرباً طائفية إقليمية رُسمت بوضوح.	The lines of what could easily become a regional sectarian war are clearly drawn.	The writer: Diehl	The ongoing crisis in the Middle East	Judgement of veracity

By comparing the Arabic translation provided in this table and the original stance presented in the previous one, no shift has been captured and the original stance clearly turns out to be successfully re-conveyed in *Al-Ittihad*'s translation. More specifically, the original possibility that a sectarian war might break out in the Middle East is adequately reproduced in Arabic. The central linguistic realisation of this possibility is retained. That is, the modal *could* which is satisfactorily rendered as the modal verb يمكن ('maybe'), and thereby the Arabic translation, as that in the original, presents the original writer as not certain and committed to the truth value of the proposition that a regional sectarian war is going to break out. Moreover, the original judgement of veracity and its linguistic realisation are satisfactorily reproduced in Arabic. More particularly, the adverb of certainty *clearly*, as the central element in this judgement, is adequately translated into its Arabic equivalent بوضوح. Also, the affirmative clause *the lines ... are clearly drawn*, in which the adverb of certainty appears, is satisfactorily retained in Arabic. As such, the Arabic translation shows the same original judgement which indicates that the original writer is more certain that all the signs of the sectarian war have become more visible. As a result, the entire original stance is successfully re-conveyed in Arabic and thus the readers

of the target text are presented with a similar stance as that presented to the readers of the source text.

As the analysis of the remaining instances of stance being maintained will show a repetitive pattern, the analysis in this subsection will stop at this point and the full list of instances of stance being maintained in the Arabic translations can be found in Appendix B.

#### **7.4 Concluding remarks**

This chapter has examined the conveyance of stance in the source texts and its re-conveyance in the target texts and then reports on the shifts in stance found in the corpus. The chapter has addressed the first, the second, the third, and the fourth research questions. It began with an analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance in the source texts in order to describe how stance is encoded in the language of these texts (the first research question). This represented the point of entry into the data. In order to ensure its validity, the corpus of the source texts was manually analysed based on concepts and ideas drawn from a previously established theoretical framework, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). The manual corpus analysis allowed for the accurate identification of patterns of stance in their immediate textual environment across individual source texts. The findings of these patterns have served as an input into the subsequent detailed description of stance meanings conveyed and their functions in the source texts and then in the target texts.

The corpus analysis has shown that lexical and grammatical markers of stance were found to have different distributions in the instances identified in the source texts. The analysis points to a clear preference for using evaluative lexical items in the expression of stance in these texts, as value-laden words have been found to be the most frequently used stance marker in the instances

identified (approximately 71% of the total). Also, modals are found to be relatively common in these instances, as they stand at about 15% of the total. As for stance adverbials, they tend to be less frequent than modals with an occurrence of about 10%. However, stance complement constructions are found to be far less frequent in the instances identified (approximately 3% of the total). All these indicate that the concept of stance is realised differently in the language of the original opinion articles despite the fact that its linguistic realisations operate within the same genre. These differences in encoding stance can probably be attributed to the differences in each writer's style in expressing his/her own stance.

The second part of the analysis has focused on the construal of stance meaning (attitudinal and epistemic) conveyed and its function in the source texts as well as in relation to the context where it occurs and then on the examination of the re-conveyance of these in the corresponding target texts. On this basis, the analysis of stance has gradually moved from the lexicogrammatical level of realisation towards the textual and contextual levels. In this part, the analysis has been carried out in two stages, which have led to addressing the second and the third research questions, respectively. The first stage examined the meaning of each pattern of stance which was previously identified through the manual corpus analysis, and its function across individual source texts using the discourse-analytical method that is drawn from the model of appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), with which the corpus analysis was combined. After having identified and described the meanings of these patterns of stance and their functions in the source texts and in relation to the context in which they were produced, the second stage examined how these were re-conveyed or reproduced in the corresponding target texts. As these being achieved, the analytical discussion moved on to uncover the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations by means of comparing patterns of stance in the source texts and their

translations in the target texts (the fourth question). In this study, shift in stance has been accounted for in terms of changes in the meaning or function of stance that occurred in the Arabic translations. The chapter has concluded with interpretations of the findings and explanations of translational behaviour by means of some aspects of CDA (Fairclough, 1992; 1995a) and narrative theory (Baker, 2006), where applicable. In the final part of this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide an objective analytical discussion and acknowledge those instances in which stance is accurately re-conveyed in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*'s Arabic translations.

The analysis of the conveyance and re-conveyance of stance has shown that significant shifts in stance have occurred in the Arabic translations produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These shifts result in the weakening, accentuation, and loss of original stance. The corpus analysis conducted at an initial stage of this chapter has identified 59 instances of stance in the corpus (see Appendix A). Based on the discourse analysis that has been conducted of the (re-)conveyance of these instances of stance in their source texts and target texts and then the comparison of the conveyance of each instance in its source text and its re-conveyance in the corresponding target text, they have been classified in terms of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a shift in stance into: (1) those instances in which a shift has occurred when reproduced in Arabic, which in turn have been further classified into those in which original stance being weakened, accentuated, and lost; and (2) those instances in which stance is maintained. It turns out from the analysis that 17 (28.82%) instances of all the instances of stance identified were weakened, nine (15.25%) instances were accentuated, five (8.47%) instances were lost, and 28 (47.46%) instances of stance were maintained. Given the significant finding that more than half of the instances of stance identified in the corpus show different degrees or amounts of shift, it seems reasonable to



assume that shift in stance is a tendency in the Arabic translation of foreign opinion articles produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this is that original stance is frequently not accurately re-conveyed in the translated articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*.

## Chapter Eight:

### Conclusion

This thesis has examined the conveyance of stance as a manifestation of interpersonal meaning in a heavily opinionated political genre – newspapers opinion articles – and its re-conveyance in full Arabic translations of these articles. Also, it has provided a description of the shift in stance identified in the Arabic translations. The aim of the study was to introduce the theoretical concept of stance into the discipline of Translation Studies and to explore the reproduction of stance in translations commissioned by Arabic-language newspapers by providing an account of how patterns of stance are conveyed in newspaper opinion articles on the ‘Arab Spring’ originally published in English in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and then how these patterns are re-conveyed in the translations of the articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*.

A triangulation of methods was employed for providing a coherent analysis of the concept of stance at different levels: lexico-grammatical, textual, and contextual. Accordingly, the methodology chosen for the purposes of the study was built on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods that operate within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. The former was drawn from the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006), while the latter drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). Also, the combined methodology was complemented by some aspects of Fairclough’s model of CDA (1992, 1995a) and Baker’s narrative theory (2006), which, to varying degrees, allowed for the contextualisation of the findings and the explanation of translational behaviour.

The literature review conducted in chapter four showed that the concept of stance (including the related theoretical terms, i.e., evaluation and appraisal) and its conveyance in a wide array of genres and verbal and written communication have been high on the research agenda for the past two decades or so within the field of linguistics and its related disciplines, but to date this phenomenon remains a virtually unexplored area within the discipline of Translation Studies (with the exception of Munday, 2012). Munday (2012: 12), in this regard, describes the neglect of the phenomenon in Translation Studies as surprising. It thus constitutes a ripe area for new research within the tradition of descriptive translation studies. As a result, the current study has sought to fill at least part of this gap.

This concluding chapter revisits the research questions and provides a summary of the major research findings. It also outlines the implications and contributions of the thesis to the discipline of Translation Studies and then moves on to highlight the limitations of the study. This final chapter ends with suggestions of avenues for further research.

## **8.1 Revisiting the research questions**

As a reminder and to return to the methods employed to answer them, the research questions of the current study were:

- (1) *How is stance encoded in the language of newspaper opinion articles on the Arab Spring written in English for American quality newspapers?*

In answering this question, a corpus analysis was conducted to explore the linguistic realisation of stance in the source texts based on a previously established theoretical framework, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006). As discussed in chapter six, Biber *et al.* (1999) and Biber (2006) have found that stance can be realised in

English through choices among specific lexico-grammatical devices (stance markers), which are used to express stance with respect to other propositions. These include the following common devices, which the analysis was confined to: value-laden words (evaluative adjectives, main verbs, and nouns), modals, stance adverbials, and stance complement clauses. It was argued that examining the occurrences of these lexico-grammatical markers with respect to other propositions in their immediate textual environment across individual source texts can allow for the accurate identification of patterns of stance that are encoded in the language of these texts.

To ensure its validity, the corpus analysis, which represents the methodological point of departure, was carried out manually so that patterns of stance can be accurately identified in their immediate textual environment. As long as the corpus of the study is relatively small, it was possible to read through it manually. It was argued that the focus here was on describing the realisation of the concept of stance, as “a linguistically articulated form of social action” (Du Bois, 2007: 139), and on identifying instances of stance in a particular corpus of texts, rather than on providing quantitative evidence of the distribution or frequencies of the lexical and grammatical devices mentioned above. So, these devices are dealt with only as a means to identify patterns of stance with respect to other propositions in the source texts and not as an end in themselves. The corpus analysis offered an initial view of how stance operates at the lexico-grammatical level, which was fruitful for subsequent analysis. The instances of stance identified based on the corpus analysis served as an input into the subsequent description of stance meanings conveyed and their functions in the source texts and then in the target texts. The instances identified account for those stances that drive or shape the course of the overall argument throughout each individual original article and for which a series of more or less convincing arguments have been employed to justify or even legitimize these stances.

(2) *How can the meanings of stance patterns identified be construed across individual texts within this genre as resources for conveying interpersonal functions?*

In answering the second question, the analysis took the instances of stance identified based on the corpus analysis forward to a description of the meanings of stance (attitudinal and epistemic) and the specific functions it performs in the source texts and in relation to the context where it occurs. What was common in the theorisation of the concept of stance in the studies considered in chapter four was that there is no comprehensive theoretical framework of stance upon which researchers working within this territory agree. As such, the methodology chosen to conduct the current study was built, following Hunston (2007), on a combination of corpus- and discourse-analytical methods closely related to the concept of stance as an aspect of interpersonal meaning and, more importantly, served the purposes of the present study. Thus, the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber, 2006), based on which the corpus analysis was initially conducted, was combined with a discourse-analytical method that was drawn from appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). The theory, as discussed in detail in chapter six, is a discourse analytical framework that is developed out of the SFL model. It focuses on the construal of interpersonal meaning and “provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts” (White, 2011: 14).

(3) *To what extent is stance accurately re-conveyed when translating such articles for two quality Arabic-language newspapers with divergent editorial policies: Al-Ghad and Al-Ittihad?*

After identifying and describing the meaning of each instance of stance and its function in the source texts, these were examined in the corresponding target texts to find out how stance is re-

conveyed in the target language and to what extent Al-Ghad and Al-Ittihad were faithful in the reproduction of original stance. The analysis of the re-conveyance of stance has demonstrated that the discourse analytical framework drawn from appraisal theory can be fruitfully used for the construal of stance meaning and function in Arabic.

(4) *What shifts in stance can be identified in the translation of these opinion articles in Al-Ghad and Al-Ittihad?*

After the construal of the meaning of each instance of stance and the description of its function in the source texts and then in the corresponding target texts, the analytical discussion moved on to uncover the shifts in stance found in the Arabic translations by means of comparing patterns of stance in the source and target texts. In this study, shifts in stance were accounted for in terms of the changes in the meaning or function of stance that occurred in the Arabic translations compared with those of stance in the original. The framework of analysis adopted in the study facilitated the uncovering of shifts in stance by examining the expression of epistemic/attitudinal meaning of each pattern of stance and the function this pattern performs in its source text and in relation to the context where it occurs and then by examining how the meaning of each pattern and its function were reproduced in the corresponding target text. Based on this, a comparison of the conveyance of stance between Arabic translations and their English source texts was made. This comparison allowed for discerning the changes or differences in the stance meaning conveyed and its function. The analytical discussion then took an explanatory view and attempted to provide possible motivations for the occurrences of the shift. Interpretations, in this regard, were made with reference to the socio-political context in which each source text is located.

(5) *How can the findings of the study inform the notion of stance in translation studies?*

As to the last research question, it will be addressed later in this chapter in section 8.3. The major research findings, which emerged from the analysis of the data, are presented in the subsequent section.

## **8.2 Major research findings**

The corpus analysis showed that lexical and grammatical markers of stance were found to have different distributions in the instances identified in the source texts. The analysis pointed to a clear preference for using evaluative lexical items in the expression of stance in these texts, as value-laden words were found to be the most frequently used stance marker in the instances identified (approximately 71% of the total). Also, modals were found to be relatively common in these instances, as they stand at about 15% of the total. As for stance adverbials, they tended to be less frequent than modals with an occurrence of about 10%. However, stance complement constructions were found to be far less frequent in the instances identified (approximately 3% of the total). All these indicated that the concept of stance is realised differently in the language of the original opinion articles despite the fact that its linguistic realisations operate within the same genre. These differences in encoding stance can be probably attributed to the differences in each writer's style in expressing his/her own stance.

The analysis of the conveyance and re-conveyance of stance showed that significant shifts in stance occurred in the Arabic translations produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These shifts result in the weakening, accentuation, and loss of original stance. The corpus analysis conducted at an initial stage identified 59 instances of stance in the corpus (see Appendix A). Based on the discourse analysis conducted of the (re-)conveyance of these instances of stance in their source

and target texts and then the comparison of the conveyance of each instance in its source text and its re-conveyance in the corresponding target text, the instances were classified in terms of the occurrence or non-occurrence of shift into: (1) those instances in which a shift in stance occurred when reproduced in Arabic, which in turn was further classified into those in which original stance being weakened, accentuated, and seriously or entirely lost; and (2) those instances in which stance is maintained. It turned out from the analysis that 17 (28.82%) instances of all the instances of stance identified were weakened, nine (15.25%) instances were accentuated, five (8.47%) instances were lost, and 28 (47.46%) instances of stance were maintained. Given the significant finding that more than half of the instances of stance identified in the corpus showed different degrees or amounts of shift, it seems reasonable to assume that shift in stance is a tendency in the Arabic translation of foreign opinion articles produced by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Itihad*. The obvious conclusion that was drawn from this is that original stance is frequently not accurately re-conveyed in the translated opinion articles published in these two Arabic-language newspapers.

The analysis of the weakening of stance revealed that this type of shift occurred for one or more of the following reasons: (1) variation in stance object; (2) the replacement of a key evaluative element by another that does not carry the same attitudinal meaning; (3) the omission of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements; (4) the modification of a negating element resulting in an opposite meaning; and (5) variation in the meaning conveyed by modal auxiliaries. Most of the shift that led to the weakening of original stance cannot be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation, rather it might be taken as an accidental mistranslation and attributed to the translator's competence to identify and then re-convey that original stance in the target language or to potentially less conscious translational choices. Findings from the



analysis of this type of shift suggest that translators of *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* sometimes may not be finely attuned to the original attitudinal or epistemic meaning conveyed or even they may not be fully conscious to original stance conveyed in the source text with its key components (stance markers, stancetaker, stance object, and stance function), which means they are likely not to re-convey that stance in the target text accurately. So, the examination of the translation of stance within this type of shift showed that original stance was frequently not fully captured by *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*'s translators. It turned out from the analysis of stance being weakened that a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexico-grammatical realisation of stance.

The analysis of the accentuation of stance revealed that this type of shift occurred for one or more of the following reasons: (1) the increased sense of certainty and commitment conveyed that results from the omission of modal expressions; (2) the addition of one or more key evaluative or grammatical elements; (3) the addition of more direct linguistic elements; and (4) the replacement of an evaluative element by another that carries a stronger attitudinal meaning. The examination of the translation of stance within this type of shift showed that original stance was frequently not accurately re-conveyed in the translated articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*. These significant changes will necessarily have an impact upon the reception of the translated stance, like reducing the freedom of the reader to interpret the intended meaning expressed by the author of the original text. As with the weakening of stance, the same important finding emerged from the analysis of the accentuation of stance. That is, a slightly obvious change in stance function is recognised, but most of the change that occurred is centred around the lexico-grammatical realisation of stance.

Some contextual aspects, to varying degrees, shaped the shift that led to the accentuation of original stance and sometimes the translator's own feelings found their way into those stances re-conveyed. With the exception of Example 18 ST1 NT and Example 20 ST7 NT, it was suggested that most of the shift in stance that led to the accentuation of stance might perhaps be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation or as guided by the feeling of the translator that in some cases found its way into the translated stance.

The analysis of the shift resulting in the loss of original stance revealed that this type can be classified, in terms of the degree or amount of the original subjective information that is left untranslated, into those that led to a serious loss of original stance and those that led to an entire loss. It turned out from the analysis of this type that those shifts with an entire loss of original stance are more frequent than those with a serious loss. These significant changes will inevitably have an impact upon the reception of the target texts and directing readers' response.

The examination of the translation of stance within the type of shift that led to a serious or entire loss of original stance showed that specific contextual aspects more or less shaped the shift occurred. It was suggested that almost all the shift resulting in a serious or entire loss of original stance might perhaps be seen as a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation. One very interesting finding that emerged from the analysis of this type of shift is that there is a tendency in the translations produced by *Al-Ittihad* to deliberately leave out any original stance that may harm or damage the image of the Arab Gulf States. In this regard, it was found that entire loss of stance often emerges in relation to the translation of those stances that carry sensitive, critical, or counter-viewpoints, which can be a source of potential harm or damage to the official stance of the Arab Gulf states and their image. Therefore, translators of *Al-Ittihad* resort to leave out those stances altogether and thus avoid the potential harm or damage they may cause. Given this, it can

be said that the strong relations and alliance between the Arab Gulf states led to a pattern of translational behaviour in *Al-Itihad* to deliberately leave out any original stance that may harm or damage the image of these states or their official stance. Based on this tendency, one important conclusion to be drawn is that state-owned Arabic-language newspapers tend to be less faithful in the reproduction of critical foreign voices and counter-stances than those privately owned, as no entire loss or obvious distortion of stance has been found in the target texts produced by *Al-Ghad*.

A noticeable tendency was observed with regard to the examples of shift in stance examined. That is, most of the examples were heavily saturated with negative attitudinal sense. This is most probably due to the disastrous turn the Arab Spring has taken. An important finding that emerged from the analysis is that the original newspaper opinion articles examined are heavily loaded with the specific stance function *judgement*, and to a lesser degree with the function of affectual response *insecurity*. The former can be viewed as a key characteristic feature that is conventionally associated with this specific genre of political discourse, while the latter can be seen as a feature of the topic being addressed in the original articles, i.e. the Arab Spring. In relation to this, the analysis revealed that linguistic features of attitudinal stance and more specifically value-laden evaluative lexis used for the expression of judgement and affectual response were subject to frequent shifts. Shifts in stance identified in the corpus will inevitably have, to a lesser or greater degree, an impact on the reception of original stance by the readers of the target texts as well as on the personal position and image of the original writer. In particular, these changes may, to varying degrees, reduce the freedom of readers' interpretation, open up little space for them to think of other alternative views, or even direct their response.

Another finding is the invisibility of the translations produced by the state-owned newspaper – *Al-Ittihad*. There was no explicit reference in the published translated opinion articles to the fact that these were taken from other foreign newspapers and translated into Arabic, as the term *translation* and the names of the translators were entirely avoided in the translated articles published in that newspaper. Whereas in the privately owned newspaper – *Al-Ghad*, a reference was given to the source of each translated opinion article in addition to the translator’s name.

The discourse analysis conducted and the comparison made between the conveyance of stance in the English original articles and its re-conveyance in the Arabic translated articles showed the usefulness of the framework of appraisal theory in describing shift in stance and its applicability to be fruitfully used as an analytical method in translation studies. This finding is in accord with the conclusion that Munday (2012: 160) reached, where his “textual analysis of the Obama inaugural showed the potential for appraisal theory to help in the analysis of shifts in translation”.

The examination of the original newspaper opinion articles and their Arabic translations demonstrated that the analysis of the translation of stance in this political genre was heavily dependent on the context in which these articles were produced. This was evident in most cases of the shift that led to the accentuation and serious or entire loss of original stance which were motivated by specific contextual aspects. Consequently, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of stance is largely context-bound, to the extent that the investigation of the reproduction of stance is almost impossible to be successfully accomplished apart from the context in which it occurs.

### **8.3 Contributions and Implications**

The literature review conducted in chapter two showed that there are still many untouched areas that need to be explored in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of political discourse from the perspective of Translation Studies. Schäffner (2012: 105) asserts, in this regard, that “[M]uch remains to be investigated in order to get a deeper insight into political discourse in translation”. The conveyance and re-conveyance of stance in political discourse is among those areas that are still untouched in the field and in response to this the aim was to introduce the theoretical concept of stance into the discipline of Translation Studies and to explore the reproduction of stance in translations of a specific political genre commissioned by newspapers. With a view to making a contribution to understanding this phenomenon which ultimately may provide valuable insight for those translating or studying this specific political genre or this aspect of interpersonal meaning, the objective was to systematically investigate the phenomenon of stance with reference to American newspaper opinion articles on a major contemporary political event, i.e., the ‘Arab Spring’, and their translations for Arabic-language newspapers as its corpus. It was a bit surprising that the concept of stance in political discourse and more specifically in the genre of newspaper opinion articles has not previously been approached within the discipline of Translation Studies despite the fact that this aspect of interpersonal meaning is prevalent in such a particular political genre as well as stance, as reviewed in chapter four, has increasingly been a topic of interest primarily in the field of linguistics and in its neighbouring disciplines, especially over the last couple of decades.

The present thesis makes an original contribution to the literature on Translation Studies in the following ways:

Firstly, the main contribution of the thesis is that it introduces a new theoretical concept into the field – the concept of stance – that has not previously been approached within translation studies; and that, by contrast, has been high on the research agenda for the past two decades or so within the field of linguistics and its related disciplines.

Secondly, to some extent, it makes a theoretical contribution by designing and testing a new combined theoretical approach to analyse this phenomenon within the tradition of descriptive translation studies, which may serve as a useful model for the description of stance in political discourse and its translation.

Thirdly, the thesis contributes to the field of linguistics by building on the lexico-grammatical framework of stance laid out by (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Biber 2006), particularly with regard to account for the concept of stance in its textual frame and in relation to the context in which it is produced.

Fourthly, the thesis also addresses a new form of shift in translation, namely shifts in stance. This form of shift has been analysed in terms of the changes that occurred in the meaning and function of original stance when reproduced in the target language (weakening, accentuation, and entire loss of original stance). Also, a detailed description the reasons behind shifts in stance have been provided with possible motivations for their occurrences.

Fifthly, the thesis approaches a rarely touched strand of meaning that usually goes unnoticed – the interpersonal metafunction of language – in a specific genre in political discourse, namely newspaper opinion articles.

Sixthly, the thesis also contributes to the field by proposing, following Du Bois (2007), a dynamic mechanism to organise the analysis of each instance of stance in both the source and

target texts. The mechanism consists of four key components of stance that provide the basis for internal organisation of the analysis of each example: stance marker, stancetaker, stance object, and stance function. These were presented in the form of tables to guide the reader and facilitate the analysis.

Finally, the thesis highlights some of the differences in the translation of political discourse commissioned by state-owned and privately owned Arabic-language newspapers.

Overall, it is hoped that these contributions could lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon of stance and provide valuable insight for those translating or studying this aspect of interpersonal meaning and/or the political genre of newspaper opinion articles. Also, it is hoped that the study could contribute to raising awareness among translators and writers of newspaper opinion articles of the linguistic manifestations of stance and its interpersonal functions in both English and Arabic political discourse.

#### **8.4 Limitations of the study**

While conducting the present study, the following limitations have become apparent:

- There are certain issues which are likely to affect the final product of translated newspaper opinion articles, such as revision, proofreading, limitation of space, etc. Such issues may, to varying degrees, impinge upon how certain stances conveyed in original articles are reproduced in their translations. Also, commissioning translation within newspapers inevitably involves a range of social agents alongside translators, such as editors, revisers, proofreaders, publishers, etc., who work within the same institutional environment. As participants involved in a system of interactional context and a network of power relations, those agents usually play, to a lesser or greater degree, specific roles

in producing a translation final product. It is essential therefore for any research which examines translations commissioned by newspapers that the roles those agents play are addressed. Unfortunately, access to information related to the editing activities and the contribution of other social agents in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad* involved in the production of the translated opinion articles and power relations between them or even sufficient information about the two newspapers' translation policies was not applicable. As such, this study treated the translators of the target texts examined as the agents ultimately responsible for all the translational choices made, which determined the shape of the final published articles in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*.

- It was difficult to carry out an automated corpus-based analysis of the linguistic realisation of stance because one important variable of this realisation, namely value-laden words, represents a group of the most widely used lexical items in English and frequently they are not explicit stance markers that can be easily identified. Thus, it was extremely difficult to restrict them in a given set of lexical items and account for their occurrences through an automated corpus-based analysis.
- It was not possible to more effectively address stance markers in the Arabic translations examined because there is no single study in Arabic that approaches the linguistic realisation or the interpersonal function of stance.
- Another limitation pertains to the relatively small corpus designed for the purposes of the current study. Given the fact that doctoral projects are constrained with a strict time frame, it was necessary in order to narrow down the corpus to manageable proportions to restrict the texts that make up the corpus to ten opinion articles originally published in English in two American newspaper opinion articles and the Arabic full translations of



these articles published in *Al-Ghad* and *Al-Ittihad*, five translated articles from each newspaper.

## **8.5 Areas for further research**

This final section suggests a number of avenues for further research in the field:

Firstly, the proposed combined theoretical framework can be replicated by other research projects attempting to examine the translation of stance in other political genres or texts.

Secondly, the proposed framework could be strengthened by expanding the corpus to cover newspaper opinion articles published before and/or after the limited time span of the articles chosen for this study, which could show whether a larger corpus would confirm the findings that have emerged and thus allow drawing more solid conclusions.

Thirdly, a translation process-oriented research is needed to investigate power relations between social agents involved in the production of translated opinion articles within Arabic-language newspapers and how this involvement may affect the translation of critical foreign voices and counter-stances. Such research could allow to test whether the findings that emerged from this study that state-owned Arabic-language newspapers tend to be less faithful in the reproduction of critical foreign voices and counter-stances than those privately owned is further applicable on other Arabic-language newspapers.

Fourthly, further research is needed to address how shifts in the translation of original stance (including deliberate mistranslation or manipulation) may shape or direct public opinion in times of political crises or conflicts.

Fifthly, this study has been limited to the examination of the translation of stance from English into Arabic, but it would be interesting if other studies examine the translation of stance in the other direction, i.e. from Arabic into English, or even if they are extended to include other languages.

Finally, another area worth investigating is the diverse ways in which ideology or the divergent value system between source and target cultures impinge on the translation of stance in political or media discourse. It is hoped that these suggestions and the thesis as a whole will contribute to open up new avenues for further research in the field.

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## APPENDIX A

### The instances of stance identified in the corpus of the source texts

- Stance markers of each instance are shown in bold.

Instance No.	Instances of stance identified	Stance markers realised through
1 - ST1	The last time the Sunni fundamentalists in Syria tried to take over in 1982, then-President Hafez al-Assad, one of those minorities, definitely did not like it, and he had 20,000 of those Sunnis killed in one city called Hama, which they certainly didn't like, so there is a lot of <b>bad blood</b> between all of them that <b>could</b> very <b>likely</b> come to the surface again.	Evaluative noun phrase; modal auxiliary of possibility; and epistemic adverb of likelihood, respectively.
2 - ST1	Some experts say this time it's not like that because this time, and they <b>could</b> be <b>right</b> , the Syrian people want <b>freedom</b> for all.	Modal auxiliary of possibility; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.
3 - ST1	Welcome to the Middle East of 2011! You want the truth about it? You can't <b>handle</b> the truth. The truth is that it's a <b>dangerous, violent, hope-filled</b> and <b>potentially hugely positive</b> or <b>explosive mess</b> — <b>fraught</b> with <b>moral</b> and <b>political ambiguities</b> .	Evaluative verb; three evaluative adjectives; epistemic adverb of likelihood; adverb of degree; two evaluative adjectives; evaluative noun; three evaluative adjectives; and evaluative noun, respectively.
4 - ST1	I am <b>proud</b> of my president, <b>really worried</b> about him, and just praying that he's <b>lucky</b> .	Evaluative adjective; epistemic adverb of reality; and two evaluative adjectives, respectively.
5 - ST1	Any kind of <b>decent</b> outcome there <b>will</b> require boots on the ground.	Evaluative adjective and modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
6 - ST2	An administration that <b>lacks</b> a <b>consistent</b> foreign policy philosophy has nevertheless established a <b>predictable</b> foreign policy <b>pattern</b> .	Evaluative verb; two evaluative adjectives; and evaluative noun, respectively.
7 - ST2	This record of <b>serial indecision</b> has <b>damaged</b> American interests.	Evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; and evaluative verb, respectively.

8 - ST2	The Obama administration initially <b>stood aloof</b> from the Iranian Green Revolution, even though democratic regime <b>change may</b> be the <b>only realistic</b> alternative to American <b>confrontation</b> with the Tehran regime over its nuclear ambitions.	Evaluative verb; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of possibility; adverb of limitation; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.
9 - ST2	It <b>would demonstrate</b> the <b>exhaustion</b> of <b>authoritarianism</b> in the Arab world and open the <b>possibility</b> of more <b>successful, hopeful</b> societies in the region.	Modal auxiliary of prediction; evaluative verb; three evaluative nouns; and two evaluative adjective, respectively.
10 - ST2	Now the Arab revolt has led to a <b>predictable counterreaction</b> — the attempt by regimes such as Libya and Syria to <b>prove</b> the <b>efficacy</b> of <b>brutality</b> . Their success <b>would</b> undermine American interests for decades.	Evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative verb; two evaluative nouns; and modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
11 - ST3	It’s all about winning hearts and minds. And by any measure Qaddafi understands how to <b>communicate</b> a <b>good</b> story. He understands it, <b>seemingly, much better</b> than the NATO-led coalition.	Evaluative verb; evaluative adjective; epistemic adverb of likelihood; adverb of quantity; and evaluative adjective, respectively.
12 - ST3	Here’s how Qaddafi tells that story: He is in power, and in control. Should he leave the country, Libya <b>will</b> dissolve into <b>untold chaos</b> . He says the Libyan people <b>love</b> him. The “ <b>colonialist crusader aggressors</b> ” (that’s NATO) are not <b>protecting</b> civilians; they are <b>massacring</b> them.	Modal auxiliary; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative verb; three evaluative nouns; and two evaluative verbs, respectively.
13 - ST3	The nations of NATO stand united to help the Libyan people. Will this influence perceptions? It’s a very <b>earnest</b> story. What it is not, any way you slice it, is <b>compelling</b> and <b>engaging</b> . It <b>may</b> win minds, but it <b>certainly won’t</b> win hearts.	Three evaluative adjectives; modal auxiliary of possibility; epistemic adverb of certainty; and modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
14 - ST3	The NATO-led coalition <b>must</b> and — as these few examples show — can make a more <b>compelling</b> case for the Libyan intervention. NATO has the high <b>moral ground</b> here: Qaddafi is a <b>brutal dictator</b> .	Modal auxiliary of necessity; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun phrase; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.



15 - ST3	He is a <b>threat</b> to international <b>peace</b> and <b>security</b> . The world <b>will</b> be a safer place without him in control of Libya.	Three evaluative nouns and a modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
16 - ST4	It still <b>can't bring itself</b> to say that Bashar al-Assad, a <b>dictator</b> and <b>implacable</b> U.S. <b>enemy</b> who is using tanks and helicopter gunships to <b>slaughter</b> his people, is not <b>qualified</b> to lead Syria to democracy.	Modal expression of ability; evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative verb; and evaluative adjective, respectively.
17 - ST4	Obama the <b>timid suddenly turns tough</b> when the "peace process" comes up.	Evaluative adjective; adverb of manner; evaluative verb; and evaluative adjective, respectively.
18 - ST4	Yet the <b>damage</b> to U.S. interests from a U.N. resolution on Palestine <b>would</b> pale compared to the consequences of an Iranian-backed <b>victory</b> by Assad in Syria or the <b>failure</b> of NATO in Libya.	Evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of prediction; and two evaluative nouns, respectively.
19 - ST4	It wasn't that he was <b>entirely wrong</b> . But it's <b>revealing</b> of this president that he is <b>determined to</b> speak truth to Binyamin Netanyahu — and not to Bashar al-Assad.	Adverb of degree; evaluative adjective; evaluative verb; and stance complement clause controlled by an adjective (adjective + to-clause), respectively.
20 - ST5	That was the Western policy for the war — except that the war went on <b>longer</b> than it was meant to, and it <b>might</b> not be over yet either.	Evaluative adjective in the comparative form and modal auxiliary of possibility.
21 - ST5	The Libyan revolution <b>needn't</b> end in civil war. But there is no guarantee that it <b>won't</b> .	Modal auxiliary of necessity and modal auxiliary of prediction.
22 - ST5	If we make ourselves too visible in Libya, with troops on the ground or too many advisers in dark glasses, we <b>will</b> instantly become another <b>enemy</b> . If we try to create their government for them, we <b>risk</b> immediately making it <b>unpopular</b> .	Modal auxiliary of prediction; evaluative noun; evaluative verb; and evaluative adjective, respectively.
23 - ST5	What we <b>should</b> do instead — to use a much-mocked phrase — is <b>bravely, proudly</b> and <b>forthrightly</b> lead from behind.	Modal auxiliary of necessity and three stance adverbs.

24 - ST5	The images of them stomping on Gaddafi's photograph looked a lot more <b>authentic</b> , and <b>will</b> play <b>better</b> in Libya and across the Arab world, than did the images of Marines pulling down a statue of Saddam Hussein in 2003, an American flag draped over his head.	Evaluative adjective; modal auxiliary of prediction; and evaluative adjective.
25 - ST6	Is Egypt <b>imploding</b> ? A lot of people in Washington <b>seem to</b> think so, though they are talking about it quietly so far. Their <b>fears</b> are specific: that the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic <b>fundamentalist</b> parties <b>will</b> take power when Egypt's first democratic elections are held later this year.	Evaluative verb; stance complement clause controlled by a verb (verb + to-clause); evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
26 - ST6	The Islamists themselves are divided into several factions. The strongest of them <b>recognize that</b> they <b>will</b> not be able to force a <b>fundamentalist</b> agenda on Egypt's <b>secular</b> middle class or its large Christian minority, at least in the short and medium terms.	Stance complement clause controlled by a verb (verb + that-clause); modal auxiliary of prediction; two evaluative adjectives, respectively.
27 - ST6	Those who <b>worry</b> about an Egyptian <b>implosion</b> sometimes <b>hint</b> that the elections <b>should</b> be further postponed or even canceled. <b>In fact</b> , the opposite is needed.	Evaluative verb; evaluative noun; evaluative verb; modal auxiliary of necessity; and epistemic adverb of certainty, respectively.
28 - ST6	Egypt's <b>problem</b> is neither its revolution nor its <b>prospective</b> democracy: It's what is happening — and <b>may</b> yet happen — between the two.	Evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; and modal auxiliary of possibility, respectively.
29 - ST7	In Tunisia, a <b>big</b> step was taken by holding <b>credible</b> elections. In Egypt, elections should start on Monday, but the country <b>lacks</b> the <b>consensus to</b> follow Tunisia in moving <b>smoothly</b> to the next stage.	Two evaluative adjectives; evaluative verb; stance complement clause controlled by a noun (noun + to-clause); and stance adverb, respectively.
30 - ST7	All sides in the political maneuvering have their own <b>concerns</b> . The military does not want to lose the <b>preeminent</b> position it has enjoyed in Egypt since Gamal Abdel Nasser took power in a military coup. Liberal groups <b>fear</b> continued army control, but they	Evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; evaluative verb; and evaluative adjective, respectively.

	are also <b>scared</b> of being steamrolled in elections by the Muslim Brotherhood.	
31 - ST7	The Muslim Brotherhood, in turn, is <b>anxious</b> about anything that <b>smacks</b> of an attempt to <b>undermine</b> the political <b>power</b> that <b>would</b> come with electoral victory.	Evaluative adjective; two evaluative verbs; evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
32 - ST7	Tunisia's path to elections was <b>difficult</b> , but <b>negotiations</b> among the <b>disparate</b> political groups brought the <b>needed</b> stability. By contrast, the military council in Egypt has done <b>little consulting</b> and changed course <b>only</b> in <b>response</b> to demonstrations.	Evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; two evaluative adjectives; adverb of quantity; evaluative noun; adverb of limitation; and evaluative noun, respectively.
33 - ST8	And it has <b>shown that</b> Washington's present <b>approach</b> to Egypt, which has placed a premium on private diplomacy at the expense of public pressure, <b>must</b> change.	Stance complement clause controlled by a verb (verb + that-clause); evaluative noun; and modal auxiliary of necessity, respectively.
34 - ST8	It has sought to <b>shape</b> the generals' behavior by <b>praising</b> them in public while quietly <b>pushing</b> them from behind the scenes. This <b>approach</b> has sometimes worked, but it has <b>lowered</b> America's status in the eyes of many Egyptians.	Three evaluative verbs, evaluative noun; and evaluative verb, respectively.
35 - ST8	This <b>cautious, passive</b> response has done <b>considerable damage</b> to President Obama's <b>admirable efforts</b> to <b>place</b> the United States on the side of Arabs who want to live in democratic societies.	Three evaluative adjectives; evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; and evaluative verb, respectively.
36 - ST8	It is time for the Obama administration to <b>rise</b> to the moment, <b>recognize</b> that Egypt's transition is at stake, and <b>shift</b> its focus.	Three evaluative verbs.
37 - ST8	The Obama administration's response <b>should</b> begin with a <b>clear, public</b> presidential statement <b>specifying</b> what transferring power to a civilian government <b>means</b> .	Modal auxiliary of necessity; two evaluative adjectives; and two evaluative verbs, respectively.
38 - ST9	One year after a Tunisian fruit vendor set himself on	Two evaluative verb; evaluative

	fire in an act of defiance that would <b>ignite</b> protests and <b>unseat long-standing dictatorships</b> , a <b>harsh chill</b> is <b>settling over</b> the Arab world.	adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative verb, respectively.
39 - ST9	It is too soon to <b>say that</b> the Arab Spring is gone, never to resurface. But the Arab Winter has <b>clearly</b> arrived.	Stance complement clause controlled by a verb (say + that-clause) and epistemic adverb of certainty.
40 - ST9	When <b>dictators fall</b> , their means of <b>preserving</b> power do not always <b>fall</b> with them.	Evaluative noun and three evaluative verbs
41 - ST9	Moreover, the demonstrations that led to the <b>ouster</b> of rulers such as Mubarak and Tunisia's Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali <b>hardly</b> offered a <b>clear governing alternative</b> . Although they embodied a genuine outpouring of popular <b>rage</b> , the protests were <b>largely leaderless</b> and <b>loosely</b> organized, often via social media.	Evaluative noun; stance adverb; two evaluative adjectives; two evaluative nouns; adverb of degree; evaluative adjective; stance adverb; and evaluative adjective, respectively.
42 - ST9	And the opposition <b>voices</b> that were organized were not <b>necessarily</b> the most <b>democratic</b> . With the Arab Spring, Islamist forces <b>rose to prominence</b> .	Evaluative noun; stance adverb of expectation; evaluative adjective; evaluative verb; and evaluative noun, respectively.
43 - ST9	Brotherhood leaders have learned to <b>mouth</b> a <b>commitment</b> to pluralism and tolerance, but it is <b>unclear that they would</b> act on it when in power.	Evaluative verb; evaluative noun; stance complement clause controlled by an adjective (adjective + that-clause); and modal auxiliary of volition, respectively.
44 - ST9	At home and abroad, the Saudis have spent tens of billions to <b>buy off</b> dissent. Riyadh has <b>pushed</b> fellow monarchs in the Arabian Peninsula and in Jordan to <b>stop</b> any <b>revolutionary</b> movements, and the Saudis are offering a <b>haven</b> for <b>dictators</b> down on their luck, such as Tunisia's Ben Ali.	Evaluative phrasal verb; two evaluative verbs; evaluative adjective; and two evaluative nouns, respectively.
45 - ST9	Bashar al-Assad <b>may</b> cling to power in Syria, but he <b>will be isolated</b> abroad and <b>hollow</b> at home.	Modal auxiliary of possibility; modal auxiliary of prediction; and two evaluative adjectives, respectively.

46 - ST9	A <b>faltering</b> Arab Spring doesn't mean we <b>will</b> return to a world of <b>dictators</b> and secret police. Not only are Mubarak, Ben Ali and Moammar Gaddafi gone, but so are the <b>cults</b> of personality they <b>nurtured</b> .	Evaluative adjective; modal auxiliary of prediction; two evaluative nouns; and evaluative verb, respectively.
47 - ST9	Anti-Americanism is also <b>likely</b> to rise in the Arab Winter — and it matters much more now that governments <b>will</b> seek to be in tune with public <b>sentiment</b> .	Stance adverb; modal auxiliary of prediction; and evaluative noun, respectively.
48 - ST9	The Saudi royals not only <b>worry</b> about their own power <b>diminishing</b> , but <b>fear</b> that <b>change</b> elsewhere <b>would</b> be an opening for their <b>arch-rival</b> Iran and for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.	Evaluative verb; evaluative adjective; evaluative verb; evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of prediction; and evaluative noun, respectively.
49 - ST9	Where old regimes <b>survive</b> , they <b>will</b> be weak; where new ones come in, they <b>will</b> be weaker, because old institutions can be <b>destroyed</b> more quickly than new ones can be <b>built</b> .	Evaluative verb; two modal auxiliaries of prediction; and two evaluative verbs, respectively.
50 - ST9	We <b>must</b> also <b>recognize that</b> the Arab Spring <b>may</b> not bring freedom to much, or even most, of the Arab world.	Modal auxiliary of necessity; stance complement clause controlled by a verb (verb + that-clause); and modal auxiliary of possibility, respectively.
51 - ST9	Even as the United States prepares to work with the region's new democracies, it also <b>must</b> prepare for the <b>chaos, stagnation</b> and <b>misrule</b> that <b>will</b> mark the Arab Winter.	Modal auxiliary of necessity; three evaluative nouns; and modal auxiliary of prediction, respectively.
52 - ST10	In reality, the U.N. debate <b>obscures</b> what has become one of the most <b>complex, volatile</b> and <b>momentous</b> power <b>struggles</b> in the history of the Middle East — one in which Assad and Syrian opposition forces have become virtual <b>pawns</b> , and Russia and the United States <b>bit players</b> .	Evaluative verb; three evaluative adjectives; two evaluative nouns; and evaluative noun phrase, respectively.
53 - ST10	The central <b>drama</b> in Syria is now a <b>sectarian showdown</b> , one that has been gathering force around the region since the U.S. invasion of Iraq.	Evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.

54 - ST10	For Russia and the United States, Syria means not a display of Security Council <b>clout</b> but a <b>potentially devastating</b> exhibition of <b>weakness</b> — one that <b>could greatly diminish</b> the standing of both in the region.	Evaluative noun; epistemic adverb of likelihood; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of possibility; adverb of degree; and evaluative verb, respectively.
55 - ST10	The emirates say their goal is Syrian democracy — but their <b>motives</b> are <b>purely sectarian</b> . Their <b>target</b> is not Assad but Iran, the Persian Shiite <b>enemy</b> of the Arab Sunni monarchies.	Evaluative noun; adverb of degree; evaluative adjective; and two evaluative nouns, respectively.
56 - ST10	The lines of what <b>could easily</b> become a regional <b>sectarian</b> war are <b>clearly</b> drawn.	Modal auxiliary of possibility; adverb of manner; evaluative adjective; and epistemic adverb of certainty, respectively.
57 - ST10	The problem for <b>prospective</b> regional <b>winners</b> such as Israel and Turkey is that Assad <b>may</b> not go quickly. There is no sign that he or the Alawite leadership are <b>willing to</b> accept the exit strategies being discussed at the United Nations, with or without Russian support.	Evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of possibility; and stance complement clause controlled by a verb (verb + to-clause), respectively.
58 - ST10	A quick Assad <b>collapse will</b> expose Russia to the <b>loss</b> of its Syrian naval base and <b>residual</b> Middle East <b>influence</b> . A <b>prolonged</b> fight <b>will</b> expose the <b>critical weakness</b> of the United States.	Evaluative noun; modal auxiliary of prediction; evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; evaluative noun; evaluative adjective; modal auxiliary of prediction; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.
59 - ST10	American strategy now consists <b>largely</b> of public statements <b>proclaiming</b> Assad's <b>inevitable downfall</b> .	Adverb of degree; evaluative verb; evaluative adjective; and evaluative noun, respectively.

## APPENDIX B

### The instances of stance being maintained in the Arabic translations

Instance No.	Original containing stance pattern	Arabic translation
1 - ST3	Here's how Qaddafi tells that story: He is in power, and in control. Should he leave the country, Libya will dissolve into untold chaos. He says the Libyan people love him. The "colonialist crusader aggressors" (that's NATO) are not protecting civilians; they are massacring them.	واليكم الكيفية التي يسرد القذافي بها القصة: إنه قابض على السلطة ومسيطر عليها، وإذا ما غادر البلد، فستفكك ليبيا وتدخل في أتون فوضى عارمة لا يمكن وصفها. وهو يقول إن الشعب الليبي يحبه "والمعتدون الصليبيون الاستعماريون" (أي الناتو) لا يحمون المدنيين: إنهم يذبحونهم.
2 - ST3	He is a threat to international peace and security. The world will be a safer place without him in control of Libya.	وهو يشكل تهديدا للسلم والأمن الدوليين، وسيكون العالم مكاناً أكثر أمناً من دونه. وهو يسيطر على ليبيا.
3 - ST5	The Libyan revolution needn't end in civil war. But there is no guarantee that it won't.	لا حاجة لأن تنتهي الثورة الليبية إلى حرب أهلية. لكنه ليس ثمة ضمان بأنها لن تتحول إلى ذلك المونل.
4 - ST5	If we make ourselves too visible in Libya, with troops on the ground or too many advisers in dark glasses, we will instantly become another enemy. If we try to create their government for them, we risk immediately making it unpopular.	فإذا جعلنا أنفسنا مرئيين تماماً في ليبيا عبر نشر قوات على الأرض، أو بتواجد الكثير من المستشارين الذين يضعون نظارات قاتمة على أعينهم، فإننا سرعان ما سنتحول في الحال إلى عدو آخر. وإذا حاولنا إقامة حكومتهم لهم، فإننا نخاطر بذلك في جعلها حكومة لا تحظى بالشعبية.
5 - ST5	What we should do instead — to use a much-mocked phrase — is bravely, proudly and forthrightly lead from behind.	الذي يجب علينا فعله والحال هذه -مع استخدام عبارة مستهلكة كثيراً- هو القيادة بشجاعة وافتخار واستقامة من الصفوف الخلفية.
6 - ST5	The images of them stomping on Gaddafi's photograph looked a lot more authentic, and will play better in Libya and across the Arab world, than did the images of Marines pulling down a statue of Saddam Hussein in 2003, an American flag draped over his head.	وكانت صورهم وهم يدوسون على صور القذافي تبدو أكثر صدقية بكثير، وستؤتي أكلها على نحو أفضل في ليبيا وفي عموم العالم العربي أكثر مما فعلته صور جنود البحرية الأميركيين وهم يجرون ويسقطون تمثال صدام حسين في العام 2003، وقد لفّ رأس التمثال بعلم أميركي.
7 - ST6	The Islamists themselves are divided into several factions. The strongest of them recognize that they will not be able to force a fundamentalist agenda on Egypt's secular middle class or its large Christian minority, at least in the short and medium terms.	أن الإسلاميين منقسمون على أنفسهم إلى عدة فصائل تعترف الأقوى منها أنهم لن يكونوا قادرين على فرض أجندة أصولية على الطبقة الوسطى المصرية العلمانية، أو الأقلية المسيحية بالبلاد، على الأقل في المديين القصير والمتوسط.

8 - ST6	Egypt's problem is neither its revolution nor its prospective democracy: It's what is happening — and may yet happen — between the two.	مشكلة مصر لا تكمن في الثورة ولا في ديمقراطيتها المأمولة، ولكنها تكمن فيما يحدث الآن، وما يمكن أن يحدث فيما بعد بين الاثنين.
9 - ST7	In Tunisia, a big step was taken by holding credible elections. In Egypt, elections should start on Monday, but the country lacks the consensus to follow Tunisia in moving smoothly to the next stage.	في تونس، تم قطع خطوة كبيرة على الطريق بإجراء انتخابات اتسمت بكونها ذات مصداقية. وفي مصر، بدأت الانتخابات يوم الاثنين، لكن ذلك البلد ما يزال يفتقر إلى الإجماع اللازم لتعقب خطى تونس في الانتقال السلس إلى المرحلة التالية.
10 - ST7	All sides in the political maneuvering have their own concerns. The military does not want to lose the preeminent position it has enjoyed in Egypt since Gamal Abdel Nasser took power in a military coup. Liberal groups fear continued army control, but they are also scared of being steamrolled in elections by the Muslim Brotherhood.	وثمة مواطن قلق لدى جميع الأطراف من المناورات السياسية الجارية؛ فالجيش لا يريد أن يخسر الموقع البارز الذي كان يتمتع به في مصر منذ تولى عبد الناصر السلطة في انقلاب عسكري، بينما تخشى الجماعات الليبرالية من استمرار سيطرة الجيش، لكنها تخاف أيضاً من أن يجتاحها تيار حركة الإخوان المسلمين في الانتخابات.
11 - ST8	It has sought to shape the generals' behavior by praising them in public while quietly pushing them from behind the scenes. This approach has sometimes worked, but it has lowered America's status in the eyes of many Egyptians.	فقد سعت إلى تأطير سلوك الجنرالات من خلال الإطراء عليهم في العلن، بينما تدفعهم بهدوء من خلف الكواليس. وقد أتت هذه الطريقة أكلها في بعض الأحيان، لكنها حطت من منزلة أميركا في أعين العديد من المصريين.
12 - ST8	This cautious, passive response has done considerable damage to President Obama's admirable efforts to place the United States on the side of Arabs who want to live in democratic societies.	لقد ألحقت هذه الاستجابة الحذرة والسلبية الكثير من الضرر بجهود الرئيس أوباما المثيرة للإعجاب لوضع الولايات المتحدة في جانب العرب الذين يريدون العيش في مجتمعات ديمقراطية.
13 - ST8	It is time for the Obama administration to rise to the moment, recognize that Egypt's transition is at stake, and shift its focus.	وقد حان الوقت لكي ترتقي إدارة أوباما إلى مستوى اللحظة، وتدرك أن الفترة الانتقالية لمصر في خطر، وتقوم بالتالي بتحويل تركيزها.
14 - ST8	The Obama administration's response should begin with a clear, public presidential statement specifying what transferring power to a civilian government means.	يجب أن يبدأ رد إدارة أوباما ببيان رئاسي واضح وعلني، يحدد ما الذي يعنيه نقل السلطة إلى حكومة مدنية.
15 - ST9	One year after a Tunisian fruit vendor set himself on fire in an act of defiance that would ignite protests and unseat long-standing dictatorships, a harsh chill is settling over the Arab world.	بعد عام على قيام بائع فواكه تونسي بإضرام النار في نفسه في عمل احتجاجي أطلق شرارة المظاهرات والاحتجاجات وأسقط ديكتاتوريات أمضت عقوداً في الحكم، بدأ برد قارص يخيم على العالم العربي.
16 - ST9	It is too soon to say that the Arab Spring is gone, never to resurface. But the Arab Winter has clearly arrived.	والواقع أنه مازال من المبكر القول إن "الربيع العربي" قد رحل، ولن يعاود الظهور، إلا أنه من الواضح أن الشتاء العربي قد حل.



17 - ST9	When dictators fall, their means of preserving power do not always fall with them.	وعندما يسقط المستبدون، فإن وسائلهم للحفاظ على السلطة لا تسقط معهم دائماً.
18 - ST9	Moreover, the demonstrations that led to the ouster of rulers such as Mubarak and Tunisia's Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali hardly offered a clear governing alternative. Although they embodied a genuine outpouring of popular rage, the protests were largely leaderless and loosely organized, often via social media.	وعلاوة على ذلك، فإن المظاهرات التي أدت إلى خلع حكام مثل مبارك وبن علي لم تقدم بديلاً واضحاً للحكم. فرغم أنها تجسد تعبيراً حقيقياً للغضب الشعبي، فإن الاحتجاجات كانت إلى حد كبير من دون زعامة، وتنظيمها فضفاض يتم في الغالب عبر وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي.
19 - ST9	And the opposition voices that were organized were not necessarily the most democratic. With the Arab Spring, Islamist forces rose to prominence.	ثم إن أصوات المعارضة التي كانت منظمة لم تكن الأكثر ديمقراطية بالضرورة. فمع "الربيع العربي"، سعدت القوى الإسلامية إلى الواجهة.
20 - ST9	A faltering Arab Spring doesn't mean we will return to a world of dictators and secret police. Not only are Mubarak, Ben Ali and Moammar Gaddafi gone, but so are the cults of personality they nurtured.	غير أن تعثر "الربيع العربي" لا يعني أننا سنعود إلى عالم الحكام المستبدين والشرطة السرية. فمبارك وبن علي والقذافي لم يرحلوا بمفردهم، وإنما رحلت معهم أيضاً ثقافة تقديس الشخصية التي عملوا على ترسيخها أيضاً.
21 - ST9	Anti-Americanism is also likely to rise in the Arab Winter — and it matters much more now that governments will seek to be in tune with public sentiment.	من المرجح أن تزداد مشاعر معاداة الولايات المتحدة في الشتاء العربي، وهذا يكتسي أهمية أكبر بكثير اليوم في وقت ستسعى فيه الحكومات إلى أن تكون في تناغم مع مشاعر الجمهور.
22 - ST9	Where old regimes survive, they will be weak; where new ones come in, they will be weaker, because old institutions can be destroyed more quickly than new ones can be built.	فحيثما نجت أنظمة قديمة، فإنها ستكون ضعيفة، وحيثما جاءت أنظمة جديدة، فإنها ستكون أكثر ضعفاً لأن المؤسسات القديمة يمكن تدميرها بشكل أسرع مما يمكن أن تبنى به أنظمة جديدة.
23 - ST9	We must also recognize that the Arab Spring may not bring freedom to much, or even most, of the Arab world.	علينا أن نعترف أيضاً بأن "الربيع العربي" قد لن يجلب الديمقراطية إلى جزء كبير من العالم العربي، أو حتى معظمه.
24 - ST9	Even as the United States prepares to work with the region's new democracies, it also must prepare for the chaos, stagnation and misrule that will mark the Arab Winter.	فحتى في الوقت الذي تستعد فيه للعمل مع الديمقراطيات الجديدة في المنطقة، فإنه يجدر بالولايات المتحدة أيضاً أن تستعد للفوضى والركود وسوء الحكم الذي سيطبع الشتاء العربي.
25 - ST10	The lines of what could easily become a regional sectarian war are clearly drawn.	خطوط ما يمكن أن يصبح بسهولة حرباً طائفية إقليمية رُسمت بوضوح.
26 - ST10	The problem for prospective regional winners such as Israel and Turkey is that Assad may not go quickly. There is no sign that he or the Alawite leadership are willing to accept the exit strategies being discussed at the United Nations, with or without Russian support.	غير أن المشكلة بالنسبة للفائزين الإقليميين المحتملين مثل إسرائيل وتركيا هي أن الأسد قد لا يرحل بسرعة. إذ ليس ثمة ما يؤشر إلى أنه، أو القيادة العلوية، مستعدون لقبول استراتيجيات الخروج التي تتم مناقشتها حالياً في الأمم المتحدة، بدعم روسي أو دونه.

27 - ST10	A quick Assad collapse will expose Russia to the loss of its Syrian naval base and residual Middle East influence. A prolonged fight will expose the critical weakness of the United States.	إن انهياراً سريعاً لنظام الأسد سيعرّض روسيا لخسارة قاعدتها البحرية السورية وما تبقى لها من نفوذ في الشرق الأوسط، في حين أن قتالاً طويلاً وممتداً سيكشف عن ضعف خطير للولايات المتحدة.
28 - ST10	American strategy now consists largely of public statements proclaiming Assad's inevitable downfall.	إن الاستراتيجية الأميركية اليوم تقوم إلى حد كبير على تصريحات تتحدث عن السقوط الحتمي للأسد.