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**INTERLINGUAL RE-INSTANTIATION:
A MODEL FOR A NEW AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE
SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON TRANSLATION**

Florianópolis

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Ladjane Maria Farias de Souza

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Tese submetida ao Programa de Pós-graduação em
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Esta Tese foi julgada adequada para obtenção do Título de “Doutor em língua inglesa” e aprovada em sua forma final pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Inglês.

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Dedico esse trabalho a meus pais –
Maria Salomé e José Moaci (in
memoriam)

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(...) one can say that any word exists for the speaker in three aspects: as a neutral word of a language, belonging to nobody; as an **other's** word, which belongs to another person and is filled with echoes of the other's utterance; and, finally, as **my** word, for, since I am dealing with it in a particular situation with a particular speech plan, it is already imbued with my expression.

Bakhtin (original emphasis), 1986

Translation is a meaning-making activity, and we would not consider any activity to be translation if it did not result in the creation of meaning.

Halliday, 1992

ABSTRACT

This thesis puts forward a new SF model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation. This model is placed at the fulcrum of a three-dimensional perspective informed by the complementarity between three SFL hierarchies – realisation, instantiation and individuation. It focuses on the hierarchy of instantiation and defines translation as the sourcing of a target text (hereafter TT) on a source text (hereafter ST). This sourcing is assumed to give rise to an array of intertextual relations not only between the ST and the TT but also among a number of instances in the language systems/cultures involved. Re-instantiating the ST then becomes a renegotiation of these relations.

In order to characterize this renegotiation, the model distinguishes three constitutive matrices of the ST which are recreated in translation – 1) its instantial relations, i.e., its particular choice and combination of meanings among those available in the overall potential of the source language (hereafter SL); 2) its intralingual intertextual relations, i.e. its relations to other SL texts as belonging in the same discourse, genre/registers and text types; and 3) its relation to the readings it affords as reflected in SL receiving intertexts.

The recreation of these matrices is made through a process of strategic management aimed at eliciting a given type of reading from the target language (TL hereafter) reader. Three modes of management are proposed – quoting, paraphrasing and retelling. In quoting, relations in matrix 1 (instancial relations) are privileged and the translator places the focal point for convergence of the two systems (as repertoires) at the SL instance level. The translator's creativity is exercised in recreating the ST's language patterns. Distantiation moves reach up to the overall potentials since the translator may need to strain the TL system in order to realise choices which until then were only potential. The meaning potential shared between ST and TT is presented as completely overlapping.

In paraphrasing and in retelling, relations in matrix 2 (interdiscursive and intertextual relations) are privileged and the translator places the focal point at the level of text type and between the two instantiation clines since none of them is favoured. The translator's creativity is exercised in creating a TT that is seen as belonging in the same text type as the ST, i.e., distantiation moves reach up to the level of text type. In what concerns shared meaning potential, in paraphrasing, potentials are presented as partially overlapping and in retelling, there is even less overlap. The difference between these modes of management is assumed to be proportional to the difference in the coupling and commitment of meanings made in STs and in TTs.

A preliminary probing of the model is provided focusing on the re-instantiation of appraisal resources in 11 triplets (ST + 2 translations). This data source is used to explore 1) the management of matrices; 2) the distantiation moves made by the translators and 3) differences in the readings afforded by the TT and by the ST.

Key-words: translation studies, systemic-functional linguistics, interlingual re-instantiation, coupling, commitment.

RESUMO

Esta tese propõe um novo modelo sistêmico-funcional de tradução como re-instanciação interlingual. Tal modelo é posto no fulcro de uma perspectiva tridimensional baseada na relação de complementaridade entre três hierarquias sistêmico-funcionais – realização, instanciação e individuação. Voltando o foco para a hierarquia de instanciação, o modelo define a re-instanciação interlingual como a remissão de um texto-alvo (doravante TA) a um texto-fonte (doravante TF). Supõe-se que tal remissão origina uma gama de relações intertextuais não apenas entre TF e TA mas também entre eles e várias outras instâncias nos sistemas linguísticos/culturais envolvidos. Re-instanciar um TF torna-se então uma renegociação de tais relações.

A fim de caracterizar tal renegociação, o modelo distingue entre três matrizes constitutivas do TF que são recriadas na tradução - 1) suas relações instanciais, isto é, suas escolhas e combinações particulares de significados entre aqueles disponíveis no potencial global da língua-fonte (doravante LF); 2) suas relações intertextuais intralinguais, isto é, suas relações com outros textos da LF enquanto pertencentes ao mesmo discurso, gênero/registo e tipo de texto; e 3) suas relações com as leituras que propicia enquanto manifestadas nos intertextos de chegada da LF.

A recriação dessas matrizes é feita através de um processo de gerenciamento estratégico que visa obter do leitor da língua-alvo (doravante LA) um determinado tipo de leitura. São propostos três modos de gerenciamento – citação, paráfrase e recontagem. Na citação, as relações estabelecidas na matriz 1 (relações instanciais) são privilegiadas e o tradutor elege o polo da instância da escala de instanciação da LF como ponto focal para a convergência entre os dois sistemas (enquanto repertórios) e exerce sua criatividade recriando padrões linguísticos do TF. Os movimentos de distanciação atingem o nível do sistema global visto que o tradutor pode precisar compelir o sistema da LA a produzir significados que até então permaneciam virtuais. Os potenciais de significado do TF e do TA são apresentados como completamente sobrepostos.

Na paráfrase e na recontagem, as relações estabelecidas na matriz 2 (relações interdiscursivas e intertextuais) são privilegiadas e o tradutor elege o tipo de texto como o ponto focal para a convergência entre os sistemas. Este ponto é posto entre as duas escalas de instanciação visto que nenhuma delas é favorecida. A criatividade do tradutor é exercida na criação de um TA visto como pertencendo ao mesmo tipo textual que o TF, ou seja, os movimentos de distanciação atingem o nível do tipo de texto. No que concerne aos potenciais de significado, na paráfrase, eles são apresentados como parcialmente sobrepostos e na recontagem tal sobreposição é ainda menor. Supõe-se que a diferença entre esses modos de gerenciamento de relações intertextuais é proporcional à diferença entre os acoplamentos e calibrações de significado feitos no TF e no TA.

A tese oferece uma sondagem inicial do modelo proposto, investigando a re-instanciação de recursos de valoração em 11 trios de textos (TF + 2 TAs). Tal fonte de dados é usada para explorar: 1) o gerenciamento de matrizes; 2) os movimentos de distanciação feitos pelos tradutores e 3) diferenças entre as leituras propiciadas pelo TF e pelo TA.

Palavras-chave: estudos da tradução, linguística sistêmico-funcional, re-instanciação interlingual, acoplamento, calibragem.

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ABBREVIATIONS

TS – translation studies
SFL – systemic functional linguistics
S – system
T – text
TT – target text
ST – source text
TL – target language
SL – source language
TRIP – triplet
R – reading
AE – American English
BP – Brazilian Portuguese
MSM – Mídia Sem Máscara (Brazilian weblog)
DOM – De Olho na Mídia (Brazilian weblog)

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1 – Introduction

1.0 Locating the research

This thesis subscribes primarily to translation studies (TS hereafter) as a young academic discipline which aims at studying the phenomenon of translating and translation in its various manifestations. It takes a discursive approach to translation, drawing on concepts developed within systemic functional linguistics (SFL hereafter) and can thus be located at the interface between TS and SFL.

Translation studies is characterized by a profound interdisciplinarity. In fact, it brings together scholars with affiliations in areas such as philosophy, literature, linguistics, cultural studies, sociology, cognitive psychology and computer science, among many others. From all these areas of knowledge, two – linguistics and cultural studies – have played central roles in the shaping of the discipline and have even given rise to two coexisting (and at times opposed) paradigms¹ (cf. Baker 1996, Chesterman & Arrojo 2000, Chesterman 2003, 2005, and Koskinen 2004). The rift between these paradigms has been attributed to the disparity between the “scientism” of linguistics which would be “hung up on naïve notions of equivalence and limited to the text as the uppermost unit of analysis” (Baker 1996: 9), and the concern of cultural studies with tackling “the problem of ideology, change and power in literature and society and so assert the central function of translation as a shaping force” (Bassnett & Lefevere 1992: xii).

Within TS, the current research aligns with those who view TS as “a discipline being constantly reshaped by the many contributions it receives from researchers” (Souza & Weininger 2009: 8) and as the inheritor of a number of interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives (cf. Neubert & Shreve 1992, Hermans 1999, Souza & Weininger 2009). It also aligns with TS scholars who promote a mutually enriching dialogue between different views of TS and its object of study (e.g. Baker 1996, Chesterman 2000 and 2003, Gile 2005, Koskinen 2004). The new systemic functional (SF hereafter) model of translation it puts forward draws on new developments within SFL which are themselves the result of a profitable dialogue between linguistics and critical theory (cf. Martin 2007a; Martin & White 2005). The thesis furthermore assumes that not only TS can benefit from theoretical and analytical tools provided by SFL but SFL as well can benefit from the range of alternative perspectives on translation within TS.

1.1 SFL – a glimpse at an evolutionary model of language

As a linguistic model of language, SFL belongs in a class of theories that Halliday (2009) calls “system-structure theories” – i.e., theories which take “system and structure as primary organizing concepts” and take “seriously the Saussurean project of describing both syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in language, including their relationship to each other” (p. 63)². According to Halliday (2009), such a “biaxial thinking” originated, in

¹ These opposed views within TS are reflected in labels proposed by different authors – “linguistic paradigm” x “cultural paradigm” (Chesterman 2003); “Descriptive Translation Studies” x “critical approaches” (Koskinen 2004); “Empirical Science Paradigm” x “Liberal Arts Paradigm” (Giles 2005).

² Syntagmatic relations or relations of structure are those derived by the sequential combination of units where each unit acquires its value (or meaning) in opposition to those coming before and after it. Paradigmatic relations or relations of system are the substitution relations of a unit, i.e., other units that could have occurred in place of it (cf. Halliday 2009: 63).

the mid-twentieth century with Trubetzkoy, Hjelmslev and Firth, and their colleagues in the Prague school, the Copenhagen school and the London school respectively (ibid.).

The basic tenets of SFL were introduced by Halliday (1961, 1963, and 1964). According to Matthiessen (2007), SFL as it is nowadays is the cumulative result of an “evolutionary” rather than a “revolutionary” development (p. 505). This means that the model is not proposed as complete, original and radical but as shaped through an ongoing dialogue with a number of alternative views. In its evolution, SFL can be divided in two main phases:

1) In the first phase, which is called the “scale-and-category theory” (Halliday 1961), Halliday’s attention turns to language *in use*, or *in context*. Adopting Firth’s notion of “levels of analysis”, Halliday models language as organized according to hierarchical strata called “phonetics/script”, “phonology/graphology”, “lexis and grammar”, “semantics” and “situation” (see Figure 1.1)³. In tune with Glossematics⁴, Halliday defines such strata in relation to the planes of content and expression and their subdivision into substance and form – phonology/ graphology, lexis and grammar are “formal levels” – expression form and content form, respectively, while phonetics and script (phonic and graphic substance) and “situation” are extralinguistic levels.

Subject concerned	Phonetics		Linguistics		
Level (general)	SUBSTANCE (phonic or graphic)	relation of form and substance	FORM	CONTEXT (relation of form and situation)	situation (non-linguistic phenomena)
Level (specific)	PHONETICS	PHONOLOGY	GRAMMAR & LEXIS (vocabulary)	SEMANTICS	
	SCRIPT	GRAPHOLOGY (writing system)			

Figure 1.1: Levels of linguistic analysis in Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens (1964: 18)

Linguistic analysis then concerns the formal levels and the focus is turned to “lexis and grammar”. Linguistic events are described according to a frame of categories (“unit”, “structure”, “class” and “system”) and scales (“rank”, “exponence”, and “delicacy”) (an explanation of all these concepts can be found in Catford 1965, chapter 1).

2) In the second phase of SFL, two fundamental changes turn Halliday’s model “systemic” and “functional” as it is nowadays (Matthiessen: 2007: 507-8) –

³ Some of these terms are no longer adopted – “script” has been replaced by “graphetics”, “grammar and lexis” by “lexicogrammar”, and “situation” by “context” (cf Matthiessen 2007: 506).

⁴ Glossematics is the structural linguistic theory developed by Louis Hjelmslev (1899–1965) and others (cf Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics at <http://www.bookrags.com/tandf/glossematics-2-tf/>).

- (i) the balance between the two axes (syntagmatic and paradigmatic) is shifted in favour of the paradigmatic axis – the strata are now seen in terms of “system networks” and texts are conceptualized as choices from such networks. The idea that systems can be simultaneous (i.e., that individual choices realise different functions at the same time) leads to the second fundamental change:
- (ii) the metafunctional hypothesis, i.e., the organization of the content plane according to three basic social functions language is used for – the ideational (to represent experience), the interpersonal (to enact relationships) and the textual (to organize text). Halliday calls these social functions “metafunctions” so as to distinguish their intrinsic functionality from the notion of *function* simply as “purpose or way of using language” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 30-1).

The concepts summarized above are among the seminal concepts laid down by Halliday in the 60's. From then on, SFL has been developed and expanded by Halliday himself and by a number of other linguists (e.g., Hudson (1971, 1974, 1976), Fawcett (1973, 1974-6, 1980, 1989), Hasan (1978, 1984a, 1984b, 1987, 1996), Butt (1983, 1984, 1991), Martin (1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998), Matthiessen (1983, 1987, 1988, 1995, 2002), Lemke (1984, 1987, 1995), Bateman (1989, 1996), Fries (1981, 1982, 1986), Berry (1981), Eggins (1990) to cite but a few). At present, it offers a complex model of language in social context, articulating a considerable amount of concepts. This is due to its concern with “language in its entirety”, i.e., its goal of achieving a comprehensive view of language as a dynamic semiotic system (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 19). In what follows, I will further detail these seminal concepts and also introduce other related key concepts.

1.2 SFL – key concepts

SFL models language in context as “a resource for making meaning” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 23). This means that language is seen as a semiotic system, i.e. a potential or a reservoir of meanings which is made available to the user. This potential is organized according to the following complementary dimensions – stratification, axis, metafunction and instantiation (Halliday 2009: 61-2).

The dimension of stratification (see Figure 1.2) concerns the organization of language in ordered levels or strata, namely, phonology/graphology, lexicogrammar and discourse semantics⁵. These strata are organized according to an ordering principle or hierarchy⁶ called realisation. Strata are arranged in increasing levels of abstraction, each stratum realising or re-coding the previous one. This relation of re-codification is also called “metaredundancy”, a term proposed by Lemke (1984) (cf. Halliday & Webster 2003: 122-3, Martin 2009b: 556).

The stratum of context is conceived as beyond language as “the total environment in which a text unfolds” (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 5). It is built upon Malinowski's (1923) notion of “context of situation” via Firth (1935, 1950)⁷ and described by means of

⁵ I am adopting Martin & Rose's (2007) labels. Halliday and Mathiessen (2004) refer to this stratum as semantics.

⁶ In SFL, a hierarchy is a type of relationship between levels in which an element in one level is constructed out of elements in a previous level (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 60).

⁷ The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski proposed the term “context of situation” to name his technique for rendering into English some texts produced in the culture he was studying, that of the Trobrianders. This technique consisted of an extended “commentary that placed the text in its living environment” (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 6). In fact, he conceived the environment of the text as composed of both the “context of

three variables – field, tenor and mode. Field “refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place”; tenor “refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles”; and mode “refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation” (id., p. 12).

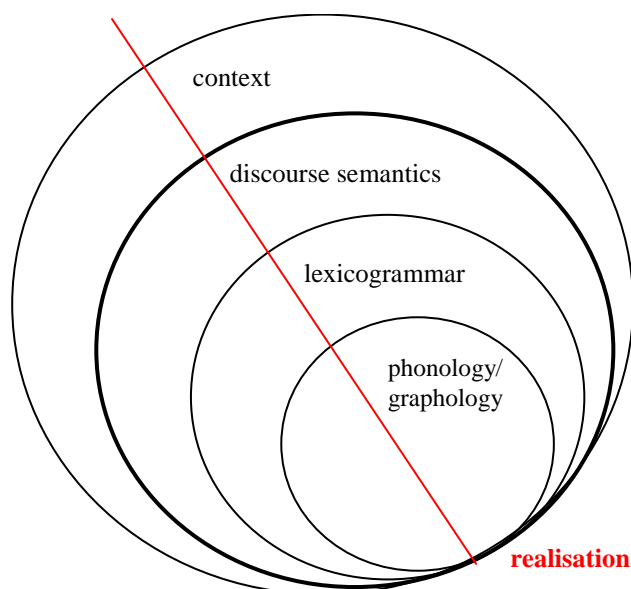


Figure 1.2: Stratification and realisation (adapted from Martin & White: 9)

Martin (e.g. 1985, 1992a, 1992b 1997, 1999) refers to this extra-linguistic stratum composed of field, tenor and mode as “register”. Unlike Halliday, he adopts a stratified model of context proposing an additional stratum⁸ called “genre” which is “responsible for specifying just which combinations of field, mode and tenor options were regularly phased into social processes” (1999: 32). In other words, each genre, defined as a “staged goal oriented social process”, involves “a particular configuration of tenor, field and mode variables” (Martin & Rose 2007: 6, 16). As such, the stratum of genre is modelled at the “context of culture” (id., p. 16, and see Figure 1.3) and “cultures” are conceived as involving “systems of genres”, i.e., “a large but potentially definable set of genres” that are systematically related to each other (id., p. 17).

The dimension of axis refers to the complementarity between system, i.e., the substitution relations of a unit (paradigmatic or *choice* relations) and structure, i.e., the sequential combination of units (syntagmatic or *chain* relations). Units of structure are taken as “points of departure for systems” and as “deriving their structure from choices made with respect to the unit as a whole” (Martin & White 2005: 13). Thus, at the level of lexicogrammar, for example, there are systems of the word, of the group and of the

situation” (the immediate environment) and the “context of culture” (the total cultural background) (cf. p. 6-7). The concept of “context of situation” was then operationalized by the linguist John Rupert Firth (1935, 1950) “for the study of texts as part of a general linguistic theory” (ibid.).

⁸ In these papers, Martin also proposes a further stratum beyond genre which he calls “ideology”. This stratum is later on recontextualized with his proposal of the complementarity between three SFL hierarchies – realisation, instantiation and individuation (cf. 2007a: 295 see section 1.4.2 below).

clause. Figure 1.4 shows a system network composed of two interdependent systems⁹. The structures are represented as sequences of functions indicated by the slanted arrows. Sample realisations are in blue.

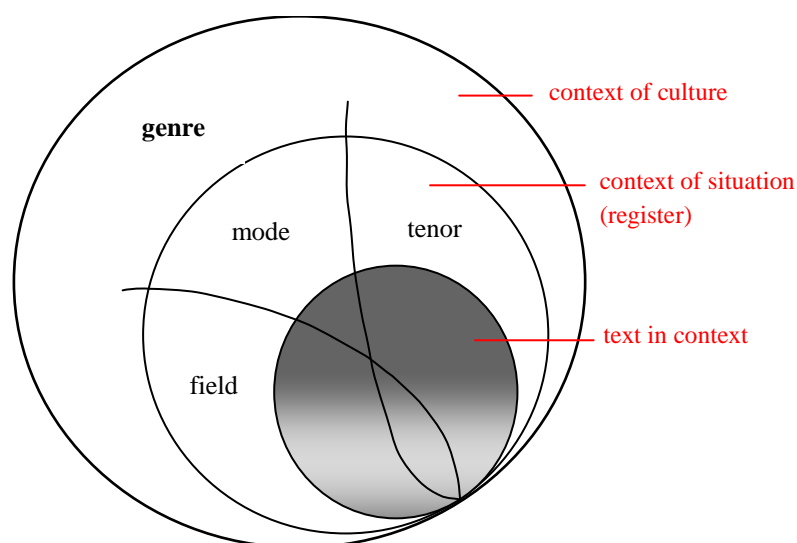


Figure 1.3: Stratified social context (based on Martin & Rose 2007: 10)

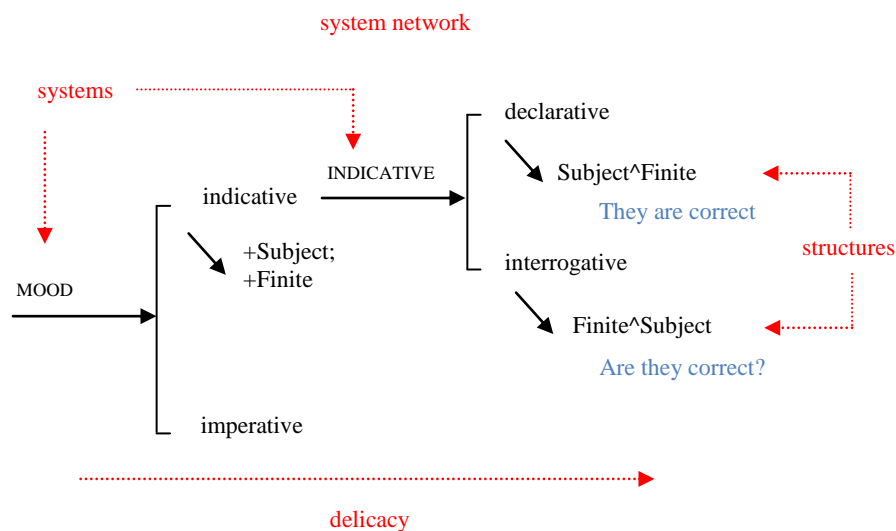


Figure 1.4: Paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices in the system of MOOD (based on Martin 2009a: 7)

Systems are organized according to a hierarchy of depth of detail named “delicacy”. In Figure 1.4, the system on the right which has “indicative” as its point of entry is “more delicate” than the system on the left. In other words, “declarative” and

⁹ It is part of a system of the clause – the mood system. In SFL, systems are read from left to right, square brackets stand for excluding choice (x or y), and system names are encoded in small caps [e.g. MOOD]. Since some systems will be frequently mentioned along the thesis, I decided to follow this small caps convention only when representing systems as in Figure 1.4.

“interrogative” are “types of” indicative clauses. Structures, in turn, are organized according to a hierarchy of composition named “rank” in which each unit is “a part of” the unit next above (in English, the phonology ranks are: tone group, foot, syllable and phoneme; the lexicogrammar ranks are: clause, group/phrase, word and morpheme; and the ranks for discourse semantics are: element, figure and sequence, (see Figure 1.5).

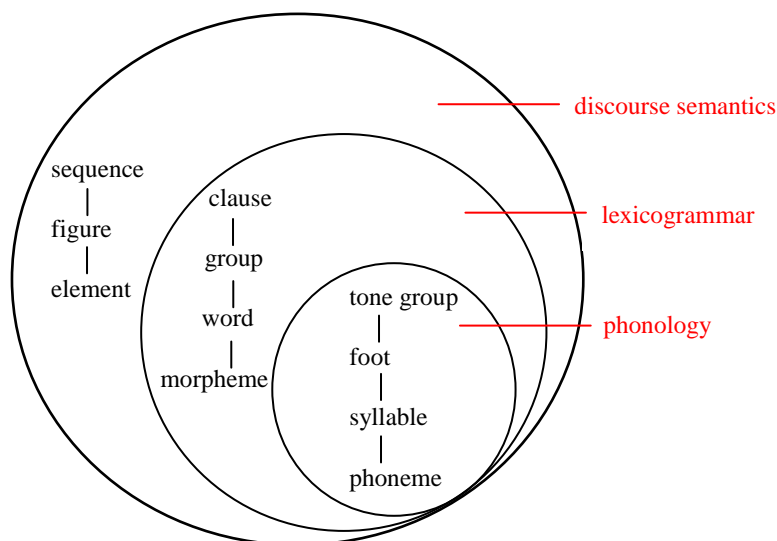


Figure 1.5: Rank in relation to stratification (based on Martin 2009a: 11)

As seen in the section 1.1, the dimension of metafunction refers to the organization of strata according to three basic social functions language is used for – the ideational (to represent experience), the interpersonal (to enact relationships) and the textual (to organize text). According to Martin & Rose (2007),

As social discourse unfolds, these three functions are interwoven with each other, so that we can achieve all three social functions simultaneously. In other words we can look at any piece of discourse from any of these three perspectives and identify different functions realised by different patterns of meaning (p. 7).

The metafunctions extend across the whole realisation hierarchy and are correlated to the register variables – “ideational is to field as textual is to mode as interpersonal is to tenor” (Martin & White 2005: 27, and see Figure 1.6). Metafunctions are defined as “three distinct kinds of meaning that are embodied in the structure of a clause” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 61). In fact, Halliday further subdivides the ideational metafunction into experiential (which serves to construe clauses as organic configurations of parts) and logical (which serves to establish logical-semantic relationships between clauses) (cf. Halliday & Webster 2003: 15-18). Each clause functions simultaneously as message (textual metafunction), as exchange (interpersonal metafunction) and as representation (ideational metafunction) by means of three simultaneous and distinct types of functional configurations or structures – “ideational meaning is associated with particulate structure, interpersonal meaning with prosodic structure and textual meaning with periodic structure” (Martin & White 2005: 18, and see Figure 1.7).

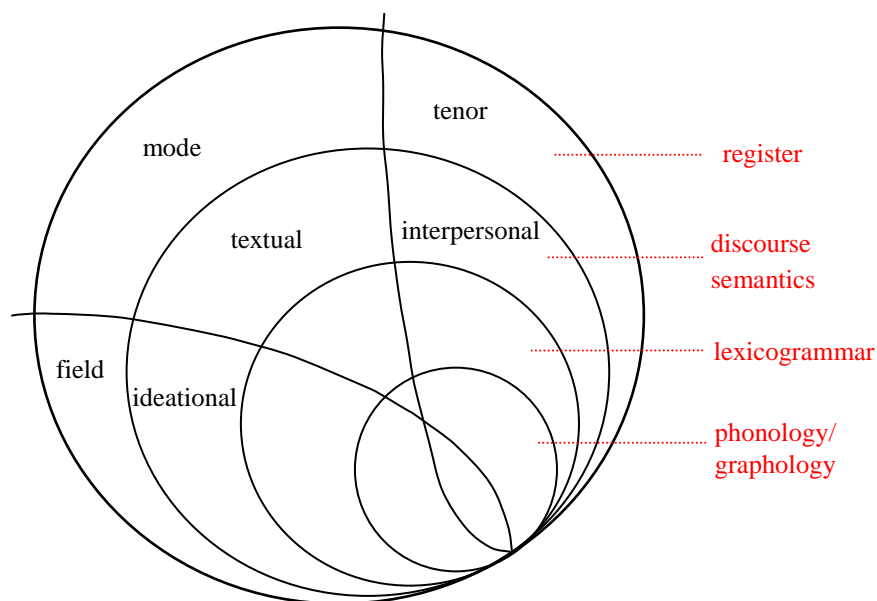


Figure 1.6: Metafunction in relation to stratification (based on Martin 2009a: 10)

Particulate structure is segmental, i.e., it arranges segments in serial patterns of interdependency. Prosodic structure is non-segmental, i.e., it realises meanings by means of “continuous forms of expression, often with indeterminate boundaries” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 61). And periodic structure “organises meaning into waves of information, with different wave lengths piled up one upon another” (Martin & White 2005: 19, examples of structures are given on pp. 19-23).

Type of structure	Type of meaning
particulate	ideational meaning
- orbital [mono-nuclear]	- experiential
- serial [multi-nuclear]	- logical
prosodic	interpersonal meaning
periodic	textual meaning

Figure 1.7: Metafunctions and types of structure (Martin & White 2005: 18)

Since the focus of the current research is put on interpersonal meanings, before proceeding to the notion of instantiation, I will stay a little longer within metafunction and introduce three types of prosodic realisation – saturation, intensification and domination – besides the concepts of “proposition” and “proposal”.

Figure 1.8 below illustrates the types of prosody introduced in Martin & White (2005). The saturation prosody is “opportunistic”, i.e., it “manifests where it can” (Martin & White 2005: 19). The intensification prosody involves amplification and “repetitions of various kinds” (id., p. 20). And the domination prosody involves “meanings that have other meanings under their scope” (id., p. 20). For example, in English, the Mood establishes the “arguability of the clause”, as well as its modality and polarity.

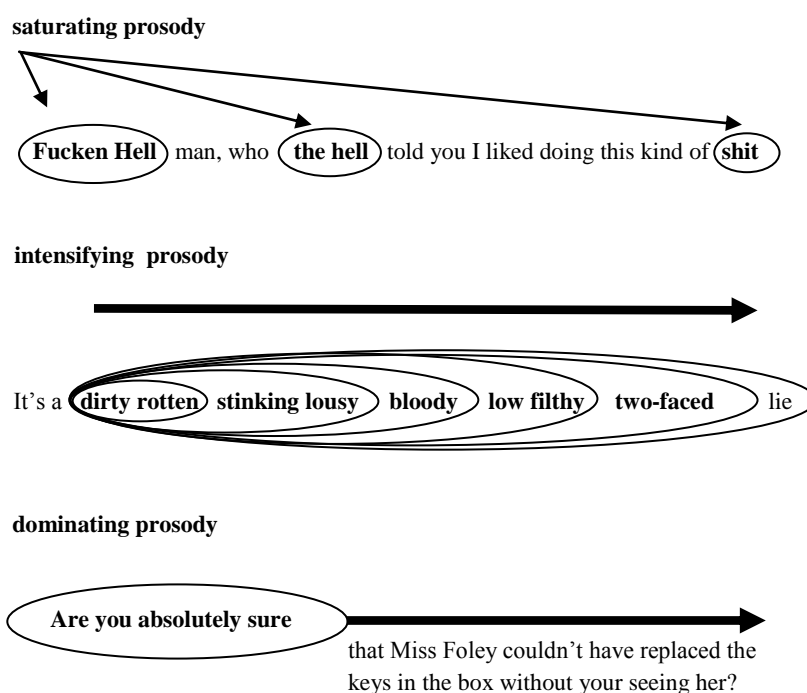


Figure 1.8: Types of prosodic realisation (Martin & White 2005: 24)

As an exchange, the clause is characterized as an “interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 106). Such an exchange involves the adoption of particular complementary speech roles, e.g. asking and answering a question, making an invitation and accepting/turning it down, etc.

According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), the most basic types of speech role are (i) giving and (ii) demanding, and the most basic types of “commodity being exchanged” are (a) goods-&-services and (b) information (see Table 1.1). These distinctions define the four “primary speech functions” – offer, command, statement and question (id., p. 107-8). Those concerning the exchange of information (statement and question) are called “propositions” and those concerning the exchange of goods-&-services (offer and command) are called “proposals” (id., p. 110-111). While proposals offer limited choices of response – to accept or reject the offer, to obey or refuse the command, propositions open a number of possibilities since they can be “affirmed or

denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered, regretted and so on” (id., p. 110).

Table 1.1: Most basic interactive events (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 107)

role in Exchange	Commodity exchanged	
	(a) goods-&-services	(b) information
(i) giving	‘offer’ would you like this teapot?	‘statement’ he’s giving her the teapot
(ii) demanding	‘command’ Give me that teapot!	‘question’ what is he giving her?

After this brief incursion into the interpersonal metafunction, I will now introduce the last SFL key concept highlighted here – the hierarchy of instantiation.

Instantiation refers to the relation between language as a system, i.e., an overall meaning potential, and text as a concrete instance of that potential¹⁰. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), system and text are not two distinct phenomena but only different perspectives on language. To help understand such a relation, they compare it to the relation between climate and weather –

What we call climate is weather seen from a greater depth of time – it is what is instantiated in the form of weather. The weather is the text: it is what goes on around us all the time, impacting on, and sometimes disturbing, our daily lives. The climate is the system, the potential that underlies these variable effects (p. 27).

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) represent instantiation as a cline from system (the overall potential) to text (a particular instance) with register and text type¹¹ as intermediate patterns (see Figure 1.9). Viewed from the system pole, these intermediate patterns are “subsystems” and viewed from the instance pole, they are “instance types” (cf. p. 27-8).

Halliday (1999) establishes the following proportion –

the context for an instance of language (text) is an instance of culture (situation). And the context for the system that lies behind each text (language) is the system which lies behind each situation – namely, the culture (p. 7).

What he conceives as “culture” here is not “the popular notion of culture as something defined solely by one’s ethnic origins” (id., p. 17) but a “semiotic construction of reality” that results from the particular use of language by members of a community (cf. p. 19). Similarly to the relation between system and text, “‘culture’ and ‘situation’

¹⁰ Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) define text as “any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language” (p. 3).

¹¹ For Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), “text types” are patterns of use of resources in any strata of language that are shared by texts in a given sample. Such patterns can also be interpreted as “registers”, i.e., as “a functional variety of language” or “a particular setting of systemic probabilities” (pp. 27-28).

are not two different things, but rather the same thing seen from two different depths of observation” (id., p. 16).

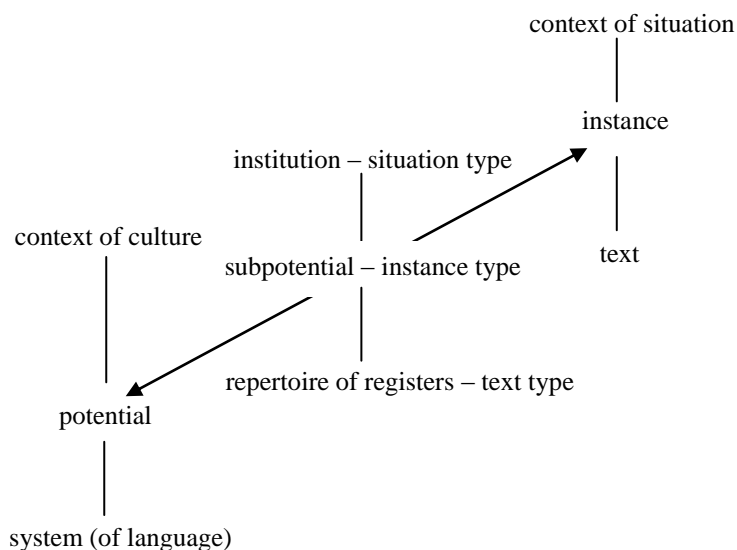


Figure 1.9: The cline of instantiation (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 28)

The dimensions summarized above make up some of the basic tenets of SFL as a model of language. They inform the SFL approach to translation as reviewed in the following section.

1.3 The SFL approach to translation

The history of the dialogue between translation studies and SFL may be said to have started with Halliday’s (1956, 1960, 1964) first incursions into translation while he was still laying the foundations of what would be later called systemic functional linguistics. Primarily interested in the debate over the feasibility of machine translation (hereafter MT), Halliday articulates a view of translation as an operation of search and replacement of “equivalents” which would be “elements ranged as terms in particular systems” (Halliday 1956: 81). He does so by pointing out the “fundamental problem” of MT as that of establishing commonalities between languages prior to translation. In his view then, the ideal solution would be to achieve a complete linguistic description of the determining features of each language (cf. p. 82). Acknowledging that it would take too long, he proposes a more immediate solution (the “thesaurus series”) based on the complementarity between grammar and lexis which were still modeled separately.

In 1964, he relativizes the concept of “equivalence” saying that it is a “more or less” not a “yes or no” relation since “two situations in which the language activity is in different languages are ipso facto not identical (...)” (Halliday 1964:124). In practice, he says, “we postulate a kind of threshold of acceptability for translations, at some point along the scale of ‘more or less equivalent’” (id., p. 142).

From the 60’s to the present, Halliday addressed the subject of translation in three other articles – 1992, 2001 and 2010. In 1992, Halliday proposes a view of translation based on meaning – “translation is a meaning-making activity, and we would not

consider any activity to be translation if it did not result in the creation of meaning” (Halliday 1992: 15). But he adds the distinction that it is not only a “creation of meaning”, but rather a “guided creation of meaning” (ibid.). For Halliday, a theory of language to help translators must be a functional theory, informed by the notions of “potentiality” and “choice”. Still, the process of translation is seen as a search for equivalence – “if meaning is function in context, [...] then equivalence of meaning is equivalence of function in context” (Halliday 1992: 16).

In 2001, Halliday is concerned with distinguishing good from bad translation and his basic assumption is that besides meaning, people attribute “value” to texts. He proposes a systemic-functional typology of equivalences according to three vectors – stratification, metafunction and rank. Halliday suggests that each instance of translation may assign different values to equivalence at different ranks, different strata and different metafunctions. However, he points that equivalence at the higher categories of vectors (i.e., equivalence in the context stratum and in the clause complex rank) is generally the most valued one. In relation to the value assigned to the categories of the metafunction vector, Halliday (2001) says that in the system of language,

there is no ordering among the different metafunctions (...) although they are typically ordered in the value that is assigned to them in translation, with the ideational carrying by far the highest value overall (id., p. 16).

His justification for the overvaluing of the ideational is that “[a]s a general rule, “translation equivalence” is defined in ideational terms: if a text does not match its source text ideationally, it does not qualify as translation (...)” (ibid.). Later on, he adds that

In some contexts, matching the relations of power and distance, and the patterns of evaluation and appraisal, set up in the original text may be very highly valued in the translation, to such an extent as even to override the demand for exact ideational equivalence (Halliday 2001: 16, emphasis added).

His definition of “good translation” is then that it is “a text which is a translation (i.e., is equivalent) in respect of those linguistic features which are most valued in the given translation context” (ibid.).

In 2010, Halliday only reinforces ideas previously offered:

1. that “the concept of translation, as process and as product, depends on the search for equivalence and the assumption that equivalence can be achieved in at least certain respects” (p. 19).
2. that the “basic problem” of translation is a problem of choice – “as is the decision of a writer whether to prefer this form of expression over that one” (p. 14); and
3. that SFL can help translators “pinpoint the choice”, i.e. locate “within the systems of the two languages concerned, the moments of equivalence and shift that come to our attention” (p. 18-19). These may be “any moments in any pair of texts that are related as source and target texts in translation, since equivalence on all dimensions is rather improbable” (p. 19). Thus what SFL does is to help translators be aware of “alternative renderings”, i.e. alternative types of equivalence for a given pair of texts so that they can “improve the effectiveness of the translation” (ibid.). An

effective translation being that which operates “with the same function in the same context as the original” (p. 18).

Throughout this trajectory, Halliday takes translation as an area where his linguistic theory can be applied. That is, he does so as a linguist, not as a translation researcher (cf. 2010). The first translation researcher to apply Halliday’s linguistic theories to the study of translation is Catford (1965). Catford’s main motivation is to join the philosophical debate on “what translation is” (p. viii, original emphasis). For him, “since translation has to do with language, the analysis and description of translation processes must make considerable use of categories set up for the description of languages” (id., p. vii). So, he adopts Halliday’s general linguistics, i.e., SFL in its “scale-and-category” version.

Catford defines translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (id., p. 20, emphasis in the original). He explains that the use of “textual material” instead of “text” in his definition is due to “the fact that in normal conditions it is not the entirety of the SL text which is translated, that is, replaced by TL equivalents” (ibid., original emphasis). That is, equivalence is seen in terms of levels – it can be phonological, graphological or lexicogrammatical. He distinguishes “formal correspondence” from “textual equivalence”. A formal correspondent is “any TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the ‘same’ place in the ‘economy’ of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL” (ibid.). A “textual translation equivalent” is “any TL (text or portion of text) which is observed to be the equivalent of a given SL form (text or portion of text)” (ibid.). For Catford, “equivalence” is an “empirical phenomenon” (id., p. 27). So, in order to identify “equivalents”, you should either – a) ask “a competent bilingual informant or translator”, or b) make a commutation, i.e., “systematically introduce changes into the SL text and observe what changes if any occur in the TL text as a consequence” (id., p. 28).

Catford uses the term “shift” to define any departure “from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL” (ibid. p. 73). Thus, he subdivides shifts into level shifts (from grammar to lexis or vice-versa) and category shifts (structural, class, unit or rank, and intra-system shifts) (for more detail, see Catford 1965, chapter 12; Munday 2001: 60-61).

Since Catford (1965), other voices from both TS and SFL have joined the exploration of translation through SFL lenses (e.g., House (1981), Coulthard (1987/1991), van Leuven-Zwart (1985, 1989, 1990), Bell (1991), Baker (1992), Hatim & Mason (1990, 1997), Costa (1992), Munday (1998), Matthiessen (2001), Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006), Teich (1990, 1999, 2001), Malmkjaer (2005)). The review of all these voices is out of the scope of the current research. Seeing its focus on the hierarchy of instantiation, in order to enter the ongoing dialogue between TS and SFL, it chooses to engage more directly with the views of two researchers – Matthiessen (2001) and Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006) who used this hierarchy to discuss translation.

Matthiessen’s (2001) approach to translation is made in consonance with the parameters of “equivalence” and “shift” as established in Catford’s (1965) linguistic theory of translation. Matthiessen’s “central task” is “to expand Catford’s account in the light of new theoretical developments and descriptive findings” (p. 43). In other words, he sets out to contextualize translation in relation to its “environments”, that is, to specify the parameters of “equivalence” and “shift” in translation (cf Halliday 2010: 16). The environments of translation are defined in relation to five SFL dimensions – stratification, rank, axis, instantiation and metafunction.

In what concerns instantiation, Matthiessen (2001) locates translation at the instance pole of the cline. According to him,

we translate texts in one language into texts into another; but we do not translate one language into another language. But while translation takes place at the instance pole of the cline of translation, texts are of course translated as instances of the overall linguistic system they instantiate – translation of the instance always takes place in the wider environment of potential that lies behind the instance (2001: 87).

Matthiessen also considers other intermediate instantiation environments as relevant for the task of translating – that of registers and that of previous translations (cf. *ibid*).

Like Matthiessen (2001), Steiner (2001a) considers translation as “a relationship between instantiations (texts), rather than between language systems” (p. 187). But while Matthiessen sets out to contextualize translation within five SFL dimensions, Steiner focuses on instantiation and approaches translation from the perspective of text variation and intertextual relations (e.g. 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006). He takes translation as a register or a text type and gears his corpus-based investigation (2001a, 2001b, 2005b) towards singling out the textual properties that distinguish TTs from STs and from non-translated registerially related texts in the TL. Such properties are assumed to constitute “channels” of language contact (2005a: 67).

With a view to contributing to the contextualization of translation in terms of the hierarchy of instantiation, this thesis takes into account some new developments in SFL which are sketched below.

1.4 New developments in SFL – an overview

The systemic functional modelling of language as reviewed in sections 1.1 and 1.2 above has been recently expanded and elaborated. One of such expansions is the appraisal framework (Martin 2001, Martin & Rose 2007, Martin & White 2005 and White 2005) which was developed in response to the need to expand on the model of interpersonal meanings (see section 1.4.1). Another expansion concerns the hierarchy of instantiation and a third hierarchy called individuation (see section 1.4.2).

1.4.1 The Appraisal Framework

According to White (2005), appraisal is “a particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personae and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships”.

Appraisal is defined as one of the most general systems of interpersonal meanings beside those of involvement and negotiation¹² (see Figure 1.10). It comprises three interactive subsystems called engagement (concerned with the managing of opinions in discourse), attitude (concerned with “emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things”) and graduation (concerned with the scaling of evaluations, cf. Martin & White 2005: 35).

¹² For more information on the two other systems, see Martin & White 2005: 33.

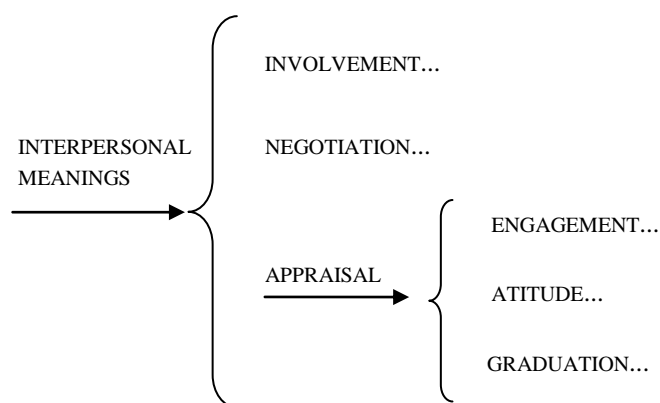


Figure 1.10: Systems of INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS (based on Martin & White 2005: 33)

1.4.2 Realisation, instantiation and individuation

In what concerns the SFL hierarchies, Martin (2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) proposes that a relation of complementarity holds not only between realisation and instantiation but also between these and a third hierarchy called individuation which relates the language system as a *reservoir* of meanings to *repertoires* of individual users (Martin 2007a, see Figure 1.11 below).

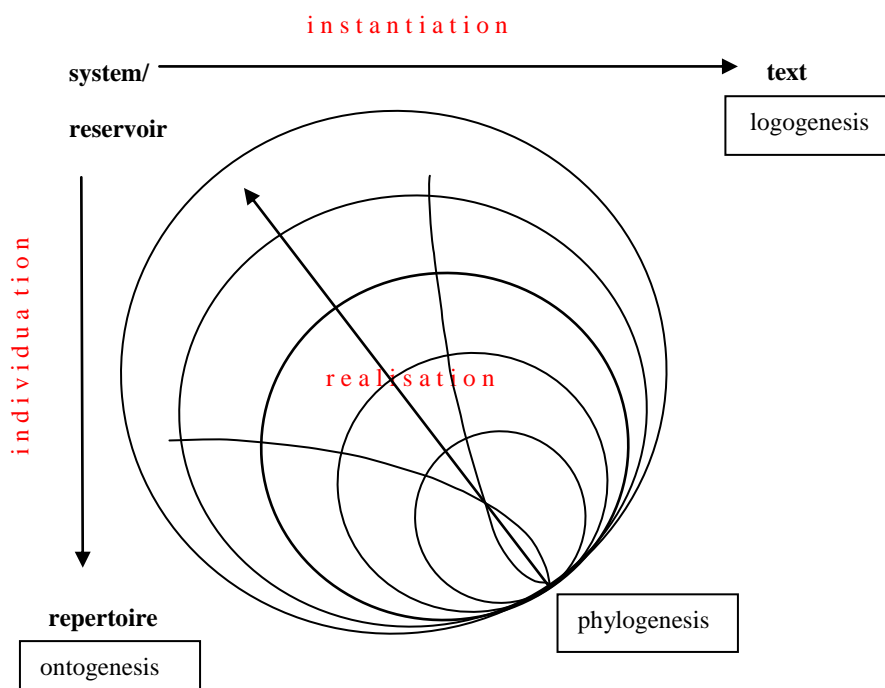


Figure 1.11: The three complementary hierarchies in relation to genesis (Martin 2009b: 577)

The three hierarchies are proposed as complementary perspectives on the phenomenon of language in context. Whenever language is used, system, instances of use and users' identities synergistically engender one another. This is reflected in terms of genesis, i.e., each hierarchy fits a different time frame in terms of semantic variation through time – instantiation concerns logogenesis, i.e., the unfolding of meaning as text (or as divergent readings of a single text) (cf. Martin 2007: 295); individuation accounts for ontogenesis, i.e., the development of individual repertoires; and realisation accounts for phylogenesis, i.e. how the system changes due to “the evolutionary consequences of variation according to users (individuation) and uses (instantiation)” (Martin 2009b: 576).

Martin (2007a) shows that each of the hierarchies offers specific advantages for text analysis –

Realisation is effective for showing where texts are similar and different – with respect to which stratum (and within strata, with respect to which metafunction and rank). Instantiation is better designed to explore how texts arise, including divergent readings of a single text, quoting, paraphrase, ‘inspiration’ and more general systemic relations higher up the cline. Individuation allows us to bring the interests of individuals and interest groups into the picture, opening up considerations of the ways in which affiliations are negotiated and communities aligned (p. 295).

Having introduced (in 1992) a stratified model of context (register + genre), Martin (2007a) adds “genre” to his hierarchy of instantiation (see Figure 1.12), placing it at the same level as register. He also models genre/register and text type¹³ as separate levels and adds an extra notch called “reading” beyond that of text. This new pole is justified by the fact that “texts can be interpreted as an instantial meaning potential allowing for different readings”¹⁴ (p. 285).

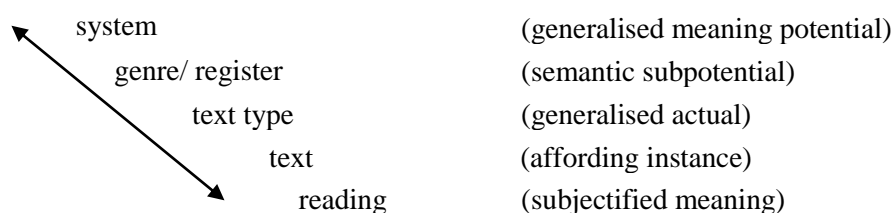


Figure 1.12: The cline of instantiation according to Martin (2007a: 285)

Martin (2007a) also introduces the concept of re-instantiation as the process by which one instance reconstrues the meaning potential of a given source instance (or part of

¹³ Here “registers” are “contextual variants or sub-selections of the global meaning making potential – involving more fully institutionalised reconfigurations of the probabilities for the occurrence of particular meaning-making options or for the co-occurrence of options” and “text types” are “groups of texts with comparable configurations of the probabilities of occurrence of options – involving less fully institutionalised configurations of the probabilities” (Martin & White 2005: 163).

¹⁴ Martin calls the text an “affording instance”, i.e. it *affords* different readings (cf. 2007a: 285; see also note 15 below).

it). Later on, he offers the concepts of coupling and commitment as tools for further exploring the relation between system and instances. Couplings are defined as the combinations of meanings across strata, metafunctions, ranks, simultaneous systems and modalities, and commitment as the degree of specificity of the meaning instantiated in a text (2008a: 39, 52; 2009a: 19, 20).

1.5 The research design

1.5.1 Aims

Taking a systemic-functional approach to translation and drawing on the recent SFL developments sketched above, this thesis is conceived as a conceptual research aimed at

- 1) Proposing a new systemic functional model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation.

The hypothesis that instantiation can be applied to the study of translation has been put forward by Martin (2008a) within the context of his elaboration of SFL's instantiation hierarchy –

There are many areas in which instantiation, conceived along these lines can be deployed. (...) Across languages, the practices of both translating and interpreting are of special relevance, again with respect to the affordances¹⁵ and predispositions of one language and culture in relation to another, and the amount of meaning potential that has to be opened up before a responsible re-instantiation can be enacted; and complementary affordances between systems bring questions of language typology into play (Martin 2008a: 53).

Having been made within the realm of linguistics, this hypothesis is here recontextualized within TS. Taking the stance of a TS researcher, I

- (i) subsume “the practices of translating and interpreting” under the term *translation* and
- (ii) turn the research focus to the relationship between ST and TT as *instances* of different language systems and away from the relationship between entire systems. In other words, the main concern here is not the “affordances and predispositions” of languages but the sourcing of a text in one language/culture to another text in a different language/culture.

¹⁵ The term “affordance” was originally coined in the context of psychology to mean what a given environment offers in terms of possible human behaviour, e.g. differently shaped objects may afford wielding, grasping, carrying, piercing, scraping, etc (cf. Gibson 1986, chapter 8). It has been adapted and used in other fields of knowledge and entered SFL via Kress (2003) who uses the term to mean “the potential [of media] for representational and communicational action by their users” (p. 5). In the quote above, Martin (2008a) uses it with a similar meaning in relation to languages, i.e., it means the particular representational and communicational potential of a language in relation to dimensions like realisation, axis, rank, delicacy and metafunction.

Although conceived as primarily conceptual, this research also aims at

2) Showing that the model proposed can be profitably applied to translated material.

Given the fuzzy borderline between theory and practice, the two aims will be pursued *in tandem*, i.e. in order to articulate the view of translation as interlingual re-instantiation, I will draw both from the relevant frameworks within SFL and TS and from a data source comprising 11 triplets, i.e., groups of three texts – a source text in American English and two alternative translations into Brazilian Portuguese. This data source (see section 1.5.3) will be used to illustrate concepts within supporting SFL frameworks (see section 1.4) and within the new model of translation, as well as to test the model proposed by means of a detailed contrastive analysis of one of the triplets (one ST two corresponding translations).

1.5.2 The research focus

According to Martin (2009a), “since the realization hierarchy deals with combinations of meaning by and large within strata, metafunctions, ranks and simultaneous systems, an indefinitely large set of possible combinations is left open” (p. 24). That is, an indefinitely large amount of meanings may be used in a variety of combinations in the instantiation of a text. That is, meanings are not only chosen but coupled (i.e. combined) and committed (i.e. offered at a given degree of specificity). And, in the re-instantiation of a text, as for example in translation, the meaning potential of the ST is reconstrued, i.e., its meanings are re-coupled and re-committed in the TT.

Among the *indefinitely large set of possible combinations*, I choose to put the research focus on the stratum of discourse semantics and on the interpersonal metafunction. More specifically, this study proposes to model translations as interlingual re-instantiation by investigating the re-instantiation in the TT of ST interpersonal meanings realised by resources in the system of appraisal (as theorized in Martin 2001, 2003 and Martin & White 2005). Furthermore, since most of the time appraisals involve someone who evaluates (appraiser) and/or something/someone who is evaluated (appraised), interpersonal meanings are frequently coupled with ideational meanings as “appraisal + appraised”. Thus, it is the re-instantiation of these couplings of that will be modelled and interrogated by means of the data source.

1.5.3 The data source

1.5.3.1 Criteria for the selection of texts

The following criteria were adopted for the selection of texts:

1. Texts with a high density of appraisals;
2. Texts instantiating arguing genres;
3. Texts in the field of history;
4. Texts with at least two alternative translations;
5. Translations by different translators;
6. STs and TTs sharing similar purpose;

7. STs by the same writer.

The research focus on the re-instantiation of appraisal values provided the key criterion for selecting the data source for illustration and analysis. It pointed out first of all a particular family of genres in which evaluations abound – arguing genres¹⁶. The choice of this genre theory led to the choice of texts within the field of history since this is the perspective adopted by such a theory (cf. Martin & Rose 2007, chapter 3).

The assumption that the ST constitutes the meaning potential from which the translated texts departed and that as such it affords¹⁷ different readings led to the choice of texts with at least two alternative translations. Different translations are needed in order to check whether, as new meaning potentials in the TL instantiation cline, TTs would afford new readings in the target language/culture system. In order to increase the odds of having differences in readings afforded by TTs, I chose texts produced by different translators.

Authenticity was another criterion in the sense that translations should have been produced with the purpose of being put to uses similar to those of the ST i.e., not just to be studied in this or any other research. Similarity in purpose here means TTs should aim at building in the target language/culture system the same “community of shared value and belief” the ST aims at building in the source language/culture system (Martin & White, 2005: 95). Choosing STs by different writers would mean considering different *intended communities* and greater analytical effort seeing the appraisal meaning potential negotiated in such texts. Thus, in order to turn this potential more manageable, I chose to circumscribe texts to one writer and one *intended community*.

1.5.3.2 The texts selected

The criteria enumerated above lengthened the search for a data source. Alternative translations (criterion 4) proved the most difficult to satisfy. After a number of searches, I found a weblog maintained by American columnist Daniel Pipes (www.danielpipes.org) where he continually publishes his articles that strongly promote a pro-Israel point of view and corresponding translations into various languages including Brazilian Portuguese. However, not all STs in this weblog fit the selection criteria. The strategy adopted was to look for TTs available in Brazilian weblogs and check whether their translators were the same ones who translated TTs in Pipes’s weblog. Eleven triplets of one ST and two TTs were then selected. They range from September 7, 2004 to August 18, 2009 (see Table 1.2). The amount is considered enough for the purposes of illustrating concepts and probing the model put forward. Moreover, the span was also decided so as to fit the research schedule. The STs selected deal with issues concerning the Middle East. They were published originally in various printed newspapers and later on made available in the author’s weblog. According to Pipes¹⁸ in one of his interviews (Rose 2004), they are meant to serve the purpose of “overthrowing the ideology of radical Islamism” –

¹⁶ The notion of genre is drawn from the genre theory of the Sydney School which considers genres as “staged, goal oriented social processes” (Martin & Rose 2007: 6).

¹⁷ Here Martin uses this term to mean the potential of texts for acts of interpretation and construction of meanings (see note 14 above and also section 1.5.4.2 below).

¹⁸ My view of the author’s position in relation to Middle East issues in general is constructed from the texts selected and others read while selecting them, since I had never heard of Pipes or read his texts prior to this research.

(...) on the one hand, we must overthrow the ideology by force of arms and by means of education, media, and information; and on the other hand, we must support anti-Islamist Muslims, who wish to keep their faith, but do not wish to live under Islamic law (...).

Pipes distinguishes between Muslims (those following the religion of Islam) and Islamists whom he defines as “persons who demand to live by the sacred law of Islam, the Sharia” (Pipes 2006). According to him, “Militant Islam derives from Islam but is a misanthropic, misogynist, triumphalist, millenarian, anti-modern, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic, terroristic, jihadist and suicidal version of it” and that is why the “war on terror” should be aimed at it (Pipes 2002). In relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Pipes’s weblog explicitly assumes a pro-Israel position. The Brazilian weblogs in which the TTs are published share the values and beliefs negotiated by Pipes’s and so the TTs can be said to share the STs purposes (criterion 6).

Table 1.2 shows the titles of the texts (underlined) and their place and date of publication. For each ST there are two TTs¹⁹. The STs and TT1s have been downloaded from Daniel Pipes’s blog. TT2s have been downloaded from three Brazilian weblogs: deolhonamidia.org.br, midiasemmascara.org and midiaamais.com.br.

Table 1.2: The data source

ST	TT1	TT2
1. <u>[Beslan Atrocity:] They're Terrorists - Not Activists</u> danielpipes.org September 7, 2004	<u>Eles são terroristas, não ativistas</u> danielpipes.org September 17, 2004	<u>Eles São Terroristas, Não Ativistas ou Vítimas!</u> deolhonamidia.org.br October 29, 2004
2. <u>Palestinians Don't Deserve Additional Aid</u> danielpipes.org December 21, 2004	<u>Os palestinos não merecem ajuda complementar</u> danielpipes.org December 21, 2004	<u>Os Palestinos Não Merecem Ajuda Adicional</u> deolhonamidia.org.br December 23, 2004
3. <u>"Today Gaza, Tomorrow Jerusalem"</u> danielpipes.org August 9, 2005	<u>"Hoje Gaza, amanhã Jerusalém"</u> danielpipes.org August 9, 2005	<u>Hoje Gaza, Amanhã Jerusalém</u> deolhonamidia.org.br August 15, 2005
4. <u>Rethinking the Egypt-Israel "Peace" Treaty</u> danielpipes.org November 21, 2006	<u>Reavaliando o tratado de "paz" Egito-Israel</u> danielpipes.org November 21, 2006	<u>Reavaliando o Tratado de "Paz" entre Egito e Israel</u> deolhonamidia.org.br December 12, 2006
5. <u>James Baker's Terrible Iraq Report</u> danielpipes.org December 12, 2006	<u>O tosco relatório de James Baker sobre o Iraque</u> danielpipes.org December 12, 2006	<u>O péssimo relatório de James Baker sobre o Iraque</u> midiasemmascara.org December 28, 2006 <i>continues</i>

¹⁹ In triplet 8, TT2 has been translated and published in two parts.

6. <u>How the West Could Lose</u> danielpipes.org December 26, 2006	<u>Como o Ocidente poderia perder</u> danielpipes.org December 26, 2006	<u>Como o Ocidente poderia perder</u> midiasemmascara.org January 30, 2007
7. <u>The Enemy Has a Name</u> danielpipes.org June 19, 2008	<u>O Inimigo Tem um Nome</u> danielpipes.org June 19, 2008	<u>O inimigo tem um nome</u> midiasemmascara.org July 9, 2008
8. <u>[The Islamist-Leftist] Allied Menace</u> danielpipes.org July 14, 2008	<u>Aliança Ameaçadora [dos islamistas-esquerdistas]</u> danielpipes.org July 14, 2008	<u>A ameaça da aliança profana - Parte I</u> midiasemmascara.org August 6, 2008
		<u>A ameaça da aliança profana – Final</u> midiasemmascara.org August 13, 2008
9. <u>Obama, the Middle East and Islam - An Initial Assessment</u> danielpipes.org February 3, 2009	<u>Obama, o Oriente Médio e o Islã - Uma Avaliação Inicial</u> danielpipes.org February 3, 2009	<u>Obama, o Oriente Médio e o Islã – Uma Avaliação Inicial</u> midiaamais.com.br March 4, 2009
10. <u>Arabs, Israelis, and Underdogs</u> danielpipes.org April 1, 2009	<u>Árabes, israelenses e os Prejudicados</u> danielpipes.org April 1, 2009	<u>Árabes, israelenses e a simpatia pelos “mais fracos”</u> midiaamais.com.br April 16, 2009
11. <u>Counterterrorism in Obama's Washington</u> danielpipes.org August 18, 2009	<u>Contraterrorismo na Washington de Obama</u> danielpipes.org August 18, 2009	<u>O contraterrorismo na Washington de Obama</u> midiaamais.com.br September 3, 2009

These texts have been selected according to the aims and criteria specified above (sections 1.5.1 and 1.5.3.1). The issues addressed in them and the value positions assumed by them have not been taken into account for selection. The fact that those texts are analysed here by no means represents any support of the personal opinions exposed or of the pro-Israeli cause promoted by them. I would have equally used pro-Arab texts or texts dealing with other issues if they had met the criteria adopted.

In addition to fulfilling the formal criteria, the polemic style of Pipes' writings promised to supply a high frequency of appraisal-relevant structures.

Finally, as a translator and a translation studies researcher, I appreciate the value given to translation and its use in sites like the ones referred to above. Such translated texts make a good opportunity for investigating how language is used and what service these texts may be doing in these contexts. In the next section, I explain the procedures adopted for building the new SF model of translation as re-instantiation and also for using these texts to support and test this model²⁰.

²⁰ Besides being used to test the model of translation proposed here, texts in the data source will also be used to provide illustrations for the theories informing it which are detailed in chapter 2.

1.5.4 Methodology

The new systemic functional model of translation proposed here draws on Martin's (2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) complementary SFL hierarchies but focuses on the hierarchy of instantiation, following Martin's (2007a) suggestion that instantiation is better suited for showing "how texts are sourced from one another" (p. 284). It expands the notion of re-instantiation so as to include translation as a relation between instances of different language systems. However, since such an expansion is made within the context of TS, translation is not seen here as one area of application of linguistic concepts (cf. Halliday 2010: 19; Martin 2008a: 53; Matthiessen 2009: 21) but constitutes the object of study and is seen as a complex phenomenon involving the use of language. This means a change of focus from the "affordances and predispositions" of languages in contact to the relation between texts in a relation of translation. Within TS, the intertextual relation between ST and TT is a central issue and has been called by different names (e.g., *imitation, equivalence, manipulation, re-writing, retextualization, transformation*).

Seeing that TS and SFL share an interest in how language is used, i.e., what choices are made by the user in a given text and how they make meaning in contrast to other possible choices (realised in other texts), the SFL instantiation framework is here proposed as a new way of accounting for the relation between ST and TT.

Since the model is built upon the idea of a complementarity between the three SFL hierarchies, although it is focused on instantiation, it will articulate concepts from the other two hierarchies like "systems", "reservoir", "repertoire", "individual users".

In order to accommodate the new translation model within TS, I will situate it in relation to previous research which has approached translation by means of instantiation namely Matthiessen (2001) and Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006).

1.5.4.1 The type of analysis

The analyses undertaken in this research as a way of probing the model proposed are conceived as informed *close readings* of the texts in the first triplet of the data source (see section 1.5.3.2). Close here means that, as a discourse analyst, I am gazing at the instance pole, i.e., I am "standing right up close, microscopically subsumed in the deconstruction of an instance" (Martin 2007a: 285). In other words, I take the ST as the meaning potential from which the TTs departed. However, this does not imply a view of translation as a rescuing of meanings but as a form of *interlingual re-writing*. The analytical focus is put on the semantic relations between meanings in the ST and meanings in the TTs. Although considering the ST as the starting point, each text is taken as a possible linguistic construction of the reality in focus, produced by a given user of a language system for a given use. And, as a privileged user, my reading of the ST has benefitted from the reading of the TTs.

By informed, I mean that this reading is performed taking into account a number of ancillary texts, especially those concerning the theoretical framework introduced in previous sections. It is these theoretical lenses that help me focus on the instance while keeping aware of elements in the peripheral vision – elements like genre, register, and in what concerns the TTs, alternative instances or rather re-instantiations. Furthermore, these same lenses also allow me to observe elements at an intra-textual level.

The analyses are also conceived as contrastive since they are made so as to find out whether TTs, as meaning potentials, afford different readings in comparison with readings afforded by the ST (see sections 1.4.2 and 1.5.4.2).

In order to validate the analyses offered, I have reproduced the whole texts in Appendix 1²¹ and I will quote relevant strings so as to allow the reader to follow the claims made. I also specify my reading position as suggested by Martin & White (2005: 62) in the following section.

1.5.4.2 Reading position

According to Martin (2009a), texts *afford* “readings of different kinds according to the social subjectivity of their consumers” (p. 17). “Social subjectivity” here is opposed to “individual subjectivity”. Social subjectivity stands for “readers positioned by specific configurations of gender, generation, class, ethnicity and in/capacity” while individual subjectivity stands for “readers as idiosyncratic respondents” (Martin & White 2005: 62). The authors assume that texts seek to naturalize a specific reading position by means of their “co-selection of meanings” (ibid.).

Drawing on critical theory²², Martin & White (2005) propose three possible types of reading – compliant, resistant and tactical. A compliant reading is that which subscribes to a text’s naturalized reading position; a resistant reading is that which opposes it; and a tactical reading is that which in principle “neither accepts nor rejects” (p. 206) it but “aims to deploy a text for social purposes other than those it has naturalised” (ibid.).

Focusing on interpersonal meanings, Martin & White (2005) investigate how texts use appraisal resources in order to position readers. They propose that attitudinal resources are used so as to tell the reader “how to feel”. This applies both to inscribed (or explicit) resources and to invoked (or implicit) ones. The authors point out that many times, “the selection of ideational meanings is enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how to feel” (p. 63). That is, inscribed evaluation frequently interacts with invoked evaluation in texts and the latter cannot be left out when reading them.

Notwithstanding, the authors recognize that “at first blush it might seem that analysing the evaluation invoked by ideational selections introduces an undesirable element of subjectivity into the analysis” (p. 62). Thus, they suggest analysts of appraisal specify their reading positions and their type of reading (cf. p. 62).

Since the analyses made in the current study take into account both inscribed and invoked evaluation, I here specify my reading position and type of reading –

my reading of the texts in the data source is a tactical one made by me as a female, middle-aged, middle-class, white, Brazilian, able-bodied translation studies researcher approaching the relation between ST and TT through SFL lenses.

This means I am not addressing the texts as a reader who is interested specifically in the issues dealt with or in communing or rejecting the arguments offered. I am looking at these texts primarily as “an instrument for finding about something else” (Halliday &

²¹ I have not preserved the original format of texts since no multimodal analysis is intended here. I am interested in the verbiage, so I am not considering their use of different types and sizes of fonts, colours, images and hyperlinks.

²² Especially gender theory in Cranny-Francis (1990, 1992) and also Cranny-Francis & Martin (1993, 1994, 1995).

Matthiessen 2004: 3). The something else here is how the TTs re-instantiate appraisal resources used in STs. Therefore, I deploy a complex and technical analytical apparatus and seek to be as explicit as possible in my illustration of categories and interpretation of logogenetic patterns in texts. Although I am also addressing these texts as objects in their own right, I am not directly interested in explaining why these texts are valued as they are (cf. *ibid.*). For the purposes of this research, it suffices to know that they are valued and used to polarize opinions in the communities formed around the three weblogs.

1.5.4.3 Research questions

In order to propose and test the new SF model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation, this thesis formulates and proposes to answer a set of research questions. At the most general level, it asks

I – How can translation be modelled as interlingual re-instantiation?

In order to answer this question, I will draw on the SFL new developments reviewed in chapter 2, adapting the framework to the contexts of translation and illustrating proposed concepts with examples from the data source.

As seen in section 1.4.2 above, re-instantiation involves the re-coupling and re-commitment of ST meanings as TT meanings and such new combinations may be re-defined in terms of the strata, metafunctions, ranks and simultaneous systems in the TL system. Thus, in order to model translation as a type of re-instantiation and simultaneously test such a model, it is necessary to demarcate a specific area of meaning to be investigated. In relation to the SFL dimensions, the research focus is put on interpersonal meanings (metafunction) at the stratum of discourse semantics (stratum) realised prosodically (prosodic structure) by resources comprised in appraisal systems (system). And, in relation to rank, the proposition is taken as the minimal unit of analysis.

According to such a demarcation, the general question above can be made more specific as

II – How do TTs re-instantiate ST appraisals?

This question is asked under the hypothesis that there will be differences in the use of appraisal resources in ST and in the TTs due not only to differences in “affordances and predispositions” of the languages in question – Brazilian Portuguese and American English – but also to differences in the repertoires of the author of the STs and the translators who produced the TTs. Thus, answering this question implies contrasting STs and TTs, i.e., asking

II. a – Are there differences in the use of appraisal resources made in the ST and in corresponding TTs?

To answer such a question, I will trace instances as configurations of appraisal resources. I will deploy the hierarchy of realisation, i.e., the appraisal system, so as to account for and contrast the selections made in the ST and in each one of the TTs. However, in deploying realisation from the perspective of instantiation, I will not be looking at choices and combinations of meaning as “realisations” but as “instantiations”.

Realisation remains as the abstract rules through which elements in one stratum get recoded as elements of the next stratum. From the perspective of interlingual re-instantiation, it is seen as comprised in the user's repertoire, i.e. it is his/her collection of rules for instantiating a given text with a given social purpose. In these appraisal analyses, I will be looking at how resources in the discourse semantics stratum are used to instantiate appraisals in the STs and the TTs.

After checking whether or not differences obtain, I will proceed to investigate how TT's uses of appraisal are sourced on the ST's uses, i.e., which intertextual relations are established in relation to appraisal. For such, I will deploy the concepts of coupling and commitment. This means asking

II.b – What differences, if any, concern the coupling and/or the commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings in evaluations (appraised + appraisal) in these texts?

After distinguishing types of difference, I will investigate the relations between the three texts in terms of the readings afforded. This means asking

II.c – Do differences in appraisal, if any, generate differences in the readings afforded by the ST and TTs? Which?

Finally, I will discuss the prospective advantages/disadvantages of such a modelling of translation by answering the question

III – What are the theoretical and analytical gains in relation to previous models?

1.6 Relevance of the thesis

The relevance of this research resides in its offering of a new conceptual framework for the study of translation and the analysis of translated texts. The model provides both a new way of representing translation through SFL lenses and new analytical tools for text analysis. The following advantages are claimed to the deployment of such a toolkit –

1. Compared to previous SF models of translation (e.g., Halliday 1956, 1960, 1964, 1992, 2001 and 2010, Catford 1965, Matthiessen 2001, Steiner 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b and 2006), the current model widens the perspective on translation by contextualizing it in relation to three complementary SFL hierarchies – realisation, instantiation and individuation. Primarily concerned with human translation, it
 - i. takes translation as a re-writing of a SL instance as a TL instance;
 - ii. investigates intertextual relations between ST and TT. This means exploring how a TT is sourced from a ST, i.e. how the two texts are semantically related; and it
 - iii. considers the users behind such a process of re-writing and their repertoires.

This represents an advantage since –

- a) the current model enables the study of translations in their quality of instances instead of privileging the concern with the relation between entire language systems. The previous models mentioned above were mostly informed by the hierarchy of realisation and even when instantiation is considered (e.g., Matthiessen 2001, Steiner 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b and 2006), such models choose to deal with systemic relations between ST and TT at higher levels up the cline of instantiation (system/ registers). Although such gazes (systemic and instantial) are complementary and concern both linguists and TS scholars, the instantial gaze can prove more fruitful for studying translation as a type of intertextual relation in which a TT is sourced to a ST and examine closely which semantic relations are established and how;
 - b) by bringing users into the scene the model makes notions like *equivalence* and *shift* expendable since translation is no longer seen as a matching between options from two abstract systems but as a negotiation of meanings based on users' *personalized language systems*, i.e., their *repertoires*. Such repertoires tend to converge within each language/culture, within distinct communities but they are never completely overlapping. This represents an evolution in relation to models like the ones mentioned in item 1 which choose to discuss translation in terms of equivalence and shift, the two terms standing for parameters of difference between languages – "(...) translation equivalence and translation shift are two opposite poles on a cline of difference between languages", from "maximal congruence" to "maximal incongruence""(Matthiessen 2001: 78);
2. it allows the analyst to show in detail how a ST and a TT in relation of translation are semantically related, by means of the concepts of *re-instantiation*, *coupling* and *commitment*;
 3. it redefines the job of the theorist – instead of helping translators find *equivalences* by developing comparative maps of the languages which indicate equivalences/shifts in relation to SFL dimensions (cf. Matthiessen 2001: 97; Halliday 2010: 16), the idea now is to use such SFL tools in order to make translators aware of the "indefinitely large set of possible combinations" of meaning that is "left open" (Martin 2009a: 24) when a user sets out to instantiate a text in one language and when a translator sets out to re-instantiate a ST in a TL. And, most importantly, to make them aware that *meaning* and *value* are always associated (according to users' repertoires and reading positions) and can be *negotiated* in different ways, with different communities of users and to different results;
 4. it is in tune with TS views of translation as a renegotiation of meanings ("re-writing" in e.g., Lefevere 1992a and 1992b; and "dialogue" in Robinson 1991). It allows researchers to see the TT as a "semantic investment" (commitment of meanings) which is performed by the translator according to his/her linguistic/cultural repertoires and offered to the TL reader with no guarantee of success;

A more detailed discussion of such advantages is provided in chapter 5.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is written so as to document the planning and implementation of the research design introduced above. Thus, in this *chapter 1*, I have provided a general introduction to the research, locating it in terms of its academic affiliations, theoretical frameworks, aims, methodology and relevance.

In *chapter 2*, I will provide a more detailed account of the SFL extensions informing the model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation which were briefly introduced in chapter 1 – the Appraisal framework (Martin 2001, Martin & Rose 2007; Martin & White 2005; White 2005) and the new developments on the complementarity of hierarchies focusing on the hierarchy of instantiation (Martin 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b).

In *chapter 3*, I will introduce the new SF model, situating it in relation to previous research within SFL and adapting the concepts revised in chapter 2 to the context of translation. First of all, I propose interlingual re-instantiation as a three-dimensional model informed by realisation, instantiation and individuation. Then, focusing on instantiation, I model translation as a type of intertextual relation between ST and TT and I propose to adapt Martin's (2007a) concepts of 'quoting', 'paraphrasing' and 'retelling'²³ to stand for modes of translational intertextual relation by characterizing them in terms of: 1) possible types of management of matrices²⁴; 2) possible representations of shared meaning potential; and 3) possible distantiation–re-instantiation paths.

In *chapter 4*, I offer analyses of the first triplet in the data source as an introductory testing of the model put forward in chapter 3. The use of appraisal resources in the ST is closely examined in terms of its logogenetical drift and this close analysis is followed by contrastive analyses of the use of appraisal resources in each of the TTs. Then, the three texts are contrasted in terms of the coupling and commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings, focusing on different uses of appraisal that can be said to afford new readings of the ST in the target community. This comparison is used to classify local sourcing relations by means of the categories of 'quoting', 'paraphrasing' and 'retelling'. Finally, I discuss the possibility of characterizing the whole texts (TTs) as 'quoting', 'paraphrasing' or 'retelling' the ST's evaluations and which type of reading (compliant, resistant, tactical) may each TT be said to intend for the TL reader.

In *chapter 5*, I will provide a general discussion of the model proposed and its testing, considering whether the research questions have been adequately answered and also the advantages/disadvantages of deploying the model proposed as against alternative models within this approach. The discussion also addresses potential developments of the model and future research to be done concerning both theory and text analysis.

²³ Martin (2007a) proposes these categories as modes of re-instantiation. In chapter 3, I will model them as modes of intertextual relation in interlingual re-instantiation and I will use single quotes to indicate the technical use of these terms.

²⁴ Matrices are defined as sets of linguistic material from which texts are produced and used (see chapter 3, section 3.2.1.4).

2 – Theoretical foundations

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I further detail the SFL extensions which inform the model of translation to be put forward in chapter 3. In section 2.1, I review the appraisal framework (Martin 2001, 2003; Martin & White 2005) which elaborates on the SFL system of interpersonal meanings. This framework provides the basis for the modelling of translation as interlingual re-instantiation since the research focus is put on this area of meaning (see chapter 1, section 1.5.2). In section 2.2, I review the new developments concerning the complementarity among the hierarchies of realisation, instantiation and individuation (Martin 2007a, 2007b, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b). More attention is given to the hierarchy of instantiation since it is assumed as the most relevant dimension for the modelling of translation as a type of intertextual relation (see chapter 1, section 1.4.2).

2.1 The Appraisal framework

Within SFL, appraisal is a system of interpersonal meanings at the level of discourse semantics. Appraisal resources are used to negotiate attitudinal and dialogistic positioning, as well as to emphasize or downplay such positioning in texts.

The appraisal framework originated in the context of an Australian literacy project called *Write it Right*, developed from 1990 to 1995 as part of the New South Wales Disadvantaged Schools Program. Led by Professor Jim Martin of the University of Sydney, this project aimed “to examine the written genres of a range of significant key learning areas of secondary education (English, history, science, mathematics and geography) and to consider their relationship to the written genres of selected work situations (the media, science industry and administration)” (Christie & Martin 2000: 1). In order to take interpersonal meaning into account in the analysis and classification of text types in each of these registers, researchers engaged in this project felt the need to expand on the model of interpersonal meaning available at the time (Poynton 1984, 1985, 1990a, b, 1993, 1996). According to Martin & White (2005), appraisal theory developed as they “moved from one register to another, and shuttled among theory, description and applications to school-based literacy initiatives” (Martin & White 2005: xi).

The system of appraisal comprises three large interactive subsystems – engagement, attitude and graduation (see Figure 2.1)²⁵.

2.1.1 The system of engagement

Engagement concerns how texts manage *other voices*, i.e., how they source evaluations (intertextual positioning) and how they anticipate the reactions of possible readers (dialogic positioning). It comprises resources such as projection (quoting and reporting), modality (use of modals), polarity (affirmation/negation) and concession (use of conjunctions like “but”) (cf. Martin & White 2005: 36).

²⁵ In SFL, curly braces stand for simultaneous choice, i.e., optional elements may be combined (x and y). Square brackets stand for excluding choice (x **or** y). Examples of usage of appraisal resources in the data source are given ahead. Some examples are from STs and some are from TTs in back translation (BT).

At its most general level of delicacy, this system (see Figure 2.2) offers two options – monogloss or heterogloss.

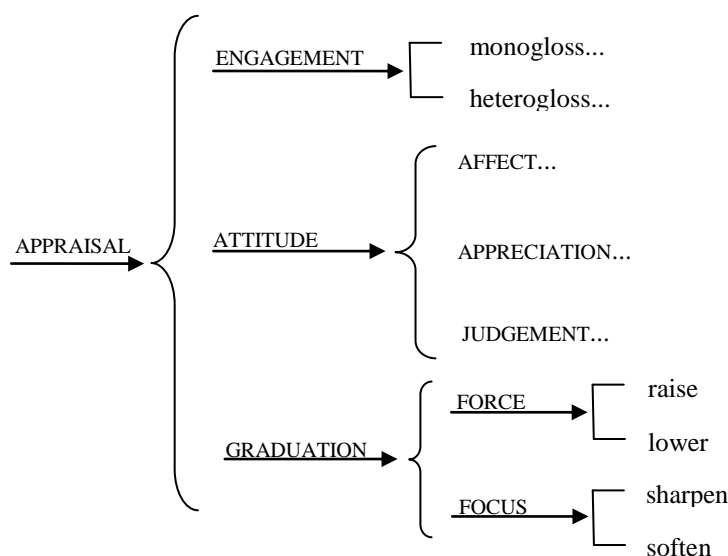


Figure 2.1: Overview of the system of APPRAISAL (Martin & White 2005: 38)

2.1.1.1 Monogloss

With monogloss, “the communicative context is construed as single voiced” (Martin & White 2005: 99). The speaker produces categorical assertions, choosing to ignore the dialogistic nature of discourse, i.e., alternative positions. S/he presents the proposition “as one which has no dialogistic alternatives which need to be recognised, or engaged with” (ibid.). In other words, s/he presents the proposition as not negotiable, although every use of language in communication involves the negotiation of meanings (cf. ibid).

Martin & White (2005) distinguish two strategies for monoglossing values:

- (i) presenting the proposition as “take-for-granted” (e.g. via presupposition) – the listener is constructed as sharing the speaker’s views (no further argument is presented). For example, in {TRIP8/ST}²⁶, the assertion that *When Stalin and Hitler made their infamous pact in 1939, the Red-Brown alliance posed a mortal danger to the West (...)* is treated as a *fact* and compared to the current situation in which the coalition between Western leftists and Islamists *poses the same threat*.

²⁶ Examples given in this chapter are from the data source. The sources will be indicated within curly brackets, e.g. {TRIP1/ST} = triplet 1, source text. When the example comes from a TT, only the back translation will be provided.

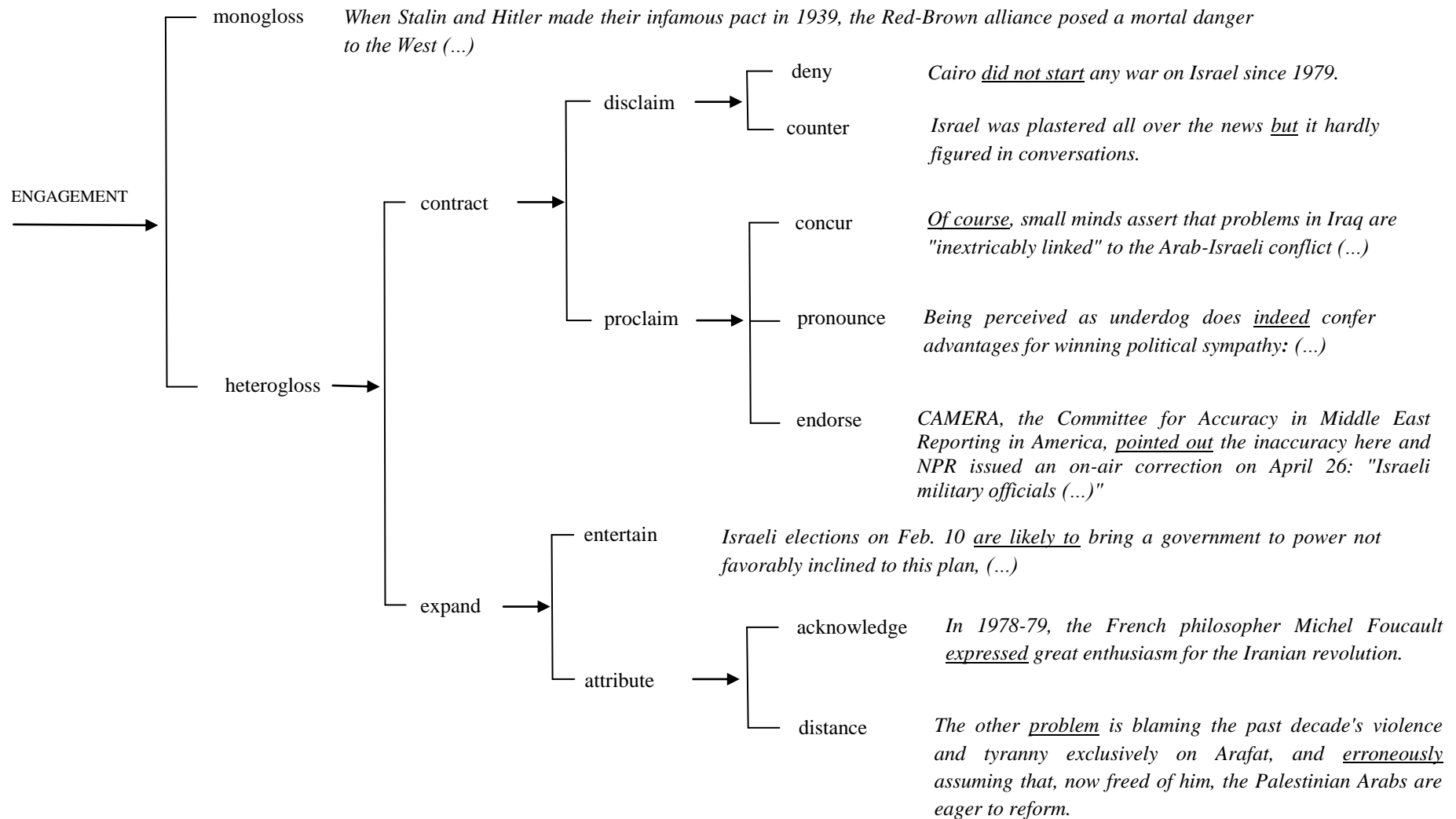


Figure 2.2: The system of ENGAGEMENT (Martin & White 2005: 134)

- (ii) presenting it as currently “at issue” – the speaker makes an assertion but at the same time provides support for the value position. For example, in {TRIP6/ST}, the assertion that *Pacifism, self-hatred and complacency are lengthening the war against radical Islam and causing undue casualties* is supported with evidences of how this is happening.

According to White (personal communication, 14 January, 2010),

the minimal unit of analysis for engagement is the "figure" or the "proposition" in more traditional terms. Or perhaps we should say that the dialogistic effects associated with engagement values operate minimally over single figures/ propositions (even while they can have scope over multiple figures/propositions).

White also points out that “Analyses can become complicated when figures/propositions are linked together into complexes or when one figure/proposition is embedded in another via various types of nominalisation”. There is also the issue of identifying the source of the evaluation. So, for example, in “Fred holds that John’s foolish decision to leave is understandable”, White distinguishes three propositions and classifies them in the following way:

1. The proposition that Fred has taken a particular position re John's decision (i.e that he holds that it is understandable) is monoglossed.
2. The proposition that John's decision is understandable is, of course, heteroglossed - i.e. attributed to Fred, as an external voice.
3. More complex is the analysis of the proposition that "John's decision is foolish". One interpretation is that this is a proposition which is being presupposed by the speaker and accordingly is the view of the speaker rather than the view of Fred. Under this interpretation, since the proposition is presupposed by the speaker, it is monoglossed - thus an island of monoglossia, so to speak, within the heteroglossed assertion that "John's decision is understandable").

2.1.1.2 Heterogloss

With heterogloss, the speaker acknowledges alternative positions to varying degrees. S/he does so by using resources under two main options – contract and expand (see Figure 2.2). With **contract**, alternative positions are recognized but checked. With **expand**, they are recognized and invited. The level of dialogic contraction gradually decreases as we move down from categories under contract (disclaim and proclaim) to categories of expand (entertain and attribute).

Through resources of **disclaim**, a position is invoked in order to be rejected. With deny, the position is rejected by means of negation²⁷ (typical expressions are *no, didn't*,

²⁷ The underlying assumption here is that typically “the negative is not the simple logical opposite of the positive, since the negative necessarily carries with it the positive, while the positive does not reciprocally carry the negative (...)” (Martin & White 2005: 118).

never). With **counter**, the position is replaced by another one which contradicts the reader's expectations (typical expressions are *but, even, though, still, surprisingly*).

Through resources of **proclaim**, the speaker does not reject a position directly but tries to make it unquestionable. With *concur*, s/he represents him/herself as agreeing with the addressee. Typical expressions are *of course, naturally, not surprisingly, admittedly and certainly*, besides rhetorical questions inviting agreement, (e.g. *Does an antique signature on a piece of paper offset Egypt's Abrams tanks, F-16 fighter jets, and Apache attack helicopters?* {TRIP4/ST}) and negative interrogatives. With **pronounce**, the speaker interpolates his/her own views by means of expressions like *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, and added emphasis as for example in *Harkening back to the good old days of "20 or 30 years ago" does contain a real message, (...)*{TRIP9/ST}. With **endorse**, the user brings into the text external voices construed as "maximally warrantable" (Martin & White 2005: 126)²⁸. Endorsements are realised via the choice of framers like "proven", "shown", "demonstrated", as in *X has proven/shown/demonstrated that (...)*. They are also indicated by inscribed positive attitude (see section 2.2.1.2.6) as in *"I know it when I see it" was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice (...)* {TRIP1/ST}; and *They [3 social psychology researchers] predicted correctly. Small size turns out to be key to being perceived as the underdog (...)* {TRIP10/ST}.

Through resources of **expand**, the speaker presents his position as only one among many other possible positions. With **entertain** such a position is grounded in the speaker's "own, contingent, individual subjectivity" (Martin & White 2005: 98). Typical expressions are *it seems, the evidence suggests, apparently, I hear, perhaps, probably, maybe, it's possible, in my view, I suspect that, I believe that, probably, it's almost certain that (...)*; modals of probability like *may, will, must* and rhetorical questions "which don't assume a specific response but are employed to raise the possibility that some proposition holds" (Martin & White 2005: 105). An example from the data source is *Why, just two weeks into a 209-week term, assess a new American president's record on so esoteric a subject as the Middle East and Islam?*{TRIP9/ST}.

Finally, with **attribute**, the position is "grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice" (id., p. 98) through direct and indirect speech. In acknowledgement, the voice is framed by neutral report verbs like *X said..., X believes ..., according to X, in X's view*. With distance, the highest level of dialogic expansion is obtained since besides sourcing the position to an external voice, the speaker disendorses it. A typical framing is "claim" as in *(...) the New York Times (...) refused CAMERA's request to correct its April 24 edition where it announced that "Israel executed a series of raids (...)", claiming that the terminology change did not occur in a direct quote*{TRIP1/TT2}. Special uses of scare quotes may also be used to indicate the speaker's disendorsement as in *(...) his recent comments insisting that millions of Palestinian Arab "refugees" be permitted to enter Israel (...)* {TRIP2/ST}, as well as inscribed negative attitude (see section 2.2.1.2.6) as in *This la-la-land thinking ignores two wee problems* {TRIP2/ST}.

Besides these intertextual resources of engagement, White (1998) also distinguishes resources of intratextual engagement. Intratextual values are dialogic relations established between different propositions within the same text. White proposes 3 categories of intratextual engagement (see Table 2.1) which are correlated to the intertextual categories of deny, counter and concur (cf. p. 95-99).

²⁸ Unlike resources in *concur* and *pronounce*, resources in *endorse* are extravocalized, i.e., they bring external voices into the text like resources of *attribute*. They are placed in *proclaim* rather than in *attribute* due to their level of dialogic contraction.

In intratextual deny, “the text includes both the positive proposition and its replacement directly in the text, thereby setting up an explicit text-internal dialogue” (White 1998: 96), e.g., *War can be concluded through negotiations rather than by one side giving up* {TRIP4/ST}.

Intratextual counter concerns the interpersonal value of connectives like *although, yet, but, nevertheless, and however* “which are most usually interpreted as a value of logico-semantic or conjunctive relationships operating between clauses” (ibid.). Following Martin (1992), White sees these as interpersonal since “there is an expected relationship of cause-&-effect which has been frustrated” (ibid.). An example is in *However frigid the peace, peace it has been* {TRIP4/ST}. Here, peace-frigidness is construed as replacing the expected peace-warmth relationship.

Table 2.1: Intratextual values of engagement (White 1998: 99)

	intertextual	intratextual
deny	(...) <i>There is no chance that the disengagement will guarantee long-term stability.</i>	(...) <i>the proletariat would become impoverished, rebel, and establish a socialist order. But, <u>instead</u>, the proletariat of industrial countries became ever more affluent, and its revolutionary potential withered.</i>
counter	<i>The civilized world will likely then prevail, <u>but</u> belatedly and at a higher cost than need have been.</i>	<i>Just as a physician must identify a disease before curing a patient, so a strategist must identify the foe before winning a war. <u>Yet</u> Westerners have proven reluctant to identify the opponent in the conflict</i>
concur	<i>The plan as it stands <u>can only</u> lead to a renewal of terrorism.</i>	(...) <i>it opened the American arsenal and provided American funding to purchase the latest in weaponry. <u>As a result</u>, for the first time in the Arab-Israeli conflict, an Arab armed force may have reached parity with its Israeli counterpart.</i>

Intratextual concur is also seen as “motivated by an interpersonal logic of obligation” –

The Effect proposition is presented as motivated, as supported by logic, as interpersonally ‘obligated’. In this case, the motivation or interpersonal support from the proposition in question comes not from fulfilling an expectation derived from the inter-textual environment but from the text itself (White 1998:98).

Going back to intertextual engagement, it is important to observe that some combinations of values are recurrently used in texts like interactions between counter and concur, pronounce or entertain. Some examples from the data source are:

- 1) concur + counter: *Mahmoud Abbas, the new leader, has indeed called for ending terrorism against Israel, but he did so for transparently tactical reasons* {TRIP2/ST};

- 2) pronounce + counter: *Harkening back to the good old days of "20 or 30 years ago" does contain a real message, however (...) {TRIP9/ST}; and*
- 3) entertain + counter: "Maybe your \$1 billion a year hasn't produced much, but we think there's a case for doing even more in the next three or four years" {TRIP2/ST}.

2.1.2 The system of attitude

Attitude concerns the attitudinal positioning of texts, i.e., their positive or negative evaluation of people, places, objects, events and situations. It comprises three subsystems of gradable resources – affect, appreciation and judgement. Affect is oriented towards the “appraiser” (White 2005) while judgement and appreciation are oriented towards the “appraised”.

2.1.2.1 Affect

Under affect, the options refer to the speaker’s emotions towards a given value position. In terms of lexicogrammar, affectual meanings may be realised as quality (e.g., *happy, reluctant, supportive, eager*), as process (e.g., *to embrace, to hate, to please, to worry, to despise, to root for/pull for, to disdain, to celebrate*), as comment (e.g., *peremptorily, disturbingly, passionately, dramatically, dismally, desperately*) and also by means of nominalizations of qualities (e.g., *ambition, anger, hatred*) and processes (e.g., *grief, affliction, enthusiasm, exhilaration*) (cf. Martin & White 2005: 46, White 2005).

Affect resources enable the construction of feelings “in me”, i.e., felt by an Emoter, or “at you”, i.e., directed at a Trigger²⁹. Another distinction is whether the feelings involve reaction to a stimulus (“I like it”) or intention (“I’d like to”). These two categories of affect define two regions called *realis* and *irrealis* affect.

In *realis* affect (see Tables 2.2-2.4), options are organized around three main axes – un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. Un/happiness (see Table 2.2) comprises “emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’ – sadness, hate, happiness and love” (Martin & White 2005: 49). The “in me” type includes feelings of “misery” (e.g. (...) *the outpouring of grief for archterrorist Arafat at his funeral* {TRIP2/ST}) or “cheer” (e.g. *The retreat will inspire not comity but a new rejectionist exhilaration, (...)* {TRIP3/ST}). The “at you” type includes feelings of “antipathy” (e.g. *The absence of an impressive Islamist military machine imbues many Westerners, especially on the left, with a feeling of disdain* {TRIP6/ST}) and “affection” (e.g. *Foucault had embraced the artist who pushed the limits of rationality and he wrote with great passion in defense of irrationalities (...)* {TRIP8/ST}).

²⁹Emoter is “the conscious participant experiencing the emotion” and Trigger is “the phenomenon responsible for that emotion” (Martin & White 2005: 46).

Table 2.2: *Realis* AFFECT – UN/HAPPINESS (Martin & White 2005: 49)

UN/HAPPINESS	SURGE (of behaviour)		Disposition
<i>unhappiness</i>	misery [‘in me’]	whimper	down
		cry	sad
		wail	miserable
	antipathy [‘at you’]	rubbish	dislike
		abuse	hate
		revile	abhor
<i>happiness</i>	cheer [‘in me’]	chuckle	cheerful
		laugh	buoyant
		rejoice	jubilant
	affection [‘at you’]	shake hands	fond
		hug	loving
		embrace	adoring

In/security (see Table 2.3) comprises “emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being”, i.e., “our feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to our environs” (ibid.). These are feelings which “in stereotypically gendered communities (...) are associated with “mothering” in the home – tuned to protection from the world outside (or not) (ibid.). They involve “in me” feelings of “disquiet” (e.g. *Westerners have proven reluctant to identify the opponent in the conflict* {TRIP7/ST}) and “confidence” (e.g. *Pacifism, self-hatred and complacency are lengthening the war against radical Islam and causing undue casualties* {TRIP6/ST}); besides “at you” feelings of “surprise” (e.g., *Besides the astonishing conceit of these Olympian declarations, one wonders how exactly (...)* {TRIP5/ST}) and “trust” (e.g. *How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied?* {TRIP1/ST}).

Table 2.3: *Realis* AFFECT – IN/SECURITY (Martin & White 2005: 50)

IN/SECURITY	Surge (of behaviour)		Disposition
<i>in/security</i>	disquiet [‘in me’]	restless	uneasy
		twitching	anxious
		shaking	freaked out
	surprise [‘at you’]	start	taken aback
		cry out	surprised
		faint	astonished
<i>security</i>	confidence [‘in me’]	declare	together
		assert	confident
		proclaim	assured
	trust [‘at you’]	delegate	comfortable with
		commit	confident in/about
		entrust	trusting

Dis/satisfaction (see Table 2.4) comprises “emotions concerned with *telos* (the pursuit of goals)” (ibid.), i.e., “feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the

activities in which we are engaged” (id. p. 50). These are feelings which “in stereotypically gendered communities (...) are associated with “fathering” (and mentoring in general) – tuned to learning and accomplishment” (ibid.). They involve “in me” feelings of “ennui” (e.g. **Beware the flames of frustration in the streets of Gaza³⁰*) and interest (**That made me curious, so I did a little Internet research³¹*); as well as “at you” feelings of displeasure (e.g. *The retreat will inspire not comity but a new rejectionist exhilaration, a greater frenzy of anti-Zionist anger, (...) {TRIP3/ST}*) and pleasure (e.g. *the French philosopher Michel Foucault expressed great enthusiasm for the Iranian revolution {TRIP8/ST}*).

In *irrealis* affect (see Table 2.5), resources enable the construction of emotional reactions to a Trigger (dis/inclination). Feelings include fear (e.g. (...) *an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them {TRIP1/ST}*) and desire (e.g. *The second goal involves helping Muslims who oppose Islamist goals and wish to offer an alternative to Islamism's depravities (...) {TRIP7/ST}*).

Table 2.4: *Realis* AFFECT – DIS/SATISFACTION (Martin & White 2005: 51)

DIS/SATISFACTION		Surge (of behaviour)	Disposition
<i>dis/satisfaction</i>	ennui [‘in me’]	fidget	bored
		yawn	fed up
		tune out	exasperated
	displeasure [‘at you’]	caution	cross
		scold	angry
		castigate	furious
<i>satisfaction</i>	interest [‘in me’]	attentive	curious
		busy	absorbed
		flat out	engrossed
	admiration [‘at you’]	pat on the back	satisfied
		compliment	impressed
		reward	proud

Table 2.5: *Irrealis* AFFECT (Martin & White, 2005: 48)

DIS/INCLINATION	Surge (of behaviour)	Disposition
fear	tremble	wary
	shudder	fearful
	cower	terrorized
desire	suggest	miss
	request	long for
	demand	yearn for

³⁰ Examples marked with an asterisk are not from the data source but from texts in Daniel Pipes’ website. Their Internet addresses will be indicated. This one is available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/comments/24558>.

³¹ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2004/01/department-of-corrections-of-others-factual>.

2.1.2.2 Judgement

Under judgement (see Table 2.6), options concern the evaluation of human behaviour in relation to norms and conventions. In terms of lexicogrammar, judgements may be realised through adverbials (e.g., *frankly, correctly, erroneously, numbingly, prematurely, carefully*), attributes and epithets (e.g., *brilliant, strong, wild-eyed, wrong, sycophantic, malicious, intent, tyrannical*), nominals (e.g. *hero, lunatic, illiterate, saint, scapegoat, underdog, fear-mongering*), and verbs (e.g., *to fool, to oppress, to squeeze (workers), to foul one's nest*) (cf. White 2005). And, as in Affect, we can add nominalizations (e.g., *corruption, naiveté, foolishness, backsliding, brutality, depravity, inconsistency, inability*).

A major distinction in this system is whether the evaluation involves “social esteem”, i.e., “the formation of social networks (family, friends, colleagues, etc)” (Martin & White 2005: 52), or “social sanction”, i.e., the observance of civic and religious duties. Social esteem is subdivided into distinctiveness³², capacity and tenacity. Distinctiveness concerns “how unusual someone is”, e.g. *Baker and his co-chairman, Lee Hamilton, sat for a picture spread with famed photographer Annie Liebovitz (...){TRIP5/ST}*. Capacity concerns “how capable someone is”, e.g., *The White House should call on these talented individuals to brainstorm, argue, and emerge with some useful ideas (...){TRIP5/ST}*. And tenacity concerns “how resolute/dependable someone is” (Martin & White 2005: 52), e.g., *(...) each side wants to intimidate the enemy by appearing ferocious, relentless, and victorious.* {TRIP10/ST}.

Table 2.6: The system of Judgement (Martin & White 2005: 53)

SOCIAL ESTEEM	Positive [admire]	Negative [criticize]
distinctness 'how special?'	lucky, fortunate, harmed... normal, average, everyday... fashionable, avant-garde...	unfortunate, pitiful, tragic... odd, peculiar, eccentric... dated, daggy, retrograde...
capacity 'how capable?'	powerful, vigorous, robust... insightful, clever, gifted... balanced, together, sane...	mild, weak, wimpy... slow, stupid, thick... flaky, neurotic, insane...
tenacity 'how dependable?'	plucky, brave, heroic... reliable, dependable... tireless, persevering, resolute...	rash, cowardly, despondent... unreliable, undependable... weak, distracted, dissolute...
SOCIAL SANCTION	Positive [praise]	Negative [condemn]
veracity 'how honest?'	truthful, honest, credible... real, authentic, genuine... frank, direct...	dishonest, deceitful... glitzy, bogus, fake... deceptive, manipulative...
propriety 'how far beyond reproach?'	good, moral, ethical... law-abiding, fair, just... sensitive, kind, caring...	bad, immoral, evil... corrupt, unfair, unjust... insensitive, mean, cruel...

³² I am renaming Martin's category “normality” as ‘distinctness’ (intended as a measure of ‘how like/unlike others?’) to avoid the controversial pair normal x abnormal.

2.1.2.3 Appreciation

Appreciation comprises resources for evaluating the appearance, composition, impact and meaning of concrete or abstract objects like artefacts, texts, and events. People can also be appreciated in relation to aesthetics (cf. White 2005). In terms of lexicogrammar, appreciations may be realised through attributes and epithets (e.g., *favourite, ugly, impressive, useful, legitimate, feeble, creative, effective, bizarre, trite, burgeoning, cobbled together*), nominals (e.g. *godsend, turning point, gem, drivel, liability*), and verbs (e.g., *this statement made heads turn* and *Such counsel smacks(...)of (...)”staggering naïveté”* {TRIP5/ST}. As in Affect, we can also add nominalizations (e.g., *failure, mess, vacuity, duplicity*).

Appreciation values (see Table 2.7) are organized around three axes – reaction, composition and valuation. Reaction concerns whether or not the thing calls our attention or pleases us (e.g., (...) *And my favourite [euphemism]: Activists – the Pakistan Times* {TRIP1/ST}. Composition concerns the balance and complexity of things, e.g., *The Iraq Study Group Report, cobbled together by ten individuals lacking specialized knowledge of Iraq* (...) {TRIP5/ST}. Valuation concerns the social meaning of things, e.g., *The time has come to recognize the Egypt-Israel treaty – usually portrayed as the glory and ornament of Arab-Israel diplomacy – as the failure it has been* (...) {TRIP4/ST}.

Table 2.7: Appreciation (Martin & White 2005: 56)

	Positive	Negative
<u>Reaction</u> : impact <i>did it grab me?</i>	arresting, captivating, engaging, fascinating, exciting, moving, lively, dramatic, intense ...	dull, boring, tedious, dry, ascetic, uninviting, flat, predictable, monotonous, unremarkable ...
<u>Reaction</u> : quality <i>did I like it?</i>	okay, fine, good, lovely, beautiful, splendid, appealing, enchanting ...	bad, yuk, nasty, plain, ugly, grotesque, repulsive, revolting, off-putting ...
<u>Composition</u> : balance <i>did it hang together?</i>	balanced, harmonious, unified, symmetrical, proportioned, consistent, considered, logical ...	unbalanced, discordant, irregular, uneven, flawed, contradictory, disorganized, shapeless ...
<u>Composition</u> : complexity <i>was it hard to follow?</i>	simple, pure, elegant, lucid, clear, precise, intricate, rich, detailed ...	ornate, extravagant, byzantine, arcane, unclear, woolly, plain, monolithic, simplistic ...
<u>Valuation</u> <i>was it worthwhile?</i>	penetrating, profound, deep, innovative, original, creative, timely, exceptional, unique, authentic, real, helpful ...	shallow, reductive, insignificant, derivative, conventional, prosaic, dated, overdue, untimely, common, fake ...

2.1.2.4 Distinguishing frames

In order to classify instances of attitude, Martin & White (2005) propose two distinguishing frames. One concerns the sources and targets of evaluation. In affect, the source (or appraiser) is a conscious participant, either individually or collectively. In judgement, the target of evaluation (the appraised) is the behaviour of conscious

participants. Appreciation, on the other hand, is not concerned with consciousness – the appraised is a thing or the physical attributes of a person (cf. Martin & White 2005: 59).

The other frame is a clause one (see Table 2.8). For affect, it is “a relational attributive process with a conscious participant involving the verb *feel*” (p. 58, original emphasis). For judgement, it is “a relational attributive process ascribing an **attitude** to some person’s behaviour” (id. p. 59, original emphasis). For appreciation, it is “a mental process ascribing an **attitude** to a thing” (ibid., original emphasis).

Table 2.8: Clause frames for distinguishing types of attitude (Martin & White 2005: 58-9)

system	clause frame	example
Affect	person feels <i>affect</i> about something it makes person feel <i>affect</i> that [proposition]	I feel <i>happy</i> (about that/that they’ve come). It makes me feel <i>happy</i> that they’ve come.
Judgement	it was <i>judgement</i> for/of person to do that (for person) to do that was <i>judgement</i>	It was <i>silly</i> of/for them to do that. (For them) to do that was <i>silly</i> .
Appreciation	Person considers something <i>appreciation</i> Person sees something as <i>appreciation</i>	I consider it <i>beautiful</i> . They see it as <i>beautiful</i> .

Before I proceed to the final system of appraisal – graduation – I need to address two co-related issues: the borders between the systems of attitude (section 2.1.2.5) and the degrees of explicitness in the realisation of options (section 2.1.2.6).

2.1.2.5 Borders between systems of attitude

Not infrequently, the use of attitudinal lexis defies simple and clear-cut classifications. Martin & White (2005) observe that “there are strong links between the **appreciation** variable **reaction** and **affect** (...)” (p. 57, original emphasis) and they propose to distinguish between “the emotions someone feels (**affect**) and ascribing the power to trigger such feelings to things” as in *I’m sad/weeping* (affect) X *a weepy rendition of the song* (appreciation: reaction) (id. p. 57-8, original emphasis).

Table 2.9: Attitudinal lexis realising judgement or appreciation (Martin & White 2005: 60)

judgement	appreciation
he proved a fascinating player	it was fascinating innings (impact)
he proved a splendid player	it was a splendid innings (quality)
he proved a balanced player	it was a balanced innings (balance)
he proved an economical player	it was an economical innings (complexity)
he proved an invaluable player	it was an invaluable innings (valuation)
he was an average player	it was an average innings (normality)
he was a strong player (capacity)	it was a strong innings
he was a brave player (tenacity)	it was a brave innings
he was an honest player (veracity)	it was an honest innings
he was a responsible player (propriety)	it was a responsible innings

The authors also note that “positive and negative valuations of something imply positive and negative **judgements** of the capacity of someone to create or perform” and propose to distinguish between **judgements** of behaviour and evaluations of things as in *a brilliant scholar* (judgement: capacity) X *a penetrating analysis* (appreciation: valuation) (id. p. 58, original emphasis). Moreover, they point out that “Where nominal groups construe a conscious participant in an institutional role or name a complex process as a thing then virtually the same attitudinal lexis can be used either to **judge** or **appreciate** (...) (although not always with exactly the same meaning)” (id., p. 60). The examples provided by Martin & White (2005) are shown in Table 2.9.

2.1.2.6 Degrees of explicitness in the realisation of resources of attitude

Borderline instances of affect, appreciation and judgement as those in the previous section allow for double coding, i.e. for considering instances as simultaneously realising resources from different categories of attitude (Martin & White 2005: 67). However, such a simultaneous realisation involves different degrees of explicitness. In the data source examples below (Tables 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12), inscribed attitude is defined in relation to the sources and targets specified in section 2.1.2.4 above and invoked attitude is defined by means of the clause frames in Table 2.8.

In Table 2.10, the evaluations inscribe appreciation (targets are things) and invoke affect (adjectives concern the feelings of the appraiser which are directed at targets, e.g. the appraiser feels “impressed”, “disquieted”, “alarmed”, “unhappy” and “worried”).

Table 2.10: Inscribed appreciation & invoked affect

Example	degrees of explicitness
The absence of an <u>impressive Islamist military machine</u> imbues many Westerners, especially on the left, with a feeling of disdain.	inscribed positive appreciation: reaction invoked positive affect: dis/satisfaction
The speech contains <u>disquieting signs</u> of ineptitude.	inscribed negative appreciation: reaction invoked negative affect: in/security
Islamists deploy <u>formidable capabilities</u> , however, that go far beyond small-scale terrorism: (...)	inscribed negative appreciation: reaction invoked negative irrealis affect: fear
while Obama's retreat from democratization marks an <u>unfortunate</u> and major <u>change</u> in policy, his apologetic tone and apparent change in constituency present a yet more fundamental and <u>worrisome direction</u> .	inscribed negative appreciation: reaction invoked negative affect: un/happiness inscribed negative appreciation: reaction invoked negative affect: in/security

In Table 2.11, the evaluations inscribe appreciation (Targets are things) and invoke judgement (adjectives/adverb concern the behaviour of a conscious participant, i.e. it is “crass” / “clumsy” / “deceptive” / “heroic” / “moronical” for that participant to do that).

Table 2.11: Inscribed appreciation & invoked judgement

Example	degrees of explicitness
(...) the Iranian analyst Azar Nafisi observes that Islamism "takes its language, goals, and aspirations as much from <u>the crassest forms</u> of Marxism as it does from religion.	inscribed negative appreciation: valuation invoked negative judgement of capacity
Given the many <u>clumsy ways</u> George W. Bush referred to this war, including (...)	inscribed negative appreciation: valuation invoked negative judgement of capacity
It's a deeply <u>deceptive interpretation</u> intended to confuse non-Muslims and win time for Islamists.	inscribed negative appreciation: valuation invoked negative judgement of veracity
Hamas's <u>heroic attacks</u> exposed the weakness and volatility of the impotent Zionist security establishment.	inscribed positive appreciation: valuation invoked positive judgement of distinctiveness
(...) the report <u>moronically splits</u> the difference of troops staying or leaving, without ever examining the basic premise of (...)	inscribed negative appreciation: valuation invoked negative judgement of capacity

In Table 2.12, the evaluations inscribe affect (the source is a conscious participant) and invoke judgement (adjectives/adverb concern the behaviour of a conscious participant, i.e. it is "unethical" of Westerners to do that, it is "coward" of the press to do that).

Martin & White (2005) observe that border instances (see previous section) which "construe an attitude to something we approve or disapprove of can be treated as affectual inscriptions invoking (i.e. implying) judgement or appreciation" (p. 68). In the examples showed in Table 4-3 the feelings themselves are construed as reproachable – the feelings are attributed to conscious participants and the co-text signals the invoked negative judgement.

Table 2.12: Inscribed affect & invoked judgement

Example	degrees of explicitness
Pacifism, <u>self-hatred and complacency</u> [of Westerners] are lengthening the war against radical Islam and causing undue casualties.	inscribed negative affect: dis/satisfaction and in/security invoked negative judgement: propriety
The press, however, generally <u>shies away from</u> the word terrorist, preferring euphemisms.	inscribed negative affect: in/security invoked negative judgement: tenacity
The <u>reluctance</u> [of the press] to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.	inscribed negative affect: in/security invoked negative judgement: tenacity

Inscribed judgement can also be said to invoke an appreciation of the result of an action as in *they predicted correctly* \Rightarrow *their prediction was correct* (cf. Martin & White 2005: 67). The correspondences in Table 2.9 above can thus be read as pairing inscribed attitude (left column) and invoked attitude (right column).

2.1.2.6.1 Strategies for invoking attitude

Beyond the complementarities between affect, appreciation and judgement introduced above, Martin & White (2005) point out strategies for realising attitudinal resources at different degrees of explicitness (see Figure 2.3).

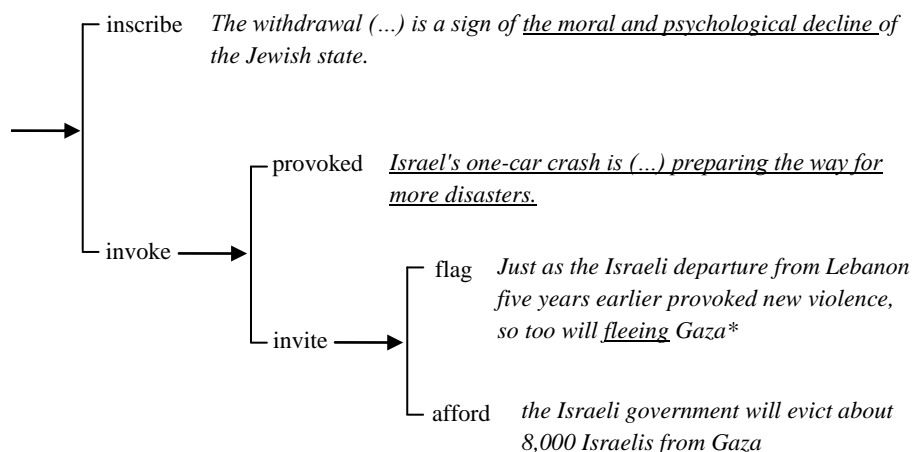


Figure 2.3: Inscribed and invoked attitude

The lowest level of invocation of attitude is achieved through the choice of particular ideational meanings. Such meanings are intended to position the reader attitudinally “even in the absence of attitudinal lexis” (p. 62). The text is said to “afford” an attitude, but the authors acknowledge that the actual reader’s response will depend on her/his “reading position” (id.). For example, those who favour disengagement³³ will probably construe [2:1] below where no attitudinal lexis is used as inviting a positive judgement of the Israeli government while those who disapprove of it will probably construe it as inviting a negative judgement.

[2:1] Starting August 15, the Israeli government will evict about 8,000 Israelis from Gaza and turn their land over to the Palestinian Authority.

For a higher level of invoked meaning, in which the text “flags” an attitude, three strategies are proposed:

- 1) the use of vocabulary “that has in some sense lexicalised a circumstance of manner by infusing it into the core meaning of a word” (p. 65), e.g. *Sharon veered off into a tirade against everyone who (...)³⁴ (veer off = change direction suddenly); Israeli forces fled Lebanon {TRIP3/ST} (flee = run away quickly as from danger or trouble); The Iraq Study Group Report (...) dredges up past failed U.S. policies (...){TRIP5/ST} (dredge up= remove from the bottom as if with a dredge).

³³ The disengagement plan was a “proposal by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, adopted by the government on June 6, 2004 and enacted in August 2005, to evict all Israelis from the Gaza Strip and from four settlements in the northern West Bank” (Wikipedia – “Israel’s unilateral disengagement plan”).

³⁴ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2005/03/ariel-sharon-far-leftist>.

- 2) the use of intensification (see section 2.1.1.3 below), e.g. *extreme individualism* {TRIP8/ST}; *showering money or other benefits on the Palestinian Arabs* {TRIP2/ST} (to shower = to bestow liberally or lavishly; **This rapid shift in fortunes shattered the easy assumption of inherited power and (...)*³⁵ (to shatter = to break violently).
- 3) the use of “indicators of counter-expectancy” (see section 2.1.1.1 above) like *however, but, actually, only, even* (id., p. 67). Examples from the data source are: *In the new report, Mr. Baker and his colleagues call for a Palestinian state (no. 12) and even demand that a final settlement address the Palestinian "right of return"* {TRIP5/ST}; (...) *early on Jan. 22, Obama referred to "the ongoing struggle against violence and terrorism," which avoided saying "war on terror," but later that same day he did precisely refer to the "war on terror"* {TRIP9/ST}.

The highest level of invoked attitude is achieved through the use of lexical metaphor, which “provokes” an attitude, e.g., (...) *however strong the Western hardware, its software contains some potentially fatal bugs* {TRIP6/ST}; *This passage regurgitates a theory of radical Islam that (...)* {TRIP11/ST}.

2.1.2.7 The gradability of attitudinal meanings

As mentioned above, resources comprised in the three systems of attitude are gradable in terms of intensity and may be arranged along a high/median/low scale (see Table 2.13). The gradability of attitudinal values is further discussed in the following section.

Table 2.13: Gradability of attitudinal systems

ATTITUDE	intensity		
	<i>high</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>low</i>
Affect	exhilarated	happy	content
Judgement	brilliant	talented	competent
Appreciation	cobbled together	flawed	defective

2.1.3 The system of graduation

The semantics of graduation operates across the appraisal system, i.e. its resources are used to scale values in the other two subsystems. Martin & White (2005) consider attitude and engagement as “domains of graduation which differ according to the nature of the meanings being scaled” (p. 136). In engagement (see Table 2.14), what is scaled is the “degree of the speaker/writer’s intensity, or the degree of their investment in the utterance” (id. p, 135-6).

³⁵ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/190/syria-the-next-generation>.

Table 2.14: The scaling of engagement values (based on Martin & White 2005: 136)

APPRAISAL		INTENSITY		
		←		→
		lower		higher
engagement	deny	he didn't succumb to this ruse		he never succumbed to this ruse...
	concur	admittedly , he succumbed ...		certainly , he succumbed ...
	pronounce	I'd say he succumbed ...	I contend he succumbed ...	I insist he succumbed...
	entertain	possibly he succumbed ...	probably he succumbed ...	definitely he succumbed ...
	attribution	She suggested he succumbed ...	she stated he succumbed ...	she insisted he succumbed ...

In attitude (see Table 2.15), what is scaled is the positivity or negativity of values. When applied to non-attitudinal items, resources of graduation may also be used to invoke (flag) attitude as seen above (section 2.1.2.6.1), e.g. *extreme individualism* {TRIP8/ST}, **authentic moderates*³⁶. Hood (2004) points out that

resources for grading Attitude are themselves gradable, as in quite successful / very successful / extremely successful. As such, the graduating term (e.g. quite, very, or extremely) retains some evaluative potential even when it does not accompany an inscribed evaluative term (Hood 2004:85).

Table 2.15: The scaling of attitudinal values (based on Martin & White 2005: 136)

APPRAISAL		INTENSITY		
		←		→
		lower		higher
attitude	affect	Others respond with contentment to ...	Others respond with happiness to ...	Others respond with exhilaration to ...
	judgement	The White House should call on these competent individuals	The White House should call on these talented individuals	The White House should call on these brilliant individuals
	appreciation	three feeble and nearly irrelevant steps		three feeble and totally irrelevant steps

³⁶ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/4745/when-conservatives-argue-about-islam>.

The system of graduation (see Figure 2.4) comprises the main choices of upscaling or downscaling the degree of evaluations in relation to force (intensity) or in relation to focus (prototypicality or category membership).

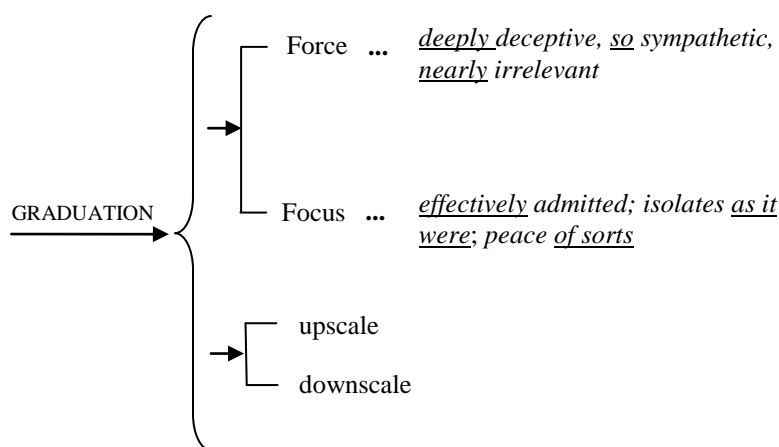


Figure 2.4: Main options in the system of GRADUATION (based on Martin & White 2005: 138, 154)

2.1.3.1 Force

Under force (see Figure 2.4), there are the simultaneous choices of intensification, quantification and whether to use an isolated lexical item (e.g. *totally wrong* {TRIP3/ST}) or lexical items in which the scaling value is fused with some ideational meaning (e.g. *bizarre conspiracy theories* – bizarre = very unusual/strange {TRIP4/ST}).

Intensification resources may upscale/downscale qualities (e.g. *brilliant recommendations* {TRIP4/ST}, *nearly irrelevant steps* {TRIP11/ST}, *the crassest forms of Marxism* {TRIP8/ST}) and processes (e.g. **(...) Bush's desire to shatter the Arab world's frozen societies (...)*³⁷ – to shatter = to break violently; *(...) showering money or other benefits (...)* – to shower = to bestow lavishly {TRIP2/ST}).

Quantification resources adjust the degrees of entities. These are graded in terms of number (e.g. *a few commodity-rich states* {TRIP11/ST}; *large quantities of weapons* {TRIP4/ST}), mass/presence (e.g. *massive resources* {TRIP4/ST}; *A mammoth 2003 joint demonstration* {TRIP8/ST}; *wee problems* {TRIP2/ST}) and extent. In extent, values are graded in terms of proximity or distribution in time or space (e.g. *the latest in weaponry* {TRIP4/ST} (proximity: time); **remote Muslim countries*³⁸ (proximity: space); *This long, ugly record of hostility* {TRIP4/ST} (distribution: time); *the world-wide religion of Islam* {TRIP7/ST} (distribution: space).

2.1.3.2 Focus

Under focus (see Figure 2.5), Martin & White (2005) do not consider more delicate choices but only resources for upscaling or downscaling values in terms of their category

³⁷ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2006/07/the-arab-argument-over-hizbullah>.

³⁸ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/279/fundamentalist-muslims-between-america-and-russia>.

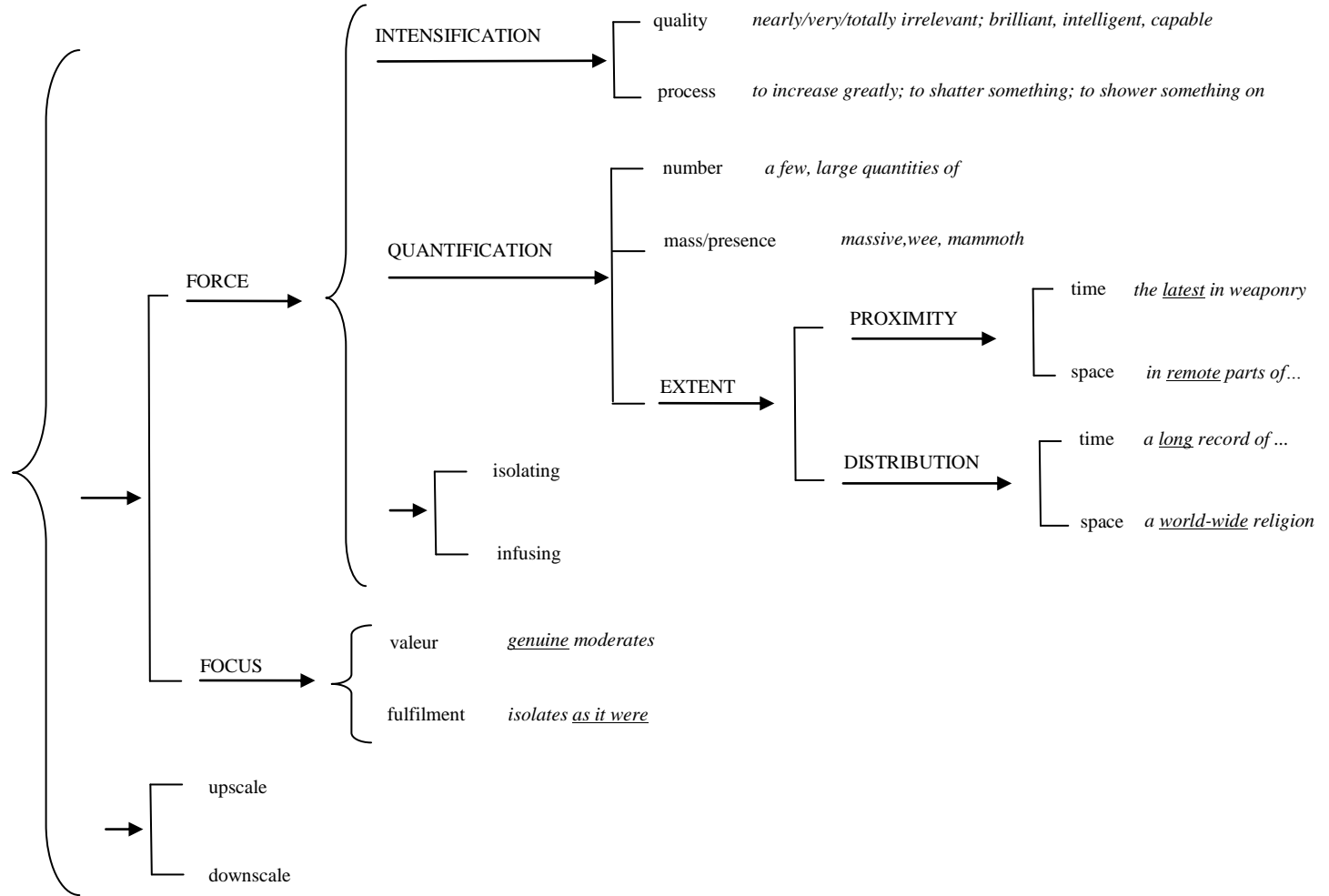


Figure 2.5: The system of Graduation (based on Martin & White 2005: 154 and Hood 2004: 103)

membership, i.e., whether they are placed as more central (a true hero*) or more peripheral (**kind of sympathizing*³⁹). In Figure 2.5, I have included two subcategories which have been proposed by Hood (2004) – *valeur* and *fulfilment*. In *valeur*, the resources are used to focus entities (e.g. *the true scope of the threat* {TRIP6/ST}, *you're *kinda* wrong⁴⁰) and in *fulfilment*, the resources are used to focus processes. Processes are focussed in relation to

- 1) completion (conation), i.e., as fully or partially realised, e.g. *are attempting to create (...)* {TRIP7/ST}; *managed to find (...)* {TRIP8/ST}; *American administration failed to act on his information* {TRIP5/ST}; and
- 2) realisation (reality-phase), i.e., as apparent (unreal) or realised (real), e.g. *These disagreements seem to dwarf the few similarities (...)* {TRIP8/ST}; *The Iraq Study Group Report (...)* dredges up past failed U.S. policies (...) and *would enshrine them as current policy* {TRIP5/ST}; *Sharon proposed the idea of disengagement* {TRIP3/TT2};

According to Hood (2004), “When processes are focused in this way, as fully or partially realised, apparent, or complete, they can also function to evoke Attitude” (p. 101).

After detailing the appraisal framework, I will now introduce some new SFL developments which inform the model of translation as re-instantiation put forward in chapter 3.

2.2 New developments in SFL – realisation, instantiation and individuation as complementary hierarchies

As mentioned in chapter 1, section 1.2, Martin (e.g. 1985, 1992a, 1992b 1997, 1999) proposes a realisation hierarchy in which context itself is stratified into genre and register. Consequently, genre is also included in his hierarchy of instantiation (see Figure 2.6). Martin & White (2005) and Martin (2007a) place genre one notch down the system pole at the same level as register. The justification for the different positions of genre in the two hierarchies is that while in realisation genre is more abstract than register since it is a pattern of field tenor and mode patterns, in instantiation, genre “cannot function as the most general level” since it “involves subpotentials of the system as a whole” (cf. p. 285).

Moreover, unlike Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), Martin models text type and genre/register as separate levels and adds an extra rung called “reading” beyond that of text. This new pole is justified by the fact that “texts can be interpreted as an instantial meaning potential allowing for different readings” (ibid.).

Modelled this way, the hierarchy of instantiation

allows for divergent readings of a single text, the generalization of several texts as text types, the cultural sedimentation of conventionally recurring text types as genres (and thus register configurations), and the contextually neutral meaning potential of the language as a whole (Martin 2007a: 285-6).

³⁹ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/2394/professor-shahid-alam-compared-terrorists-to-founding>.

⁴⁰ Text available from: <http://www.danielpipes.org/990/what-is-jihad> (comments).

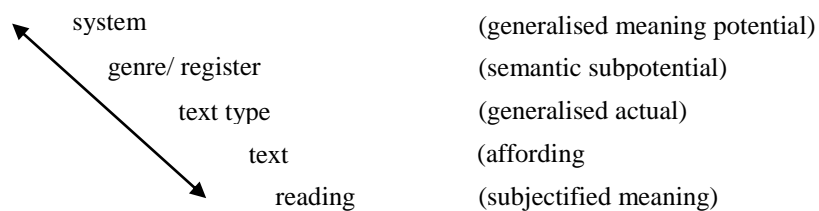


Figure 2.6: The cline of instantiation (Martin (2007a: 285))

Figure 2.7 symbolizes this generalization of readings in texts, text types, genres and system. The three subdivisions are taken as “indefinitely many” (cf. Martin 2007a: 285). According to Martin & White (2005), every text “can be seen as providing for a set of possible meanings (though some will be significantly more favoured and hence more probable than others), with particular possibilities only instantiated by a given reading” (id., p. 163). That is why at the extreme end down the instantiation cline we have a particular reading. This is the notch at which “meaning actually occurs” (Martin & White 2005: 162).

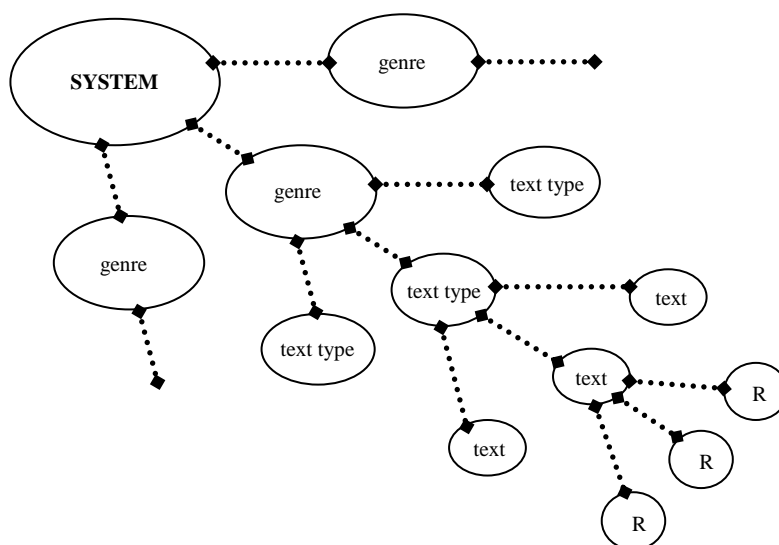


Figure 2.7: Instantiation as a scale of potentiality (Martin 2007a: 285)

From a Bakhtinian perspective, we can say that reading is also the groundwork for potential re-instantiations of a given text (see section 2.2.2.1 below). That is, it is through reading that a given text is related to alternative instances either past or future.

In order to further account for differences in the reading/re-instantiation of a given text, Martin (2007a) proposes a third SFL hierarchy named individuation which concerns “the relationship between the *reservoir* of meanings in a culture and the *repertoire* a given individual can mobilize” (p. 293, emphasis added). To outline such a hierarchy, he draws

on Bernstein's (1990, 2000) notion of coding orientation⁴¹. Bernstein uses the term "repertoire" to refer to "the set of strategies and their analogic potential possessed by any one individual" (Bernstein 1996/2000: 158). Such set involves what he calls "recognition rules", i.e., the speaker's ability to recognize contexts (e.g. recognizing one is in a sociology class) and "realisation rules", i.e., the speaker's ability to produce context-specific texts (e.g. being able to produce texts in the context of sociology, cf. Martin 2009a: 24).

The hierarchy of individuation is further developed in Martin 2007b, 2008b, 2009a and 2009b. He draws attention to the fact that "it is not psycho-biological entities we are exploring, but rather the bundles of personae embodied in such entities and how these personae engender speech fellowships" (2009b: 563). According to Martin (2009a), the cline of individuation deals with the classification/negotiation of identity and community through language –

(...) we can think of individuation along two trajectories, basically asking whether we are classifying identities or negotiating them. Along the reservoir to repertoire trajectory, we can conceive of a culture dividing into smaller and smaller communities as we move from the community as whole, through master identities (generation, gender, class, ethnicity, dis/ability) and subcultures to the personas that compose individual members. (...)

Reversing direction, we can conceive of persona aligning themselves into sub-cultures, configuring master identities and constituting a culture. Along this trajectory we are concerned with realisation rules, framing and control – with negotiation among and across identities (Martin 2009a: 24).

These two complementary perspectives on individuation are called *allocation* and *affiliation* (Martin 2009b: 565, see Figure 2.8 below).

The three hierarchies of realisation, instantiation and individuation are, in fact, complementary perspectives on the phenomenon of language in context. According to Martin (2008a),

we can interpret the realisation hierarchy as something emerging, phylogenetically (in a culture) or ontogenetically (in the individual), out of the innumerable instances of language use through which we live our lives (Martin 2008a: 42-3).

⁴¹ Coding orientation or semantic coding orientation is refers to "differences in language-using habits between those of different ages, genders, social classes, subcultures, etc" (Lemke 1995: 27).

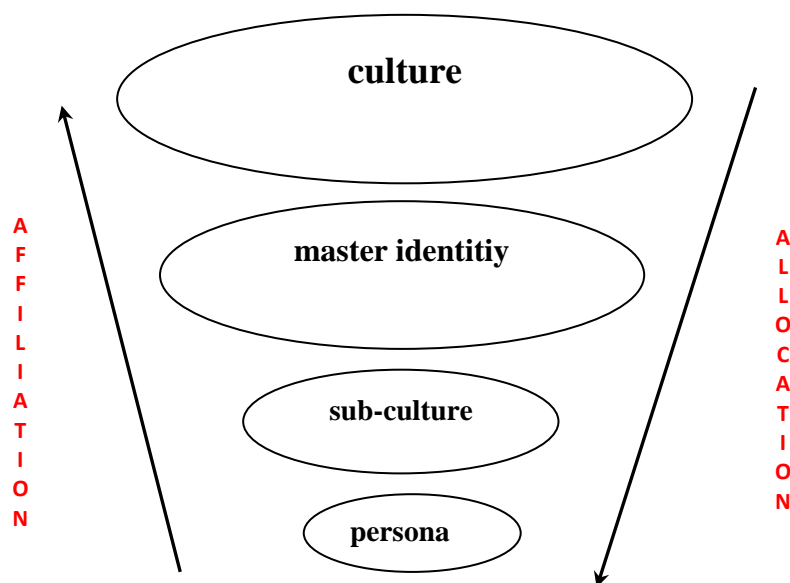


Figure 2.8: Individuation as a hierarchy of affiliation and allocation
(based on Martin 2009b: 565)

The three hierarchies of realisation, instantiation and individuation are, in fact, complementary perspectives on the phenomenon of language in context. According to Martin (2008a),

we can interpret the realisation hierarchy as something emerging, phylogenetically (in a culture) or ontogenetically (in the individual), out of the innumerable instances of language use through which we live our lives (Martin 2008a: 42-3).

In other words, system, instances of use and users' identities synergistically engender one another through language use. This complementarity can be visualized in Figure 2.9 where each hierarchy fits a different time frame in terms of semogenesis (semantic variation) – instantiation concerns logogenesis, i.e., the unfolding of meaning as text (or as divergent readings of a single text) (cf. Martin 2007a: 295); individuation accounts for ontogenesis, i.e., the development of individual repertoires; and realisation accounts for phylogenesis, i.e., “the evolutionary consequences of variation according to users (individuation) and uses (instantiation)” (Martin 2009b: 576).

According to Martin, realisation as a scale of abstraction where “each stratum gets recoded as another” (2007a: 284) is “all about system” when looked from the perspective of instantiation. He points out that “all strata instantiate” and that “all strata individuate” (2009a: 22, 27-8; 2008b: 33, 58). In other words, “changing levels of abstraction brings us no closer to instances of language use, nor to individual language users” (2008a: 53, see Figure 2.10).

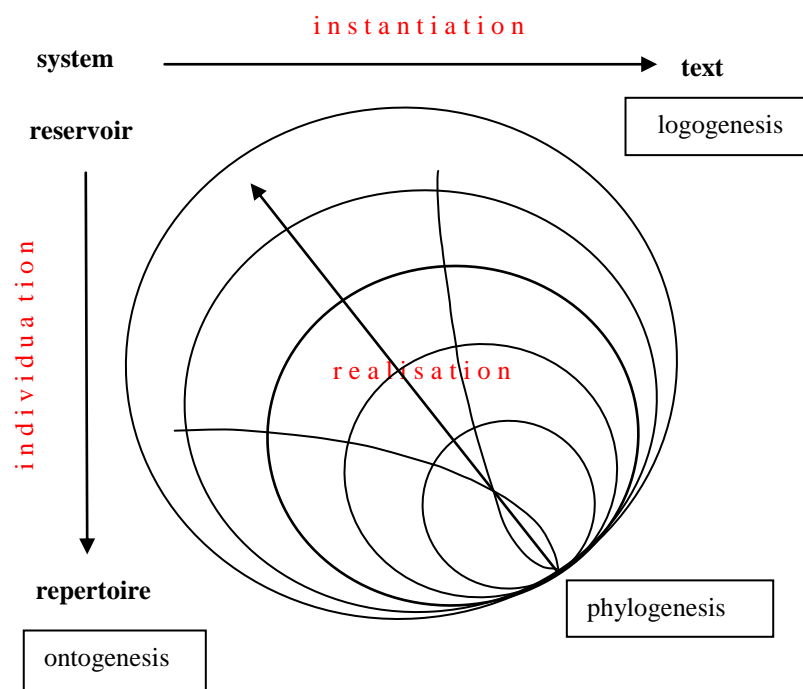


Figure 2.9: The three complementary hierarchies in relation to genesis (Martin 2009b: 577)

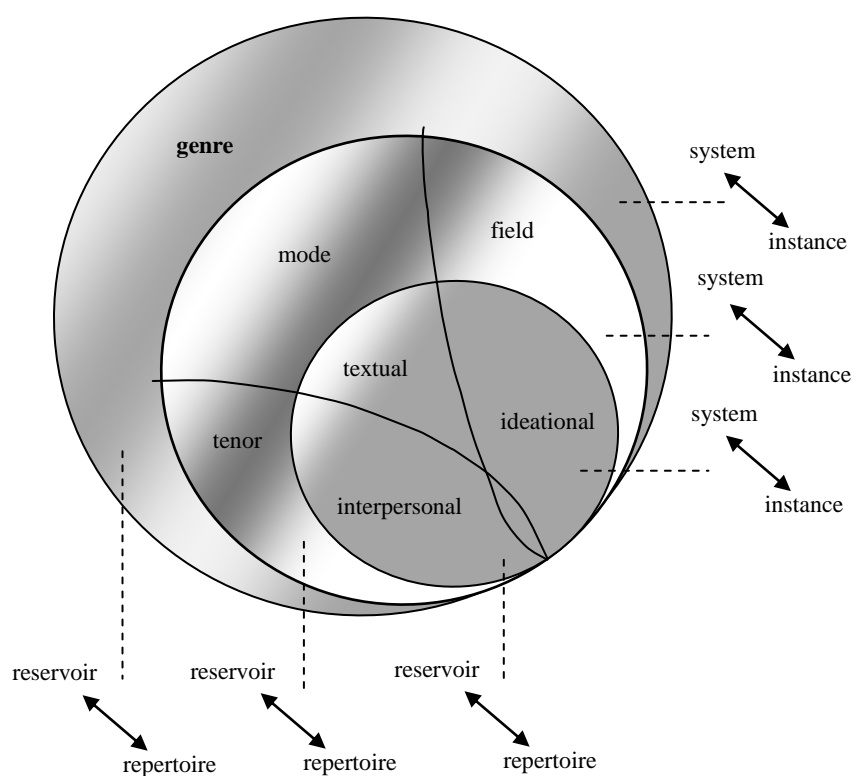


Figure 2.10: All strata instantiate and all strata individuate (Martin 2008b: 58)

Martin (2007a) proposes to deploy all three hierarchies for text analysis in order to “interpret genre, intertextuality and ideology” (p. 275). As a demonstration, he considers four related war stories – a ST and three re-instantiations – in the multimodal⁴² ST, Kohkishi Nishimura recounts in spoken language his “fight to death with an unknown Australian soldier during the Battle of Brigade Hill in New Guinea” as part of a 1992 documentary film (p. 276); in one re-instantiation, the documentary producer Patrick Lindsay renders “the same events in his 2002 book”; in another re-instantiation, Peter Fitzsimons retells Nishimura’s story in his popular history book; and finally in a third re-instantiation, the story is told as a children’s picture book⁴³ by Diane Wolfer (2005).

After analysing the intertextual relations between these “variously interested readings” (p. 275) of Nishimura’s story, Martin shows that each of the hierarchies offers specific advantages –

Realisation is effective for showing where texts are similar and different – with respect to which stratum (and within strata, with respect to which metafunction and rank). Instantiation is better designed to explore how texts arise, including divergent readings of a single text, quoting, paraphrase, ‘inspiration’ and more general systemic relations higher up the cline. Individuation allows us to bring the interests of individuals and interest groups into the picture, opening up considerations of the ways in which affiliations are negotiated and communities aligned (p. 295).

In other words, realisation suits the comparison of texts in terms of their systemic relations, i.e., how similar/different they are in relation to the systemic options realised –

Given all possible genres, which are realised here? Given all possible fields, which are realised here? Given all possible kinds of appraisal, which are realised here? And so on, across strata (id., p. 284)

Realisation can be deployed to analyse any two instances of a system so as to distinguish their systemic identities (one text as related to a system).

Instantiation is more appropriate for probing intertextual relations, i.e., how texts are “sourced from one another” (p. 284). Here the comparison should be between texts which are semantically connected. They should *share* a more specific meaning potential – a genre and/or register and/or text type (one text as related to (an)other text(s)).

Individuation is better suited for studying ideological relations between texts, i.e., what interests they serve and how they seek to align potential addressees (one text as related to user(s)).

Ideally, such a multinocular vision is what every analysis of an instance or a group of instances of language use should involve if one is to get as comprehensive a sociolinguistic picture of them as possible. This is also true for the analysis of translated texts. However, if we assume translation to be a type of intertextual relation where TTs are “sourced” from a given ST, instantiation seems to be the most relevant dimension for modelling translation drawing on SFL. Martin (2007a) has proposed considering intertextual relations like quoting, paraphrase retelling and inspiration as modes of “re-

⁴² For his analyses, Martin (2007a) considers the transcription of the voice-over.

⁴³ Once more, Martin (2007a) concentrates on the verbiage.

instantiating” a given ST. In the following subsection, I will introduce Martin’s elaboration of the hierarchy of instantiation which includes the concepts of re-instantiation, coupling and commitment.

2.2.1 Re-instantiation

Re-instantiation is the process by which one instance reconstrues the meaning potential of a given source instance (or part of it). According to Martin (2007a) instances (or texts) are meaning (sub)potentials in relation to the overall meaning potential of a language. This gives rise to the issue of establishing how much of the meaning potential in a given text is re-instantiated in any form of its re-writing. Some of the possibilities have been put forward by Martin in terms of intertextual relations –

With quotation, the meaning potential of two texts is presented as completely overlapping (although there may often be some idealization involved in this conceit where transcription has been undertaken ...). With paraphrase, the meaning potential overlaps, but not completely; and with retelling, there is less in common still. As we move up further up the scale, it becomes harder and harder to detect inter-instance relations; one text may simply be felt to have inspired another (...), or pushing further, simply to belong to the same genre (p. 287).

Such a process of reconstruing the meaning potential in a given ST, involves, “moving up the hierarchy, opening up the meaning potential as we move, and then taking advantage of this under-specification of meaning to reinstate (the meaning potential) in a novel text” (cf. Martin 2007a: 286; Hood 2008: 343). Figure 2.11 illustrates this process in relation to the intertextual relations of quotation, paraphrase and retelling examined in Martin (2007a). The straight arrow represents re-instantiation as quoting (overlapping meaning potential), the shorter curved line represents paraphrase (partially overlapping meaning potential) and the longer curved line represents retelling (less shared meaning potential). For Martin (2007a), “quotation involves direct instance to instance relations on the instantiation hierarchy”, whereas paraphrase and retelling involve a movement up the hierarchy so as to open up the meaning potential and make the necessary adjustments before producing the new instance (p. 286).

Martin (2008a) suggests using the term “distantiation” for the “metaphorical process of reaching up the cline to recover meaning potential” and leaving the term “instantiation” for the process of moving down the cline (p. 50). Thus, chronologically and logically, first there is instantiation of a given text; then, if a re-writing of that text is to be performed, a distantiation movement up the cline occurs so that a re-instantiation of that text can be produced.

In order to explore how the processes of instantiation and re-instantiation unfold, Martin (2007b, 2008a, 2009a) proposes two key concepts – coupling and commitment. They are introduced in the following subsections.

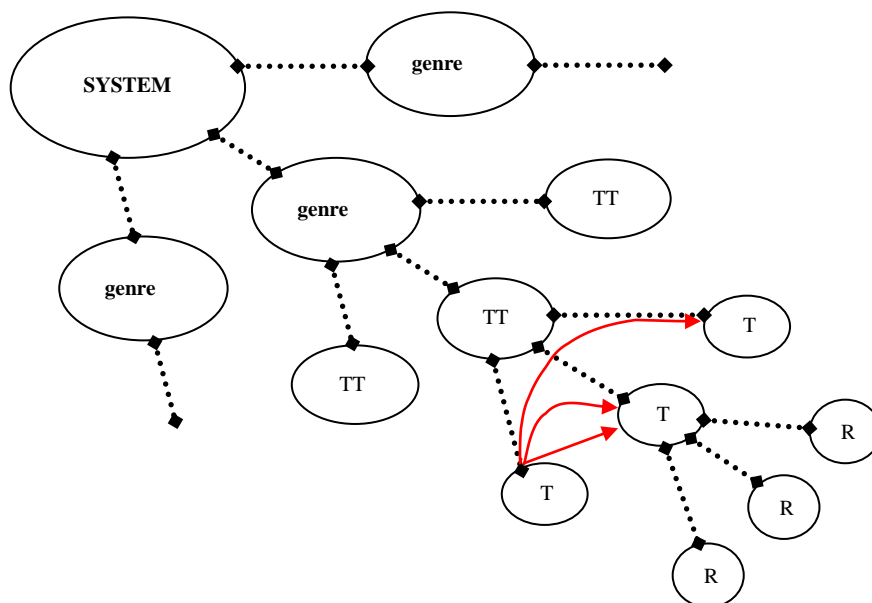


Figure 2.11: Re-instantiation in relations of quoting, paraphrasing and retelling (Martin 2007a: 287)

2.2.1.1 Coupling

Martin (2009a) characterizes instantiation as:

- 1) a hierarchy of generality, since “it generalizes recurring patterns of meaning across instances as text types” (p. 17);
- 2) a hierarchy of potentiality, since it relates the overall meaning potential, i.e., “all of the meanings a semiotic system allows” to its “sub-potentialization as instances of language use” (ibid.); and also
- 3) a hierarchy of “couplings”, since the choices available in the language system for the production of instances are combined in principled ways (p. 19 and 26).

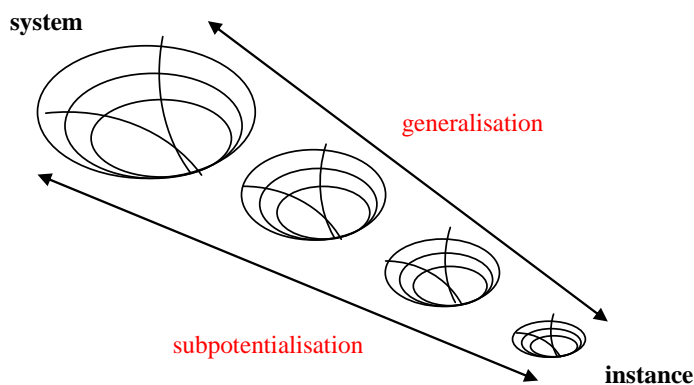


Figure 2.12: Instantiation as a hierarchy of generalization and subpotentialisation

Figure 2.12 above shows instantiation as a hierarchy of potentiality (from the overall potential of meanings to the text as a potential which affords different readings). It also shows instantiation as a hierarchy of generality (from the most general level of meanings at the system to the most specific level at the reading pole⁴⁴).

As a hierarchy of couplings, instantiation is defined as “a coupling process, a cascading coalescence, linearising into text, the modularity of realisation” (Martin 2007b). That is, instantiation is not a process of selecting isolated meanings from systems in strata and sequencing them to form syntagmatic structures. As Martin (2009a) puts it, as far as realisation is concerned, structures “‘explode’ into being once all the relevant choices have been made in the system networks underlying them” (p. 27). Texts come into being as an unfolding interaction of a number of couplings among elements across strata, metafunctions, ranks, systems and modalities (Martin 2009a: 19). According to Martin (2008a), coupling refers to “the ways in which meanings combine, as pairs, triplets, quadruplets or any number of coordinated choices from system networks” (p. 39).

In other words, the system end provides all possible meanings to be combined and all possible combinations to be made. Ultimately the potential would allow for a great number of combinations, even those which have never been made in the phylogenesis of the system. The coupling process starts as we start moving from system down the cline. At the level of genre/register we have “relatively stable types” of meaning combinations, i.e., a supply of likely configurations in terms of expected couplings associated to specific social processes/situations. Next, at the level of text type, we have less stabilized types of meaning combination. Then, at the level of text, we have a particular instance as a unique configuration of meanings resulting from a coalescence of meaning choices and combinations from the (sub)potential(s) above it. Finally, at the extreme end down the instantiation cline we have a particular reading. This is where “meaning actually occurs” (Martin & White 2005: 162). According to Martin & White (2005), every text “can be seen as providing for a set of possible meanings (though some will be significantly more favoured and hence more probable than others), with particular possibilities only instantiated by a given reading” (p. 163).

While these two first aspects of the hierarchy are more easily represented, imaging instantiation as a hierarchy of couplings poses new challenges since couplings are made dynamically (i.e. in real time) – they are what instantiation is in practice, in real language use. Martin (2008a) expressed his concerns about the representation of instantiation as a hierarchy of couplings and proposed the coupling motifs in Figure 2.13 –

The general point here is that it is interacting meanings that configure texts, text types, registers and genres. Instantiation is more than the more and less recurrent selection of features; it also concerns how they are combined. This implies that alongside bar graphs and pie charts imaging frequency counts, we need representations inspired by those used in genetics (the double helix), or Celtic art (the lace); and if we are going to represent coupling as it unfolds dynamically in discourse we will need animated imaging as well (Martin 2008: 44).

⁴⁴ Strictly, instantiation only reaches the reading pole when seen as a hierarchy of generality and as a hierarchy of couplings (see below).

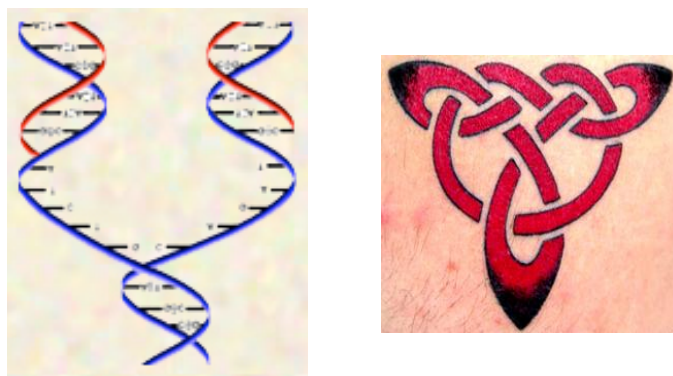


Figure 2.13: Coupling motifs suggested by Martin (2008a: 44)

2.2.1.1.1 Examples of coupling

Coupling across strata/rank is observed for example in grammatical metaphor⁴⁵. In [1] below, the verbal play couples meanings in the stratum of lexicogrammar (the congruent realisation: think = reason) and in the stratum of discourse semantics (the metaphorical realisation: I think = probably):

[1] This was followed by Kapokie Tapokie from Pukekohe’s phone message: “Hey bro. Heard the one about a lie detector being installed on the Wallabies bus? A centre hooked himself up and said, ‘**I think** we have the best defence in the world’. The detector went off. A front-rower then hooked himself up and said, ‘**I think** I’m the best player in the world’. The detector went off. A second-rower said, ‘**I think...**’ and the detector went off. Good one. eh! Eh! You there?” [Crowden 2007 apud Martin 2008a: 45].

Coupling across systems occurs for example in the combination of choices from two of the subsystems of appraisal (attitude and graduation) in a text analysed in Martin (2008a) (see Figure 2.14).

If what is appraised is added to the strings above, the resulting strings also illustrate couplings across metafunctions, since what is appraised constitutes ideational meaning and the appraisals constitute interpersonal meanings – “...such a clever [appraisal] sister [appraised]”, “she [appraised] is a very brave girl [appraisal]” (cf., Martin 2008a – presentation). Figure 2.15 generalizes this type of coupling.

Finally, coupling across modalities obtains for example between verbiage and image as shown in Figure 2.16 (couplings are indicated by the connected red shapes). These are the front covers of the audio editions of the stories analysed in Martin (2008a).

⁴⁵ SFL postulates a direct relation between lexicogrammar and discourse semantics, in which “participants are realised as nouns, qualities as adjectives, processes as verbs, assessments as modal verbs, and logical connections as conjunctions” (Martin 2002: 93). When such a direct coding is skewed, “stratal tension” results in a grammatical metaphor in which grammatical meanings symbolize discourse semantic meanings. Thus we need to process two layers of meaning: one literal or congruent (grammar as figure) and one metaphoric (semantics as ground). (cf. Martin & Rose 2007: 38-40, Hood 2008: 360).

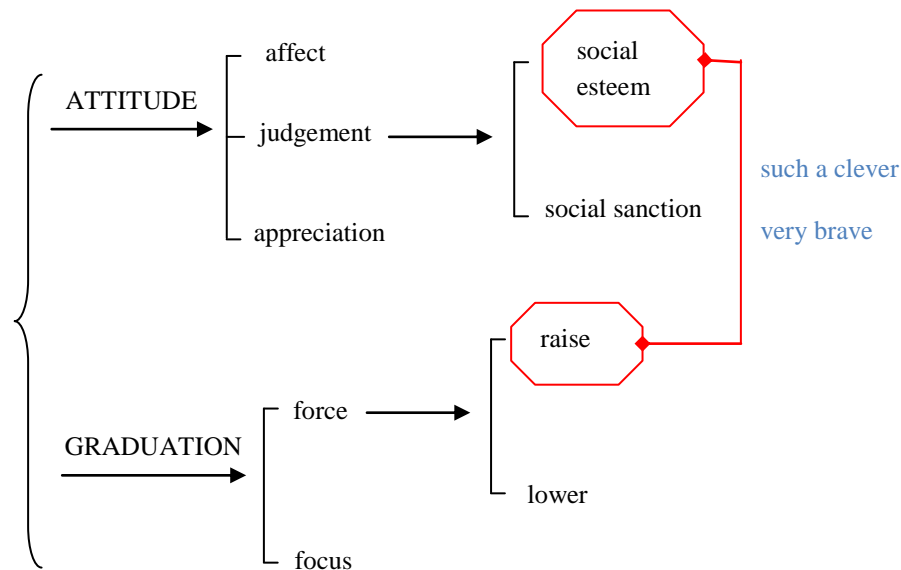


Figure 2.14: Coupling across systems (based on Martin 2008a: 41)

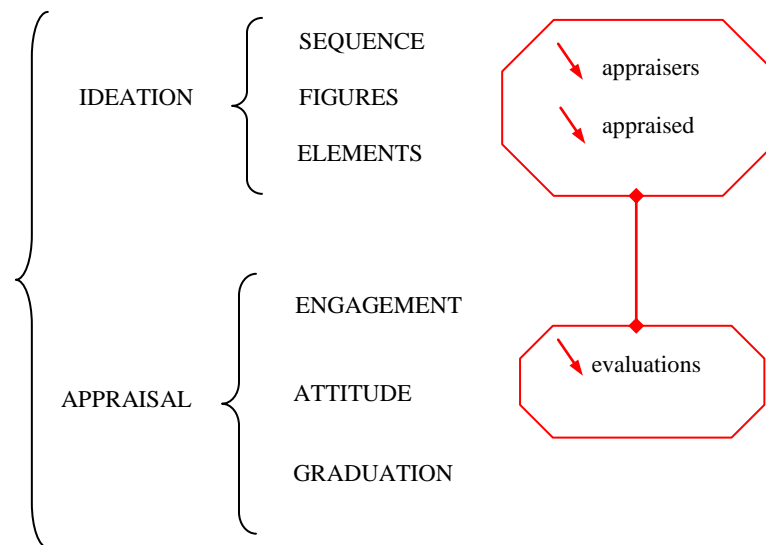


Figure 2.15: Coupling across metafunctions (Martin 2007b: 72)

Another important dimension of instantiation as a process of coupling is the amount of meaning that is committed (i.e., tendered) in a given text. The concept of commitment is introduced in the following section.

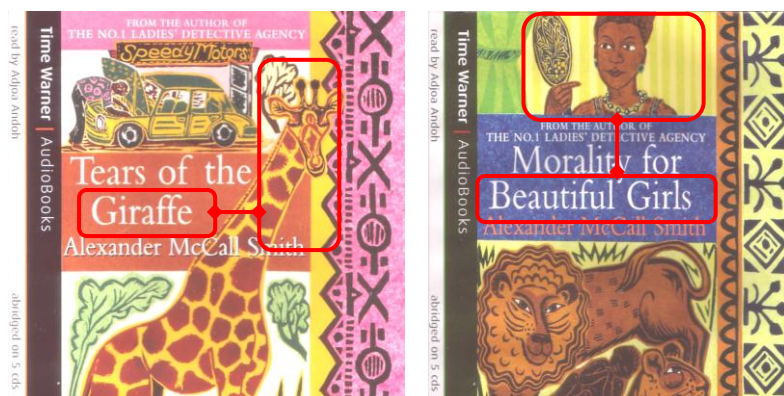


Figure 2.16: Coupling across modalities (from Martin 2007b: 81, 110)

2.2.1.2 Commitment

Martin (2009a) defines commitment⁴⁶ as “the degree of specificity of the meaning instantiated in a text” (p. 20). Such a degree is established in relation to two variables – the number of optional systems that are taken up and, within systems, the degree of delicacy of choices (ibid). The relation between specificity and commitment here is *the more specific the more committed and the more general the less committed* regarding a given type of meaning⁴⁷.

Table 2.16 below shows differences in the commitment of ideational meanings in excerpts from three texts analysed in Martin (2008a). The texts recount the same episode of the life story of a Botswanan girl named Motholeli. The degree of ideational meanings committed in each text can be seen to differ in relation to the number of events committed and the specification of processes and entities. As for the number of events, text 1 offers the highest number, text 2 offers a lower number and text 3 offers even less. Text 1 is far more committed ideationally than the other two, since it presents the episode in more detail:

1. In terms of the specification of processes, texts 1 and 2 make the process of “escaping” more specific than text 3, which refers to it as just “going away”. In turn, text 1 is more committed than text 2 (which is more committed than text 3);
2. As for the specification of entities, some differences are observed in relation to how the texts specify the “truck”, “the driver” and the place where Motholeli is left. While text 1 uses “a truck” and then elaborates it as “a government truck from the roads department” making it more specific, text 2 uses just “a truck” and text 3 mentions no truck at all. Similarly, text 1 commits “the driver”, text 2 commits “a man” and text 3 makes no mention. Finally, text 1 refers to the place Motholeli is

⁴⁶ Martin (2008a) emphasizes that “the term commitment is not being used to refer to modalisation, where this might be interpreted as the degree of belief in a proposition” (p. 47).

⁴⁷ The terms specific and general here refer to the level of detail supplied in texts by means of the number of meanings selected from optional systems and the level of delicacy of such selections. General as used to characterize the hierarchy of instantiation means recurrent choices that have been generalized as text types, registers and genres. The relation between the two uses of general is in that the more you move down the cline towards a text and a reading, the more specified meanings are since they are increasingly more circumscribed in particular configurations of meaning.

left as “Francistown”, then more specifically as “Nyangabwe Hospital” and even more specifically as “the gate (of the hospital)”. Text 2 refers only to “Francistown” and text 3 re-commits it as just the “strange place”.

Table 2.16: Degrees of ideational commitment (from Martin 2008a: 48)

TEXT 1	TEXT 2	TEXT 3
<p>She turned on her heels and ran through the bush in the direction of the road, which she knew was not too far away. A truck came past a short time later, a Government truck from the Roads Department. The driver slowed, and then stopped. He must have been astonished to see a young Mosarwa child standing there with a baby in her arms. Of course he could hardly leave her, even though he could not make out what she was trying to tell him. He was going back to Francistown and he dropped her off at the Nyangabwe Hospital, handing her over to an orderly at the gate.</p>	<p>...and running through the bush until I found a road. A man came down the road in a truck and when he saw me he stopped and took me to Francistown.</p>	<p>And then she remembered going away and finding herself in the strange place.</p>

Key: yellow = specification of processes
 other colours = specification of entities

2.2.1.2.1 Semantic relations between meanings in re-commitment

Beyond characterising texts in terms of the “amount” of meaning potential committed (more/ less committed) is the investigation of the semantic relations obtaining between meanings in corresponding stretches within one text or across different texts. Table 2.16 shows the relations proposed by Martin (2008a) with examples provided by him. The three last categories are drawn from the works of Francis 1985 (anaphoric nouns), Flowerdew 2003 (signalling nouns), Schmid 2000 (shell nouns), and Winter 1977.

The categories in Table 2.17 refer to the re-commitment of entities. In what concerns the re-commitment of processes, Martin (2008a) points out that, “it may be more effective to treat the semantic relation here as one of specification” (p. 48). He relates these relations to the logico-semantic category of elaboration and states that “all elaboration in discourse involves re-commitment of some kind” (p. 49). These semantic relations are further explored by Hood (2008) and will be reviewed in section 2.2.1.3.2.

Interpersonal meanings may also be committed to different degrees. Martin (2008a) re-interprets Martin & White’s strategies for inscribing and invoking attitude as degrees of interpersonal commitment. The idea is that inscribed evaluations commit more interpersonal meaning than do invoked ones (cf. Martin 2008a: 46-7). Figure 2.17 shows that the degree of interpersonal meaning committed decreases from “inscribe”, where evaluation is made explicitly by means of attitudinal lexis (*ignorance, prejudice*), to “provoke”, where lexical metaphor (*fence in, sheep*) is used to invoke an attitudinal response, to “flag”, where the intensification (*smashed*) invites an attitudinal response, and

finally to “afford”, where the invitation is made through a particular selection of ideational meanings alone (cf. Martin & White 2005: 61-7).

Table 2.17: Semantic relations in ideational re-commitment (based in Martin 2008a: 48 and 2007b: 95-99)

RELATION	EXAMPLE
element to subclass (hyponymy)	truck » Government truck man » driver
element to ‘characterisation’	Government truck » Government truck from the Roads Department
element to ‘instance’	a strange place » Francistown
element to part (meronymy)	Francistown » Nyangabwe Hospital
ideational metaphor	She had worked at the orphan farm for almost twenty years - she had been there when it had started - and was inured to tragedy - or so she thought. But this story, which she had just told, had affected her profoundly when she had first heard it from the nurse in Francistown. » that effect
‘abstraction’	three lives » a strange way of putting it [sequences...] » a fortunate life
metadiscourse	[telling...] » a story

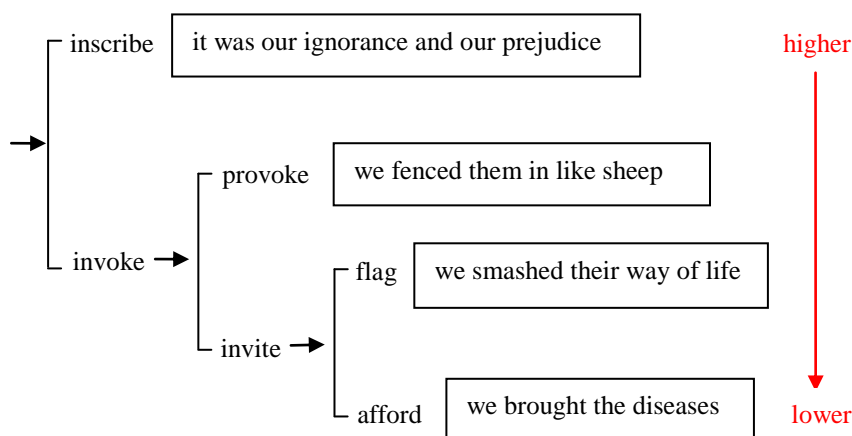


Figure 2.17: Degrees of interpersonal commitment (Martin & White 2005: 67)

I will provide further detail on the semantic relations that obtain between ideational and interpersonal meanings committed within and across texts in section 2.2.1.3.2 on intralingual re-instantiation. But before I do so, I need to develop the types of re-instantiation suggested in Martin (2008a).

2.2.1.3 Types of re-instantiation

Martin (2008a) suggests that the theoretical framework of instantiation/re-instantiation, comprising coupling and commitment, can be deployed for the study of meaning relations occurring within texts, between texts, between modalities and across languages –

There are many areas in which instantiation, conceived along these lines can be deployed. Within texts, it is relevant to periodicity, since higher level Themes and News combine meanings with less commitment than lower level ones. Between texts, there are the practices of note-taking, precis writing and abridgment to be examined, all of which have special reference to the ongoing problem of plagiarism in apprentice texts. Between modalities, the complementary affordances of different semiotic systems lead to texts with complementary degrees of commitment, a crucial dimension of the inter-modal synergy they engender. Across languages, the practices of both translating and interpreting are of special relevance, again with respect to the affordances and predispositions of one language and culture in relation to another, and the amount of meaning potential that has to be opened up before a responsible re-instantiation can be enacted; and complementary affordances between systems bring questions of language typology into play (Martin 2008: 53).

The different areas suggested by Martin in the quote above enable the classification of re-instantiation in relation to three variables – modality (intra x intermodal), language (intra-lingual or interlingual) and text (intratextual or intertextual) (see the classification taxonomy⁴⁸ in Figure 2.18). In the current research, I am focusing on intramodal, interlingual, intertextual re-instantiations as evidenced by the data source I am drawing on. Notwithstanding, my modelling of translation as interlingual re-instantiation is informed by research on other types of re-instantiation which are reviewed in the following sections.

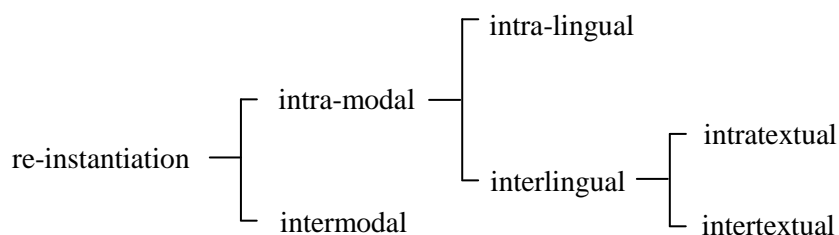


Figure 2.18: Types of re-instantiation

⁴⁸ SFL represents classification taxonomies through diagrams which are similar to those used for ‘system networks’. The arrows are not used since no semiosis is involved (cf. Martin & Rose 2007: 144).

2.2.1.3.1 Intra and intermodal re-instantiation

Examples of intra and intermodal re-instantiation can be seen in the front covers of the stories analysed in Martin (2008a) which are reproduced in Figure 2.16 above. Intramodally (intralingually and intratextually as well), we have the re-instantiation of “the author of the Number 1 Ladies Detective Agency” as “Alexander McCall Smith”. Another example, this time within the visual modality, is the re-instantiation of African animals and African motifs within and across texts. Intermodally, there is verbalization of the images of the giraffe and of the beautiful girl (cf. Martin 2007b: 107-110). The hierarchy of instantiation is used in Martin et al. (to appear) to study intermodal complementary (verbiage and image) in children’s picture books.

2.2.1.3.2 Intralingual re-instantiation

An example of intratextual, intralingual re-instantiation is given in Martin (2009a). In analyzing the text entitled “The Modern Guru”, he points out different levels of specificity in the realisation of certain meaning choices as the text unfolds. One of these refers to the construction of *windfalls*. First, they are committed more generally as “some of the great moments of life”, then increasingly more specifically as “lovely little windfalls” and as the coupling triplets – “that extra mark on an exam paper, that accidental \$10 from a faulty ATM, that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub” (p. 20). These two last windfall instances are in turn referred to more generally as “cash” and “three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub”, and more specifically as “three \$10 notes from a faulty ATM”, and as “that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub” (id.).

Examples of intertextual, intralingual re-instantiation are given in Martin (2007a) and (2008a) as seen in sections 2.2 and 2.2.1.2. Another author who deploys the instantiation conceptual toolkit to study changes in meaning across texts within the same language system is Hood (2008). With a view to scaffolding the task of summary writing in academic English, Hood examines “change as change in language and hence meaning in the serial re-instantiation from source text, to notes, to summary” (p. 352). On the assumption that “related instances of language can be said (...) to commit more or less meaning potential” (p. 356), she chooses to focus on the changes in the commitment of metafunctional meanings – ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, especially the two first ones. Drawing on Martin (2007a, 2008a), she further explores the semantic relations between meaning choices in each text, proposing the categories in Table 2.18 as “potential resource[s] for managing levels of commitment” (p. 359).

In principle the categories put forward by Hood (2008) may have implications for both the commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings. However, based on the data she analysed, she chose to organize them in terms of their metafunctional effects: de/classification, de/composition, role/incumbent, de/specification and grammatical metaphor would impact mostly ideational meanings, prosodic patterning of values, degree of explicitness and heteroglossic expansiveness would impact mostly interpersonal meanings, and lexical metaphor and infusion/defusion would impact both types of meaning simultaneously (see Table 2.18).

Table 2.18: Resources for managing levels of commitment of ideational/ interpersonal meanings (based on Hood 2008)

metafunction	semantic relations	more committed	less committed
<i>ideational meanings</i>	de/classification	<i>head curator head librarian</i>	<i>Jobs and careers</i>
	de/composition	<i>the foot-in-the-door technique / the patter</i>	<i>The sales scene</i>
	role/incumbent	<i>the Head Librarian, Ms Andrews</i>	<i>The librarian...</i>
<i>ideational meanings</i>	de/specification	<i>...where I stand, where I am going to be...</i>	<i>position</i>
	grammatical metaphor	<i>The loss of opportunity cost her dearly</i>	<i>She lost the opportunity to apply for the job</i>
<i>ideational/ interpersonal meanings</i>	lexical metaphor	<i>cut losses, make a break</i>	<i>change</i>
	Infusion/defusion	<i>reassess (= consider + again + evaluatively)</i>	<i>consider</i>
<i>interpersonal meanings</i>	prosodic patterning of values	<i>Half the skill in getting ahead on the career front is knowing when to move on. In everyone's life there comes a moment when they should make the break.</i>	<i>In this article on successful careers it says that it's important to know when to change jobs.</i>
	degrees of explicitness	<i>successful (inscribe)</i>	<i>getting ahead on the career front (provoke)</i>
	heteroglossic expansiveness	<i>(more heteroglossic markers) perhaps, tend to, to a certain extent, should, may, just, but</i>	<i>(less heteroglossic markers) try to, should, always, while, though</i>

Relations of de/classification and de/composition correspond to taxonomical relations of hyponymy (class/subclass relations) and meronymy (whole/part relations). The examples provided in Table 2.18 concern the commitment of ideational meanings, but Hood also offers an example of hyponymy (“people”/ “has-beens”) in which interpersonal, or more specifically attitudinal meanings are committed (cf. p. 357).

Relations of de/specification refer to the use of terms at different levels of abstraction in each instance. Hood (2008) defines abstraction as “the reconstrual of experience from an everyday commonsense representation of the world to some kind of decontextualised representation” (p. 358). One example she found within the ST she analysed was the postmodification in “the courage to take a chance when that chance came” (ibid.). It is seen as further specifying “courage” in more concrete terms (ibid.). Drawing on previous research about abstract nouns (Winter 1992, Francis, 1986, 1994, Ivanic, 1991, Flowerdew, 2003, Hoey, 1979, and Schmid, 2000), Hood proposes three relationships of de/specification – linguistic, circumstantial and factual de/specification (see Table 2.18a).

Although finding no examples of grammatical metaphor in her data, Hood includes this category since it “offers a resource by which we commit less ideational meaning as we re-instantiate meanings from one text into another” (p. 360). The reduction in ideational meaning is due to the possibility of omitting the participants in a process when it is reconstrued as a thing (cf. p. 360). Notwithstanding, she points out that “the relationship

between an instance of grammatical metaphor and a more congruent realisation is a complex one in that some meaning potential is less committed while other meaning potential is more committed” (ibid.). Grammatical metaphors can be seen as committing more meaning potential if we consider the double layer of meaning that comes into play – one literal and one metaphoric (see section 2.2.1.1.1). Besides that, experiential metaphor offers possibilities for expansion in nominal group structure, and logical metaphor provides opportunities for many different kinds of causality (see e.g. Martin 2002: 93 ff).

Table 2.18a - Relationships of de/specification (based on Hood 2008: 359)

Relationships of De/specification	more committed	less committed
linguistic	[the whole text]	article
	“where am I going to be, this time next year, if I stay in the same job?”	question
circumstantial	where I stand, where am I going to be	position
	slowly; fast	time-scale
factual	“... moves fast ... make your money ... move on ...”	(the same) thing

A similar complex mechanism is at work in lexical metaphors (co-instantiation of literal and metaphorical meanings) and that is why they are also proposed by Hood as a means of committing more ideational meaning as compared to congruent realisations. One example from the text she examined is “make a break” re-instantiated as “change”. Interpreted as “change + suddenly + from a place that confines”, the lexical metaphor is shown to commit more ideational meaning (circumstantial meanings of manner and location) than the congruent expression, as well as committing interpersonal meanings as it “provokes an attitudinal interpretation” (ibid.).

Relations of infusion/defusion allow for the commitment of additional circumstantial meaning. For example, in her sample, “reassess” is re-instantiated as “consider”. Hood observes that “reassess” can be interpreted as “consider” plus circumstantial meanings of frequency and manner (reassess = consider + again + evaluatively). Thus, “consider” commits less ideational meaning than “reassess”.

Relations involving the “prosodic patterning of values” concern the choice between committing “multiple expressions of Attitude” or committing fewer expressions as do the notes and summary analysed by Hood (cf. p. 362, see example in Table 2.18b). According to her, “a single inscription commits evaluative meanings in a less committed way than an accumulating prosody of co-articulating instances” (p. 362). Thus, comparing the evaluations in table 3b, we can say that the two inscriptions (in red) on the re-instantiation commit less interpersonal meaning than the multiple appraisals in the ST – skill (inscribed positive judgement of capacity) + getting ahead on the career front (metaphor provoking positive judgement of capacity) + everyone’s (graduation: quantification) + moment (graduation: time) + should (graduation: intensity of the proposal) + make the break (metaphor provoking positive judgement of capacity). In other words, the more a given value is emphasized, the more interpersonal meanings are committed and vice-versa.

Other relations that can affect interpersonal meanings are “degrees of explicitness” and “heteroglossic expansiveness”. The first was proposed by Martin (2008a) (see section 2.2.1.2.7) and refers to the choice between inscribing and invoking attitude. According to

Hood, “There would seem to be a cline of commitment of attitudinal meanings from inscribed Attitude to provoked Attitude to invoked Attitude that applies from instance to instance (p. 362). Thus, inscribed attitude commits more interpersonal meaning than provoked attitude (i.e., implicit attitude in a lexical metaphor). Provoked attitude in turn is more interpersonally committed than invoked attitude (attitude implicit in the use of graduation or in the choice of lexis). The inscription “successful” in Table 2.18a above, for example, is more interpersonally committed than the invoked attitude in the metaphor “getting ahead on the career front” (ibid.).

Table 2.18b: Prosodic patterning of values

ST	re-instantiation
<i>Half the skill in getting ahead on the career front is knowing when to move on. In everyone's life there comes a moment when they should make the break.</i>	<i>In this article on successful careers it says that it's important to know when to change jobs.</i>

I would like to add that the category “degree of explicitness” also has implications for the commitment of ideational meanings – in provoke, since there is the use of lexical metaphor, and in flag, since there is the use of infusion/defusion.

Instances related in terms of “heteroglossic expansiveness” commit resources which are more or less dialogically expansive, i.e. more or less open to alternative positions. In her sample analysis, Hood found variation in terms of the higher/smaller number of “engagement markers”. While the ST opened the space for other points by means of expressions like perhaps, tend to, and to a certain extent (which denote a lack of fulfilment or definiteness), expressions of modality (should and may) and of counter-expectancy (just and but), the re-instantiations deployed fewer markers – “try to” is used in the notes and modality (“should”, “always”) + counter-expectancy (“while”, “though”) + attribute (“says”) is used in the summary (cf. p. 363).

In this chapter, I reviewed the SFL modelling of language, its key concepts and new developments concerning interpersonal meanings (the appraisal framework) and concerning the complementarity among the hierarchies of realisation, instantiation and individuation. The focus was put on the hierarchy of instantiation, especially on the concepts of re-instantiation, coupling and commitment as proposed in Martin (2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) and Hood (2008). It is this theoretical foundation that informs the model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation which will be put forward in chapter 3.

3 – Interlingual re-instantiation

3.0 Introduction

Both intralingual and interlingual re-instantiation entail the creation of a new instance from a ST. But in interlingual re-instantiation the text created is an instance of a different language system. Despite the added level of complexity, meaning change in translation may also, as suggested by Martin (2008a), be profitably investigated by means of the hierarchy of instantiation as introduced in chapter 2. Such a deployment enables what I propose to be a new and more comprehensive SFL perspective on translation. The model introduced in this chapter draws on concepts developed within SFL, particularly on Martin's (2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) instantiation hierarchy as complementary to the other SFL hierarchies of realisation and individuation.

In section 3.1, I start by situating the proposed model in relation to previous research within SFL which has approached translation by means of instantiation, namely Matthiessen (2001) and Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006). In fact, this previous research is used as a contrastive backdrop throughout this chapter. In section 3.2, I situate the model in relation to the other two hierarchies of realisation and individuation, acknowledging that although it is here mostly informed by instantiation, it must be viewed as a three-dimensional model since besides accounting for the *uses* involved (texts and readings) it also needs to account for the language systems involved and the *users* involved, especially translators, writers and readers as members of specific cultural communities. I then model translation as a relation between instances of different language systems, i.e. as an *intertextual relation* or rather, as *an array of interlingual intertextual relations from which the translator chooses in order to source a TT on a ST*. Next, I consider the translator's reading of the ST as enabling the establishment of translational intertextual relations. After that, I model ways in which such intertextual relations are managed in relation to the meaning potential that is shared between ST and TT. And, finally, I consider the possible distantiation paths available for the translator when re-coupling and re-committing ST's meanings. I provide examples of intertextual relations and of distantiation paths in the re-instantiation of appraised + appraisal in the last two sections.

3.1 Situating the current model in relation to previous SFL approaches to translation via instantiation

To date, the hierarchy of instantiation has scarcely been used in SFL approaches to translation. Two SFL researchers who have used it are Matthiessen (2001) and Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006). In what follows, I briefly introduce their views and then locate the current model in relation to them.

Matthiessen (2001: 41) offers his theorization of translation as that of an "outsider", i.e., not that of a "translation theorist" or a "translation practitioner" but that of a systemic functional linguist "with an interest in issues relating to multilinguality" (ibid.). Recently, in surveying "new developments" within SFL, the author places what he calls "systemic functional translation studies" as a subdivision of the field of "multilingual studies", which also includes "description, comparison and typology" and "second language education" (cf. 2009: 23). Thus, with a view to "mak[ing] translation maximally effective" (p. 74) and especially interested in bridging what he sees as gaps between

“translation theory”, “machine translation” and “other fields concerned with multilinguality – comparative linguistics, contrastive linguistics and typological linguistics” (id., p. 42-3), Matthiessen (2001) sets out to contextualize interlingual translation in terms of six SFL dimensions – stratification, rank, axis, delicacy, metafunction and instantiation.

Matthiessen’s basic assumption is that “to make translation maximally effective, we should make it *maximally contextualized*” (id., p. 74, original emphasis). That is why he contextualizes translation by defining its “widest environments” in relation to the dimensions considered. According to him, in terms of stratification, “translation takes place within lexicogrammar, within semantics and within context” (id., p. 89). So, lexicogrammar constitutes its narrowest environment (cf. id., p. 89), and context, its widest environment (cf. id., p. 74). He concedes, though, that translation can also be recognized at the level of expression, giving as examples Catford’s (1965) “phonological translation” and “graphological translation” (cf. p. 89)⁴⁹.

In terms of rank and axis, Matthiessen defines “clause” and “system”, respectively, as the widest environments of translation (cf. id., p. 74-76). In terms of delicacy, he elects the “most general systems of the language” as the widest environment. As for metafunction, he points out that “metafunctional organization is neither a hierarchy nor a cline since the metafunctions form a spectrum of simultaneous modes of meaning (...)” (id., p. 96). That is why he points out there is no wider or narrower metafunctional environment for translation. He states that “translation should give equal weight to all three metafunctional contributions (...)” (ibid.).

In relation to instantiation, Matthiessen says

Translation is located at the instance pole of the cline of instantiation: we translate texts in one language into texts into another; but we do not translate one language into another language. But while translation takes place at the instance pole of the cline of translation, texts are of course translated as instances of the overall linguistic system they instantiate – translation of the instance always takes place in the wider environment of potential that lies behind the instance. And there are other environments intermediate between the two poles of the cline of instantiation. One such environment is that of registers. (...) Another such environment is much closer to the instance pole: this is the environment of previous instance that can serve as (representative) examples of how to translate new instances, as in example-based machine translation (2001: 87).

Still concerning stratification and instantiation, he adds that “while translation can be located at one end of the cline of instantiation, it cannot be located only at one stratum of the hierarchy of stratification. Translation takes place throughout the hierarchy of stratification” (id., p. 89). Matthiessen’s view of translation in terms of instantiation is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

⁴⁹ Catford’s phonological and graphological translations are two types of what he calls “restricted translation”, which is the “replacement of SL textual material by equivalent TL textual material at only one level” (Catford 1965: 22). In the first case, the only level replaced is phonology and we have “accent”, as when someone speaks one language but uses the phonology of another language, e.g., speaking English with a Greek accent. In the second case, the only level replaced is graphology and we have “transcription”, as when someone writes words from one language adapting them to the graphology of another language, e.g., English words transcribed into Japanese, transcribed proper names, etc.

Matthiessen’s approach to translation in terms of the SFL dimensions is made in consonance with the parameters of “equivalence” and “shift” as established in Catford’s (1965) linguistic theory of translation –

I will assume that translation equivalence and translation shift are two opposite poles on a cline of difference between languages. (...) The general principle is this: the wider the environment of translation, the higher the degree of translation equivalence; and the narrower the environment, the higher the degree of translation shift (Matthiessen 2001: 78).

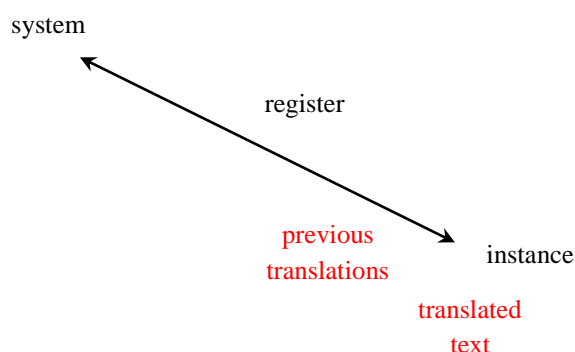


Figure 3.1: Translation in relation to instantiation according to Matthiessen (2001)

Later on, Matthiessen also points out that the “systemic frame of reference for translation (...) may be the overall systems of the languages involved, [and] it may also be the relevant registerial subsystems of those languages” (id., p. 93). In terms of the crucial issue of representing the “overall potential”, i.e., how “the resources of the systems involved in the translation” are organized (id., p. 72), he points out two possibilities:

- “the resources of each language, or of each semiotic system, are represented independently of one another as a collection of monolingual (or monomodal) systems and (...) they are only related by statements specifying translation correspondences” (ibid), or
- “the resources of each language, or of each semiotic system, are fully integrated in a single multilingual (or multimodal) system and (...) this integration supports translation but exists regardless of whether translation takes place or not” (ibid.).

The first is related to the transfer approach and the second to the interlingua approach in MT⁵⁰. However, the option favoured by the author and by other researchers

⁵⁰ The three classical approaches to MT are called “direct”, “interlingua” and “transfer”. In the first one, translations are done as a “dictionary-based ‘direct replacement’” of words (Somers 2001: 144). In the other ones, “the source text is transformed into the target text indirectly via an intermediate representation” (ibid.). In the interlingua approach, “the target text is generated directly from the representation of the source text” (id. p. 144-5) and, in the transfer approach, “there is an intervening stage of transfer between two language specific representations” (id., p. 145).

“in the context of multilingual text generation in the early 1990s” (id., p. 73) is a combination of the two above:

- “an approach where each language (semiotic system) is represented as part of an integrated multilingual (multimodal) system but in such a way that it retains its own integrity” (ibid.).

The hierarchy of instantiation is also deployed by Steiner (2001a). He studies translation from the perspective of text variation and views translation as “(...) preservation – or maximally close preservation – of experiential, logical, interpersonal and textual meanings in the relationship of translation between texts, or in the process of translation by the translator” (p. 186). Like Matthiessen (2001), he characterizes translation as “a relationship between instantiations (texts), rather than between language systems” (Steiner 2001a: 187).

Steiner (2001a) assumes the three terms “translation”, “paraphrase” and “variation” to be “subtypes of intertextual relationships” (id., p. 181), and, after analysing “intralingual versions” and “interlingual versions” (i.e., translations) of a text in relation to some register variables, he comes to the conclusion that “translated texts may be registerial variants (within limits) and very locally even paraphrases” (ibid.). But he observes that beyond variations in register, translations present “additional characteristic properties that are not found in the same distribution in co-generated registerial variants” (id., p. 162). That is what leads him to argue that “translated texts are a register in themselves, a register, whose properties are due to its nature as translation” (id., p. 181).

Steiner’s subsequent research (2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006) regards translation as a “mode of language contact” (2006), i.e., translations as “potential catalysts in situations of language contact and language change” (2005b: 5). Working with the pair English-German, he assumes translation as a *register* or as a *text type* (2005a, 2005b) and gears his corpus-based investigation (2001a, 2001b, 2005b) towards singling out the textual properties that distinguish TTs from STs and from non-translated registerially related texts in the TL. Such properties are assumed to constitute “channels” of language contact (2005a: 67).

He ascribes such properties to three sources – typological factors, register and “understanding” (2001b). As for the first source, he assumes that “the typological properties of the source language system should be reflected in some of the properties of the translation” (2001b: 9). As for register, he assumes that “the preferred registers of source text and target text for a given context may or may not be exactly the same, and the translator(s) may have decided to make changes to the register of their target-text” (id.). And finally, by “understanding” he means the unpacking of meaning in “grammatical metaphor” (cf. p. 10). His assumption is that

human translation should not be seen as a process of directly transferring features or structure on either semantic or lexicogrammatical levels, but rather as a process involving understanding of the source text to a certain depth, and then re-creating the understood meaning as fully as possible in ideational, interpersonal and textual aspects in the target language. Understanding, in turn, is taken to involve relating meaningful (grammatical) units to some of their less metaphorical variants, thus making many types of meaning which are implicit in the original explicit with the help of co-textual and contextual knowledge. At some point in that chain of de-metaphorization, then, re-wording in the target language

begins, and although good translators will approximate a full semantic paraphrase (in the sense of Steiner 2001), they will often not go all the way back up the steps of grammatical metaphorization, either for contrastive-typological reasons, or simply because of internal fatigue. We therefore expect a somewhat reduced amount of grammatical metaphorization to be a feature of translated texts, relative to non-translated source language texts and also relative to their source texts, but this is difficult to control, as all the typological factors play a major role there (id., p. 11).

Steiner (2005a and 2005b) sets out to explore properties resulting from “understanding” – explicitness, density and directness – proposing to operationalize them in terms of lexicogrammatical realisation so as to make them empirically testable. Steiner’s view of translation by means of instantiation is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

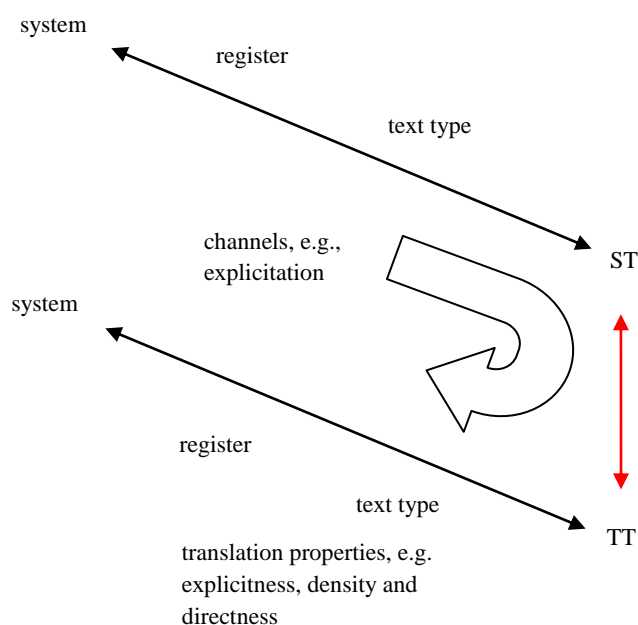


Figure 3.2: Translation in relation to instantiation according to Steiner (2005a and 2005b)

After briefly reviewing how these SFL researchers use instantiation (besides other SFL dimensions) to contextualise translation, I am going to start delineating a view of translation from the perspective of instantiation as expanded by Martin (2007a and b, 2008a and b, 2009a and b). In the following sections, the new model will be introduced and situated in relation to the models just reviewed. But before doing so, I would like to state the aims and motivations underlying its proposal. Unlike Matthiessen (2001), I am not directly concerned with helping translators achieve “maximal effectiveness in translation”. My modelling of translation in terms of instantiation is meant as a linguistic tool for the analysis of texts in a relation of translation. Indirectly though, I am concerned with the empowerment of translators in the sense of contributing to make them aware of the whole range of possibilities of combining meanings in the construction of the TT and

of the inescapable need to adopt an attitudinal position before the values that are being negotiated in a translation (given my focus on the re-instantiation of appraisal resources). Neither am I concerned with bridging any gaps between a theory of translation, MT and “comparative linguistics, contrastive linguistics and typological linguistics” as Matthiessen (2001: 43) is. To my knowledge there is nothing that could be called a “general theory of translation” (cf., Holmes 1988/2000) but a series of different approaches to the complex subject of translation. Linguistic approaches (including those within MT) are but one type of approach among many others like sociological, psychological, technological, ideological, economic, somatic approaches, etc. That is why TS cannot be “a branch of Comparative linguistics” as proposed by Catford (1965: 20) and endorsed by Matthiessen (2001: 116, note 2).

Unlike Steiner (2005a, 2005b, 2006), I am not specifically concerned with language contact and with singling out textual properties that distinguish translation as a register or text type. My main motivation here is the belief that the new SFL developments in relation to the three complementary hierarchies enable a more comprehensive SFL approach to translation in terms of the *uses* and *users* of language it involves – in special the TT as a *reading* and as a *text*, and the translator as *reader* and a *writer*.

Both Matthiessen (2001) and Steiner (2001a, 2001b) model translation as a “reconstruction of meaning” (Matthiessen 2001: 43). As such, they look at translation from the perspective of “similarity”, i.e., assigning translation the task of “preserving” meaning. In contrast to this perspective, the view that is being advanced here takes into account the double status of the TT – as both “a reconstruction of another text and a text functioning in its own right in the target culture” (Bakker et al. 2001: 229).

3.2 A three-dimensional model of interlingual re-instantiation

Given the complementarity among the three SFL hierarchies, a model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation has to make room for the other two hierarchies. What I am proposing here is to look at translation from a three-dimensional perspective considering realisation, instantiation and individuation.

In a three-dimensional model of interlingual re-instantiation, the abstract language systems involved are accounted for by means of realisation, the concrete uses of such systems in the forms of the ST and the TT are accounted for by means of instantiation, and the individual users of such systems (especially translators as readers and writers) are accounted for by means of individuation (see Figure 3.3).

Such a model could provide a more clearly defined contextualization of translation in terms of SFL dimensions, especially realisation and instantiation. For example, Matthiessen’s (2001) location of translation in terms of stratification and instantiation may sound somewhat hesitant. As for stratification, he first locates it “throughout the hierarchy of stratification (...) Within the content system of language”, i.e., “above the expression system of phonology (graphology, sign)” (p. 89), recognizing as translation at the level of expression Catford’s (1965) “phonological translation” and “graphological translation” (cf. p. 89). Then he recognizes that “translation is prototypically a mapping (transformation) of meaning and thus that it takes place at the level of lexicogrammar and above” (id.). Finally, he reaches a compromise by stating that “translation in relation to the hierarchy of stratification is largely a question of what we try to keep as constant as possible and what we allow to vary” (id.). In other words, “the nature of translation changes depending on where we locate translation along the hierarchy of stratification” (ibid.).

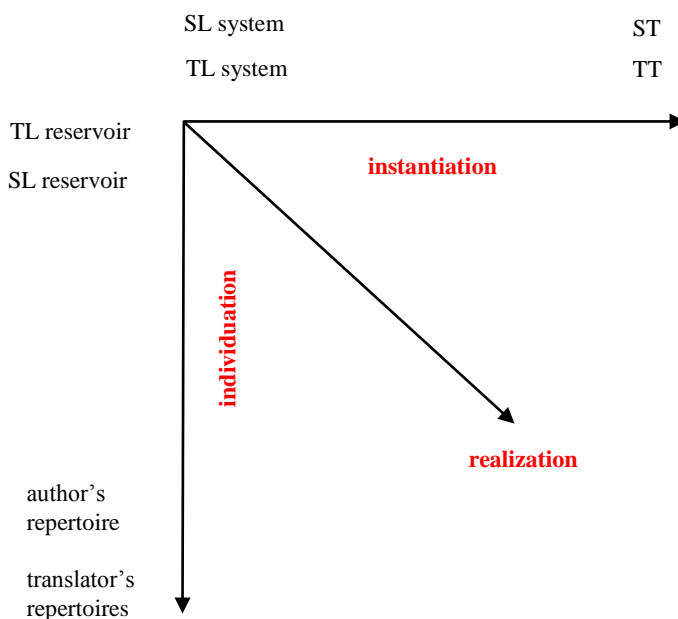


Figure 3.3: A three-dimensional model of interlingual re-instantiation

As for instantiation, Matthiessen (2001) locates the translation event at the instance pole (*we translate texts not language systems*, cf. p. 87) but, since ST and TT are instances of the SL and the TL systems, he acknowledges that translation also takes place at other “wider environments” such as “previous translations”, “relevant registers” and finally the overall meaning potential (cf., p. 87, 93). Relating the two hierarchies, Matthiessen (2001) notes that “while translation can be located at one end of the cline of instantiation, it cannot be located only at one stratum of the hierarchy of stratification. Translation takes place throughout the hierarchy of stratification” (p. 89). That is in consonance with Martin’s notion that “all strata instantiate” (e.g., 2008a and b, 2009a and b). This contradicts classifications of translation in terms of stratification as Catford’s phonological and graphological translations and as Steiner’s (2001a) translations at the “semantic” and at the “lexicogrammatical” levels (cf. p. 162). Translation exclusively produced from linguistic resources at one stratum would not have reached the instance pole yet and would not be construed as a translated *text*.

Moreover, neither Matthiessen (2001) nor Steiner (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006) take into account the social subjectivity of individual users of the languages involved in a translation task, especially the translator and TL readers. That maybe explains the adoption of the parameters of “equivalence” and “shift” in their approach of translation (see section 3.1 above). By bringing users into the scene, the three-dimensional perspective proposed here makes notions like “equivalence” and “shift” expendable since translation is no longer seen as a matching between options from two abstract systems but as a negotiation of meanings according to *repertoires*. Such repertoires or *personalized language systems* tend to converge within each language/culture, within sub-communities but they are never completely overlapping. Crucial repertoires in translation are the repertoires of the translators, i.e. the language systems as they have “built them up”, the “stored up” potentials (cf. Halliday 1999: 7) they draw on when they read the ST and when they write the TT. This way, even the notion of “equivalence” has to be seen as negotiable

(since it integrates arepertoire), i.e. the translator may or not claim to have achieved it in the ST in relation to any or all of the numerous aspects involved in a given translation.

Although recognizing the need to look at translation from a three-dimensional perspective, deploying realisation, instantiation and individuation, here I choose to focus on instantiation since I am concerned with the relation between ST and TT. Based on the division of labour among the hierarchies suggested by Martin (2007a) (see chapter 1, section 1.4.2 and chapter 2, section 2.2), in the following section, I look at translation as a specific type of intertextual relation between ST and TT and propose to model it as interlingual re-instantiation.

3.2.1 Translation as interlingual re-instantiation

Seeing a TT as the interlingual re-instantiation of a ST means considering translation as the reconstruction of the meaning potential of the ST as a TL text. Such a reconstruction comprises semantic relations between a ST, which maintains an instancial relation to the SL system, and a TT, which maintains an instancial relation to the TL system (see Figure 3.4).

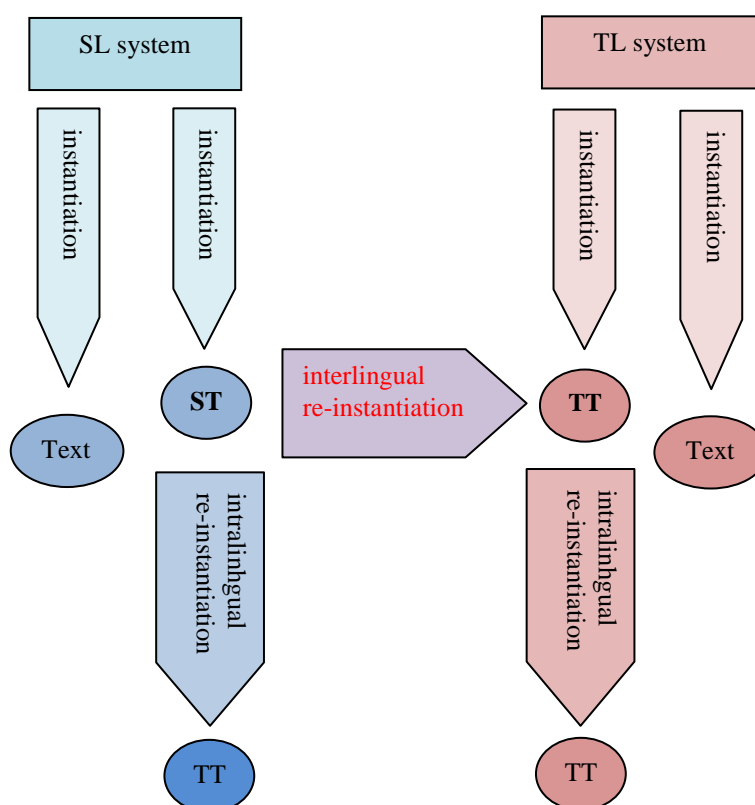


Figure 3.4: translation as interlingual re-instantiation

Interlingual re-instantiation is akin to intralingual re-instantiation. Both entail the creation of a new instance from a ST. However, while in intralingual re-instantiation the text created is an instance of the same language system as the ST, in interlingual re-

instantiation the text created is an instance of a different language system. Re-instantiation within the same language system is largely a question of varying the commitment (specificity) of meanings, as for example in the writing of notes and summaries (see Hood 2008 and chapter 2, section 2.2.1.3.2). Re-instantiation across languages is more complex since it may also involve the re-coupling of meanings in view of the affordances of the TL system and the TL reader needs as perceived by the translator. This particular type of text generation is here explored by focusing on the semantic relations between ST and TT, i.e., seen as intertextual relations. That is, translation is here seen as a specific type of intertextual relation in which ST and TT share a given interlingual meaning potential. To start dealing with such a complex issue, in the following section, I distinguish between instantial and intertextual relations.

3.2.1.1 Instantial and intertextual relations

Instantial relations are relations of filiation linking a given instance to the language system that produced it. Thus, for example, every English text is an instance of the English language system. This means each text instantiates the system, i.e., each text constitutes a unique configuration of meanings among the many configurations afforded by the system⁵¹. To say that the system affords configurations of meaning is to say that the system provides potential meanings to be combined and potential combinations to be made. However, systems are not instantiated in texts in a social vacuum. Texts are produced according to individual speakers' specific purposes within specific cultural communities. So, a text's filiation to a language presupposes its use by socially positioned speakers of the language. It is these users as members of cultural communities who invest linguistic resources with specific ideological values giving rise to what Bakhtin (1935/1981) calls "the languages of heteroglossia" (p. 291). For Bakhtin, each of these social languages, as for example genres and professional jargons, constitute "specific points of view on the world" (id. p. 291) and result from the use of recurrent configurations of meaning by speakers with similar social positions (e.g., profession, social class) and purposes⁵². They are –

so to speak, the sclerotic deposits of an intentional process, signs left behind on the path of the real living project of an intention, of the particular way it imparts meaning to general linguistic norms" (p. 292).

Consequently, in order to produce an utterance, a speaker chooses not directly from abstract and ideologically neutral systems but from metastable⁵³ clusters of meaning offered in genres, registers and text types. For Bakhtin,

⁵¹ Here "system" means the abstract system of a language which would amount to the sum of the repertoires of all users of the language, i.e. the overall potential including all meanings and all meaning combinations to be made by users.

⁵² This is why the hierarchy of individuation is needed – to account for speakers as members of specific cultural communities. When we speak of meaning as *shared*, we have to keep in mind not only *how* it is shared (through instances) but also *who* is sharing it. That is, texts are meant to share represented experience among language *users*.

⁵³ Genres, registers and text types can be seen as "a kind of inertia" in the flux of development of the system, i.e., they function so as to stabilize certain meaning configurations and make them recognizable to users while allowing the system's gradual change brought by innovative configurations (cf. Martin & Rose 2007: 258; Martin & White 2005: 23-25).

The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue" (id. p. 276).

This means that every text "inevitably orients itself with respect to previous performances in the same sphere, both those by the same author and those by other authors" (p. 95). This view of the text as part of a social "dialogue" came to be called the "principle of intertextuality" (Krsteva 1980). According to Bakhtin (1986), "any utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication" (p. 84) and is "related not only to preceding, but also to subsequent links" (p. 87). In other words, it

engages, as it were, in ideological colloquy of a large scale: it responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on. (Voloshinov 1995: 139).

In sum, instantial relations presuppose intertextual relations, since an instance cannot be produced outside the network of intertextual relations, i.e., without defining itself in relation to other instances. In Figure 3.5, instantial relations are those established between each individual text (blue circle) and the overall potential (greyscale adjacent circles) – T_n is an instance of S . Intertextual relations are represented inside the second rectangle meant as zooming in the process of instantiation. They are established among individual texts which share specific meaning subpotentials – the same genre/register and/or the same text type and/or more specific combinations of meanings in individual texts – $T1$, $T2$ and $T3$ are intertexts.

Instantial and intertextual relations can also be conceived from the perspective of instantiation as a hierarchy of couplings. As seen in chapter 2 (section 2.2.1.1), besides being a hierarchy of generality (from most general to most specific meaning choices) and of potentiality (from overall potential to increasingly smaller subpotentials), instantiation is also a hierarchy of couplings. This means that the move from general to specific and from greater to smaller potential can also be understood as a move from an indefinite number of generalized meanings and combinations of meanings to a fixed number of specific combinations. Thus, the system end provides all possible meanings to be combined and all possible combinations to be made and, ultimately it affords all possible combinations, even those which have never been made in the phylogenesis of the system. However, the coupling process itself only starts as we move from system down the cline, i.e., at the level of genre/register. In this level, we have "relatively stable types" of meaning combinations, i.e., a supply of likely configurations in terms of expected couplings associated to specific social processes/situations. Next, at the level of text type, we have less stabilized types of meaning combination. And then, at the level of text, we have a particular instance as a unique configuration of meanings resulting from a coalescence of meaning choices and combinations from the (sub)potential(s) above it.

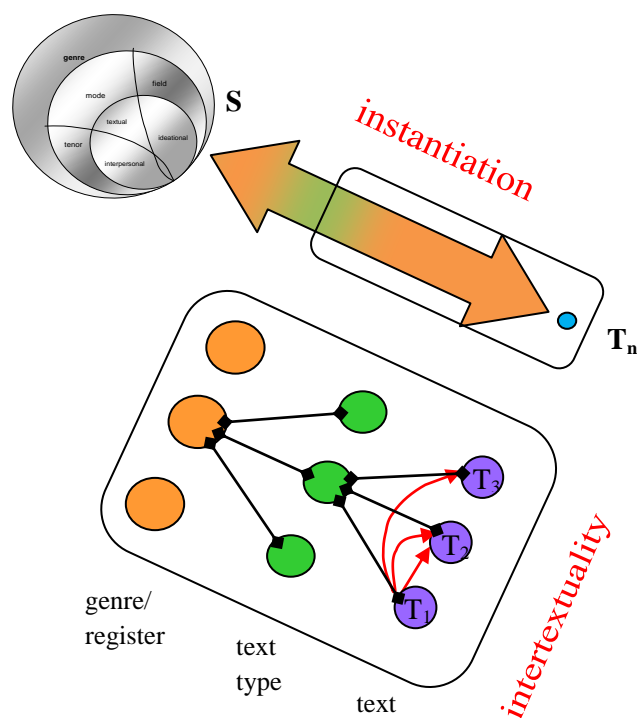


Figure 3.5: Instantial and intertextual relations

Still, the production of a new instance is not a matter of choosing among relatively stable types of meaning combination as abstract deposits of articulated forms. It is from meanings combined in concrete instances that a user chooses while engaging with such texts. The process of specification and coalescence of combinations of multidimensional meanings that results in a new text occurs against the backgrounds of 1) the meaning possibilities (affordances) offered by the abstract system, and 2) concrete instances either past or projected in the future (intertextuality). It follows that when two systems are brought together as in interlingual re-instantiation, a range of potential intertextual relations is made available in the dialogic space between them. In the following section, I address the charting of such a dialogic space.

3.2.1.2 Interlingual re-instantiation as an array of intertextual relations

Charting the space of potential intertextuality between ST and TT is an important step in modelling translation as interlingual re-instantiation. Within TS, inspiration for this comes from Venuti (2009) who considers translation as a “unique case of intertextuality” (p. 158) and describes the sets of intertextual relations involved in it –

- (1) those between the foreign text and other texts, whether written in the foreign language or in a different one;
- (2) those between the foreign text and the translation, which have traditionally been treated according to concepts of equivalence; and

(3) those between the translation and other texts, whether written in the translating language or in a different one (*ibid.*).

These sets of intertextual relations are illustrated in Figure 3.6. Set 1 is shown on the left stripe – the ST is shown together with its intralingual intertexts⁵⁴. The dashed red lines going up and going down stand for non-translational intertextual relations established between the ST and texts in other language systems. Set 2 is shown at the centre stripe – the red lines link the ST to its interlingual re-instantiations (in different TLs) with which it maintains translational intertextual relations. Set number 3 is represented on the right stripe – each TT is represented together with its intralingual intertexts⁵⁵ and the red dashed lines indicate non-translational intertextual relations established between the TT and texts in other language systems.

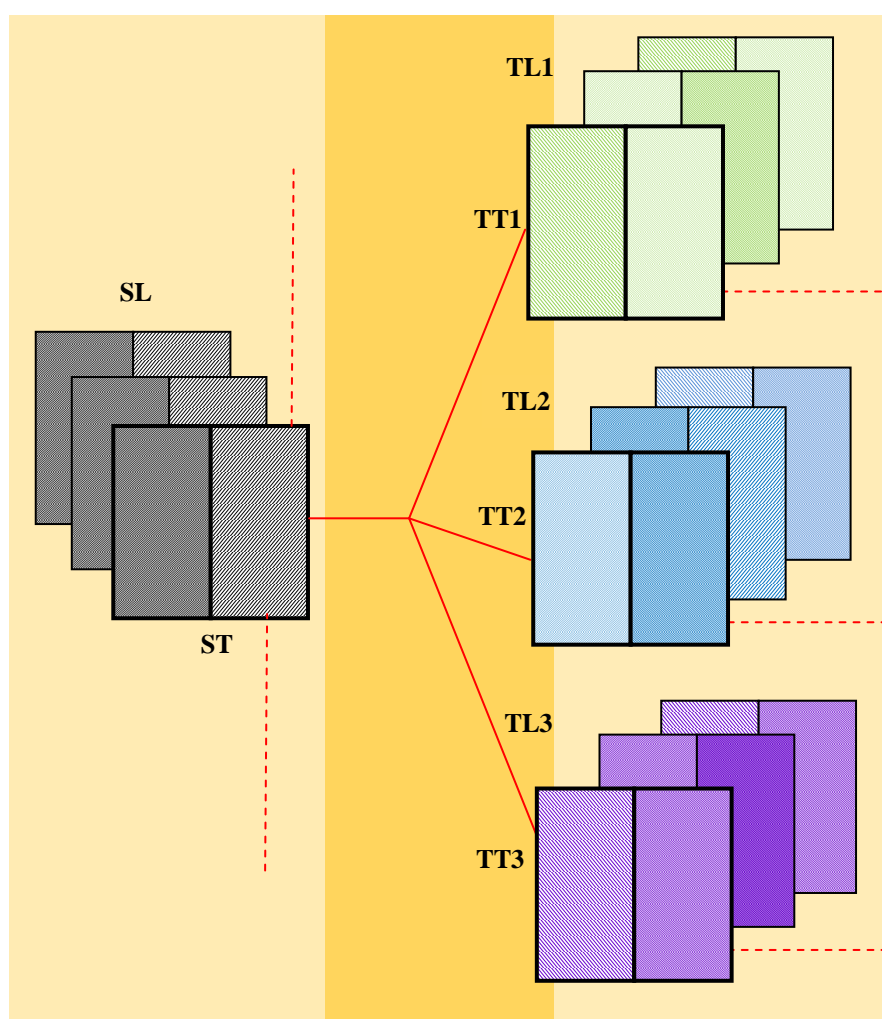


Figure 3.6: ST's and TT's intralingual and interlingual intertextual relations

⁵⁴ These are other instances with which the ST maintains relations of similarity and difference in terms of the sharing of meaning potential, i.e. genre/register relations, text type relations and also its intralingual re-instantiations.

⁵⁵ Like the ST in the SL context, each TT is also related intertextually with other texts in the TL context in terms of the sharing of meaning potential – genre/register, text type and re-instantiation relations.

Intertextual relations in sets 1 and 3 are dependent upon the intertextual relation in set 2. In fact, it is through the relation between the foreign text (ST) and the translation (TT) that intra and interlingual intertextual relations in the ST are *re-instantiated* (or not⁵⁶) and new intralingual intertextual relations between the TT and other texts within the TL context are established. Translation can thus be defined as a process of intertextual management.

To understand the nature of translation as a relation of intertextual management, it has to be borne in mind that while the ST is dialogically positioned so as to anticipate possible responses of its intended SL community of readers, the TT is dialogically positioned so as to anticipate possible responses of its intended TL community of readers.

In Figure 3.6 above, the representation of each text as divided in two halves each one filled with oblique lines that meet at the centre means the Janus-faced nature of dialogical positioning – the way texts both respond to previous texts and anticipate reactions in future texts. The intertextual management that happens in translation is guided by the construction of an implied readership which is capable of recognizing and understanding the intertextuality of the TT⁵⁷. This re-adjustment of ST intertextual relations in translation is represented in Figure 3.6 by the variation in the right half of the interlingual re-instantiations in different systems (different colours and number of oblique lines).

In the re-instantiation of a ST, intertextual relations are established by means of the translator's *reading* of the ST. In the following section, I address the statuses of the ST and TT in interlingual re-instantiation and the type of reading enacted by translators and TL readers.

3.2.1.3 The translator's reading of the ST

As seen in previous chapters⁵⁸, in his characterization of the hierarchy of instantiation, Martin (2009) says that texts “afford readings of different kinds according to the social subjectivity of their consumers” (Martin 2009: 22). The inclusion of reading as “the ultimate instance” is justifiable if we take into account that the act/product of writing/speaking is inseparable from the act/product of reading/listening. Reading is part and parcel of producing a text. When a text is produced, it is offered as an instance of the system together with a number of afforded readings, one of which is its author's. Halliday (1999) defines text as “all the *instances* of language that you listen to and read, and that you produce yourself in speaking and in writing” (p. 7, original emphasis). And Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) define it as “any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language” (p. 3). These definitions attest to the intrinsic relation between text and reading and also to the fact that a text is only an instance of a language if it makes sense to a user of the language. Alternatively, reading could be conceived as intersecting instantiation and individuation since it is the product of the interaction between user and text (see Figure 3.7). In these terms, reading would be the fulcrum of genesis, enabling logogenesis⁵⁹ as readers interact with instances; ontogenesis

⁵⁶ The re-instantiation of the ST intertextual relations will depend on how a TT recontextualizes the ST (cf. Venuti 2009: 162).

⁵⁷ This implied reader is what Martin & White call the “construed reader” or the “putative reader” after e.g. Eco (1984), Coulthard (1994) and Thompson (2001).

⁵⁸ Chapter 1, section 1.5.4.2.

⁵⁹ Logogenesis concerns the unfolding of meaning as text; ontogenesis concerns the development of individual repertoires; and phylogenesis concerns the evolution of the language system due to variation

as readers develop their repertoires and phylogenesis as repertoires integrate a reservoir and “give identity to a culture” (Martin & White 2005: 26).

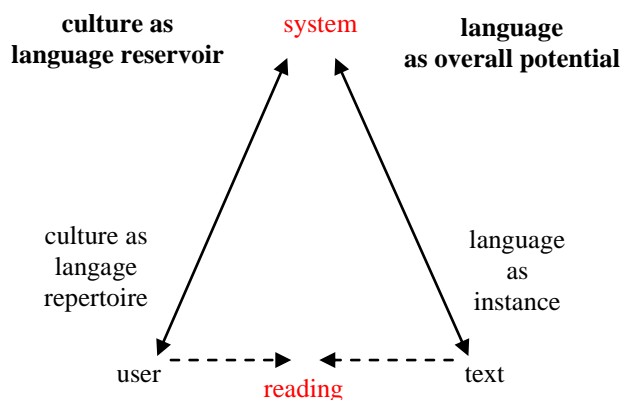


Figure 3.7: Reading at the intersection between instantiation and individuation

By the same token, reading emerges as enabling intertextual relations since readers may construe different dialogic chains when reading a given text.

It is the translator’s reading that enables the ST to become the TT. The TT can thus be seen more properly as a reconstruction of a reading of the ST than as a reconstruction of the ST itself. As an instance of the SL system, i.e., as a text that is accessible only to those who are users of the SL system (as the translator, the translation researcher and other SL readers), the ST remains in the SL culture. It emerges in the target culture as a translation, i.e., as a rendering of the ST as an instance of the TL system. Such a rendering can only take place if the translator comes one rung down the cline of instantiation of the SL system to construct a reading of the ST (see Figure 3.8). This double status of translation (as a reading of the ST and as an instance of the TL system), in turn, implies a double status for the translator as well – a reader of the ST and a writer of the TT.

STs can thus be said to participate in both systems – in the SL system as an instance and in the TL system as one of its afforded readings. Likewise, TTs also participate in both language systems – in the SL system, as one of the readings afforded by the ST, and in the TL system, as an instance plus the new readings afforded by it (see Figure 3.8). This evidences the Janus-faced status of the translator’s reading – it looks backwards to the ST and forward to the TT to be produced.

As seen in chapter 1 (section 1.5.4.2), Martin & White (2005) propose three possible types of reading – compliant, resistant and tactical. A compliant reading as that which subscribes to a text’s naturalized reading position; a resistant reading as that which opposes it; and a tactical reading as that which in principle “neither accepts nor rejects” (p. 206) it but “aims to deploy a text for social purposes other than those it has naturalised” (ibid.). If we assume the TT to be a reconstruction of the translator’s reading of the ST, we have to acknowledge that the translator’s reading is always a tactical one since it is *a reading for translating*. This means it is so to speak a surrogate reading – a reading on behalf of the TL reader. It is the translator who projects the type of reading his/her

according to users and uses (Martin 2007: 295; Martin 2009b: 576; see also chapter 1, section 1.4.2, and chapter 2 (section 2.2).

construed reader will perform – compliant, resistant or tactical. This way, we can posit that TTs themselves can be seen as compliant, resistant or tactical –

1) a compliant TT will seek to align the TL reader towards subscribing to the ST's naturalized reading, probably endeavouring to relay its rhetorical purposes (e.g., translations of religious texts and advertisements generally fit into such a type);

2) a resistant TT will seek to align the TL reader towards rejecting the ST's naturalized reading, possibly by applying adjustments (e.g., feminist translations); and

3) a tactical TT will focus on one aspect of the meaning potential of the ST in order to allow the TL reader to apply it for social purposes which have not been anticipated in the ST (e.g., translation for linguistic or literary analysis).

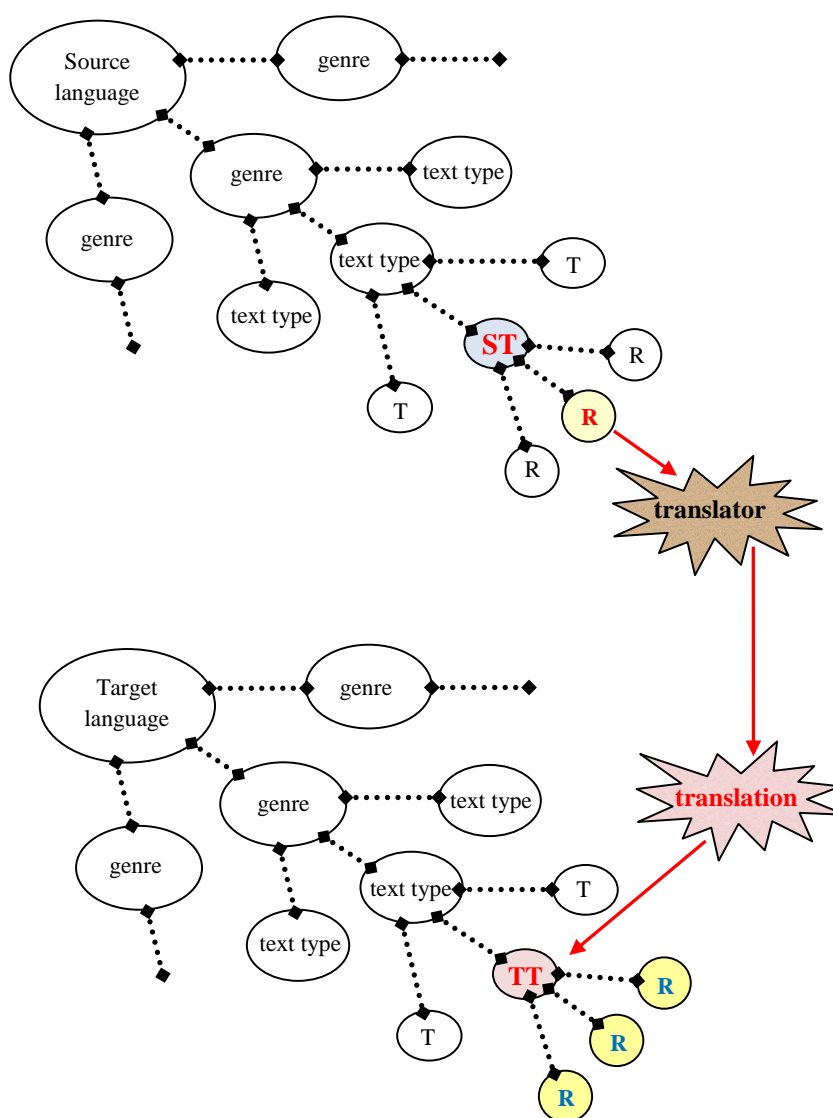


Figure 3.8: Interlingual re-instantiation

Whatever type of reading the translator projects on his/her construed reader, s/he will have to provide a given configuration of meanings which allows such a reading and this entails managing and negotiating the ST's instantial and intertextual relations with this reader⁶⁰. In the following section, I describe how such a negotiation is made in translation.

3.2.1.4 The management of intertextual relations in translation

I am assuming here that the management of intertextual relations in translation does not amount to a re-arrangement or a re-mapping of ST meanings. According to Venuti (2009), translating is

radically transformative. The foreign text is not only decontextualized, but recontextualized insofar as translating rewrites it in terms that are intelligible and interesting to receptors, situating it in different patterns of language use, in different cultural values, in different literary traditions, in different social institutions, and often in a different historical moment (p. 162).

For Venuti, three contexts are “lost” in translation and have to be created anew –

- 1) the intratextual context, i.e. the “linguistic patterns and discursive structures” (p. 159);
- 2) the intertextual and interdiscursive context, i.e., “relations to pre-existing texts” and “relations to pre-existing forms and themes” (ibid.);
- 3) the receiving context, i.e., the various oral, print, and electronic media through which the foreign text continues to accrue significance when it begins to circulate in its originary culture, ranging from paratextual elements (book jackets and advertisements, blurbs, and authors’ photos) to commentary (periodical reviews and academic criticism, television interviews, and internet forums) to derivative works (editions, adaptations, anthology extracts) (ibid).

Venuti sees these three contexts as “constitutive” of the ST, i.e. they are “necessary for the signifying process of the foreign text, for its capacity to support meanings, values, and functions (...)” (ibid.). For him, the TT recontextualizes the ST by deploying different linguistic/discursive patterns, by establishing a new “network of intertextual and interdiscursive relations” (p. 162) and by creating another context of reception, possibly comprising “printing formats, promotion and marketing strategies, various kinds of commentaries, and the uses to which diverse readers put it” (ibid).

That is why, even when repeating ST forms, the translated text may trigger specific values and interpretations which would not be made in the SL context –

(...) the notion of an equivalent effect — that a translation can produce for its reader an effect that is similar to or the same as the effect produced by the foreign text for the foreign language reader — describes an

⁶⁰ According to the translator’s repertoires.

impossibility: it ignores the manifold loss of contexts in any translation (id., p. 159).

The contexts described by Venuti (2009) are here interpreted in terms of the SFL framework of re-instantiation and will be called *matrices*⁶¹ so as not to interfere with the long-standing use of the term “context” in SFL. Besides that, they are here conceived as nurturing substrates from which instances are produced. They are defined in relation to both the ST and the TT –

- a) matrix 1 comprises instantial relations, i.e., the ST and the TT as unique configurations of meanings (logogenetic patterns) constructed by successive meaning selections and combinations among those afforded by the overall potentials;
- b) matrix 2 comprises the texts’ relations along the instantiation clines involved⁶² i.e. their relations to texts in the same or in other genre/registers and text types; and
- c) matrix 3 comprises the relations between texts and readings – those afforded by the texts and those realised by readers in their respective cultural systems.

Figure 3.9, shows these three matrices – at the top is matrix 1, standing for *texts as instance*; then there is matrix 2, standing for *text as intertext* and finally matrix 3, standing for *text as reading*.

Like Venuti’s “contexts”, these matrices are “interlocking” (p. 159) and cannot be separated in practice. So, at first, when reading a text for translating it, the translator fancies recreating all matrices, but in practice what s/he can do is to negotiate such a recreation in a translational give-and-take. First of all s/he has to consider matrix 3 – the TT’s receiving intertexts. That is, s/he has to establish a relation between the reading(s) afforded by the ST and that/those afforded by the TT. This implies construing the TT’s implied reader – how s/he is expected to read and use the TT. Taking Martin & White’s (2005) types of reading, the translator could ask: is the TT’s reader expected to make a compliant, a resistant or a tactical reading? Another closely related question would be: which aspects or elements of matrices 1 (language patterns and discourse structures) and 2 (intertextual links) will this reader be able to recognize? Which aspects or elements will help them achieve a compliant, resistant or tactical reading of the TT?

The next set of questions then would concern matrices 1 and 2. The translator could ask: how can I recreate the relevant (linguistic and cultural) aspects or elements in the ST for this reader and this reading? Relevant here is meant as those aspects that can be recognized by the TL reader and realised in the TT in the intended way. The answers to these questions will give the translator the strategy to be followed in terms of the recreation and negotiation of matrices. S/he would then be able to concentrate his/her efforts in the recreation of a given matrix or specific elements of a matrix. For example, if given linguistic/discourse patterns in the ST are particularly valued by the reader, the translator will focus on the recreation of matrix 1; if given intertextual/interdiscursive

⁶¹ The term “matrix” is used here in the sense of “a substance, situation, or environment in which something has its origin, takes form, or is enclosed” (World English Dictionary at <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/matrix>).

⁶² This context also includes the intertextual and interdiscursive relations of the texts with instances of other language systems besides the SL and the TL but I am not taking these into account here.

elements are particularly valued by the reader, she will concentrate on recreating matrix 2. Of course such a recreation means finding or forging *points of convergence* between the relevant matrices in the SL and in the TL.

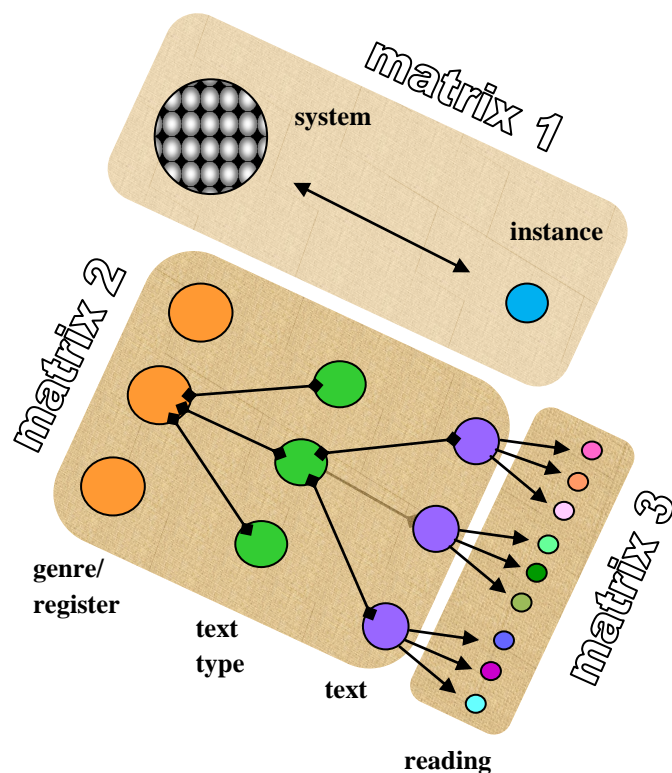


Figure 3.9: Matrices in interlingual re-instantiation

If matrix 1 is seen as the most relevant, the ST will be elected as the *focal point for convergence* between the two systems (see Figure 3.10). In this case, the translator's creativity will be exercised in recreating the ST's language patterns, either in general or in relation to particular elements like, for example, phonological or lexicogrammatical or discourse semantic resources.

It is important to bear in mind that matrix 2 is not ignored by the translator's choice of privileging matrix 1. What this privileging and the election of the ST as the point for convergence mean is that the necessary distantiation moves up the clines will be made up to the overall potential since in order to reconstitute the ST's meaning patterns, the translator may need to strain the TL system in order to realise choices which until then were only potential. This may result in a contortion of the system (see examples in section 3.2.1.5.1).

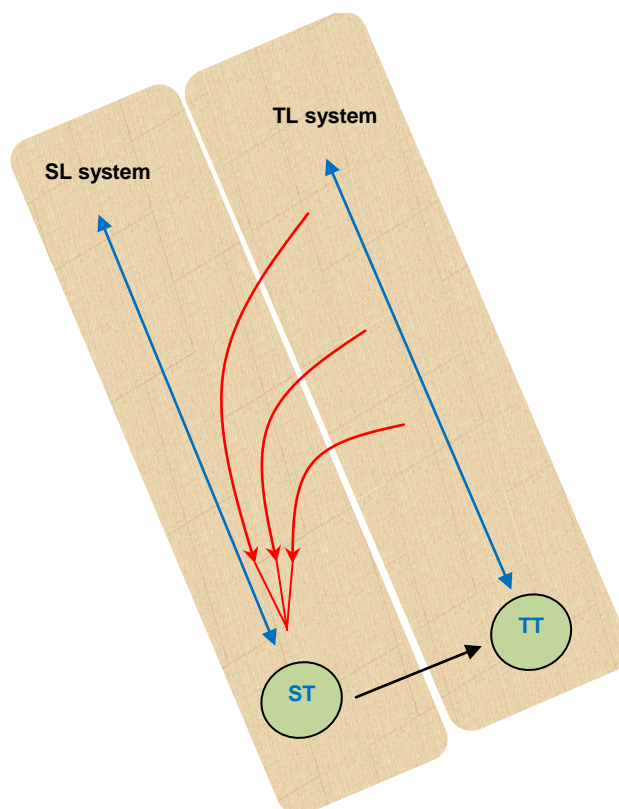


Figure 3.10: Privileging matrix 1

In terms of shared meaning potential, this privileging of matrix 1 allows for what Martin (2007a) calls “quoting”, i.e., “direct instance to instance relations” in which “the meaning potential of two texts is presented as completely overlapping” (p. 286). Of course, in interlingual re-instantiation such an overlapping is not to be taken as real⁶³ but as the translator’s strategy⁶⁴ and claim. That is, the translator takes the ST as a template and tries to replace combinations of meanings by similar combinations with resources from the TL system. So, the coupling and commitment of meanings is expected to be very similar to those in the ST (though at times sounding unusual). A possible metaphor here would be that of the “mirror” though, as mentioned above, in order to reflect the ST, the TL system may be strained and the mirror may assume different formats (convex, concave, spherical, multifaced, etc).

If matrix 2 is seen as the most relevant (see Figure 3.11), the focal point for the intersection between systems (as repertoires) is put higher up the clines at the level where meanings are shared by texts of the same text type. In Figure 3.11, the text type focal point is represented as in between the two clines since the systems are drawn from in a more balanced way than when matrix 1 is privileged.

⁶³ Even in his modelling of intertextual relations in intralingual re-instantiation, Martin (2007a) admits that “some idealisation” involved here as he shows in relation to the transcription of one of the texts he analyses (cf. p. 287).

⁶⁴ Such a strategy would comprise what has been treated under terms like “literal translation”, “loans” in Vinay & Darbelnet (1995), “transfer” in Catford (1965), “transference” in Newmark (1988), “transcription” in Harvey (2000) and “foreignizing” in Venuti (1995), among others.

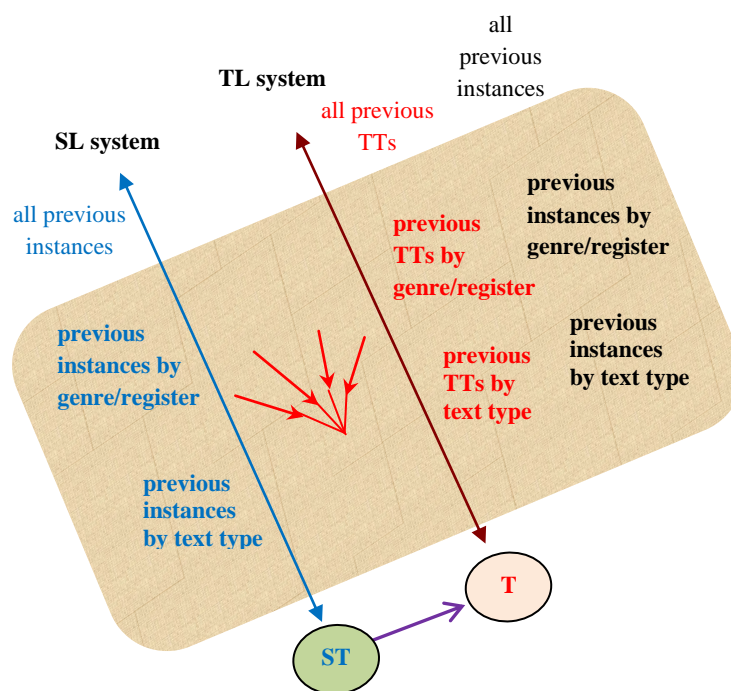


Figure 3.11: Privileging matrix 2

When text type is elected as the focal point, the translator seeks to produce a text of a SL type which is similar to that of the ST. This means that the necessary distanciation moves will be made up to the text type rung. The ST's logogenetic patterns are not so closely mirrored but are *painted* according to the affordances of the TL system (as in the translator's repertoire). In terms of shared meaning potential, putting the focus on text type allows for what Martin (2007a) calls "paraphrasing" (in which the overlap between the meaning potentials of the ST and TT is smaller than in quoting) and "retelling" in which "there is less in common still" (p. 287). The difference between these is seen here as a function of the extent to which the coupling and commitment of meanings vary in TTs as compared to those in corresponding STs. As a general rule, if the TT instantiates similar coupling and commitment of meanings in relation to the ST, it 'quotes' or a 'paraphrases' these meanings; and if it instantiates different coupling and commitment of meanings in relation to the ST, it 'retells' these meanings. More specifically, I propose to explore using the following criteria for classification of these modes of translational intertextuality –

- 'quoting'⁶⁵ – TT is as committed ideationally and/or interpersonally as ST;
- 'paraphrasing' – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a given extent;
- 'retelling' – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a greater extent OR
TT commits different ideational and/or interpersonal meanings

⁶⁵ I will be using single quotes to indicate the technical use of these terms here, i.e., as the modes of translational intertextual management proposed.

As indicated above, I am taking ‘retelling’ here not simply as telling again, but as *telling differently*.

We cannot forget, though, that two systems⁶⁶ are involved in interlingual re-instantiation and that these contexts have to be defined in relation to two different instantiation clines. Moreover, it is important to heed to the fact that among the TL previous instances are previous translations either of the same ST or of other STs in the SL. That is why in Figure 3.11, I included previous instances at the levels of genre/register and text type so as to visualise the placing of a new TT in relation to the collection of instances in a language/culture system. I also included previous TTs as a subgroup of previous instances at each level. Previous TTs can also be drawn from in the re-instantiation of a ST, especially when the translator cannot find points of convergence or similarities that are relevant for his/her translation job.

In what concerns the status of TTs in relation to the TL system and other TL instances, the current model allows for the possibility that their use of TL meanings may contribute patterns that would distinguish them as translated texts. However, the recurrence of such patterns would not constitute a register or a text type in themselves (as suggested by Steiner (e.g. 2001a, 2001b, 2005b) since they do not define a specific region of the instantiation cline but spread along it, *grafting* on existing TL subpotentials under the influence of SL subpotentials. TTs could rather be seen as a second-order register/text type. The relation between TTs and previous TTs and the patterns they may be seen to establish through recurrent use is out of the scope of the current thesis.

Establishing intertextual relations between ST and TT implies determining degrees of overlap between the two texts in terms of meaning potential. In the following section, I address the issue of defining the overall meaning potential and sub-potentials when two or more systems are involved.

3.2.1.5 Shared meaning potential in a three-dimensional model of interlingual re-instantiation

In Martin’s (2007a) suggestion of using instantiation in order to study intertextual relations between instances, intertextuality is understood in terms of “more or less shared meaning potential” (p. 287). However, Martin admits that

how to determine degrees of overlap and thus shared meaning potential is a complex issue, depending at this stage on future developments in corpus linguistics (geared up considerably to analyse higher ranking lexicogrammatical structures and discourse semantic patterns) (p. 287).

The issue is even more complex in the modelling of translation as interlingual re-instantiation. While in intralingual re-instantiation the overall potential is recognizable as comprising systems and structures of the given language, in interlingual re-instantiation the notion of an overall potential is much more troublesome to represent since two language systems with different affordances are brought together. And the same difficulty holds for the other subpotentials (genre/register and text type).

⁶⁶ More than two systems can be involved in the translation of a given text since it can include words and expressions from other languages but here, for the purpose of modelling translation, I am considering the main language in which the ST has been written and the language it is being translated into.

A three-dimensional perspective on interlingual re-instantiation (i.e., in terms of realisation, instantiation and individuation) will liken the *overall potentials* of the language systems involved to the translator's *repertoires*⁶⁷. As assumed above, the translator as a reader of the two language systems draws on his/her individual repertoires to interpret the ST and to anticipate how the ST could be transformed into a new instance of the TL system. Seeing that the tracing of a translator's repertoires is impractical, I assume that the final product, i.e. the TT, can help elucidate what options were available in the translator's merge of repertoires. Thus, a possible solution for analysing the intertextual relation of translation between two texts by means of instantiation would be to consider the meaning potentials mobilized in a translation event as manifested in the translator's meaning choices and combinations in the TT. But how are meaning potentials manifested in the TT? A frame of reference is needed in order to compare meanings chosen in the TT to meanings that could but have not been chosen. It is here that the analyst's repertoires are called upon – any contrastive analysis of STs and their re-instantiations has to rely on the analyst's repertoires⁶⁸, i.e. how s/he interpretively reconstrues the translator's meaning choices and combinations. Options in the analyst's repertoires will make the frame of reference in the analysis of semantic relations between TT and ST.

Of course, if language descriptions integrate the analyst's repertoire, that will facilitate her/his job. In my analysis of texts in the data source I can count on a description of the English systems in focus (the appraisal framework in Martin & White 2005). However, in what concerns Brazilian Portuguese, I have to rely on my own undescribed repertoire.

Thus, according to my repertoires as a user of AE and BP, as a translation researcher and as a discourse analyst and given my tactical reading according to the research focus (see chapter 1, section 1.5.2), in the following sections, I propose analyses of the management of intertextual relations by means of the categories of 'quoting', 'paraphrase' and 'retelling' as defined in section 3.2.1.4 above. Such a management will be exemplified in relation to the re-instantiation of couplings of appraised + appraisal. In section 3.2.1.5.1, I will provide examples of these types of translational intertextuality taking into account how ideational and interpersonal meanings are coupled and committed in the TTs. In section 3.2.1.5.2, I will explore and exemplify different distantiation movements in the re-instantiation of couplings of appraised + appraisal.

3.2.1.5.1 Examples of translational intertextual relations

In order to contrast the re-instantiation of meanings in a TT, a good starting point is the classification of the semantic relations that obtain between correspondent stretches of ST and TT. Then, these semantic relations can be analysed in terms of more or less commitment (e.g., in terms of metafunctions). After that, they can be seen in terms of the modes of intertextual relation ('quoting', 'paraphrasing' and 'retelling'). Finally, the use of such categories can be analysed in terms of their contribution for the rhetorical whole of the TT considering the type of reading intended by the translator.

⁶⁷ The translator's repertoire is conceived as including the translator's recognition and realisation rules in relation to the languages/cultures involved and also in relation to the translation of texts from and/or to such languages/cultures.

⁶⁸ The analyst's repertoire is conceived as including the analyst's recognition and realisation rules in relation to the languages/cultures involved and also in relation to the analysis of texts in a relation of translation according to specific theoretical frameworks.

The first step is demonstrated in Appendix 2, where examples are classified according to the categories proposed in Martin (2008a) and Hood (2008) (see chapter 2, sections 2.2.1.2.1 and 2.2.1.3.2). Below, I take some of these examples and start to explore their relations of commitment in terms of ideational and interpersonal meanings and also in terms of which mode of intertextual relation may be said to be used. I am assuming the two translations (TT1 and TT2) aim at a compliant reading.

As specified in chapter 1 (section 1.5.4.2), the unit of analysis and comparison is the proposition. Thus, I will be considering the modes of ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ and ‘retelling’ at a textual microlevel, accounting for the re-instantiation of propositions realising appraisals. Thus, I am assuming that the translation of one and the same text may deploy all these modes. Possibly, the accruing of a certain type of option will eventually characterize a translation as predominantly ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ or ‘retelling’ the ST’s meaning patterns.

Boxes will be used to highlight the elements in focus – blue ones for the appraisal and yellow ones for the appraised. When the appraised is not affected, it is left unmarked. The corresponding elements in the back translations will be underlined: single underline for appraisal and double for the appraised.

In triplet 2, the stretches in [3.1], [3.2] and [3.3] are related in terms of lexical metaphor. The provoked judgement in the ST realised in the idiom “blow off” (= ignore, refuse to notice) is re-instantiated in TT1 as “desconsidera” [*disregards*] and in TT2 as “faz o vento levar” [*causes the wind to take away*]. The idiom in the ST is not committed in TT1 where the meaning is made more specific (more committed interpersonally since more explicit). In TT2, in an attempt to render the ST idiom, the translator strains the TL system and produces an unexpected combination of meanings since the expression committed it is not currently used in BP to mean “refuse to notice” as does “blows off” –

[3.1] **ST:** Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, blows off past failures.

[3.2] **TT1:** Nigel Roberts, o diretor do Banco Mundial para a Margem Ocidental e Gaza, desconsidera os erros do passado.

BT: Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, disregards past failures.

[3.3] **TT2:** Nigel Roberts, o diretor do Banco Mundial para Judéia, Samaria e Gaza, faz o vento levar fracassos passados.

BT: Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, causes the wind to take away past failures.

This re-instantiation in T2 is here considered as a ‘retelling’ due to the increased possibilities of construing it. It can be construed as for example “puts an end to”. In this case, the TT affords an inversion of polarity in the judgement committed in the ST. So, different ideational and interpersonal meanings would be committed in TT1. Another possibility is to construe it as “does not worry with” which is a little less committed interpersonally than “refuses to notice”.

So, although the evaluation is made more explicitly in TT1, it can be said to be ‘paraphrasing’ the ST. And, in TT2, apparently, the translator aimed for a ‘quote’ but ended up ‘retelling’ the evaluation in the ST.

Other examples are in triplet 9 where the relation is also involves lexical metaphor. In [3.4], [3.5] and [3.6] below, the appreciation of US-Israeli relations as “rocky” (= unstable, difficult) is re-instantiated in TT1 as “estremecimento” [*a wobble*] and in TT2 as “dificuldades” [*difficulties*]. In the first case, a similar idiom is committed while in the second one less ideational meaning is committed. TT1 here ‘quotes’ the ST while TT2 ‘paraphrases’ it. Another example of ‘quoting’ involved here is the translation of “US-Israeli relations”. TT1 seemingly tries to ‘quote’ the ST by committing a similar compound but offers an unexpected one. Current options would be: “relações israelo-estadunidenses” or “israelo-americanas”. TT2 paraphrases the ST by choosing a less formal re-instantiation – “relações entre Estados Unidos e Israel” [*relations between the U.S and Israel*].

[3.4] **ST**: Israeli elections on Feb. 10 are likely to bring a government to power not favorably inclined to this plan, spelling **rocky** **U.S.-Israeli relations** ahead.

[3.5] **TT1**: As eleições israelenses no dia 10 de fevereiro provavelmente tragam um governo ao poder não favoravelmente inclinado a este plano, resultando em **um estremecimento** nas **relações Estados Unidos-israelenses** à frente.

BT: Israeli elections on Feb. 10 probably bring a government to power not favorably inclined to this plan resulting in a wobble in U.S.-Israeli relations ahead.

[3.6] **TT2**: As eleições israelenses em 10 de fevereiro [vencidas pelo Likud, de Benjamin Netanyahu, o novo primeiro-ministro] provavelmente trarão ao poder um governo não favoravelmente inclinado a aceitar esse plano, significando **dificuldades** nas **relações entre Estados Unidos e Israel** mais a frente.

BT: Israeli elections on Feb. 10 [won by the Likud of Benjamin Netanyahu, the new prime-minister] will probably bring to power a government not favorably inclined to accept this plan, meaning difficulties in the relations between the U.S. and Israel ahead.

Another example comes from triplet 4, where the relation is one involving interdiscursive relations⁶⁹ –

[3.7] **ST**: These agreements would be permanent, with no **backsliding**, much less duplicity.

[3.8] **TT1**: Estes acordos seriam permanentes, sem **retrocesso**, muito menos duplicidade.

BT: These agreements would be permanent, with no retrocession, much less duplicity.

[3.9] **TT2**: Esses acordos seriam permanentes, sem **vacilos**, e muito menos sem dubiedade

ST: These agreements would be permanent, with no vacillation, much less duplicity.

⁶⁹ This is my own characterisation of the relation since it is not among the ones proposed in Martin (2008a) and Hood (2008).

In [3.7], [3.8] and [3.9], the judgement realised in “backsliding” (ST) is re-instantiated in TT1 as “retrocesso” [*retrocession*], and in TT2 as “vacilos” [*vacillations*]. The expression used in the ST establishes links with the discourse of Christianity where it means to “revert to pre-conversion habits and/or lapses or fall into sin”. The translations do not establish links with the same discourse or with any other specific discourses and so they are less committed ideationally. They would be examples of ‘paraphrasing’. A possible ‘quoting’ here would be the use of “apostasia” [*apostasy*]. And possible ‘retellings’ would be “reincidência” (which would establish links with the discourse of law) and “recaída” (which would establish links with the discourse of medicine).

Another example comes from triplet 8 where the relation is one of *number of elements*. In [3.11], [3.10] and [3.12], although other evaluations are committed, I would like to focus on the coupling between “Islamist” (appraisal) and “Yusuf al-Qaradawi” (appraised).

[3.10] **ST**: It's not just Latin American leftists who see potential in Islamism. Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite former mayor of London, literally hugged prominent **Islamist** thinker **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**.

[3.11] **TT1**: Não são apenas esquerdistas latino-americanos que vêem potencial no islamismo. Ken Livingstone, prefeito trotskista de Londres, literalmente abraçou **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**, proeminente pensador **islâmico**.

BT: It is not just Latin American leftists who see potential in Islam. Ken Livingstone, Trotskyite mayor of London, literally hugged prominent Islamic thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

[3.12] **TT2**: Não são apenas os esquerdistas latino-americanos que vêem potencial no islamismo. Ken Livingstone, o trotskista ex-prefeito de Londres, literalmente abraçou o pensador **islamista** **[1]** **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**.

Notas:

[1] NT: Aos leitores eventualmente ainda não familiarizados com a terminologia do autor, é importante ressaltar que ele faz profunda distinção entre islâmico e islamista, sendo este último um adepto do islamismo, ideologia radical que faz uso do Islã para promover uma agenda de violência e terror.

BT: It is not just Latin American leftists who see potential in Islam. Ken Livingstone, Trotskyite former mayor of London, literally hugged prominent Islamist [1] thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

Notes:

[1] NT: To those readers who are maybe not familiar with the author's terminology, it is important to stress that he distinguishes sharply between Islamic and Islamist, the latter being an adept of Islamism, radical ideology that uses Islam to promote an agenda of violence and terror.

In order to re-instantiate this coupling, TT2 creates a new word in BP – “islamista” and adds a note explaining its meaning in the ST. In doing so, TT2 commits more elements and is more committed ideationally than the ST. In cases such as this one, ‘quoting’ is only an option if the new term dispenses with further explanations. Here, TT2 can be said to be ‘paraphrasing’ the ST. TT1 re-instantiates “Islamist” as “islâmico” [*relating to Islam*]. This is in contradiction with the ST author's use of the expression in the ST to mean

“Islamic fundamentalist thinker”. TT2 thus commits a different ideational meaning and no interpersonal meaning and can be said to be ‘retelling’ the ST.

As pointed out above, the contrastive analysis of ST and TT in terms of more or less ideational and interpersonal commitment involves considering the simultaneous contribution of each evaluation committed in a text to its rhetorical whole and is many times very challenging. Such difficulty complicates classification in terms of ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ and ‘retelling’. Notwithstanding, it becomes easier to analyse commitment when the translator’s aims are well defined in terms of matrix 3 (see section 3.2.1.4) since the comparison will be made in terms of specific elements which the translator aims at re-creating. In such a case, we can say that a consistent use of ‘quoting’ and ‘retelling’ is likely to generate different readings in relation to those afforded by the ST, and a consistent use of ‘paraphrasing’ is likely to generate more similar readings. This is going to be further discussed against examples analysed in chapter 4.

In the following section, I model distantiation in interlingual re-instantiation and then explore describing different distantiation movements that may be performed by the translator in the re-instantiation of couplings of appraised + appraisal.

3.2.1.5.2 Distantiation in interlingual re-instantiation

Drawing on Martin (2006, 2008a, 2008b) and Hood (2008), we could summarize the process of intralingual re-instantiation as:

- 1) start at the instance pole, i.e., an instance already produced (through a process of instantiation),
- 2) distantiate⁷⁰, i.e., move up the cline so as to access meanings at a less committed level, and then
- 3) re-instantiate such meanings by means of the establishment of semantic relations like those proposed in Martin (2008a, 2008b) and Hood (2008) (see chapter 2, sections 2.2.1.2.1 and 2.2.1.3.2).

For interlingual re-instantiation, this could be re-phrased as –

- 1) start at the instance pole of the SL system, i.e., an instance already produced (the ST),
- 2) distantiate
 - a. move up the SL’s cline so as to access meanings at a less committed level,
 - b. move up the TL’s cline so as to access meanings at a less committed level,
 - c. find/forging points of convergence between the clines of the two systems, and then
- 3) re-instantiate the ST by managing semantic relations like those proposed in Martin (2008a) and Hood (2008).

Of course, in practice, the three steps of distantiation, finding/forging points of convergence and re-instantiation happen simultaneously, but we have to artificially separate them in order to understand which elements are contributed by each to the final product, i.e., the TT.

⁷⁰ Except in a relation of quoting, which is a direct instance to instance relation, i.e., no larger meaning potential is needed for re-instantiation (cf. Martin 2007a: 286-7).

As seen above, the two clines have to be distantiated *in tandem* since the translator performs simultaneously as a reader of both systems and as a writer of the SL system. Thus, using her/his SL recognition rules, s/he has first to recognize choices made in the ST by contrasting it to other instances of that system (according to his/her SL repertoire). Then the translator has to find similarities and differences between the language systems in terms of text types, registers and genres and above these. At the same time, using his/her TL realisation rules, s/he has to project possible choices for the TT by contrasting choices in the TL system (according to his/her TL repertoire).

3.2.1.5.2.1 Distantiation paths in the re-coupling and re-commitment of ST meanings

Metaphorically speaking, we can say that in order to re-instantiate a ST, the translator departs from such a text (which is a co-selection or a configuration of SL meanings) and has to arrive at the TT (which will be a co-selection or a configuration of TL meanings). In other words, s/he takes the ST as a meaning potential that affords readings and has to produce a new TL instance from one of such readings. It is through the translator's reading of the ST that the logogenesis of the ST takes place, triggering the creation of the TT's future logogenetic patterns. The big question is how? What does it mean to distantiate in translation? What does it mean to re-instantiate in translation?

The road to instantiation ends just as the road to re-instantiation begins – at the level of text. Every re-instantiation of a text presupposes an interpretation of it. And, in order to produce a reading of a text, the reader needs to distantiate or move up the cline in order to position the text in relation to other texts already produced. More specifically, distantiating amounts to probing the configuration of meanings in the text against expected combinations for text types, institutionalized combinations for genres/registers and still others higher up the cline so as to produce an interpretation of the text. It is like a *pattern-recognition* process. Re-instantiation then will come as a re-wording, i.e., as a re-combination of meanings according both to alternative possibilities in the system (in terms of resources and of previous instances) and to the use the new instance will be put to.

In intralingual re-instantiations, going up the cline means reaching up to more general or unspecified meanings available before one can re-instantiate a text (cf. Martin 2007a: 286). As can be understood from Martin's illustration of "quotation", "paraphrase" and "retelling" (see chapter 2, section 2.2.1, Figure 2.11), such a distantiation move reaches up to more general meanings available within the range of a given text type. However, in principle, distantiation, in intra or interlingual re-instantiation, can mean moving higher up the cline through genres/registers to the system pole.

Of course, moving up to the system pole and re-instantiating means *de-contextualizing* a text since it means reaching a level where meanings are available for use according to all different contexts, i.e., genres/registers and text types. It also means decoupling meanings since the coupling process does not begin until we move from the system pole downwards.

In interlingual re-instantiation, generally, distantiation moves up to the system pole not enough for generating a complete and intelligible translated text. For example, the translation of a list of words (not particularly associated to any register) from one language to another would demand such a distantiation move. However, such a list would not be taken as "language in context", from an SFL perspective, neither would it be considered a "translated text", from the perspective of interlingual re-instantiation, until it was associated to specific genres/registers along the clines.

Notwithstanding, distantiation moves up to the system end may happen as part of a given translation task. That is what happens for example, when a translator uses a false friend. The strings [2:1] and [2:2] below are part of the ST and TT1 in triplet 6 (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.3.2, Table 1.2).

In [3. 14] (from triplet 6), the translator chose “complacência” [*benevolence*] which is similar in form to “complacency” in the ST. S/he went up to the TL system end, recognized this item as part of BP lexis but did not recognize the difference in meaning between SL and TL. While the English item is used in the ST as “a feeling of quiet pleasure or security, often while unaware of some potential danger, defect, or the like”, the BP item stands for “willingness to please others, to accept their behaviour, to attend to their tastes and preferences”. It seems the translator aimed at a translation at the level of ‘quoting’ but ended up ‘retelling’ what the ST said.

[3:13] **ST**: That's because, however strong the Western hardware, its software contains some potentially fatal bugs. Three of them – pacifism, self-hatred, complacency – deserve attention.

[3.14] **TT2**: Isso ocorre porque, apesar da força do hardware ocidental, seu software contém alguns erros potencialmente fatais. Três deles – o pacifismo, o ódio a si mesmo e a complacência - merecem atenção.

BT: This occurs because, despite the strength of the Western hardware, its software contains some potentially fatal errors. Three of them – pacifism, self-hatred and benevolence – deserve attention.

Different distantiation/re-instantiation paths may be traced up and down the two clines, since individual translators may feel different needs for distantiating in re-instantiating STs according to their repertoires. Moreover, the translator can distantiate not only up to patterns arisen from previous TL instances (i.e., text types and genres/registers) but also to patterns arisen from previous TTs (as elements in such TL subpotentials). This possibility is not pursued in the current research.

During the re-instantiation of a given ST, a range of possible distantiation/re-instantiation paths is available for the translator (see Figure 3.12). The simplest path (indicated by the) would be a single move starting at the ST, going up the SL cline to the relevant subpotential – either text type (green dashed arrows), genre/register (red dashed arrows) or overall potential (blue dashed arrows) – then a straight connection to a corresponding subpotential in the TL cline and finally a single move down the TL cline to the TT.

More complex distantiation/re-instantiation paths would comprise multiple moves up and down the clines including the possibility of recursion, i.e., treading the same paths over and over again in order to translate different parts of a text. Figure 3.11 is meant as a very schematic illustration of the many possibilities of distantiating and re-instantiating a ST interlingually. In some translation tasks, as those of texts belonging to very different languages/cultures or of texts instantiating new patterns or even new genres, the translator will supposedly need to perform a number of moves up, between and down the clines before being able to re-instantiate the ST. But even in texts belonging to well-defined types, there may be unusual couplings that will demand additional moves. Especially in such cases, distantiation moves cannot be simply *from ST up the ST cline, across to the TL cline and down to the TT*. The translator will have to distantiate and return to the ST many times until s/he finds a way to recreate the ST's logogenetic patterns according to the translation task.

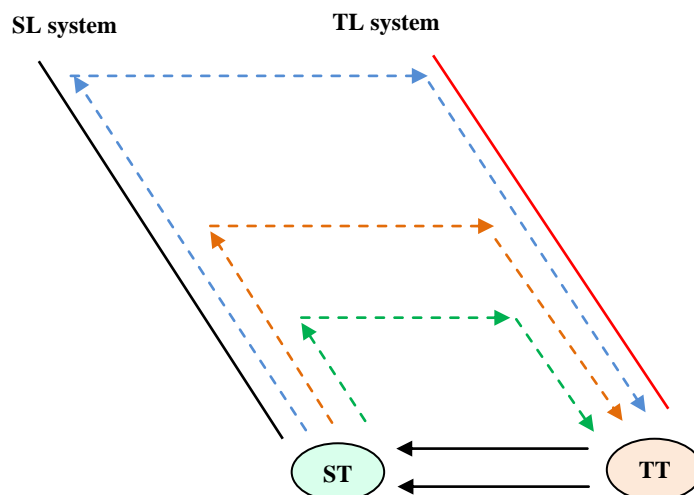


Figure 3.12: Possible distantiation/re-instantiation paths in interlingual re-instantiation

In what follows, I provide a few examples of possible distantiation/re-instantiation moves in re-instantiations of evaluative couplings (appraised + appraisal) in triplet 5. In terms of appraisal, the ST takes up a stand on the “Iraqi Study Group Report” (published in December 2006) and its authors. For such, they deploy resources of attitude (appreciation, affect and judgement), foregrounding judgement. Once more the relation between ST and TTs involves lexical metaphor.

In order to discuss what distantiation moves might have been performed by the translators in their re-instantiations, I will consider how meanings are coupled and committed in the translation of the following appraised + appraisal couplings:

- 1) the report + drivel
- 2) the report + dead on arrival
- 3) the report + dead in the water, and also
- 4) the press + with neurotic glee

In relation to the management of commitment, the semantic relations established here may impact the re-instantiation of both ideational and interpersonal meanings. The corresponding items are indicated by different colours.

[3.15] **ST**: Although the press reacted to this **drivel**, in the words of Daniel Henninger writing in the Wall Street Journal, **with "neurotic glee,"** Robert Kagan and William Kristol deemed it **"dead on arrival,"** and Iraq's president, Jalal Talabani, called it **"dead in the water."**

[3.16] **TT1**: Embora a imprensa tenha reagido a essa **baboseira** **com "prazer neurótico"**, nas palavras de Daniel Henninger para o Wall Street Journal, Robert Kagan e William Kristol opinam que o estudo **"morreu na praia"** e o presidente do Iraque, Jalal Talabani, declarou-o **"impraticável"**.

BT: Although the press has reacted to this **drivel** with **“neurotic pleasure”** – in the words of Daniel Henninger to the *Wall Street Journal* -, Robert Kagan and William Kristol opine that the study **“died at the beach”**⁷¹, and the president of Iraq, Jalal Talabani, called it **“unfeasible”**.

[3.17] TT2: Embora a imprensa tenha reagido a essa **balela** com **“alegria neurótica”** – nas palavras de Daniel Henninger no *Wall Street Journal* -, Robert Kagan e William Kristol disseram que o relatório **“deu entrada morto”** (dead on arrival), e o presidente do Iraque, Jalal Talabani, chamou-o de **“inoperante”** (dead in the water).

BT: Although the press has reacted to this **humbbug** with **with “neurotic happiness”** – in the words of Daniel Henninger in the *Wall Street Journal* -, Robert Kagan and William Kristol said the report **“checked-in dead”** (dead on arrival), and the president of Iraq, Jalal Talabani, called it **“inoperative”** (dead in the water).

1) report + drivel

In TT1 [3.16], “drivel” is translated by “baboseira”, that means “stupid or senseless talk like that of those who drivel, e.g., children, idiots”. As this meaning coincides with that of “drivel” in the ST, a similar evaluation is coupled to the “report” appreciated.

In TT2 [3.17], the negative appreciation “drivel” (*Lit.* saliva flowing from the mouth; *Fig.* stupid or senseless talk) is translated by another negative appreciation – “balela”, which means “lie, false report, unfounded rumour”. Despite sharing with “drivel” the sense of “worthless”, this translation couples new evaluations to the “report” appreciated (see below).

In order to perceive the difference between the couplings made in the two translations, we need to consider the appreciations as invoking judgement. Thus, while “balela” invokes a negative judgement of veracity (the authors are *dishonest* – social sanction), “baboseira” invokes a negative judgement of capacity (the authors are *incapable* – social esteem).

Let’s suppose that the two translators distantiated up the two instantiation clines (evaluation) to a point of convergence where there is a common key (i.e., similar registers), which we could liken to what Martin & White (2005) call “commentator voice” (p. 170-193), characterized by the free occurrence of unmediated social sanction and social esteem, unmediated inscribed appreciation, and authorial directives (cf. p. 178, 182)⁷². Down the clines, the translators identified the particular *condemning stance* adopted by the writer of the ST in relation to the report and similar text types in the TL cline.

Specifically in the coupling of report + drivel, the two translators accessed the systems of appreciation, chose the negative polarity and evaluated the report as “worthless” (appreciation: valuation). They both committed the invoked judgement, but each one chose a different reason why the report is not worth – because it is *a bunch of lies* (its authors lied) or because it is *senseless talk* (its authors are stupid). Besides that, in [3.16], the translator chose to re-commit the lexical metaphor while in [3.17] the translator

⁷¹ The idiom means here “to fail to achieve something after having made much effort and after almost getting it” (see note 26 below).

⁷² This key has been proposed for evaluative resources in the English language based on analyses of a small-scale corpus of journalistic texts (cf. White 1998, Chapter IV; Martin & White 2005: 164-184). Since, to my knowledge, no similar research has been done in relation to BP, I am assuming this point of convergence to exist based mostly on my own experience as a user of the two language systems.

did not. We could say that the translators had different reactions (readings) to the ST⁷³ and their re-coupling and re-commitment of the ST meanings may afford different readings of the ST in the TL system/culture.

2) report + dead on arrival

In TT2, the negative appreciation “dead on arrival” (*Lit.* not alive when brought to a hospital; *Fig.* “without any chance for success”) is translated by “deu entrada morto” (dead on arrival). The text offers a close translation of the literal meaning (“checked in dead”) plus the repetition of the English expression within brackets.

The expression “dar entrada morto” in Brazilian Portuguese is not an idiom, i.e., it is used only literally to mean that someone was already dead when s/he arrived in hospital. By using it, the translator may be said to be trying to add a new figurative meaning to the TL system. At the same time, s/he is indicating that it is a translation of an English expression. By doing so, s/he is surreptitiously introducing another discourse, a discourse on translation and non-equivalence.

Let’s suppose that in order to translate this coupling, this translator went up the SL cline to the appropriate key and stance (commentator voice and condemning stance), identified the stratal tension (lexical metaphor) in the figurative meaning intended (negative appreciation: valuation) but then could not find a point of convergence in the TL cline since the figurative meaning is not available in the BP system. S/he then took the risk to offer a translation of the congruent meaning in the hope that the reader would be able to construe the figurative meaning as well. S/he also felt the need to leave the original expression in brackets. This meant moving up the SL cline, construing the meaning in the SL, going sideways to the TL cline, finding in the TL overall potential a similar literal meaning but no similar figurative meaning. The translator then decided to negotiate with the reader the literal meaning plus an indication that the expression belongs in foreign language and the meaning in the translation offered does overlap entirely with the meaning in the ST.

In TT1, “dead on arrival” is translated by another idiom – “morreu na praia” (died at the shore⁷⁴), which means “fail to achieve something after having made much effort and after almost getting it”. Here again, the translator went up the clines to the appropriate key and stance, identified the stratal tension (lexical metaphor) in the figurative meaning intended (negative appreciation: valuation) but s/he chose to commit a similar lexical metaphor. However, while the idiom in the ST pictures the failure to achieve a goal as the impossibility of even making any efforts towards the goal, the idiom chosen by the translator pictures it as the culmination of much effort⁷⁵.

Like in report + drivel, here we can construe these appreciations as evoking a judgement of the authors of the report appreciated. In “dead on arrival”, it would be a negative judgement of distinctiveness (fate), while in “morreu na praia” [died at the shore] it would be a negative judgement of capacity.

⁷³ According to their individual SL repertoires.

⁷⁴ The complete expression is “nadou, nadou e morreu na praia” [s/he swam very hard but as a result became so exhausted that she died on reaching the beach; interpretation: heroic but useless effort].

⁷⁵ Another similar idiom meaning “no chance of success” like “dead on arrival” is “nasceu morto” [*dead at birth*].

3) report + dead in the water

The negative appreciation committed in the idiom “dead in the water” (*Lit.* stalled; immobile (originally nautical); *Fig.* without any chance for success) is translated as “impracticável” in TT1 and as “inoperante [dead in the water]” in TT2. Both translators distanced up the clines to the appropriate key and stance, identified the stratal tension (lexical metaphor) in the figurative meaning intended (negative appreciation: valuation) and chose to re-instantiate the congruent meaning. In TT2, the translator once more signalled to the reader the translation status of the text.

4) the press + with neurotic glee

The coupling here is also multilayered. In the ST, affect is inscribed in “glee” (= great merriment or delight often caused by someone else's misfortune) and “neurotic” is used both to specify this feeling and to invoke a negative judgement of distinctiveness. Drawing on the appraisal framework, I would place *glee* at the confluence between the axes of un/happiness and dis/satisfaction, since it covers both “affairs of the heart” and “the pursuit of goals” (cf., Martin & White 2005: 49, and see also chapter 2, section 2.1.2.1).

In TT1, this coupling is translated as “com prazer neurótico” [*with neurotic pleasure*] and in TT2 it is translated as “com “alegria neurótica”” [*with “neurotic happiness”*]. Here the distancing is up the SL cline to the systems available to the relevant key and stance, i.e., the system of attitude: affect. Although similar options exist in the TL system, the translators chose to make the feeling less committed ideationally and interpersonally. In TT1, s/he chose to specify the feeling in terms of *satisfaction* and in TT2, in terms of *happiness*. The semantic relationship between these corresponding items is then one of de/composition. Furthermore, the translators chose to commit this feeling at a medium degree of intensity (de/intensifying the ST meaning) and without attaching it to the specific circumstance – often caused by someone else's misfortune – de/specifying the ST meaning. The two translations are as committed as the ST in relation to the meaning of “lack of control, emotional excess” and the implied judgement since they re-instantiate “neurotic” as “neurótico” and “neurótica”, respectively.

The examples analysed here and in the previous section are meant as introductory explorations of the conceptual toolkit proposed in this thesis. Of course such classifications are only relevant if they help us to recognize the implications of different couplings/commitments in terms of the readings afforded by the TT in the TL culture. In order to account for the re-instantiation of a ST's evaluative logogenetic patterns in what concerns couplings across metafunctions (appraised + appraisal) within the rank of proposition, in chapter 4, I provide a finely grained contrastive analysis of the texts in triplet 1 in the data source in relation to: 1) their particular configurations of appraisal resources; 2) the coupling and commitment of appraised + appraisal and the modes of intertextual relation; and 3) the possible readings afforded by the TT

4 – Tracing instances and intertextual relations

4.0 Introduction

When a translator sets out to re-instantiate a ST, everything seems tied up with everything else. Not only within what is perceived as the text, but within the whole intricate semiotic bundle of text and system. The re-instantiation adventure is just starting with the translator's reading of the ST. The analyst who sets out to compare re-instantiations is no less puzzled than the translator as s/he stands at a further remove – interpretively reconstruing what has already been interpretively reconstrued. For him/her, it is not just a question of doing as the translator (distantiating, finding/forging points of convergence and re-instantiating the ST) since his/her goal is not to re-instantiate the ST (although a virtual new instantiation may be said to hang on the background as a navigation map). It is a question of hypothesizing the translators' interpretive steps as manifested in the TT and also contrasting different *readings* of the ST with the guidance of the models of language and of translation which are guests of honour at this meaning negotiation table.

In order to apply the model put forward in chapter 3, I will start by tracing instances as configurations of appraisal resources. That is, I will contrast the use of appraisal resources in the two TTs to that of the ST. To this end, I will deploy the hierarchy of realisation, i.e., the appraisal system (as described in Martin & White (2005)) to investigate which SL resources have been chosen and combined in the ST. Then, I will contrast appraisal choices in each of the TTs to those in the ST. In deploying realisation from the perspective of instantiation, I am not looking at choices and combinations of meaning as “realisations” but as “instantiations”. Realisation remains as the abstract rules through which elements in one stratum get recoded as elements of the next stratum. From the perspective of instantiation, it is seen as comprised in the user's repertoire, i.e. it is his/her collection of rules for instantiating a given text with a given social purpose. In these appraisal analyses, I will be looking at how resources in the discourse semantics stratum are used to instantiate appraisals in the STs and the TTs.

After that, I will trace the semantic relations between instances of appraisal in the ST and those in the TTs. I will turn to instantiation, taking differences identified in the appraisal analyses and investigating how ideational and interpersonal meanings in ST's evaluations (appraised + appraisal) have been re-coupled and re-committed in TTs. Based on the semantic relations identified, I will classify translational intertextual relations as 'quoting', 'paraphrasing' and 'retelling' at the level of the proposition. Finally, taking all these analyses into account, I will discuss possible alternative readings afforded by the texts according to my repertoires as a reader of AE and BP.

In order to situate the reader, before the analyses described above, I will provide an overview of the interdiscursive and intertextual matrix of the ST. This is meant as no more than an assumptive background for my analyses of appraisal. I will also provide an overview of the TTs in relation to their TL receiving intertexts, i.e., the uses the TTs are put to, why they have been produced, where and when they were published.

4.1 Overview of matrices

4.1.1 Interdiscursive and intertextual matrix of the ST

As pointed out in chapter 1, section 1.5.3.2, like all other STs in the data source, the ST⁷⁶ in triplet 1 integrates a collection of articles, by American journalist Daniel Pipes available at his weblog (www.danielpipes.org). It was originally published in the conservative newspaper *The New York Sun*, on September 7, 2004, as a commentary on the Beslan school siege, which had occurred 6 days before. As part of that collection of texts, the ST is primarily aimed at contributing to “overthrow the ideology [of radical Islamism] ... by means of education, media, and information” (Rose 2004), which is one of the two steps the author suggests in an interview for defeating “militant islam” or “islamists”. Islamists are defined by him as “persons who demand to live by the sacred law of Islam, the Sharia” (Pipes 2006). In relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, both the *New York Sun* and Pipes’s blog explicitly assume a pro-Israel position. The NYS is described as “a strong proponent of Israel's right to defend itself” (Clyne 2004).

Within this collection of texts, the ST engages in a discourse about the definition of terrorism/terrorists⁷⁷, and sets out to promote a certain view on the issue – the know-it-when-I-see-it type of definition – by arguing against a rival view, namely that of the press or more specifically that of some leading news agencies. In terms of register (key), I am assuming the text to instantiate the “commentator voice”, since its attitudinal profile matches that introduced in Martin & White (2005: 178).

With such rhetorical purposes, the text takes on an argumentative generic structure⁷⁸ which is predominantly that of a challenge – Position^Rebuttal (cf., Martin & Rose 2007: 133-134) but which also shares with expositions the “thesis” stage. In this case, the Position stage turns into an “anti-thesis” which is then rebutted.

In the following sections, I will analyse the use of appraisal resources in the ST. I will first consider its dialogic positioning (section 4.2.1.1), identifying resources of engagement and their couplings. Then, I will turn to its attitudinal positioning (section 4.2.1.2), identifying resources of appreciation, attitude and graduation. In the analysis of engagement values, I will consider the sequences of phases and each paragraph within a phase (see Appendix 3). In the analysis of attitude, I will identify values (both inscribed and invoked) distributed throughout the text, pointing out where they cluster. In the analysis of graduation, I will identify values and how they are used to propagate prosodies via interaction with the two other systems.

4.1.2 The receiving matrix of the TTs

The TTs have been published in Brazilian conservative weblogs – TT1 in “Mídia Sem Máscara” [*Media without a mask*] (<http://www.midiasemmascara.org>) (MSM hereafter) and TT2 in “De Olho na Mídia” [*Keeping an eye on the media*] (<http://www.deolhonamidia.org.br>) (DOM hereafter). TT1 is also available in Pipes’s own blog (<http://www.danielpipes.org>). These Brazilian blogs pursue a “watchdog journalism” ideal, claiming to defend the public from the “leftist bias of the mass media” (MSM). In what refers to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, these weblogs adopt the position of aligning with Israel and ascertaining that it is “fairly portrayed” in the media. DOM

⁷⁶ The source text as it appears in Pipes’s weblog is found in Appendix 2.

⁷⁷ According to Higgin (2005), “There is no internationally agreed definition of ‘terrorism’”.

⁷⁸ Table 3.1 in Appendix 3 shows the ST divided into stages, phases and paragraphs.

defines itself as “the Brazilian version of *honestreporting.com*”, a blog which defines itself as “an organization dedicated to defending Israel against prejudice in the Media”. One of the strategies used for such a goal is the translation and publication of articles written by authors who share their intents.

Pipes is referred to by the weblogs as an authority –

MSM - “one of the best specialists in Middle East, Islam and terrorism nowadays, Historian (Harvard), Arabist, former professor (Chicago University, Harvard University and U.S. Naval War College). Pipes maintains his own Internet site and runs the Middle East Forum, besides contributing to the Middle East Quarterly, Middle East Intelligence Bulletin and Campus Watch. Daniel Pipes is the author of more than 10 books, among which *Militant Islam Reaches America*, *Conspiracy*, *The Hidden Hand* e *Miniatures*.

DOM – “the director of Middle East Forum (established in 1994) and as a New York Sun and The Jerusalem Post awarded columnist. He is a Harvard PhD in History and taught in Chicago University, Harvard University and U.S. Naval War College. He held various US public posts, having been nominated by the president for two of them.

Thus, the TTs are used as compliant translations of the ST with the purpose of sustaining and defending certain ideological values so as to strengthen the already established community but also to provide further arguments for such a community to draw more people in.

According to Pipes’s weblog, TT1 was translated by Márcia Leal⁷⁹ and published in MSM in 17th September, 2004. Supposedly, it was translated to be published in MSM but, since MSM no longer maintains a link to this article, I am considering the version published in Pipes’s weblog.

According to DOM, TT2 was translated by Eliahu Rosenbaum and published, in 29th October, 2004. It refers to the Jewish World Review as the place of publication of the ST. In Pipes’s weblog the place and date of publication of the ST is The New York Sun, 7th September, 2004.

4.2 Contrasting instances of appraisal in the ST and in the TTs

As pointed out in chapter 1 (section 1.5.4), the first step towards probing the model proposed in chapter 3 is to analyse the texts in their instantial relations to the systems involved (matrix 1, see chapter 3, section 3.2.1.4) and find out how similar/different they are. In the current modelling, it is the system of appraisal as mapped in the appraisal framework (see chapter 2 section 2.1) that will be used as standing for the choices available in the SL. And, as pointed out in chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.5), it is also such a framework that will be taken as a basis for the comparison between the ST and each of the TTs against my repertoires as a user of BP and as a discourse analyst since no SF comparable description of the appraisal system has been undertaken for BP. Thus, in section 4.2.1, I provide a fine-grained appraisal analysis of the ST, comprising its dialogic positioning, its attitudinal positioning and its use of graduation resources. Then, in sections

⁷⁹ Since my focus here is on modelling translation in relation to instantiation, whenever I refer to translators, what is meant is their social role as the agents who performed the task of translating the ST. The analysis of translators as individual users and their relation to the reservoirs of meanings in the two cultures is accounted for by means of individuation which, although included in a three-dimensional model proposed here, is out of the scope of the current thesis.

4.2.2 and 4.2.3, I analyse TT1 and TT2, respectively, against the appraisal analysis of the ST.

4.2.1 Appraisal analysis of the ST

4.2.1.1 Dialogic positioning

The ST deploys a variety of engagement resources. According to Martin & White (2005), this “is typical of discourse which is negotiating alignment and rapport with a complex readership” (p. 254) and that seems to be the case here. Although primarily addressed to the already converted, this text can be seen as addressing those who still need to be persuaded as it undertakes to make a conservative position seem rationalisable.

In order to characterize the dialogic positioning of the ST, I will identify its use of monoglossic and heteroglossic resources. A crucial issue here is that of marking the limits between what characterises individual categories. As specified in chapter 1 (section 1.5.4.2), the unit of analysis is the *proposition*. This means that since clauses/clause complexes may comprise different propositions, they may as well realise multiple evaluations. Identifying evaluations in the ST is really trying sometimes since categories overlap.

Marking such overlapping categories is no less trying. Thus, in what follows, I adopt the following conventions:

- The propositions (or part of them) realising the categories of engagement will be underlined and the categories will be indicated within angular brackets, e.g. <monogloss> and also underlined;
- For values of heterogloss only subcategories (e.g. <deny>, <counter>) will be indicated within angular brackets immediately following the expressions realising them;
- Whenever there is overlap of categories, each one will be highlighted by a different type of underline – single underlines for longer stretches and double underlines for shorter ones. e.g.

How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied <monogloss>? <concur>

In the example above, the question (single underline) realises a value of concur and the statement inside it (double underline) realises a value of monogloss.

- Attributions (quotes and reports) will be indicated by underlining the material attributed and by marking the report verbs in boldface.

4.2.1.1.1 Monogloss and heterogloss

The mere spotting of various quotations along the text would suffice to attest to its considerable use of heteroglossic resources. The matter the writer chose to address is by itself dialogic – how certain terms are used/not used and how or why they should/should not be used to make certain judgements. However, in order to work towards reader alignment, the ST strategically combines resources that choose to ignore dialogism

(monogloss) or resources that contract the dialogic space (heterogloss: contract)⁸⁰ with resources that are dialogistically expansive (heterogloss: expand). Throughout the text, instances of either monogloss or contract are placed nearby instances of expand in such a way as to counterbalance their dialogic expansiveness. By doing so, the ST ends up allowing little, if any, space for disagreement.

In what follows, I will identify and comment on the use of engagement values in the title and then in each phase of the ST. I will provide a text score for each phase, i.e., a table showing the sequence of engagement values. At the end of this section, I will also provide a representation of the dialogic profile of the text, i.e., a line chart showing the movement between values of monogloss and heterogloss: contract and values of heterogloss: expand.

Title: [Beslan atrocity:] They're Terrorists <monogloss> - Not <deny> Activists

The title projects on the text a high level of dialogic contraction. It uses monogloss and heterogloss: contract (deny) to introduce the two perspectives contrasted in the text – using the term *terrorist* to judge people behind the Beslan siege versus using alternative terms.

Phase 1: "I know it when I see it" <endorse> was the famous <concur> **response**⁸¹ by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the vexed problem <monogloss> of defining pornography. Terrorism may be <entertain> no <deny> less difficult to define, but <counter> the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely <concur> fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.

The core value position negotiated in phase 1 (terrorism as self-evident⁸²) is that *the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers are self-evident acts of terrorism*. Instead of simply asserting this, the ST chooses to negotiate it through an external voice. The textual voice signals its endorsement of the external voice by construing it as a highly credible source and also by evaluating the words quoted as “famous” (= widely and favourably known). Such an evaluation can be seen as working to construe a “shared knowledge” with the reader (concur). To these values, the text adds a monogloss in the evaluation of pornography as a *vexed problem*. It is the internal voice that puts forth the presuppositions that “pornography is a problem” and that it is “vexed”. These propositions are not construed as negotiable but are “taken-for-granted” (see chapter 2, section 2.1.1.1).

After using these two interdependent⁸³ values of contraction – endorse and concur, plus a value of monogloss, the textual voice opens the dialogic space a little with a coupling of entertain + deny (*terrorism may be no less difficult to define*). Here, it signals its entertaining of two alternatives (is less versus is no less). That is, terrorism may be less difficult or as difficult to define as pornography. Then, the dialogic space is once more contracted with a value of counter (*but*), which breaks the reader’s expectation, and a value of concur (*surely*), used to reinforce the position being advanced. The sequence of engagement values⁸⁴ in phase 1 is illustrated in Table 4.1.

⁸⁰ Although monogloss is a resource in which the speaker chooses to ignore any alternative voices, I will be considering the ST’s use of resources of monogloss and heterogloss: contract as synergistically working towards contracting/closing the dialogic space.

⁸¹ Here the report verb is nominalised – response = someone responded.

⁸² For the phases, see Table 3.1 in Appendix 3.

⁸³ These values are interdependent in the sense that concur helps signal the endorsement of the attribution, besides the co-text and the mentioning of the source as highly credible.

⁸⁴ Values within quotes are not considered in the sequences illustrated in tables.

Table 4.1: Engagement values in phase 1

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1	take-for-granted	endorse	entertain
2		concur	
3			
4			
5		deny	
6		counter	
7		concur	

In phases 2-4, the use of categories of expand (especially distance) in the ST characterizes a sort of *see-for-yourself* strategy in which the text provides *windows* through which the reader is allowed to *testify* to what is being argued. Such windows are placed in various places along the text.

The press, however <counter>, generally shies away from the word terrorist, preferring [**to use**]⁸⁵ euphemisms. Take <monogloss> the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, many of them children, in Beslan, Russia, on September 3. Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses <monogloss>, finding at least <counter> twenty euphemisms for terrorists:

- Assailants <distance> – National Public Radio
- Attackers <distance> – the *Economist*.
- ...

Phase 2 (use of euphemisms by the press) comprises paragraphs 2 and 3. In this phase, the text engages with the perspective of the press. Basically, what is negotiated is that the press has a different view, i.e., that it uses “euphemisms” to define what in the previous paragraph were self-evident acts of terrorism. Throughout the text, the press is represented either collectively through expressions like “the press”, “journalists”, “reporters”, “editors”, “press outlets”, “news organizations”, “articles” or as individual news agencies and/or journalists (e.g. National Public Radio, The Los Angeles Times, the BBC, Reuter’s Nidal al-Mughrabi). Its position is rebutted mostly through the management of external voices (heteroglossia).

In paragraph 2, the textual voice introduces the alternative view and positions it as opposed to the “know-it-when-you-see-it” type of definition. This is managed through a value of counter (*however*), followed by two instances of monogloss (see above).

In paragraph 3, to support the claim that *the press has a different view*, the text also offers attributions – the “euphemisms” the press used for referring to the people behind the Beslan siege. The disendorsement (distance) of these attributions is signalled by the contradiction expressed in *however* as well as by the co-text – the title (*[They’re] not Activists*). It will also be reinforced by the evaluation of the term “terrorist” as the *rightful term* in paragraph 5. These attributions can be characterised as strategic dialogic windows which are momentarily opened. While quoting the words of the press, the textual voice intrudes its observation (pronounce), closing the window a bit (*And my favourite [euphemism is...]*). The irony here also signals the disendorsement of the attributions (distance), aligning the reader towards rejecting (and even mocking) the position of the press:

⁸⁵ The reporting verb is implicit.

And my favourite <pronounce>:

- Activists <distance> – the Pakistan Times

The sequence of engagement values in phase 2 is illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Engagement values in phase 2

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1		counter	
2	command		
3	take-for-granted		
4		counter	
5			distance (19x)
6		pronounce	
7			distance

Phase 3 (§4): The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie <entertain> in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination <monogloss> of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so <concur>. Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit <monogloss> in **advice** for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip **reads**: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict." <distance>

Phase 3 (origins of the use of euphemisms) comprises paragraph 4. Here, the position of the press is no longer expressed as a process as in paragraph 2 (*shies away from*) but as a participant – the text engages with the alternative position through a nominalised modulation – *this unwillingness to name terrorists* (= the press is unwilling [does not want] to name terrorists) plus an instance of entertain (*seems to lie*). But, although the space is seemingly opened to other possible explanations, the one advanced (that the origins lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict) is reinforced by means of the monoglossed evaluation in *odd combination of sympathy (...) and intimidation*). It is the internal voice that offers this evaluation as not negotiable.

The explanation submitted is also reinforced by concur and monogloss. With *the sympathy is well known* (...), the textual voice concurs that “many people know about it”, probably readers themselves. And this also holds for the feeling of intimidation even if it is not as well known as the sympathy. Then, as before, the text frames and opens an attribution window. But this time, the proposition quoted is framed not only by reporting expressions (advice, reads) but also by another proposition which is monoglossed – “made the latter explicit” (explicit = fully and clearly expressed or demonstrated).

Engagement with the attributed material is complex in that it may be construed on the one hand as a proposition (the “advice” given to avoid trouble) that “makes the intimidation explicit”, and on the other as the exact words of the directive now offered to the reader. The way the quote is framed, as “making the intimidation explicit”, could be seen locally as signalling endorsement (similar to the use of “show” or “demonstrate”, see chapter 2, section 2.1.1.2). But, considering the text as a rhetorical whole, this attribution (as a directive) can only be seen as disendorsed, since it is in direct opposition to the value position advanced in the text, i.e., that the people behind acts like the Beslan siege should be named terrorists by the press. The sequence of engagement values in phase three is illustrated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Engagement values in phase 3

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1	take-for-granted	concur	entertain
2			
3			
4	at issue		
5			distance

Phase 4 (the scope of the use of euphemisms) comprises paragraphs 5, 6 and 7. Like in previous phases, dialogic windows are opened as a means of supporting the textual voice's arguments. I will consider each paragraph in turn.

Phase 4 (§5): The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name <monogloss> can reach <entertain> absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics. For example, National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* **announced** on April 1, 2004, that "Israeli troops have arrested 12 men they say were wanted militants <acknowledge> <distance>." But <counter> CAMERA, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, **pointed out** the inaccuracy and NPR **issued** an on-air correction on April 26: "Israeli military officials were quoted as saying they had arrested 12 men who were 'wanted militants.' But <deny> the actual phrase used by the Israeli military was 'wanted terrorists.'" <endorse>

In paragraph 5, the position of the press is once more nominalised as *the reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name* (= the press is reluctant [does not want] to name terrorists). The text now characterizes this position in terms of scope, i.e., how extreme it can be. The text first of all entertains the proposition that *the use of euphemisms can reach absurd levels of inaccuracy and apologetics* as one alternative amongst others. Supposedly it recognizes it may not reach such levels. However, as in the previous paragraph, it offers evidences in the form of attributions that it does reach such levels. In fact, it brings in a whole dialogue between external voices, indicating where it aligns and disaligns with them. The monoglossed appreciation of the term terrorist as the *rightful name* is a clear indication of what is construed as an instance of distance and what is construed as endorse. The internal voice completely endorses CAMERA's view that NPR's first announcement is "inaccurate", signalling this by the high credibility of the source, by means of counter ("but") and by the framing of CAMERA's voice ("pointed out"). Thus, it distances itself from that announcement. Categories within attributions are marked with double underlines above.

Phase 4 (§6): (At least <counter> NPR corrected itself. When the Los Angeles Times made the same error, **writing that** "Israel staged a series of raids in the West Bank that the army described as hunts for wanted Palestinian militants." <distance> its editors **refused** CAMERA's request <distance> for a correction on the grounds that its change in terminology did not occur in a direct quotation.)

Paragraph 6 addresses the reader (the use of parentheses signals a leaning of the author towards the reader as if to whisper a gossip) and it also engages with alternative views so as to offer new examples of the scope for *inaccuracy and apologetics* in the position of the press. First of all, it counters the reader's expectation (*at least*) which had been tuned to seeing the *apologetics* as undesirable. It goes on endorsing CAMERA's position of pointing out the error (*the same error*) and requesting a "correction". This time

the example is of “inaccuracy without apologetics”. The LAT quote is clearly disendorsed as well as its refusal of CAMERA’s request.

Phase 4 (§7): Metro, a Dutch paper, ran a picture on May 3, 2004, of two gloved hands belonging to a person taking fingerprints off a dead terrorist <monogloss>. The caption **read**: "An Israeli police officer takes fingerprints of a dead Palestinian. He is one of the victims (slachtoffers) who fell in the Gaza strip yesterday." <distance> One of the victims!

Paragraph 7 adds another evidence of the *inaccuracy* of the position of the press. But now, it chooses to introduce this evidence through monogloss (take-for-granted). It is no longer CAMERA’s or any other external voice who is speaking but the textual voice itself without considering opposing views in this respect. It offers what is construed as a “fact”: *Metro, a Dutch paper, ran a picture on May 3, 2004, of two gloved hands belonging to a person taking fingerprints off a dead terrorist*. It is the internal voice who declares the dead to be a “terrorist” (as opposed to all other possibilities but not bringing them into question in this proposition). Notwithstanding, it engages with an external voice (Metro’s), showing its disalignment by means of an exclamation⁸⁶. The sequence of engagement values in phase 4 is illustrated in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Engagement values in phase 4

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1	at issue		
2			entertain
3			distance
4		counter	
5		endorse	
6		counter	
7			distance
8	take-for-granted		distance
9			distance
10			distance

Phase 5 (§8): Euphemistic usage then spread from the Arab-Israeli conflict to other theatres <monogloss>. As terrorism picked up in Saudi Arabia <monogloss> such press outlets as The Times (London) and the Associated Press began routinely using militants <distance> in reference to Saudi terrorists. Reuters uses it <distance> with reference to Kashmir and Algeria.

Phase 5 (spread of euphemisms) comprises paragraphs 8 and 9. In paragraph 8, once more the text engages with the alternative position of the press by means of a nominalisation – “euphemistic usage” (= the press uses euphemisms). It now briefly narrates how this position came to be adopted by press outlets, expanding on the explanation advanced in paragraph 4. However, instead of using entertain as in paragraph 4, here the textual voice chooses to use monogloss (at issue). Monogloss is also present in the proposition *as terrorism picked up in Saudi Arabia* (...) which is of the take-for-granted type. As in previous paragraphs, the internal voice offers attributions in support of its

⁸⁶ Although I am not accounting for paralanguage here, I assume this use of exclamation as rejecting Metro’s view.

claim about the spread of euphemistic usage – it reports the use of *militants* by three news organizations in reference to conflicts other than the Arab-Israeli. The axiology built so far besides the oppositions within this paragraph (*terrorism picked up* versus *routinely using militants*) allow us to code the sourced material as instances of distance.

Phase 5 (§9): Thus has militants <distance> become the press's default term <monogloss> for terrorists.

Paragraph 9 concludes this short narrative committing another instance of distance plus a monogloss in the evaluation of the term *militants* as the *default term*.

The sequence of engagement values in phase 5 is illustrated in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Engagement values in phase 5

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1	at issue		
2	take-for-granted		
3			distance
4			distance
5			distance
6	at issue		

Phase 6 (consequences of euphemistic usage) comprises paragraphs 10, 11 and 12.

Phase 6 (§10): These self-imposed language limitations sometimes cause journalists to tie themselves into knots <monogloss>. In **reporting** the murder of one of its own cameraman, the BBC, which normally avoids the word terrorist, **found itself using that term** <distance>. In another instance, the search engine on the BBC website includes the word terrorist but <counter> the page linked to has had that word expurgated <distance>.

Paragraph 10 makes the last of the nominalisations of the position taken by the press – *language limitations* (= the press limits language to refer to terrorists). The idea of doing something against one's will in *unwillingness* and *reluctance* is here re-enacted in the qualifier *self-imposed*. Now, the text addresses the consequences of such a position. It introduces these consequences through monogloss (at issue) and then adds attributions in support (BBC's inconsistent use of the word "terrorist"). On top of that, it counters the reader's expectation twice (implicitly in *normally avoids* versus *found itself using* and explicitly in *includes the word (...)* *but the page linked to (...)*). Here, I am taking the two examples of "inconsistent use" (signalled by the use of counter) as projections realising categories of distance. This is why counter is not counted in Table 4.9 below.

Phase 6 (§11): Politically-correct news organizations undermine their credibility with such subterfuges <monogloss>. How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied <monogloss>? <concur>

Paragraph 11 also addresses the consequences of the press's refusal to use the term "terrorist". It uses monogloss (at issue) to introduce the credibility hazard. But, unlike

previous paragraphs, instead of attributions, it adds a rhetorical question (concur) expected to elicit from the reader the obvious response that the press *cannot be trusted in such circumstances*. The proposition realised in the circumstance of time within this rhetorical question reinforces the thesis that *terrorism is self-evident* through monogloss.

Finally, paragraph 12 brings the text to an end by arranging layers of monogloss and heterogloss-contract on its three clause complexes. In order to account for the use of engagement in this paragraph, I will consider each clause complex in turn, accounting for the realisation of different categories (see Tables 4.6-8). Clause complexes are separated by ||| below.

||| Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. ||| It is bad enough that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity **mentions** its Islamist origins; ||| worse is the miasma of **words** that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism. |||

In clause complex 1 (see Table 4.6), a first layer of monogloss is used to evaluate as *worse* the obstruction of a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. That is, this obstruction is compared to the credibility hazard announced in the previous paragraph and considered as a *worse* consequence of the press's use of multiple euphemisms for terrorist than such a hazard. A second layer of monogloss is used to evaluate "multiple euphemisms" as hindering understanding. These evaluations are construed as indisputable (take-for-granted).

Table 4.6: Engagement in paragraph 12 - clause complex 1

layer	coupling		engagement
1	appraisal	Worse,	monogloss at issue
	appraised	the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.	
2	appraisal	obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.	monogloss at issue
	appraised	the multiple euphemisms for terrorist	

The second clause complex (see Table 4.7) also starts by using monogloss to evaluate as *bad enough* the situation that "only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins". The situation itself is construed by means of two layers of heterogloss: contract – counter (*only one of five ...*) and endorse (*mentions its islamist origins*). The negative evaluation of the scarcity of articles mentioning the origins of the siege signals the endorsement of this "mention" by some articles.

In clause complex 3 (see Table 4.8), once more different layers of engagement are offered – first, the situation that *the miasma of words ... insulates the public from the evil of terrorism* is evaluated as *worse* through monogloss (at issue). That is, it is evaluated as a worse consequence than the fact that "only a few articles mention the origins of the siege". Then, three layers of monogloss are added construing as unnegotiable the following appreciations –

Table 4.7: Engagement in paragraph 12 – clause complex 2

layer	coupling		engagement
1	appraisal	It is bad enough	monogloss at issue
	appraised	that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins;	
2	appraisal	<u>only</u> ...	heterogloss: counter
	appraised	one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins;	
3	appraisal	<u>mentions</u> its Islamist origins;	heterogloss: endorse
	appraised	one of five articles (the press)	

1) the “multiple euphemisms” (in clause complex 1) are construed as a “miasma of words”;

2) This “miasma of words” is construed as “insulating the public from (...)”. This evaluation re-enacts and adds emphasis to the evaluation in clause complex 1 (“The multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding (...)”); and

3) terrorism is construed as “evil”.

Table 4.8: Engagement in paragraph 12 - clause complex 3

layer	coupling		engagement
1	appraisal	worse	monogloss at issue
	appraised	the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism	
2	appraisal	miasma of words	monogloss at issue
	appraised	multiple euphemisms	
3	appraisal	insulates the public from the evil of terrorism	monogloss at issue
	appraised	the miasma of words	
4	appraisal	evil	monogloss take-for-granted
	appraised	terrorism	

The use of engagement values in the ST as described above (from title to phase 6) delineates a dialogical zigzag pattern which starts at monogloss and heterogloss contract, describes a number of sharp turns as it deploys values of heterogloss: expand and then goes back to contract and to monogloss ending emphatically where it started (paragraph 12), i.e. at monogloss (see Figure 4.1). Such a pattern suggests that the many instances of distance are not primarily intended to open up the space for alternative views and to “lower the interpersonal cost for anyone who would advance such an alternative” (Martin & White 2005: 103). Rather, such values are strategically interspersed among values of monogloss and heterogloss: contract so as to provide *evidences* supporting the view negotiated. That is why the sequence of values of distance in phase 2 (the euphemisms used by the press) have been represented by a dot similarly to other instances of distance along the text. Many as they are in this spot of the text (19x), they are not enough to

characterize the text as dialogically expansive if contrasted to the tendency towards contraction and monogloss in the other phases. The sequence of engagement values in the ST is shown in Table 4.9 below and its dialogical profile is shown in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.9: Engagement values in phase 6

sequence	monogloss	heterogloss	
		contract	expand
1	at issue		
2			distance
3			distance
4	at issue		
5	at issue		
6		concur	
7	take-for-granted		
8	take-for-granted		
9	take-for-granted		
10		counter	
11		endorse	
12	at issue		
13	at issue		
14	at issue		
15	take-for-granted		

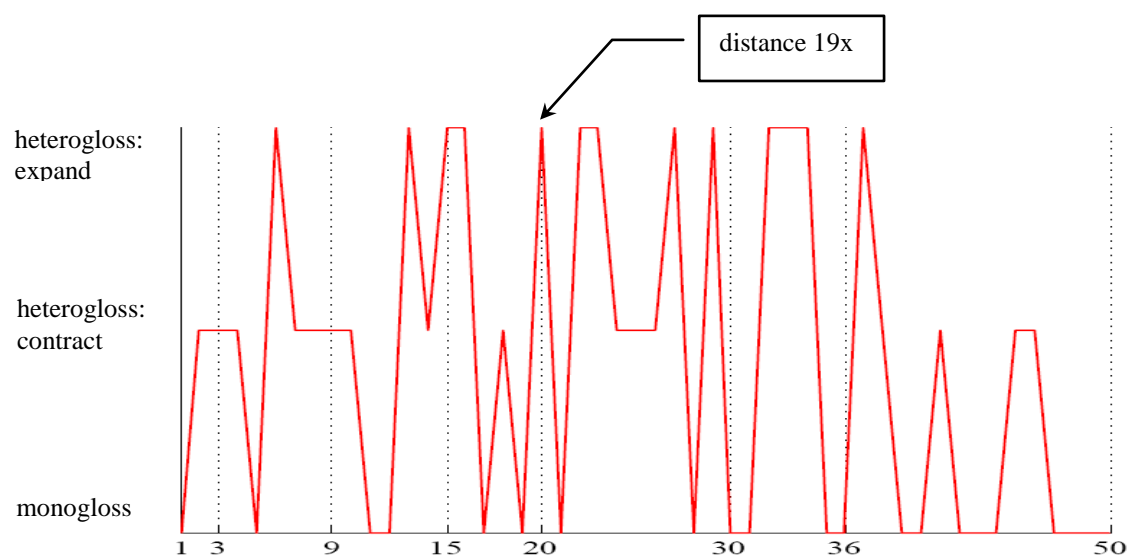


Figure 4.1: Dialogic profile of the ST

4.2.1.2 Attitudinal positioning

In this section, I will map the axiologies (i.e., value orientations) of the ST. Since they are construed cumulatively and in relation to good-bad parameters⁸⁷, I will not proceed phase by phase and paragraph by paragraph as in the analysis of engagement. I

⁸⁷ See Thompson & Hunston 2001: 25.

will present the categories realised in tables and account for the way they are made to interact towards reader alignment. The coding conventions here are:

- realisations will be underlined and categories discussed in the text;
- whenever there is overlapping, different underlines and boxes will also be used to distinguish categories;
- tables will also be used to account for examples of use of categories.

As mentioned in section 4.1.1, the ST is aimed at arguing for a certain point of view in the debate over the definition and use of the terms “terrorism/terrorist”. With such an aim, it sets out to contrast two value standards – that of the internal voice (plus endorsed external voices) versus that of disendorsed external voices represented by the press⁸⁸. It strategically criticizes the press for not using what it evaluates as the “rightful” terms, but instead of foregrounding values of judgement as one would expect, it uses mostly resources of appreciation. In fact, the ST is characterized by an intricate combination of attitudinal values in which:

1) Targets of different values are shared, like in

Terrorism may be no less difficult to define, but the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.

Here, “terrorism” is both a concept (semiotic process), appreciated as “difficult to define”, and a behaviour, which is exemplified in the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers, which are negative judgements of propriety. Since most of the time behaviour concerns the use of language, appreciation and judgement sometimes overlap like this;

2) appreciation is used to invoke judgement for example when the thing used is appreciated, as in

(...) worse is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

Here the appreciation of the words (used by the press) as composing a “miasma”⁸⁹ adds to the lexical metaphor to provoke a judgement (see section 4.2.1.3.1);

3) feelings are also construed as Targets bringing evaluation to another border between systems, this time between affect and judgement, like in

The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.

⁸⁸ This marks the interaction between resources of engagement and attitude as two *voices* are confronted.

⁸⁹ The expression “miasma of words” is not easily classified in terms of degree of explicitness. “Miasma” combines meanings of unwholesomeness, noxiousness and of something that is all around. I chose to construe it as a lexical metaphor, considering the fact that the term is used to define “A poisonous atmosphere formerly thought to rise from swamps and putrid matter and cause disease” (TheFreeDictionary). Additionally, I am also considering its meaning as “something spread, pervasive” as graduation: mass/presence. As such, it helps propagate the negative image of quantity – the proliferation of *rotten words* (see section 4.3.5).

Here the feeling is explicitly construed as “inappropriate” provoking a judgement of the Emoter; and

4) layers of evaluation overlap, like in

Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.

Here, the fact that “the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct (...)” is appreciated as “worse”, “the multiple euphemisms” are appreciated as obstructing a clear understanding, “understanding” is appreciated as “clear”, an implicit target is judged as issuing “violent threats” and the “world” is judged as “civilized”.

Considering such subtle articulation of attitudinal values, in the following sections, I will consider each system of attitude, ordered according to the amount of resources deployed – first appreciation then judgement and finally affect. I will identify and classify values arranging them in tables and also account for their articulations.

4.2.1.2.1 Appreciation

Appreciation constitutes the evaluative spinal cord of the ST since it is mainly through appreciation that the axiology of the text is established. Opposed views towards good and bad terms/use of terms are represented in the ST by means of articulating positive and negative values of inscribed appreciation.

Most of the inscribed appreciations are instances of valuation (see Table 4.10). A fundamental opposition is set through the valuation of the term “terrorist” as the *rightful name* and alternative terms used by the press (*assailants, attackers, ... activists*) as “euphemisms”, i.e. imprecise, indirect, inoffensive expressions. The appreciation of these terms as “euphemisms” seems to be intended to place “terrorist” as committing far more meaning than any of the alternatives. Some of the terms can indeed be taken as inoffensive either for being neutral (e.g., *group*) or for depending on the co-text to acquire a positive or negative polarity (e.g., *activists, militants, rebels, radicals, fighters, insurgents, separatists*). However, some of them are not easily construed as such due to their negative prosody (e.g., *guerrillas, commandos, gunmen, assailants, attackers, bombers, captors, criminals, extremists, hostage-takers, kidnappers, perpetrators*). Thus, “terrorist” seems to be construed here as possibly comprising the meanings of all of these terms but meaning more than any of them.

The other instances of valuation concern the use of language in terms of successful x unsuccessful uses – *famous response x trouble, worse, bad enough*); and in terms of accurate x inaccurate uses – *inaccuracy/error* (= “inaccurate/ erroneous statements”) x *correction* (“correct statement”), and *actual phrase*.

There are also many instances of composition. One of them concerns balance – a combination of feelings is appreciated as “odd”, i.e. discordant. The other instances concern complexity. Another opposition is set here in relation to the one established earlier

Table 4.10: Inscribed appreciation in the ST

	Positive	Negative
Composition: balance 'did it hang together?'		<i>an <u>odd combination</u> of sympathy ... and ...</i>
Composition: complexity 'was it hard to follow?'	<i><u>know-it-when-I-see-it</u> definition</i>	<i>the <u>vexed problem</u> of defining pornography</i>
	<i><u>self-evident</u> fact of terrorism</i>	<i>Terrorism ... <u>difficult to define</u></i>
	<i><u>clear</u> understanding</i>	<i>the <u>miasma of words</u> ... <u>insulates the public</u> from the evil of terrorism</i>
		<i>the multiple <u>euphemisms</u> for terrorist <u>obstruct</u> a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world</i>
Valuation 'was it worthwhile?'	<i><u>rightful</u> name <u>famous</u> response <u>actual</u> phrase correction</i>	<i>euphemisms (20) inaccuracy, error, trouble worse (2x), bad enough</i>

(*rightful name x euphemisms*). On the one hand, we have the desirable “understanding” (*clear*) resulting from the unproblematic observation of “self-evident facts” (*know-it-when-I-see-it, self-evident, clear*) and, on the other hand, we have the problems that result from the use of language to define such “facts” – definition difficulties (*vexed problem; difficult to define*) and the “alienation” (*obstruct, insulate from*) that results from the use of “euphemisms”. *Terrorism* is positioned in relation to both oppositions – as a term it is negatively appreciated (*difficult to define*) and as a “fact” it is positively appreciated (*self-evident*).

Appreciations are made throughout the text but cluster more densely in paragraph 12. In fact, layers of appreciation are found in this paragraph, similarly to what occurs in relation to engagement (see Tables 4.6-4.8 above). Table 4.11 shows the appreciations made in each of the three clause complexes in paragraph 12.

In clause complex 1, the fact that “the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding (...)” is appreciated as “worse”. The “multiple euphemisms” are appreciated as “obstructing a clear understanding (...)”, and “understanding” is appreciated as “clear”. In clause complex 2, the fact that “only one of the five articles (...)” is appreciated as “bad enough”. And in clause complex 3, the fact that “the miasma of words insulates the public (...)” is appreciated as “worse”. The “multiple euphemisms” are appreciated as a “miasma of words” and this miasma is appreciated as “insulating the public from the evil of terrorism”.

Table 4.11 Embedded appreciations in paragraph 12

clause complex	appreciations
1	<p><u>Worse</u>, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.</p> <p>the multiple euphemisms for terrorist <u>obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.</u></p> <p><u>clear</u> understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world</p>
2	<p><u>It is bad enough that</u> only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins;</p>
3	<p><u>worse</u> is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.</p> <p><u>miasma of words</u></p> <p>the miasma of words that <u>insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.</u></p>

4.2.1.2.2 Judgement

The ST also abounds in resources of judgement, both inscribed and invoked. In terms of types, almost all instances are of social sanction. In terms of polarity, there is a clear predominance of negative instances. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 show, respectively, inscribed judgement by the internal voice and inscribed judgement by external voices.

Table 4.12 – Inscribed judgement by the internal voice

judgement types		positive	negative
Social Esteem	Distinctiveness		<i>victims</i>
	Tenacity	<i>activists</i>	
Social Sanction	Veracity	<p><i>CAMERA... <u>pointed out the inaccuracy;</u></i></p> <p><i>NPR <u>issued an on-air correction;</u> NPR <u>corrected itself</u></i></p>	<p><i>the Los Angeles Times <u>made the same error;</u></i></p> <p><i>its editors <u>refused CAMERA's request for a correction;</u></i></p> <p><i>politically-correct news organizations <u>undermine their credibility with such subterfuges;</u></i></p> <p><i>the self-evident fact of terrorism <u>is being semi-denied</u></i></p>
Social Sanction	Propriety	<i>civilized world</i>	<p><i>atrocities; terrorist;</i></p> <p><i>the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers;</i></p> <p><i>violent threats; the evil of terrorism</i></p>

Two Epithets are used by both sides (*victims* and *activists*). While the press affirms them, i.e., uses them monoglossically to make direct judgements, the internal voice denies

them as correct judgements – it assesses people as unworthy of these judgements and assesses the press as having made erroneous judgements.

Table 4.13: Inscribed judgement by external voices (the press, the military)⁹⁰

judgement types		positive	negative
Social Esteem	Distinctiveness	<i>heroes</i>	<i>victims</i>
	Tenacity	<i>activists, militants, fighters</i>	
Social Sanction	Propriety		<i>assailants, attackers, bombers, captors, commandos, criminals, extremists, guerrillas, gunmen, hostage-takers, insurgents, kidnappers, perpetrators, radicals, rebels, terrorists, wanted militants, wanted terrorists</i>

Besides inscribing judgement, the ST also invokes it. All invocations are made by the internal voice and many of them result from the propagation of specific prosodies through graduation (see section 4.2.1.3.1). Judgement is invoked via lexical metaphor (idiom), via affect and via graduation (see Table 4.14 and 4.15).

As pointed out in section 4.2.1.2, judgement is invoked by the appreciation of “euphemisms” as a “miasma of words”. This invocation is not as straightforward as the ones above. As seen in chapter 2, section 2.1.2.5, appreciations of performance can be seen as invoking a judgement of the performer. This would be the case if we had – “The press’s use of words insulates the public from the evil of terrorism”. But, instead, we have an appreciation of the thing used by the press, i.e., the “words”. It is the words that are negatively appreciated. On top of that, they are appreciated by means of lexical metaphor. Thus, appreciation plus lexical metaphor are here strategically combined to provoke a negative judgement of veracity.

Table 4.14: Some instances of provoked judgement in the ST

strategy	appraisal	judgement provoked
lexical metaphor	Journalists <u>have delved deep into</u> their thesauruses ...	veracity negative
	These self-imposed language limitations sometimes cause journalists <u>to tie themselves into knots</u>	capacity negative
affect	The press ... generally <u>shies away from</u> the word terrorist ...	tenacity negative
	The <u>reluctance</u> to call terrorists by their rightful name <u>can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.</u>	veracity negative

⁹⁰ In Tables 4.13 and 4.14, the criteria for classifying the alternatives for “terrorist” used by the press has been whether or not they necessarily involve aggression and whether or not they necessarily involve breaking the law. Thus, *activists, militants* and *fighters* have been coded as positive tenacity while the other ones have been coded as negative propriety. *Group* and *separatists* have been left out as non-attitudinal, i.e. as ideational lexis.

Table 4.15: Some instances of flagged judgement in the ST

strategy	appraisal	judgement flagged
graduation	Take the assault that led to the deaths of some <u>400 people, many of them</u> children	propriety negative
	the Associated Press began <u>routinely</u> using <i>militants</i> in reference to Saudi terrorists	veracity negative
	Thus has militants become the press's <u>default</u> term for terrorists	veracity negative

4.2.1.2.3 Affect

The ST commits a few instances of inscribed Affect (see Tables 4.16 and 4.17). In only one of them the Emoter is the internal voice – *my favorite* (happiness: affection). The others are attributed by the internal voice to a third party. The press is the Emoter of feelings of affection (*preferring euphemisms; sympathy*), displeasure (*unwillingness; reluctance*) and fear (*shies away from, intimidation*). A feeling of “trust” (in/security: trust) is attributed to those who “read, hear or see” what the press produces. The rhetorical question in which it appears implies that such a feeling is being denied them.

The nominalization in “intimidation” may be unpacked in two ways – *someone intimidates someone else* or *someone feels intimidated (timid, fearful)*. The co-text seems to support the latter since the “evidence” offered as making the intimidation “explicit” is presented as the voice of a “reporter” and not of a “Palestinian Arab”.

The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. **Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi** made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict."

Table 4.16 – Realis Affect in the ST

Type of affect	appraisal
UN/HAPPINESS happiness: affection	<i>The press, however, (...) shies away from the word terrorist, preferring euphemisms.</i> <i>my favorite [euphemism]: Activists</i> <i>sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs</i>
IN/SECURITY security: trust	<i>How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees...</i>
DIS/SATISFACTION dissatisfaction: displeasure	<i>this unwillingness to name terrorists</i> <i>The reluctance to call terrorists</i>

Table 4.17 – Irrealis Affect in the ST

Type of affect	appraisal
fear	<i>The press, however, (...) <u>shies away from</u> the word terrorist ...</i> <i><u>intimidation</u></i>

4.2.1.3 Graduation

Graduation resources are used in the ST in order to manage investment in the values negotiated, i.e., to add emphasis to certain values drawing the reader to accept them as they are construed in the text through the use of resources of engagement and attitude.

The ST makes use of many resources of graduation. Most of them are instances of force but there is also focus (see Table 4.18). Different values of quantification (number, mass/presence and extent) are found in many phases of the text and they function to propagate a negative prosody (see next section) enabling the invocation of appreciations and judgements.

Table 4.18: Resources of graduation in the ST

force	quantification	number	<i>400 people, at least twenty, multiple euphemisms</i>	
		mass/presence	<i>miasma of words, thesauruses</i>	
		extent	distrib: time	<i>well known, usage ... spread, generally, normally, routinely</i>
			distrib: space	<i>lengths of...</i>
	intensification	quality	<i>absurd, atrocity, favorite</i>	
	process	<i>have delved deep into is being semi-denied</i>		
focus	fulfilment	unfulfilled	<i>seems to lie, began using</i>	
		fulfilled	<i>e.g., uses, obstructs, insulates</i>	

4.2.1.3.1 Propagation of Prosodies

Graduation resources are used in the ST to propagate specific prosodies, especially the negative one that permeates the whole text. This happens as graduations are *splashed* on engagement and attitudinal values.

Most of the graduation splashes are quantifications –

- Resources of quantification are coupled with appreciations, e.g., *at least twenty euphemisms, multiple euphemisms, euphemistic usage ... spread* (= extended over a region) and *default term* (= the most frequently used one). These play a decisive role in the text as they foster the construction of a negative image of quantity – the proliferation of *rotten* words. This general appreciation is corroborated by the use of plurals all over the text – *schoolchildren, mourners, workers, skyscrapers, thesauruses, assailants, attackers*, etc;

- Quantification is also used to invoke judgement (see Table 4.15 above).

There are also intensification splashes. In their interaction with values of engagement and attitude, high degrees help signpost the two sides opposed in the text –

- In terms of engagement, intensification values can be seen as helping tune the text towards dialogic contraction since high degrees are used to enhance instances of contract and monogloss (e.g., surely, have delved deep into), while less is invested in instances of expand – may be, seems to lie, can reach. The exclamation in phase 4 (One of the victims!) which, in my view, has a similar effect to that of an intensified denial, could also be said to corroborate in this direction.
- Values of intensification are coupled with appreciations – both as higher degrees (e.g., *absurd lengths of, bad enough*) and comparative degrees (e.g., *Terrorism may be no less difficult to define* and *Worse, the multiple euphemisms*). Such couplings are among the main supports for the pervasive negative prosody through which the text sets out to demolish the position of the press regarding its use of “euphemisms”;
- the high degree in *And my favourite [euphemism]: ‘Activists’* intensifies the feeling attributed to the textual voice (“the euphemism that I like most of all”). This intensification adds to the ironic change in prosody invoking a negative appreciation of the term as “utterly inadequate” or “laughable” (negative valuation) inviting the reader to mock the press.

Graduation interacts even with itself in *absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics* where quantification (lengths) is intensified (absurd).

4.2.2 Appraisal analysis of TT1

TT1 is in many aspects very similar to the ST. In terms of generic structure, it instantiates similar stages and phases (see Table 3.2 in Appendix 3). This is probably due to the fact that TT1 is published in the same weblog as the ST and with similar purposes. Notwithstanding, some differences in terms of the use of appraisal resources can be observed which may have implications for the readings afforded.

4.2.2.1 Dialogic positioning of TT1

In terms of engagement, TT1 is quite similar to the ST. There are only a couple of differences (values will be marked in boldface within brackets to facilitate comparison) –

- 1) while in the ST, paragraph 4 shows one value of concur (“The sympathy is well known”), TT1 shows two – the same as the ST plus a new one in “*simpatia manifesta*” [manifest sympathy]. The new instance only reinforces the one already in the ST –

ST: The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known <concur>; the intimidation less so.

TT1: As origens dessa má-vontade em nomear os terroristas parecem estar no conflito árabe-israelense, motivada por uma estranha combinação entre a simpatia manifesta <concur> da imprensa e os atos de intimidação dos árabes-palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida <concur>; a intimidação, menos .

BT: The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seem to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, motivated by an odd combination of manifest sympathy <concur> by the press and the acts of intimidation of the Palestinian-Arabs. The sympathy is well known <concur>; the intimidation less so.

Other differences are found in paragraph 12 – two values of monogloss in the ST become values of counter:

ST: Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. It is bad enough <monogloss> that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; worse <monogloss> is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

TT1: Pior, os múltiplos eufemismos para "terrorista" impedem o entendimento claro das violentas ameaças com que se defronta o mundo civilizado. Já <counter> é ruim o bastante que apenas um de cada cinco artigos sobre a atrocidade de Beslan mencione as origens islâmicas do atentado; pior ainda <counter> é o miasma que se desprende das palavras e isola o público do mal do terrorismo.

BT: Worse, the multiple euphemisms for "terrorist" obstruct the clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. It is already <counter> bad enough that only one of five articles about the Beslan atrocity mention the Islamist origins of the attempt. Even worse <counter> is the miasma which rises from the words and isolates the public from the evil of terrorism.

It could be said that this use of counter in the last paragraph makes TT1 slightly less dialogically closed than the ST. However, in my view, it does not significantly alter the general engagement profile of ST and both texts show a strong tendency towards dialogic contraction. The dialogical zigzag pattern between values of monogloss and heterogloss-contract and values of heterogloss-expand observed in the ST is maintained in TT1 (see Figure 4.2).

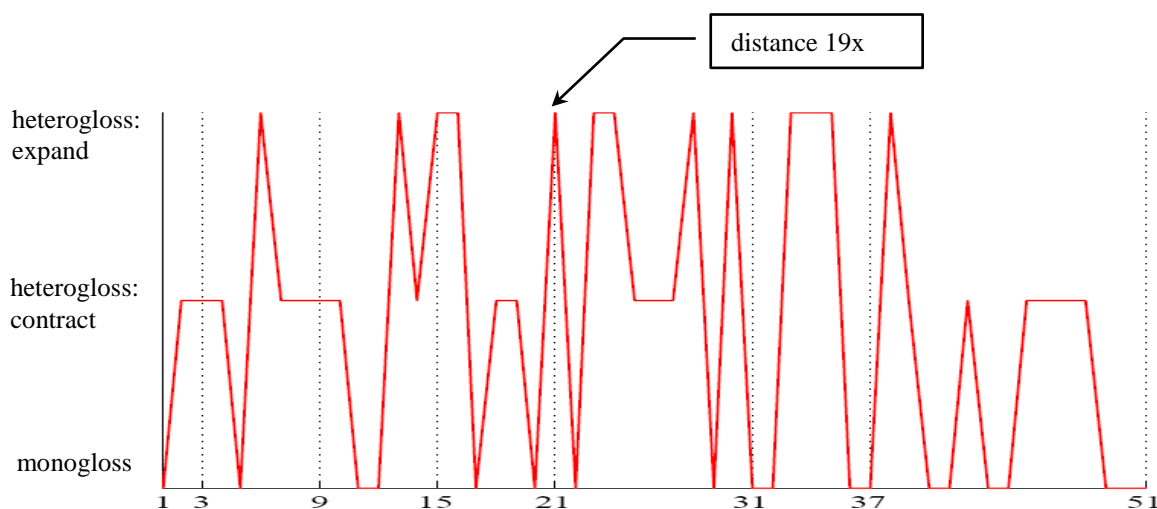


Figure 4.2: Dialogic profile of TT1

4.2.2.2 Attitudinal positioning of TT1

In terms of attitude, TT1 shows some differences in the use of resources of appreciation, judgement and affect.

4.2.2.2.1 Appreciation

The following differences in the use of appreciation are observed in TT1 –

1) In paragraph 5, the ST's positive appreciation (valuation) in “the actual phrase used” is translated as “a frase originalmente usada” [*the phrase originally used*]. This translation commits no appraisal;

2) In paragraph 12, the “miasma” metaphor is construed differently. Whereas in the ST words constitute the “miasma” (composition: complexity) which “insulates the public from the evil of terrorism”, in TT1 the miasma is something that “rises from words and insulates the public (...)”. The difference is subtle but it may be seen to afford a different reading of the ST (see section 4.3).

4.2.2.2.2 Judgement

In what concerns judgement, the following differences are observed in TT1 –

1) TT1 chooses not to include the reference to the “Beslan atrocity” in its title, leaving it to paragraph 12. This makes the title more general in terms of commitment;

2) in paragraph 1, a new negative judgement of propriety is provoked by the lexical metaphor in “colhidos” [reaped].

ST: "I know it when I see it" was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the vexed problem of defining pornography. Terrorism may be no less difficult to define, but the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.

TT2: "Eu a reconheço quando a vejo" foi a famosa resposta de um juiz da Suprema Corte dos Estados Unidos à controversa questão de como definir a pornografia. É provável que o terrorismo não seja menos difícil de definir, porém a matança gratuita e cruel de crianças em uma escola, de enlutados em um funeral ou de trabalhadores **colhidos** em seus escritórios nos arranha-céus com certeza se encaixa no tipo de definição "sei-o-que-é-quando-vejo-um".

BT: "I recognize it when I see it", was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the controversial issue of how to define pornography. It is probable that terrorism be no less difficult to define, but the gratuitous and cruel killing of children at a school, of mourners at a funeral or of workers **reaped** in their offices in skyscrapers surely fits the "know-what-it-is-when-I-see-one" type of definition.

3) Differences in judgement can also be observed in the translation of five of the “euphemisms” (see Table 4.19). These changes will be discussed in section 4.3 since they concern the commitment or the “amount” of meaning instantiated.

Table 4.19: Differences in the translation of the “euphemisms”

ST	TT1
attackers	autores do atentado [<i>authors of the</i>
bombers	homens-bomba [<i>*men-bombs</i>]
fighters	combatentes [<i>combatants</i>]
gunmen	homens armados [<i>armed men</i>]
hostage-takers	invasores [<i>invaders</i>]

4.2.2.2.3 Affect

Inscribed affect is nearly the same in the TT1 as compared to the ST. The press is also construed as the Emoter of affection (“preferindo eufemismos” [*preferring euphemisms*], “simpatia” [*sympathy*], displeasure (“má-vontade” [*unwillingness*], relutância [*reluctance*]) and fear (“fogem de” [*run away from*]). However, one important difference is observed in relation to the status of “intimidation” which the ST affords as a feeling or an act (see section 4.2.1.2.3 above) –

1) in paragraph 4 of TT1, the rather indecisive status of “intimidation” in the ST is resolved towards the “act” side. In TT1, the press feels only “sympathy” for the Palestinians and this feeling is combined with the Palestinian’s “acts of intimidation”. This may contribute to the reading of the attribution that follows (“nunca use a palavra “terrorista” (...)” [*“Never use the word ‘terrorist’ (...)”*]) as a confirmation of such “intimidation acts”, showing a “Palestinian” correspondent (Nidal al-Mughrabi) inspiring fear in his colleagues –

ST: The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and **intimidation** by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict."

TT1: As origens dessa má-vontade em nomear os terroristas parecem estar no conflito árabe-israelense, motivada por uma estranha combinação entre a simpatia manifesta da imprensa e os **atos de intimidação** dos árabes-palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida; a intimidação, menos Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Reuters, referiu-se à segunda de maneira explícita quando aconselhou os correspondentes em Gaza a evitarem problemas, dando a seguinte dica no website www.newssafety.com: "nunca use a palavra 'terrorista' ou 'terrorismo' ao descrever palestinos armados e militantes; para as pessoas, eles são os heróis do conflito."

BT: *The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seem to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, motivated by an odd combination of manifest sympathy by the press and the **acts of intimidation** of the Palestinian-Arabs. Reuters' Nidal al_Mughrabi explicitly referred to the latter when he advised Gaza correspondents to avoid problems, offering them the following tip in the website www.newssafety.com: “never use the word ‘terrorist’ or ‘terrorism’ in describing armed and militant Palestinians; for the people, they are the heroes of the conflict.”*

4.2.2.3 Graduation

Graduation resources are also very similar in TT1 as compared to the ST. A few differences are found, however, in the use of force in the translation of the lexical metaphors in paragraph 2 –

1) the choice of “fogem de” [*run away from*] to translate “shies away from” adds force (intensification) to the meaning committed in the ST (“shy away from” = avoid doing or dealing with something because you are not confident enough or you are worried or nervous about it). In BP, the idiom “fugir de” [*to run away from*] means avoiding something seen as dangerous or unpleasant “by all means”;

2) the choice of “reviraram” [*turned inside out*] to translate “delved deep into” (= examined something very carefully) does not commit the intensification in “deep”⁹¹;

These differences are further discussed in section 4.3 in terms of the commitment of interpersonal and ideational meanings.

4.2.2.3.1 Propagation of prosodies

A few differences are observed in the propagation of prosodies in TT1 through the interaction of resources of graduation and resources of the other systems –

1) In what concerns engagement, the two differences pointed out in the previous section constitute a rise and a lowering of intensification in monoglossic propositions which seem to offset each other;

2) In terms of appreciation, the translation of the miasma metaphor may be seen as interfering with the quantification *splash*, i.e., the construction of a negative image of quantity (see section 4.2.1.3.1);

3) In what concerns affect, the intensification in the translation of “shy away from” as “fogem de” [*run away from*] does not interfere with the invoking of judgement.

4) In what concerns graduation interacting with itself, TT1 makes a different use in comparison to the ST. Instead of combining intensification with quantification in “absurd lengths of inaccuracy (...)”, it doubles intensification with “níveis absurdos de inexatidão (...)” [*absurd levels of inaccuracy (...)*].

In what concerns judgement, the interaction with graduation is very similar.

4.2.3 Appraisal analysis of TT2

The most conspicuous differences between TT2 and the ST are the title and the lead⁹². I do not know whether titles and leads are authored by DOM translators or editors, but I observed that the inclusion of a lead is not a systematic procedure in this weblog. Some of the articles by Pipes (and by others) have a lead and some do not. Anyway, I chose to consider both the title and the lead as integral parts of the TT2 as a re-instantiation of the ST. Since I am interested in finding out whether or not its use of appraisal resources enables new readings it is important to investigate these as strategies intended to grab the

⁹¹ This difference can be seen in contrast with a possible rendering as “revirar de cabo a rabo” [*turn completely inside out*].

⁹² A lead is a summary offered at the beginning of a news story.

new audience's attention and to check whether appraisal in these parts of the text is in consonance with that of the TT and that of the ST or if it enables new readings. Strictly speaking we would have both interlingual re-instantiation in the body of text and intralingual re-instantiation in the lead. But here I overlook such a distinction so as to be able to analyse the whole that is offered to the Brazilian weblog audience and compare its investments and value positions to those of the ST as offered to Pipes's weblog readers.

In terms of generic structure, TT2 is also similar to the ST – it also instantiates similar stages and phases (see Table 3.3 in Appendix 3) and the lead can be seen as conflating and condensing phases 2 and 6. However, like TT1, it also shows some differences in its use of appraisal resources (in its title, in its lead and in its body of text) which may have implications for the readings afforded.

4.2.3.1 Dialogistic positioning of TT2

In order to contrast the dialogic positioning of TT2, I will point out its different uses of monoglossic and heteroglossic resources in relation to the ST.

In general, the use of engagement resources in TT2 does not differ much from that of the ST. The two texts use a variety of resources of monogloss and heterogloss with a predominance of monogloss and heterogloss-contract resources. However, the tendency to monogloss/contract is somewhat reinforced in TT2. I will now consider each of the different uses in the title, in the lead and in the body of text –

1) The title – in what concerns engagement, TT2 commits an extra denial in its title –

ST: [Beslan Atrocity:] They're Terrorists <monogloss> - Not Activists <deny>

TT2: Eles São Terroristas <monogloss> – Não Ativistas <deny> ou Vítimas! <deny>

BT: They're Terrorists <monogloss> - Not Activists <deny> or Victims! <deny>

2) The lead – the lead introduces a new instance of counter and a new instance of monogloss –

TT2: LEAD - A imprensa usa até <counter> 20 eufemismos para descrever os malfeitores muçulmanos. Ao agir assim, impede um entendimento claro do violento confronto que ameaça o mundo civilizado <monogloss (at issue)>.

BT: The Press uses up to <counter> 20 euphemisms to describe Muslim wrongdoers. In doing so, it obstructs a clear understanding of the violent confrontation that threatens the civilized world <monogloss (at issue)>.

The instance of counter re-instantiates the one in paragraph 2 of the ST – “(...) finding at least <counter> twenty euphemisms for terrorists”. The instance of monogloss re-instantiates the one in paragraph 12 of the ST – “(...) the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world” <monogloss (at issue)>. Like the title, the lead also projects a high degree of dialogic contraction on the text by anticipating what is seen as its core value – the rejection of the use of “euphemisms” by the press.

3) The body of the text (paragraphs 1-12) –

In paragraph 1, TT2 does not couple entertain and deny as the ST does –
 ST: Terrorism may be <entertain> no less <deny> difficult to define (...)

TT2: Terrorismo pode ser <entertain> também difícil de definir (...)

BT: Terrorism may also be <entertain> difficult to define (...)

Here, instead of comparing terrorism to pornography in terms of more/less difficult to define as in the ST, TT2 signals its entertaining of two excluding alternatives (is difficult x is not difficult). That is, terrorism may be difficult to define as pornography or not.

In paragraph 4, TT2 chooses to instantiate the comparison between “sympathy” and “intimidation” by means of deny –

TT2: A simpatia é bem conhecida <concur>, a intimidação nem tanto <deny>.

BT: The sympathy is well known <concur>, the intimidation not so much <deny>.

ST: The sympathy is well known <concur>; the intimidation less so.

The difference in meaning here is very subtle. But this use of deny prepares the use of counter that follows which is not used in the ST –

TT2: O jornalista Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, <counter> a explicitou (...)

BT: Journalist Nidal al-Mughrabi, of the Reuters agency, however <counter>, made it explicit (...)

ST: Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit (...)

These new categories of deny and counter might be seen as revealing latent oppositions in the ST. Here, it could be said that these are explicitations of the latent opposition between “being less well known” and “being made explicit”.

In paragraph 5, TT2 commits a value of monogloss instead of entertain in:

ST: The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name <monogloss (at issue)> can reach <entertain> absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.

TT2: Essa relutância de chamar os terroristas pelo seu correto termo <monogloss> atinge as raias do absurdo <monogloss (at issue)>.

BT: This reluctance to call terrorists by their correct term <monogloss> reaches the boundaries of absurd <monogloss (at issue)>.

It also adds a new instance of concur (“na verdade” [actually]) in combination with the counter committed in the ST –

ST: 'Israeli military officials were quoted as saying they had arrested 12 men who were ‘wanted militants.’ But <counter> the actual phrase used by the Israeli military was ‘wanted terrorists.’ ”

TT2: “Militares israelenses anunciaram que foram presos 12 homens procurados como militantes”. Mas <counter> na verdade <concur>, a frase real utilizada pelos militares era “procurados como terroristas”.

BT: “Israeli military officials announced that 12 men who are wanted militants, have been arrested”. But <counter>, actually <concur>, the real phrase used by the military officials was ‘wanted as terrorists.’”

In paragraph 8, TT2 chooses not to commit the proposition below, which is monoglossic –

ST - As terrorism picked up in Saudi Arabia <monogloss (take-for-granted)>

In paragraph 12, TT2 chooses not to commit the first proposition in clause complex 2 and the first proposition in clause complex 3 which are monoglossic (they are marked in bold below) –

ST: Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. **It is bad enough** <monogloss> that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; **worse** <monogloss> is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

TT2: E o que é pior: os múltiplos eufemismos para terrorista impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. Somente 1 em cada 5 artigos noticiando a atrocidade (na escola) de Beslan menciona suas origens islâmicas; esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo.

BT: And what is worse: the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct the correct comprehension of the violent threat to the civilized world. Only 1 of 5 articles reporting the atrocity (at the school) in Beslan mentions its Islamic origins; this miasma of words isolates, as it were, the public from the danger of terrorism.

Despite leaving out some instances of monogloss as above, TT2’s addition of new instances of both monogloss and heterogloss: contract in other paragraphs makes it a bit more dialogistically closed than the ST. That is, it reinforces the ST’s favouring of such categories of engagement. Notwithstanding, the dialogical zigzag pattern described in the ST is also maintained here (see Figure 4.3).

4.2.3.2 Attitudinal positioning of TT2

In terms of attitude, TT2 shows some differences in its use of resources of appreciation and judgement. In terms of affect, differences in the use of resources do not alter the readings afforded by the ST significantly.

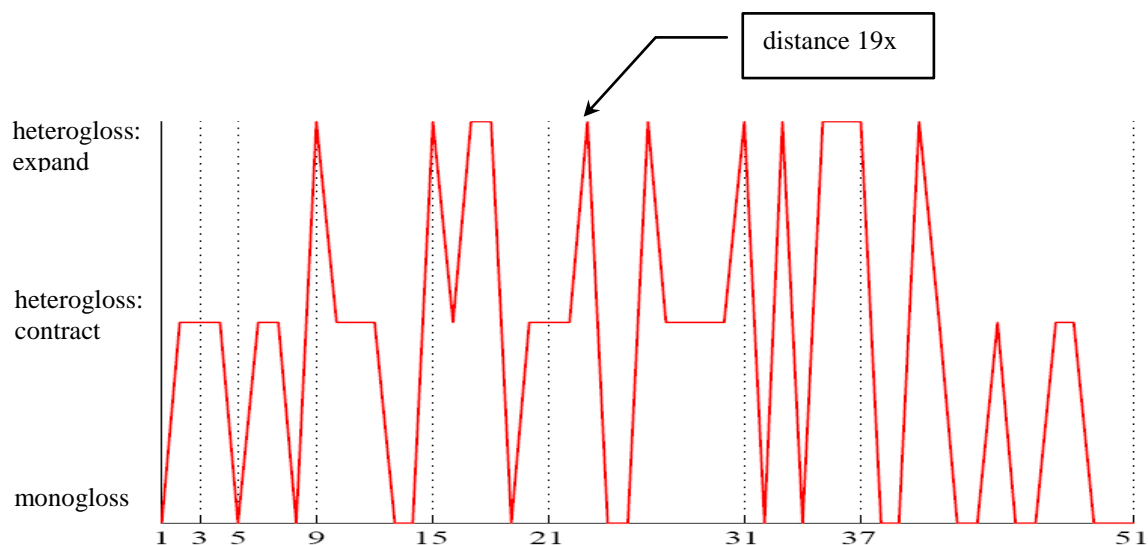


Figure 4.3: Dialogic profile of TT2

4.2.3.2.1 Appreciation

In general, TT2 uses appreciation similarly to the way the ST does. The same categories are used (valuation and composition), there is also a predominance of negative evaluations and the targets of evaluations are similar. However, some of the choices of might be said to contribute to an alternative reading of the ST –

1) It re-instantiates in the lead two appreciations that only appear in the final paragraph of the ST – “entendimento claro” [*clear understanding*] and “violento confronto” [*violent confrontation*];

2) In paragraph 4 (see below), TT2 chooses not to evaluate as “trouble” the consequences of the use of the term “terrorist” by reporters. Besides this, TT2 does not make the purpose of the quoted caution explicit as the ST does in “to avoid trouble”. Another related difference is the naming of the speech act – it is an “advice” in the ST and an “aviso” [*warning*] in TT2 (see section 4.3.3).

ST: The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in **advice** for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict."

TT2: A origem desta má-vontade em rotular corretamente os terroristas parece vir do conflito árabe-israelense, induzida por uma estranha combinação, pela mídia, de simpatia e intimidação pelos palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida, a intimidação nem tanto. O jornalista Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, a explicitou num documento “**aviso** aos colegas repórteres”: “Nunca use o termo terrorista ao se referir aos pistoleiros e militantes palestinos; as pessoas os consideram heróis do conflito”.

BT: The origin of this unwillingness to label terrorists correctly seems to come from the Arab-Israeli conflict, induced by an odd combination, by the media, of sympathy and intimidation by the Palestinians. The sympathy is well known, the intimidation not so much. Journalist Nidal al_Mughrabi, of the Reuters agency, however, made it explicit in a document “warning to fellow reporters: “Never use the term terrorist to refer to Palestinians contract killers and militants; people consider them the heroes of the conflict”]

3) In paragraph 5, while the ST appreciates the *reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name* as possibly generating “very inaccurate and apologetic statements”, TT2 appreciates it as “almost absurd” –

ST: The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.

TT2: Essa relutância de chamar os terroristas pelo seu correto termo atinge as raias do absurdo.

BT: This reluctance to call terrorists by their correct term reaches the boundaries of absurd.

4) In paragraph 12 (see below), TT2:

a) commits two appreciations less than the ST (“it is bad enough” and “worse”) –

ST: Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. **It is bad enough** that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; **worse** is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

TT2: E o que é pior: os múltiplos eufemismos para terrorista impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. Somente 1 em cada 5 artigos noticiando a atrocidade (na escola) de Beslan menciona suas origens islâmicas; esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo.

BT: And what is worse: the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct the correct understanding of the violent threat to the civilized world. Only 1 of 5 articles reporting the atrocity (at the school) in Beslan mentions its Islamist origins; this miasma of words isolates, as it were, the public from the danger of terrorism.

b) changes the category of one of the inscribed appreciations – from “clear understanding” (composition: complexity) to “correta compreensão” [correct comprehension] (valuation); and

c) chooses to use a domination prosody (by committing only one negative valuation at the beginning of the paragraph) instead of a saturation prosody as in the ST (by repeated negative valuations – worse, bad enough, worse, see Figure 4.4).

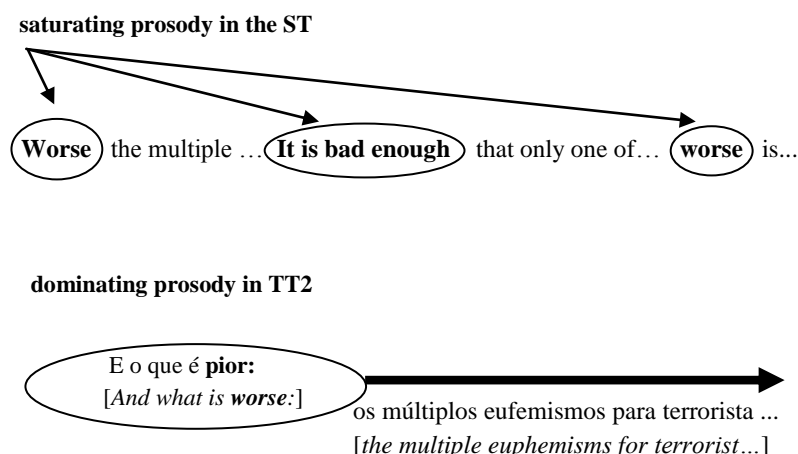


Figure 4.4: Different prosodies in paragraph 12

4.2.3.2.2 Judgement

The comparison between TT2 and the ST reveals some differences in the use of resources of judgement that may afford different readings –

- 1) In its title, TT2:
 - a) does not commit the reference to the “Beslan atrocity” using the term only later in paragraph 12. This makes the title more general in terms of commitment;
 - b) adds a negative judgement of distinctiveness “vítimas” [*victims*], choosing to give it hypertheme position beside the denial of “activists”;
 - c) invests in these negative judgements by means of an exclamation. In the ST, *victims* is used and emphasized later in paragraph 7;

- 2) In its lead, TT2 uses a more direct language explicating some connections and judgements which remain implicit in the ST and in corresponding propositions in TT2 –

ST (§2): The press, however, generally shies away from the word terrorist, preferring euphemisms. Take the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, many of them children, in Beslan, Russia, on September 3. Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists: (...)

TT2 (LEAD): A imprensa usa até 20 eufemismos para descrever os malfeitores muçulmanos. Ao agir assim, impede um entendimento claro do violento confronto que ameaça o mundo civilizado.

BT: The press uses up to 20 euphemisms to describe Muslim wrongdoers. In doing so, it obstructs a clear understanding of the violent confrontation that threatens the civilized world.

TT2 (§2): A imprensa, entretanto, geralmente se envergonha da palavra “terrorista”, preferendo (sic) eufemismos. Vejamos por exemplo, o ataque que levou à morte de cerca de 400 pessoas, a maioria crianças, na Rússia, em 3 de setembro. Os jornalistas se empenharam em pesquisar em seus dicionários, encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para “terroristas”: (...)

BT: The press, however, generally feels ashamed of the word “terrorist”, preferring euphemisms. Let’s take for example the assault that led to the deaths of around 400 people, most of them children, in Russia, on September 3. Journalists applied themselves to searching their dictionaries, finding at least 20 euphemisms for “terrorists”: (...)

In order to account for the differences in judgement here, I will consider specific propositions committed in the lead in comparison to corresponding propositions committed in other parts of TT2 and in the ST –

- a) “A imprensa usa até 20 eufemismos (...)”
[“The press uses up to 20 euphemisms (...)”]

Here TT2 states more clearly that it is the press who “uses” euphemisms (as opposed to *prefers euphemisms* and *found euphemisms in their thesauruses*);

- b) “(...) para descrever os malfeitores muçulmanos”
[“(...) to describe Muslim wrongdoers”]

The inscribed negative judgement of propriety included in the lead – “malfeitores muçulmanos” [*Muslim wrongdoers*] marks a crucial difference between the texts. By committing this judgement in such a prominent position in the text, TT2 establishes an association between “terrorists” and “Muslims”. A comparable association in the ST is found in paragraph 12 (the last one) but it differs from the proposition in TT2 in two important aspects: 1) the association is not between “terrorists” and “Muslims” but between “terrorists” and “Islamists”; and 2) the association is between “terrorists” involved in the Beslan siege and Islamists. The general association made in TT2 goes against Pipes’s theory that it is Islamists that are the “enemy” and not “Muslims” (see chapter 1, section 1.5.3.2).

- c) “(...) Ao agir assim, [a imprensa] impede um entendimento claro do violento confronto que ameaça o mundo civilizado”.
[“In doing so, it [the Press] obstructs a clear understanding of the violent confrontation that threatens the civilized world”]

Here TT2 states clearly that “the press obstructs understanding”. In paragraph 12 of both TT2 and the ST, the judgement related to the press obstructing understanding is invoked through appreciation (the press is indirectly charged with such a “wrongful conduct”) –

ST: Worse, the multiple **euphemisms** for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world.

TT2: E o que é pior: os múltiplos **eufemismos** para terrorista impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado

BT: And what is worse: the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct the correct comprehension of the violent threat to the civilized world.

It is the words themselves that are charged with the obstruction of understanding, not the press.

3) In its main text, TT2 shows differences in –

a) the amount of meaning instantiated (commitment) in the translation of three of the “euphemisms” – assailants, bombers and gunmen (see section 4.3.2.2);

b) the specific target being judged (e.g., “the LAT” versus “its editors” (§ 6);

c) the interaction of judgement with graduation resources (“politically-correct organizations” versus “media organizations in attempting to be politically correct”; “the evil of terrorism” versus “o perigo do terrorismo” [*the danger of terrorism*]) (see section 4.3.5).

4.2.3.2.3 Graduation

The use of resources of graduation in some points of TT2 differs from that of the ST. Some of the main differences concern the use of focus (fulfilment) –

1) The focus becomes softer in paragraphs 11 and 12 –

a) paragraph 11 –

ST: Politically-correct news organizations (...)

TT2: As organizações de mídia ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas, (...)

BT: *Media organizations in attempting to be politically correct, (...)*

Since these graduations are followed by a negative judgement (“undermine their credibility with such subterfuges”), the change in focus imply different views of “politically-correct” (see section 4.3.4).

b) paragraph 12 –

ST: worse is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

TT2: esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo.

BT: *this miasma of words isolates, as it were, the public from the danger of terrorism.*

The use of a softer focus in paragraph 12 is arguably the difference with the highest cost in terms of appraisal since it goes against the accruing of negative evaluations in the ST. As such it impacts the use of the metaphor in “miasma of words” which in the ST acts towards condensing and making the wrongdoing of the press almost visible. This difference is further discussed in section 4.3.5.

2) Other differences in terms of graduation concern the use of resources of force –

a) Still in paragraph 12, the inscribed negative judgement of propriety – *the evil of terrorism* – is translated as “o perigo do terrorismo” [*the danger of terrorism*]. This is a difference in terms of force (intensity) – from “terrorism is evil” (causes harm) to “terrorism is dangerous” (may cause harm) (see section 4.3.5).

b) Other differences concern the use of force in paragraphs 2 and 11. In paragraph 2, there is a bit more force in the ST:

TT1: Os jornalistas se empenham em pesquisar em seus dicionários (...)

BT: *Journalists applied themselves to searching their dictionaries (...)*

ST: Journalists have delved **deep** into their thesauruses (...)

In paragraph 11, the *obviousness of terrorism* expressed in the Epithet “self-evident” becomes the Circumstance “against all evidences” which is upscaled by means of the intensifier “all” –

ST: How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied?

TT2: Como uma pessoa pode confiar no noticiário que lê, ouve ou vê, quando o fato do terrorismo está sendo semi-encoberto, contra todas as evidências?

BT: *How can a person trust the news they read, hear or see, when the fact of terrorism is being semi-hidden, against all evidences?*

3) Another difference concerns a change from force to focus –

ST: The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics.

TT2: Essa relutância de chamar os terroristas pelo seu correto termo atinge as raias do absurdo.

BT: *This reluctance to call terrorists by their correct term reaches the boundaries of absurd.*

Instead of combining intensification and quantification (“absurd lengths”), TT2 commits only a value of focus-valeur (“atinge as raias” [*reaches the boundaries of*] similar to “kind of absurd”).

4.2.3.2.3.1 Propagation of prosodies

The following differences are observed in the propagation of prosodies in TT2 through the interaction of values of graduation with values of engagement and attitude –

1) In what concerns affect, the change from force to focus pointed out in the previous section represents a downgrading which (in addition to other differences) may interfere with the reinforcement of negative values observed in the ST;

2) In what concerns appreciation, the choice not to commit “it is bad enough” and “worse” in paragraph 12 can be seen as weakening the intensification “sphash” observed in the ST. This difference concerns the change from a saturation prosody (ST) to a domination prosody (TT2) (see section 4.2.3.2.1). Still in paragraph 12, the difference in focus (fulfilment) in the appreciation of the “miasma de palavras” [*miasma of words*] as “isolating, as it were, the public from (...)” stands in opposition to the negative prosody construed in the ST;

3) In what concerns judgement, differences in force and focus (fulfilment) may also interfere with the propagation of negative prosodies through graduation values of intensification and quantification –

3a) in two occurrences, judgement is downscaled (from “have delved deep into” to “se empenharam em” [*applied themselves to*] and from “the evil of terrorism” to “o perigo do terrorismo” [*the danger of terrorism*]). In another one, judgement is upscaled (from “the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied” to “o fato do terrorismo está sendo semi-encoberto, contra todas as evidências” [*the fact of terrorism is being semi-hidden, against all evidences*]). Finally, in another instance, judgement is downscaled but this time in relation to focus (from “Politically-correct news organizations” to “as organizações de mídia ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas” [*Media organizations in attempting to be politically correct*]).

After contrasting the use of appraisal resources in the two TTs to that of the ST, in the following sections, I will consider how interpersonal and ideational meanings are coupled and committed in some parts of the texts where differences in appraisals (what is appraised and how it is appraised) are most likely to afford different readings of the ST. Instead of considering each of the texts separately, here I will contrast the re-instantiations of appraisals in the two TTs to corresponding instantiations in the ST.

4.3 Contrastive analysis of coupling and commitment in appraisals

As evidenced in the appraisal analyses made above, the TTs present many similarities in terms of the use of appraisal resources (especially in what concerns engagement) but also some differences which may generate different readings of the ST. Below, I analyse the differences found in paragraphs 1, 2, 4 11 and 12 (considered here as those most likely to generate new readings) in terms of coupling, i.e. which appraised and which appraisal is committed in each of the TTs, and also in terms of commitment, i.e. how general/specific is the appraisal or the appraised committed in these texts in contrast to the those committed in the ST. I also explore how such differences may be characterised in terms of the categories of translational intertextual relation, at this microlevel, assuming that the recurrence of a certain category may allow us to see the whole text as tending to ‘quote’, ‘paraphrase’ or ‘retell’ the ST’s meanings. I consider paragraphs in the order they appear and identify the differences by means of tables, classifying and commenting on the solutions found by each TT. The criteria for classification is –

- ‘quoting’ – TT is as committed ideationally and/or interpersonally as ST;
- ‘paraphrasing’ – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a given extent;
- ‘retelling’ – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a greater extent OR

TT commits different ideational and/or interpersonal meanings

4.3.1 Paragraph 1

As indicated in Table 4.20, a difference is observed in the re-commitment of ideational/interpersonal meanings in one of the tokens of judgement – TT1 commits “trabalhadores colhidos em seus escritórios nos arranha-céus” [*workers reaped at their desks in skyscrapers*], adding an idiom and reinforcing the negative appraisal in “matança” [*massacre*]. This not only makes TT1 slightly more committed ideationally and interpersonally (due to the emphasis on the meaning of “killing”) but it also brings to the text an intertextual reference to the personification of death – “o Ceifador” in BP and “the Grim Reaper” in AE. TT1 is more invested in such a meaning than the ST and this means a “small perturbation” which in combination with others could lead to ‘retelling’.

TT2, in turn, renders this token more generally as “employees in a skyscraper” and TT2 is slightly less committed ideationally but equally committed interpersonally, ‘paraphrasing’ the ST.

In terms of reading, what is important to observe here is that the meanings committed in the two texts are enough to be construed as a reference to the 9/11 attack.

Table 4.20: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 1

ST	TT1	TT2
Terrorism may be no less difficult to define, but the wanton killing of (...), of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.	<p>É provável que o terrorismo não seja menos difícil de definir, porém a matança gratuita e cruel de (...), de enlutados em um funeral ou de trabalhadores colhidos em seus escritórios nos arranha-céus com certeza se encaixa no tipo de definição "sei-o-que-é-quando-vejo-um".</p> <p><i>It is probable that terrorism be no less difficult to define, but the gratuitous and cruel killing of (...) mourners at a funeral or of workers <u>reaped</u> in their offices in skyscrapers surely fits the “know-what-it-is-when-I-see-one” type of definition.</i></p>	<p>Terrorismo pode ser também difícil de definir, mas o massacre indiscriminado de (...) enlutados num funeral, ou funcionários num arranha-céu, certamente se enquadra na definição “eu a reconheço quando a vejo”.</p> <p><i>Terrorism may also be difficult to define, but the indiscriminate massacre of (...) of mourners at a funeral, or employees in a skyscraper, surely fits the “I know it when I see it” definition.</i></p>

4.3.2 Paragraph 2

In order to look into paragraph 2, I will divide it in two parts: intravocalized appraisals and extravocalized ones (i.e. the list of “euphemisms”).

4.3.2.1 Intravocalized appraisals

The first part of paragraph 2 in the three texts (reproduced below) comprises three clause complexes (separated by |||). The differences in coupling and commitment in each of the clause complexes will be considered in turn.

ST: ||| The press, however, generally shies away from the word terrorist, preferring euphemisms. ||| Take the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, many of them children, in Beslan, Russia, on September 3. ||| Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists: |||

TT1: ||| Os jornais, contudo, fogem em regra da palavra "terrorista", preferindo os eufemismos. ||| Vejam o ataque que levou à morte cerca de 400 pessoas, muitas delas crianças, em Beslan, Rússia, no dia 3 de setembro. ||| Os jornalistas reviraram seus dicionários e encontraram no mínimo vinte eufemismos para "terroristas": |||

BT: ||| *The newspapers, however, generally run away from the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms. ||| Take the assault that led to the deaths of around 400 people, many of them children, in Russia, on September 3. Journalists turned their dictionaries inside out and found at least 20 euphemisms for "terrorists": |||*

TT2: ||| A imprensa, entretanto, geralmente se envergonha da palavra "terrorista", preferindo eufemismos. ||| Vejamos por exemplo, o ataque que levou à morte de cerca de 400 pessoas, a maioria crianças, na Rússia, em 3 de setembro. ||| Os jornalistas se empenharam em pesquisar em seus dicionários, encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para "terroristas": |||

BT: ||| *The press, however, generally feels ashamed of the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms. ||| Let's take for example the assault that led to the deaths of around 400 people, most of them children, in Russia, on September 3. ||| Journalists applied themselves to searching their dictionaries, finding at least 20 euphemisms for "terrorists": |||*

In clause complex 1 (see Table 4.21), differences concern both what is appraised and the appraisals made. The appraised coincide in ST and TT2 ("the press"/ "a imprensa") but differ in TT1 ("Os jornais" [*The newspapers*]). In terms of commitment, the target has been de/composed, i.e., a part was used to represent the whole. Thus, according to Hood (2008), less ideational meaning has been committed in TT1.

Table 4.21: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 2 - clause complex 1

	ST	TT1	TT2
Appraised	<u>The press</u>	<u>Os jornais</u> <u>The newspapers</u>	A imprensa <i>The press</i>
Appraisal	however, generally <u>shies away from</u> the word terrorist, preferring euphemisms.	contudo, <u>fogem</u> em regra <u>da</u> palavra "terrorista", preferindo euphemismos. <i>however, generally <u>run away from</u> the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms.</i>	entretanto, geralmente <u>se envergonha da</u> palavra "terrorista", preferendo euphemismos. <i>however, generally <u>feels ashamed of</u> the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms.</i>

Another difference in terms of commitment can be observed in relation to the degree of explicitness. The ST and TT1 choose to commit an idiom ("shies away from"/ "fogem

de” [*run away from*]), while TT2 chooses not to (“se envergonham de” [*feel ashamed of*]). In this respect, TT2 is less committed ideationally than the other two texts. Interpersonally, though, we can say that they are all equally committed since they all provoke a negative judgement of tenacity (the ST through affect and idiom, TT1 through idiom and force, and TT2 through affect). This would classify them (in relation to this evaluation) as ‘paraphrasing’ the ST.

In the second clause complex (see Table 4.22), the targets of invoked appraisal coincide in the three texts, so the difference is more to do with the commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings in the appraisal itself. Slight differences are observed in terms of the use of graduation (quantification) and in terms of generality. In the first case, while both the ST and TT1 commit “many of them” and “muitas delas” [*many of them*], TT2 invests more with “a maioria delas” [*most of them*]. In what concerns generality, both the ST and TT1 commit “in Beslan, Russia” and “em Beslan, Russia” [*in Beslan, Russia*] while TT2 de-specifies the meaning in the ST as “na Rússia” [*in Russia*]. The difference in graduation characterizes TT2 as slightly more committed both ideationally and interpersonally (a “small perturbation” towards ‘retelling’), and the difference in generality characterizes TT2 as slightly less committed ideationally as compared to the other two texts. As TT1 is as committed ideationally and interpersonally as the ST, it is here classified as ‘quoting’ it.

Table 4.22: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 2 – clause complex 2

	ST	TT1	TT2
Appraised	the attackers (implied)	the attackers (implied)	the attackers (implied)
Appraisal	the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, <u>many of them</u> children, <u>in Beslan, Russia</u> , on September 3.	o ataque que levou à morte cerca de 400 pessoas, <u>muitas delas</u> crianças, em Beslan, Rússia, no dia 3 de setembro. <i>the attack that led to the deaths of some 400 people, <u>many of them</u> children, <u>in Beslan, Russia</u>, on September 3.</i>	o ataque que levou à morte de cerca de 400 pessoas, <u>a maioria</u> crianças, <u>na Rússia</u> , em 3 de setembro. <i>the attack that led to the deaths of some 400 people, <u>most of them</u> children, <u>in Russia</u>, on September 3.</i>

Table 4.23: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 2 – clause complex 3

	ST	TT1	TT2
Appraised	journalists	os jornalistas <i>journalists</i>	os jornalistas <i>journalists</i>
Appraisal	have <u>delved deep into</u> their <u>thesauruses</u> , finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists:	<u>reviraram</u> seus <u>dicionários</u> e encontraram no mínimo 20 eufemismos para “terroristas” <i>Journalists <u>turned their dictionaries inside out</u> and found at least 20 euphemisms for “terrorists”:</i>	<u>se empenharam em pesquisar</u> em seus <u>dicionários</u> , encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para “terroristas”: <i>Journalists <u>applied themselves to searching their dictionaries</u>, finding at least 20 euphemisms for “terrorists”:</i>

In the third clause complex (disregarding the list of euphemisms for the moment), targets also coincide and the differences concern the appraisals made. The processes are construed differently, with the ST and TT1 committing idioms (“have delved (...) into” and “reviraram” [*turned inside out*]) and TT2 choosing not to do so (“se empenham em” [*applied themselves to*]). The three texts commit graduation (intensification) – “to delve into something” (= to examine or study something carefully); “empenhar-se em” (= dedicate oneself to something); “revirar” (= to examine something carefully). The ST however, chooses to commit extra force by adding the adverb “deep”. Thus, the ST is here more committed ideationally and interpersonally than the two TTs since it both commits an idiom and extra intensification. And TT1 is more committed than TT2 since it commits an idiom. But we still have to consider another difference in this clause complex. It concerns the de/classification of “thesauruses” (ST) as “dicionários” [*dictionaries*] (TT1 and TT2). The relation between “dicionário” [*dictionary*] and “thesaurus” is a class/subclass one, since the meaning of “thesaurus” in the ST is rendered in BP by the expression “dicionário de sinônimos e antônimos” [*dictionary of synonyms and antonyms*]. Thus, TTs are less committed ideationally in comparison to the ST.

Summing up, we may classify the two TTs as ‘paraphrasing’ the ST (with TT1 going towards ‘quoting’).

4.3.2.2 Extravocalized appraisals

In the second part of paragraph 2 (see Table 4.24), the ST reproduces the terms used by the press to refer to those behind the Beslan siege. Differences here concern the appraisals made. Besides translating the terms, TT2 keeps the English terms within parenthesis. This may be seen as revealing an attempt to “mirror” the ST’s intertextual relations. However, the translations provided in parenthesis sometimes constitute a ‘quote’, other times a ‘paraphrase’ and still other times a ‘retelling’. Let’s look closely at each one in turn –

Table 4.24: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 2 – extravocalized appraisals

ST	TT1	TT2
1. assailants	agressores <i>aggressors</i>	assaltantes (assailants) <i>muggers (assailants)</i>
2. attackers	autores do atentado <i>authors of the attempt</i>	atacantes (attackers) <i>attackers (attackers)</i>
3. bombers	homens-bomba <i>*Men bombs</i>	bombas-humanas (bombers) <i>*Human bombs (bombers)</i>
4. fighters	combatentes <i>combatants</i>	lutadores (fighters) <i>fighters (fighters)</i>
5. gunmen	homens armados <i>armed men</i>	pistoleiros (gunmen) <i>contract killers (Gunmen)</i>
6. hostage-takers	invasores <i>invaders</i>	sequestradores (hostage-takers) <i>kidnappers (Hostage-takers)</i>

1) the translation of “assailant” (a person who attacks someone violently”) by “agressor” (one that engages in aggression) in TT1 is here seen as standing at a similar level of generality (so TT1 ‘quotes’ the ST). In TT2, “assaltante” (mugger = someone who attacks someone else in order to rob him/her) commits meanings at a more specific level by means of a de/classification, i.e. it is more committed ideationally. Here, there is a change in the situation to which the appraised (those behind the Beslan siege) is coupled. TT2 ‘retells’ the judgement made in the ST by adding the meaning of robber. The graphological and phonological similarity between “assailant” and “assaltante” seems to suggest that the translator aimed for a ‘quoting’ but ended up committing a different meaning.

2) “atacantes” (attackers) in TT2 and “autores do atentado” (= authors of the attempt) in TT1 both ‘paraphrase’ the ST’s “attackers” since the three terms can be placed at a similar level of generality. They are similarly committed ideationally and interpersonally.

3) “homens-bomba” (bombers = people who deliberately kill themselves when detonating a bomb or committing a terrorist act) in TT1 is at the same level of generality as “bombers” in the ST (= people who drop or set bombs, esp. as an act of terrorism or sabotage), so it is a ‘quoting’. TT2 also ‘quotes’ but strains the BP system in an attempt to reflect the neutrality in gender of the ST term by “bomba-humana” (literally *human-bomb*). Apparently this is an attempt to render a more politically correct version of “homem-bomba” (literally *men-bomb*).

4) Differences between “fighter”, “combatente” [combatant] and “lutador” [fighter] concern here the different registers they may evoke to the reader – “fighter” (boxer/soldier), “combatente” (soldier), lutador (boxer). However, they all share the meaning of “struggling, resisting” and can be said to be at a similar level of generality here. So these translations are examples of ‘paraphrasing’.

5) “pistoleiros” [contract killers] in TT2 commits similar meanings and is at the same level of generality as “gunmen” (people armed with or expert in the use of a gun, especially those ready to use a gun unlawfully) and can thus be seen as a ‘quoting’ the ST. “Homens armados” [armed men], however, commits much less ideational meaning and can hardly be construed as evaluative. It constitutes a ‘retelling’.

6) “Hostage-takers” (people who seize hostages) in the ST and “sequestradores” (kidnapers = people who kidnap) in TT2 commit similar ideational and interpersonal meanings but are at variance with “invasor” (invader = one who invades; an intruder) in TT1. The latter could at most be seen as part of the action of taking hostages. Thus, TT1 commits a different ideational meaning and is an example of ‘retelling’.

4.3.3 Paragraph 4

In paragraph 4 (see below), differences concern both what is appraised and the appraisals made. Such differences are found in the first and third of its three clause complexes –

ST: ||| The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. ||| The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. ||| Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict." |||

TT1: ||| As origens dessa má-vontade em nomear os terroristas parecem estar no conflito árabe-israelense, motivada por uma estranha combinação entre a simpatia manifesta da imprensa e os atos de intimidação dos árabes-palestinos. ||| A simpatia é bem conhecida; a intimidação, menos Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Reuters, referiu-se à segunda de maneira explícita quando aconselhou os correspondentes em Gaza a evitarem problemas, dando a seguinte dica no website www.newssafety.com: "nunca use a palavra 'terrorista' ou 'terrorismo' ao descrever palestinos armados e militantes; para as pessoas, eles são os heróis do conflito." |||

BT: ||| The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seem to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, motivated by an odd combination of the manifest sympathy of the press and the acts of intimidation of the Palestinian-Arabs. ||| The sympathy is well known; the intimidation, less so. ||| Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi explicitly referred to the latter when he advised Gaza correspondents to avoid problems, offering them the following tip in the website www.newssafety.com: "never use the word 'terrorist' or 'terrorism' in describing armed and militant Palestinians; for the people, they are the heroes of the conflict." |||

TT2: ||| A origem desta má-vontade em rotular corretamente os terroristas parece vir do conflito árabe-israelense, induzida por uma estranha combinação, pela mídia, de simpatia e intimidação pelos palestinos. ||| A simpatia é bem conhecida, a intimidação nem tanto. ||| O jornalista Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, a explicitou num documento "aviso aos colegas repórteres": "Nunca use o termo terrorista ao se referir aos pistoleiros e militantes palestinos; as pessoas os consideram heróis do conflito". |||

BT: ||| The origin of this unwillingness to label terrorists correctly seems to come from the Arab-Israeli conflict, induced by an odd combination, by the media, of sympathy and intimidation by the Palestinians. ||| The sympathy is well known, the intimidation not so much. Journalist Nidal al-Mughrabi, of the Reuters agency, however, made it explicit in a document "warning to fellow reporters:" "Never use the term terrorist in reference to Palestinian contract killers and militants; people consider them the heroes of the conflict." |||

In clause complex 1, the press (appraised) is the Target of affect - "unwillingness" (ST) / "má-vontade" [*unwillingness*] (TT1 and TT2). The way this feeling is characterized shows differences across the texts. In the ST and in TT1, it is unwillingness "to name terrorists", while in TT2, it is unwillingness "to label terrorists correctly". Thus, TT2 commits more ideational and interpersonal meaning by choosing an idiom (to label = pronounce judgement on), by implying through this idiom the levelling of terrorists to *objects*, and by adding a circumstantial meaning – "correctly". In relation to the appraised TT1 is as committed as the ST ('quoting' the ST) and TT2 is more committed (tending to 'retell' the ST). But maybe, the rest of the paragraph should be looked into before making these classifications.

The "unwillingness" is explained as being caused ("prompted" (ST)/ "induzida" (TT1) [*induced*] / motivada" [*motivated*] (TT2)) by an "odd combination of feelings". This constitutes an appreciation (composition: balance, negative). All three texts appraise the combination as "odd", although they construe it differently by committing different elements.

In Table 4.25, I discriminate the elements committed in each text – the agent of combination, i.e. who makes the combination, the Emoter of sympathy, the Target of sympathy, the Emoter of intimidation and the agent of intimidation. The ST commits three of these elements – the press is the Emoter of "sympathy", the PAs are the Target of "sympathy", and the agents of "intimidation" are the PAs. TT1 commits only two – the Emoter of "sympathy" is the press (the sympathy of the press is even emphasized by means of the adjective "manifesta" [*manifest*]) and the agent of intimidation are the Palestinian Arabs.

TT2 commits four elements – the agent of the combination is the press, the Target of “sympathy” are the Palestinians, the Emoter of intimidation is the media, and agent of intimidation is the press. In fact, the construction of the press as both the Emoter and agent of intimidation is only afforded in clause complex 3 as the text offers the words of a journalist (Nidal-al-Mughrabi) addressed to “fellow reporters” as evidence of such an intimidation.

By committing these elements, the texts afford different possibilities of meaning-making – the combination of meanings in the ST is at a more general level and allows the interpretation of “intimidation” as either felt by the press towards the pas or as the act of intimidating, i.e., the PAs causing such a feeling. This *overlapping* of the press and Palestinian Arabs fits the ST’s thrust of criticising the press for its “leniency” towards “terrorists”. It is evidenced by the choice of the external voice quoted – the name of the reporter reveals its Arab identity.

Table 4.25: Differences in the construal of the “odd combination”

elements committed	ST	TT1	TT2
agent of combination	-	-	uma estranha combinação, <u>pela mídia</u> , <i>an odd combination, <u>by the media</u>,</i>
Emoter of sympathy	sympathy <u>in the press</u>	a simpatia manifesta <u>da imprensa</u> <i>the manifest sympathy <u>of the press</u></i>	-
Target of sympathy	<u>for the Palestinians</u>	-	simpatia (...) <u>pelos palestinos</u> <i>sympathy (...) <u>for the Palestinians</u></i>
Emoter of intimidation	-	-	a mídia <i>the media</i>
agent of intimidation	intimidation <u>by them</u>	os atos de intimidação <u>dos árabes-palestinos</u> <i>the acts of intimidation <u>of the Palestinian-Arabs</u></i>	a mídia <i>the media</i>

This ambiguity is not afforded by the TTs. TT1 chooses to dissolve it by committing “acts of intimidation”. TT1 then can be seen as more committed ideationally and interpersonally than the ST. The combination of meanings here allows an image of the press as a fool who manifestly sympathizes with those who intimidate it. This will probably be seen to be corroborated by the Arab name of the one giving the advice in clause complex 3.

TT2 favours construal of “intimidation” as felt and enforced by the press. So it is also more committed ideationally and interpersonally than the ST. A possible construction here is that the press has been taken over by the PAs and they are intimidating it from within. That is corroborated by its emphasis on the professional filiation of the external voice in clause complex 3 as well as the change of the speech act – he is a “journalist”, “of

the Reuters agency”, “giving a warning [aviso] to fellow reporters”. The two TTs can be seen here as ‘retelling’ the ST.

4.3.4 Paragraph 11

In paragraph 11 (see Table 4.26), differences concern both appraised and appraisals. In the first clause complex of this paragraph, the appraised is committed in the ST as “politically-correct news organizations” and the appraisal is a negative judgement of veracity. In TT1, the appraised is committed as in the ST. TT2, however, chooses a new meaning combination – it commits the appraised as “as organizações de mídia” [*media organizations*] and the appraisal as “ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas, afetam sua própria credibilidade com esses subterfúgios” [*in attempting to be politically correct, damage their own credibility with these subterfuges*]. What in the ST was a Token in the appraised became, in TT2, a Circumstance in the appraisal. This can be seen as a difference in graduation since the Token implies a fulfilled process while the Circumstance stands for an incomplete process in TT2. This type of semantic relation is not among those studied by Martin (2008b) and Hood (2008)⁹³. In my view, TT2 commits different ideational and interpersonal meanings and ‘retells’ the ST while TT1 ‘quotes’ it.

Since these graduations are followed by a negative judgement (“undermine their credibility with such subterfuges”), the change in focus imply different views of “politically-correct”. In the ST “politically-correct” is *undesirable* and promptly associated to the use of “euphemisms”. In TT2, it may be construed as *desirable* since the text affords the reading that the use of euphemisms by the news organisations is just a (failed) attempt to be politically correct.

There is still another difference here in the process committed – it is “undermine” (cause gradual injury to) in the ST, “arriscam” [*risk*] (expose to the chance of injury) in TT1 and “afetam” [*damage*] (cause injury to) in TT2. The difference between the ST and TT2 is one of infusion/defusion – TT2 is less committed ideationally and interpersonally, so it ‘paraphrases’ the ST. The difference between the ST and TT1 is that between something real and something virtual. TT2 commits different ideational and interpersonal meanings so it ‘retells’ the ST.

Table 4.26: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 11

ST	TT1	TT2
<p><u>Politically-correct news organizations</u> undermine their credibility with such subterfuges.</p>	<p><u>Agências de notícias politicamente corretas</u> arriscam a credibilidade com tais subterfúgios.</p> <p><i>Politically correct news organizations risk their credibility with such subterfuges.</i></p>	<p><u>As organizações de mídia ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas</u>, afetam sua própria credibilidade com esses subterfúgios.</p> <p><i>Media organizations in attempting to be politically correct, damage their own credibility with these subterfuges.</i></p>

⁹³ See chapter 2, sections 2.2.1.2.1 and 2.2.1.3.2.

4.3.5 Paragraph 12

It is in this paragraph that appraisals condense into layers (see chapter 4 sections 4.2.1.1.1 and 4.2.1.2.1). Below, I will first analyse the differences in relation to engagement and then those concerning attitude and graduation.

In terms of engagement, there is the difference in prosody between the ST and TT2 (see section 4.2.3.2.1, Figure 4.4). Based on Hood (2008)⁹⁴, we can say that TT2 is less committed interpersonally than the ST since it chooses a domination prosody instead of a saturation one. Because of the choice of a domination prosody, TT2 leaves out two instances of monogloss but it commits new instances of monogloss and heterogloss: contract in its title, in its lead, and in paragraphs 4 and 5 (see section 4.2.3.1). These new instances make it a bit more dialogistically closed than the ST. Consequently, it is a bit less committed interpersonally since TT2 is still less open to alternative voices⁹⁵ than the ST.

TT1 adopts the same saturation prosody as the ST but replaces two values of monogloss in the ST with values of counter (see section 4.2.2.1). This makes it slightly less dialogistically closed than the ST. According to Hood (2008) this means it is slightly more committed interpersonally. In relation to the modes of intertextual management, differences in terms of dialogistic expansiveness/contraction could be classified by adapting the criteria for attitude as

- ‘quoting’ – TT commits as many *voices* as the ST (i.e. is as close/open as the ST);
- ‘paraphrasing’ – TT commits more/less *voices* than the ST to a given extent (i.e. is slightly less open/more closed than the ST);
- ‘retelling’ – TT commits more/less *voices* than the ST to a greater extent (i.e. is much more open/less closed than the ST OR TT commits different *voices*

However, the reduction, rise or changing of *voices* has to be consistent enough to characterize a translation in terms of these modes. In the texts under analysis, the differences identified above seem too small to characterize TT1 as ‘retelling’ and TT2 as ‘paraphrasing’ the dialogic positioning of the ST. This is evidenced by the comparison between the dialogic profiles of the three texts which are very similar (see Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3).

In order to comment on the coupling and commitment of attitudinal meanings in paragraph 12, I will divide it into its clause complexes and analyse differences in attitudinal values in the first and third ones⁹⁶ –

ST: ||| Worse, the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. ||| It is bad enough that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; ||| worse is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism. |||

TT2: ||| Pior, os múltiplos eufemismos para "terrorista" impedem o entendimento claro das violentas ameaças com que se defronta o mundo civilizado. ||| Já é ruim o bastante que apenas um de cada

⁹⁴ See chapter 2, section 2.2.1.3.2 in this thesis.

⁹⁵ This association is implicit in Hood (2008: 363).

⁹⁶ I am assuming that the differences in clause complex 2 are more to do with engagement and it has been analysed above.

cinco artigos sobre a atrocidade de Beslan mencione as origens islâmicas do atentado; ||| pior ainda é o miasma que se desprende das palavras e isola o público do mal do terrorismo. |||

BT: ||| Worse: the multiple euphemisms for "terrorist" obstruct the clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. ||| It is already sufficiently bad that only one of five articles about the Beslan atrocity mention the Islamist origins of the attempt. ||| Even worse is the miasma which rises from the words and isolates the public from the evil of terrorism. |||

TT2: ||| E o que é pior: os múltiplos eufemismos para terrorista impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. ||| Somente 1 em cada 5 artigos noticiando a atrocidade (na escola) de Beslan menciona suas origens islâmicas; ||| esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo. |||

BT: ||| And what is worse: the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct the correct understanding of the violent threat to the civilized world. ||| Only 1 of 5 articles reporting the atrocity (at the school) in Beslan mentions its Islamist origins; ||| this miasma of words isolates, as it were, the public from the danger of terrorism. |||

As pointed out above, in this paragraph appraisals are embedded within other appraisals. Table 4.27 shows the appraised and the appraisal in the main appreciation realised in clause complex 1. Within what is coded as appraisal in Table 4.27, there is an appreciation in which the ST couples the appraised "understanding" to a value of composition-complexity ("clear"). TT1 makes a similar coupling ("entendimento claro" [*clear understanding*]) but TT2 chooses to re-couple the appraised to a valuation ("correta compreensão" [*correct comprehension*]). By doing so, it commits different ideational and interpersonal meanings. So, here, TT1 'quotes' and TT2 'retells' the ST. But let's proceed to have a more comprehensive e perspective of how each TT re-instantiates this allegorical paragraph.

Table 4.27: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 12 – clause complex 1

	ST	TT1	TT2
Appraised	the multiple euphemisms for terrorist	os múltiplos eufemismos para "terrorista" <i>the multiple euphemisms for "terrorist"</i>	os múltiplos eufemismos para terrorista <i>the multiple euphemisms for terrorist</i>
Appraisal	obstruct a <u>clear understanding</u> of the violent threats confronting the civilized world	impedem o <u>entendimento claro</u> das violentas ameaças com que se defronta o mundo civilizado. <i>obstruct <u>the clear understanding</u> of the violent threats confronting the civilized world</i>	impedem a <u>correta compreensão</u> da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. <i>obstruct <u>the correct comprehension</u> of the violent threat to the civilized world.</i>

Clause complex 3 establishes the following parallel with clause complex 1 –

multiple euphemisms	+	obstruct	+	understanding
miasma of words	+	insulate	+	the public from evil

The “euphemisms” already evaluated as “multiple” (graduation: force) are further appreciated as a “miasma of words” (composition: complexity). The re-instantiation of this miasma metaphor in the TTs shows some differences in terms of coupling and commitment. I will address them one by one.

As can be seen in Table 4.28, TT2 makes a similar coupling and commitment of meanings in its translation of “miasma of words”. TT1, however, translates it as “o miasma que se desprende das palavras” [*the miasma that rises from the words*]. Here there is a subtle elaboration of this metaphor – in “miasma of words”, the words themselves are the infecting substances rising in the air and constituting the miasma (like in “a miasma of cigar smoke”) and the source is the author(s) of such words; in *miasma that rises from the words*, the source is the words and the miasma are particles of them rising in the air (like in “a miasma from the marshes”). In terms of reading this could possibly be seen to afford the idea of a “trap” by the press, i.e. the interpretation of the miasma as the press’s “poison” which is injected in words and later on released so as to blur the public’s view of the matter. It is a further elaboration (more delicate) of the idea in the ST that the “euphemisms” disturb the public’s understanding but, compared to the ST, it can be said to facilitate the reader’s construal of the provoked judgement of the press. It could be seen as making more salient the press’s responsibility.

Table 4.28: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 12 – clause complex 3 (I)

Appraised	euphemisms	eufemismos <i>euphemisms</i>	eufemismos <i>euphemisms</i>
Appraisal	miasma of words	<u>o miasma que se desprende das palavras</u> <i>the miasma that rises from the words</i>	miasma de palavras <i>miasma of words</i>

The metaphor continues to be developed in the rest of clause complex 3 and the “miasma of words” (in ST and TT2) and its variant in TT1 are also Targets of another appreciation (see Table 4.29). In the ST and TT1, it “insulates the public from the evil of terrorism” while in TT2, it “como que isola o público (...)” [*isolates, as it were, the public (...)*]. As pointed out in section 4.2.3.2.3.1, a value of graduation is made to couple with a negative appreciation (composition: complexity) and the focus of the process is softened (unfulfilled) in TT2. This weakens the metaphor since it exposes the comparison being made and also undermines the parallel between “obstruct”, in clause complex 1, and “insulate”.

The choice of the process “isolar” [*to insulate*] in the two TTs to translate “insulate” brings in some risky associations. In the ST the process (“insulates”) can be easily construed as *preventing access to*, in this case, access to the “evil” face of terrorism. However, in BP, although having similar meanings, the process is more readily construed as “to neutralize”, “to protect from” due to its coupling with “perigo” [*danger*] and “mal” [*evil*]. In colloquial language, the verb “isolar” is used (especially in the interjection “Isola!” [*Isolate it!*]) as capable of neutralizing bad luck or evil eye⁹⁷. Such a use of the

⁹⁷ It is connected to superstitions like knocking on wood and crossing fingers.

verb interferes with the construction made in the TTs and may ruin the negative investment made in the whole text. The “miasma” cannot be construed as neutralizing the evil/danger of terrorism since it will not be seen as undesirable, contradicting the appreciation at the beginning of paragraph 12 that the multiple euphemisms “obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threat (...)”. Probably, the reader will not see this as an intended abrupt change in appraisal, but as a translation error. Notwithstanding, it (at least momentarily) affords new readings which are at odds with the readings afforded by the ST.

Table 4.29: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 12 – clause complex 3 (II)

Appraised	miasma of words	o miasma que se desprende das palavras <i>the miasma that rises from the words</i>	miasma de palavras <i>miasma of words</i>
Appraisal	insulates the public from the evil of terrorism	<u>isola</u> o público do mal do terrorismo <i>insulates the public from ...</i>	<u>como que isola</u> o público do perigo do terrorismo <i>insulates, as it were, the public from ...</i>

Another choice that alters the construction of the “miasma” metaphor in the ST is found in TT2 (see Table 4.30). It couples the appraised (“terrorismo” [*terrorism*]) with “danger” (“o perigo do terrorismo” [*the danger of terrorism*]) instead of with “evil” as in the ST. As pointed out before (section 4.2.3.2.3.1), this is a change in graduation (intensity) – “perigo” [danger = may cause harm] de-intensifies “evil” (= causes harm).

Table 4.30: Coupling and commitment in paragraph 12 – clause complex 3 (III)

Appraised	terrorism	terrorismo <i>terrorism</i>	terrorismo <i>terrorism</i>
Appraisal	the <u>evil</u> of terrorism	o <u>mal</u> do terrorismo <i>the <u>evil</u> of terrorism</i>	o <u>perigo</u> do terrorismo <i>the <u>danger</u> of terrorism</i>

In sum, TT2 commits a different appreciation in “correta compreensão” [correct comprehension] and this alters the opposition between “clear” and “miasma” (= noxiousness, pollution). It chooses “isolar” to translate “insulate” and softens the process – “como que isola” [*isolates as it were*]. Finally, it de-intensifies the “evil of terrorism” choosing to commit “the danger of terrorism”. TT1 elaborates the “miasma” metaphor as “miasma que se desprende das palavras” [*miasma that rises from the words*] and chooses “isolar” to translate “insulate”. In terms of commitment, we have to consider two situations for the reading of this paragraph:

1) the associations brought in by the choice of “isolar” do not disturb reading and the reader manages to construe the process as “preventing access to the evil/danger of terrorism”. If that is the case, TT2 can be said to be less committed both ideationally and

interpersonally than the ST (because of “isolates, as it were” and “danger” instead of “evil”) and TT1 can be said to be as committed ideationally and interpersonally as the ST.

2) the associations brought in by the choice of “isolar” do disturb reading and the reader does not manage to construe the process as “preventing access to the truth about terrorism/terrorists”. If that is the case, both TT1 and TT2 can be said to be less committed ideationally and interpersonally since they commit contradictory meanings. They both are ‘retelling’ the ST.

In the next section, I will discuss the possibility of characterizing each of the TTs as either ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ or ‘retelling’ the ST’s evaluative positioning based on the different ways they re-couple and re-commit appraisals made in the ST.

4.4 Translational intertextual relations and types of reading in the TTs

In chapter 3, translation was defined as a negotiation of meanings in which the three constitutive matrices of the ST are recreated. Such a negotiation was characterized in terms of the privileging of either matrix 1 (instantial relations) or matrix 2 (intertextual and interdiscursive relations). In the first case, the TT would ‘quote’ the ST (seeking to mimick its language patterns and discourse structures). In the second case, it would either ‘paraphrase’ the ST (seeking a compromise between SL and TL meaning potentials) or ‘retell’ it (seeking to redraw language patterns discourse structures).

I assumed that the difference between these modes of translational intertextuality is a function of the extent to which the coupling and commitment of meanings vary in TTs as compared to those in corresponding STs and undertook to show it through the analysis in the previous sections. However, the analysis was made at a microlevel, taking the proposition as the unit of analysis so as to investigate the re-instantiation of appraisals. Now the question is: what can this analysis tell us about the TTs as whole texts? Can each of them be said to be ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ or ‘retelling’ the ST?

An answer to this question cannot simply count how many propositions are rendered in each TT as ‘quoting’, as ‘paraphrasing’ and as ‘retelling’ and consider the higher number as indicating a general tendency. Everything will depend on how such specific relations will interact within the text as a rhetorical whole in contrast to the ST as a rhetorical whole. So, the translation of one proposition by means of a relation of retelling may be detrimental to a translation depending on the reading intended for it.

Thus, if we assume the TTs to intend a compliant reading, the occurrences of ‘retelling’ identified above may act to prevent the achievement of such a goal by affording readings that are at variance with those afforded by the ST. From this perspective, the two translations are here considered as ‘re-telling’ the ST. From where I stand now, from my reading position and after these analyses, I suppose both translators aimed for a compliant reading of their TTs and privileged matrix 1. They aimed at relaying the ST’s rhetorical purposes of building a community around the idea that the press is making a wrong use of words and benefiting “terrorists” at the detriment of its readers. However, they produced TTs which may elicit from the reader the instantiation of unexpected meanings which may disturb the intended reading. These are just suppositions I make here. In order to verify them, I would need to undertake a complementary type of investigation focused on the translator’s repertoires, on the translator’s goals at the time of translating, on their reading of the ST and on the readings they intended the TTs to afford to the construed readers. Such a complementary perspective will have to bring individuation to the fore. This will be done at another occasion.

5 – Gains, limitations and future work

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will look back at the theoretical framework proposed, the illustrations and the introductory testing provided in chapters 3 and 4 in order to discuss the theoretical and analytical gains of the SF model of interlingual re-instantiation in relation to alternative SF models. I will also look forward and point out research which still has to be done so as to refine and consolidate the model in terms of both theory and practice, i.e. in terms of the conceptual tools for the analysis of translated texts.

In order to do so, I refer back to the research questions made in chapter 1 and check whether previous chapters can be seen as providing answers to them. In section 5.1, I consider question 1 and I summarize the model proposed in chapter 3, emphasizing the new concepts and how they are articulated in order to afford a new SF perspective on translation. In section 5.2, I address questions IIa, b and c, summarizing and discussing the introductory testing provided in chapter 4. Then, in section 5.3, I consider question III, pointing out theoretical gains that can be claimed by this model in relation to the previous SF models reviewed in chapter 3. In section 5.4, I acknowledge some limitations of the model and finally, in section 5.5, I indicate the work that still needs to be done towards completion of the three-dimensional model of translation as interlingual re-instantiation. I also point out what types of analysis still need to be done towards consolidating the model proposed here and other types of analysis that can be derived from further development of the model.

5.1 An overview of the new SF model of translation

Research question I proposed in chapter 1 was:

I – How can translation be modelled as interlingual re-instantiation?

In order to answer this question, I drew on Martin's (2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) conception of a relation of complementarity among three SFL hierarchies – realisation, instantiation and individuation and suggested looking at translation from a three-dimensional perspective in which the abstract language systems involved are accounted for by means of realisation, the concrete uses of such systems in the forms of the ST and the TT are accounted for by means of instantiation, and the individual users of such systems (especially translators as readers and writers) are accounted for by means of individuation. I assumed that such a multinocular vision can provide a comprehensive discursive picture of the phenomenon of translation. However, to start working towards the development of such a model, I chose to model translation as a relationship of "sourcing" which is established first and foremost between two texts – the ST and the TT. This meant choosing to focus on instantiation, since, according to Martin (2007a), there is a division of labour among the hierarchies, in which

- realisation suits the comparison of texts in terms of their systemic relations, i.e., how similar/different they are in relation to the systemic options realised (texts as related to system);

- instantiation is more appropriate for probing intertextual relations, i.e., how one text is sourced from another (one text as related to (an)other text(s)); and
- individuation is better suited for studying ideological relations between texts, i.e., what interests they serve and how they seek to align potential addressees (texts as related to user(s)).

The current model is informed by Martin's (2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) theory of instantiation. Martin proposes to see instantiation as a hierarchy of generality, potentiality and couplings. As a hierarchy of generality, it generalizes recurring patterns of meaning across instances as text types, recurrent configuration of meanings across text types as registers and genres and further up to the overall potential of meanings constituting a language system. As a hierarchy of potentiality, it goes the other way round, relating the overall potential to its subpotentials, i.e. registers and genres, text types and finally texts. As subpotentials, texts are seen to afford "readings", which are positioned as the "final stage of the instantiation cline" (Martin 2007a: 285). Finally, as a hierarchy of couplings, instantiation is defined as "a coupling process, a cascading coalescence, linearising into text, the modularity of realisation" (Martin 2007b). The process of coupling meanings involves the combination of elements across strata, metafunctions, ranks, systems and modalities (Martin 2009a: 19). Besides the combination of meanings, instantiation also involves the choice of "amount" of meaning, i.e. the degree of specificity of the meanings being coupled. This is what Martin calls *commitment*. So, it is through a process of coupling and commitment of meanings that texts are instantiated and re-instantiated.

Re-instantiating a text means distantiating, i.e. moving up the hierarchy, opening up the meaning potential and then taking advantage of the under-specification of meaning to re-instantiate the meaning potential in a novel text (cf. Martin 2007a: 286, Hood 2008: 353).

The hierarchy of instantiation has been deployed for the analysis of re-instantiation between modalities, between texts and within texts written in one language. Martin (2008a) suggested that it be used to analyse re-instantiation across languages.

Accepting Martin's suggestion, I expanded and adapted his model to account for the translated text, taking into account that more than one language system is involved and that interlingual re-instantiation involves more than different couplings and degrees of specificity of meanings in one language/cultural system. The strategy adopted was to explore the nature of translation as a specific type of intertextual relation in which ST and TT share a given interlingual meaning potential. First of all, I distinguished between instantial and intertextual relations within the context of translation. Instancial relations were defined as relations of filiation linking a given text to the system that produced it and (in tune with Bakhtin's "principle of intertextuality") intertextual relations were defined as those established among individual texts which share specific meaning subpotentials. So, the ST was taken as an instance of the SL, i.e. as a unique configuration of meanings from this overall potential and the TT as an instance of the TL, i.e. as a unique configuration of meanings from this overall potential. Each of these texts was seen as establishing intertextual relations intralingually by sharing with other instances specific subpotentials – the same genre/register and/or the same text type and/or more specific combinations of meanings in individual texts. So, they are not only related to the abstract system but also to other concrete instances of the same system. The relation between instancial and intertextual relations was defined as one of dependency - an instance cannot be produced outside of the network of intertextual relations, i.e., without defining itself in relation to other instances.

In what concerns the definition of intertextual relations between instances of different language systems, the first issue addressed was that of distinguishing the meaning potentials shared between a ST and a TT. The theoretical solution proposed in the current model was to liken the “overall potentials” of the language systems involved to the translator’s “repertoires” as comprising his/her recognition and realisation rules in relation to the languages/cultures involved in the translation task and also in relation to the translation of texts from and/or to such languages/cultures. The meaning potentials mobilized by the translator, i.e., his/her repertoires were assumed to be realised in the meaning choices made in the TT. And the solution to implement text analysis was to consider frames of reference provided by the analyst’s own repertoires (comprising his/her recognition and realisation rules in relation to the languages/cultures involved, in relation to the translation of texts from and/or to such languages/cultures and in relation to the analysis of texts in a relation of translation according to specific theoretical frameworks). The inclusion of language descriptions in such a repertoire was considered an asset.

In order to approach the issue of the sharing of meaning potentials in translation, I turned the focus to the description of contexts in translation. Inspired by Venuti (2009), I proposed to distinguish three *matrices* in interlingual re-instantiation:

- a) matrix 1 as comprising instantial relations, i.e., the ST and the TT as unique configurations of meanings (logogenetic patterns) constructed by successive meaning selections and combinations among those afforded by the overall potentials;
- b) matrix 2 as comprising the texts’ relations up the instantiation clines involved⁹⁸ i.e. their relations to texts in the same or in other genre/registers and text types; and
- c) matrix 3 as comprising the relations between texts and their readings – those afforded by them and those performed by readers in their respective cultural systems.

I then posited that meanings are recreated in translation by means of the strategical privileging of either matrix 1 (instancial relations) or matrix 2 (intertextual and interdiscursive relations) according to the needs and values of the new readership as foreseen by the translator.

The privileging of matrix 1 was characterized as the placing of the focal point for *convergence* of the two systems (as repertoires) at the SL instance level. The translator’s creativity would be exercised in recreating the ST’s language patterns, either in general or in relation to particular elements like, for example, phonological or lexicogrammatical or discourse semantic resources. This privileging of matrix 1 was correlated to distantiation moves up to the overall potentials since, in his/her recreation of ST’s meaning patterns, the translator may need to strain the TL system in order to realise choices which until then were only potential. This was also related to the intertextual mode of ‘quoting’ (proposed by Martin (2007a) for intralingual re-instantiation) in which “the meaning potential of two texts is presented as completely overlapping” (p. 287).

The privileging of matrix 2 was characterized as the placing of the focal point for *convergence* of the two systems (as repertoires) at the level of text type. Such a focal point would be put not on any of the two clines but in between them since none of them is favoured. The translator’s creativity would be exercised in creating a TT that is seen as belonging in the same text type as the ST in relation to certain distinguishing features. This privileging of matrix 2 was correlated to distantiation moves up to the level where

⁹⁸ This matrix also includes the intertextual and interdiscursive relations of the texts with instances of other language systems besides the SL and the TL but I am not taking these into account here.

meanings are shared by texts of the same *text type*. In terms of shared meaning potential, putting the focus on text type was seen as allowing for what Martin (2007a) calls “paraphrasing” (in which the overlap between the meaning potentials of the the two texts is smaller than in quoting) and “retelling” in which “there is less in common still” (p. 287).

The difference between these modes of intertextual relation was assumed to be proportional to the extent to which the coupling and commitment of meanings vary in TTs as compared to those in corresponding STs. The criteria for their classification was proposed as the general rule that “if the TT instantiates similar coupling and commitment of meanings in relation to the ST, it ‘quotes’ or a ‘paraphrases’ these meanings; if it instantiates different coupling and commitment of meanings in relation to the ST, it ‘retells’ these meanings. Seeing my choice of focusing on the re-instantiation of appraisals and specifically the coupling and commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings in couplings of “appraised” + “appraisal”, I specified the general rule above as

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| ‘quoting’ | – TT is as committed ideationally and/or interpersonally as ST; |
| ‘paraphrasing’ | – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a given extent; |
| ‘retelling’ | – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a greater extent OR
TT commits different ideational and/or interpersonal meanings |

After summarizing the new model, I now wish to propose a final representation of it as Figure 5.1 and also a possible generalization of the methodology used here as Table 5.1.

In Figure 5.1, each of the matrices negotiated in interlingual re-instantiation are represented as areas of different textures, shapes and colours. The denim textures on each side represent matrix 1 (instantial relations) – on the left, the ST as an instance of the SL system and on the right the TT as an instance of the TL system. Matrix 2 (intertextual and interdiscursive relations) is represented at the centre, as the stationery texture. In this area, the subpotentials of the two language systems are positioned on a slant on the border with matrix 1. Subpotentials in blue are those of the SL instantiation cline and subpotentials in rose are those of the TL instantiation cline. The subpotentials along one cline are not strictly symmetrical to those along the other cline. Reading is filled with plain colour in contrast to the subpotentials so as to indicate that they are not potentials but the extreme end of the process of making meaning. The two red arrows stand for distantiation (up) and re-instantiation (down). The two areas filled with water droplets represent matrix 3 – the ST’s receiving intertexts on the left and the TT’s receiving intertexts on the right. Within matrix 3, I have placed the users and their repertoires (making space for individuation) – on the left, the writer of the ST as the user in focus and the communities with whom s/he negotiates meanings and who make use of his/her text, i.e., produce “readings”. The yellow arrow from the ST indicates the readings that are afforded by the unique configuration of meanings in the ST. Afforded means that such a configuration constrains the production of meanings. However it interacts with another constraint – the social subjectivity of the readers. On the right, I placed the reader of the TT as the user in focus and the communities with whom he/she negotiates meanings by making use of the TT, i.e.,

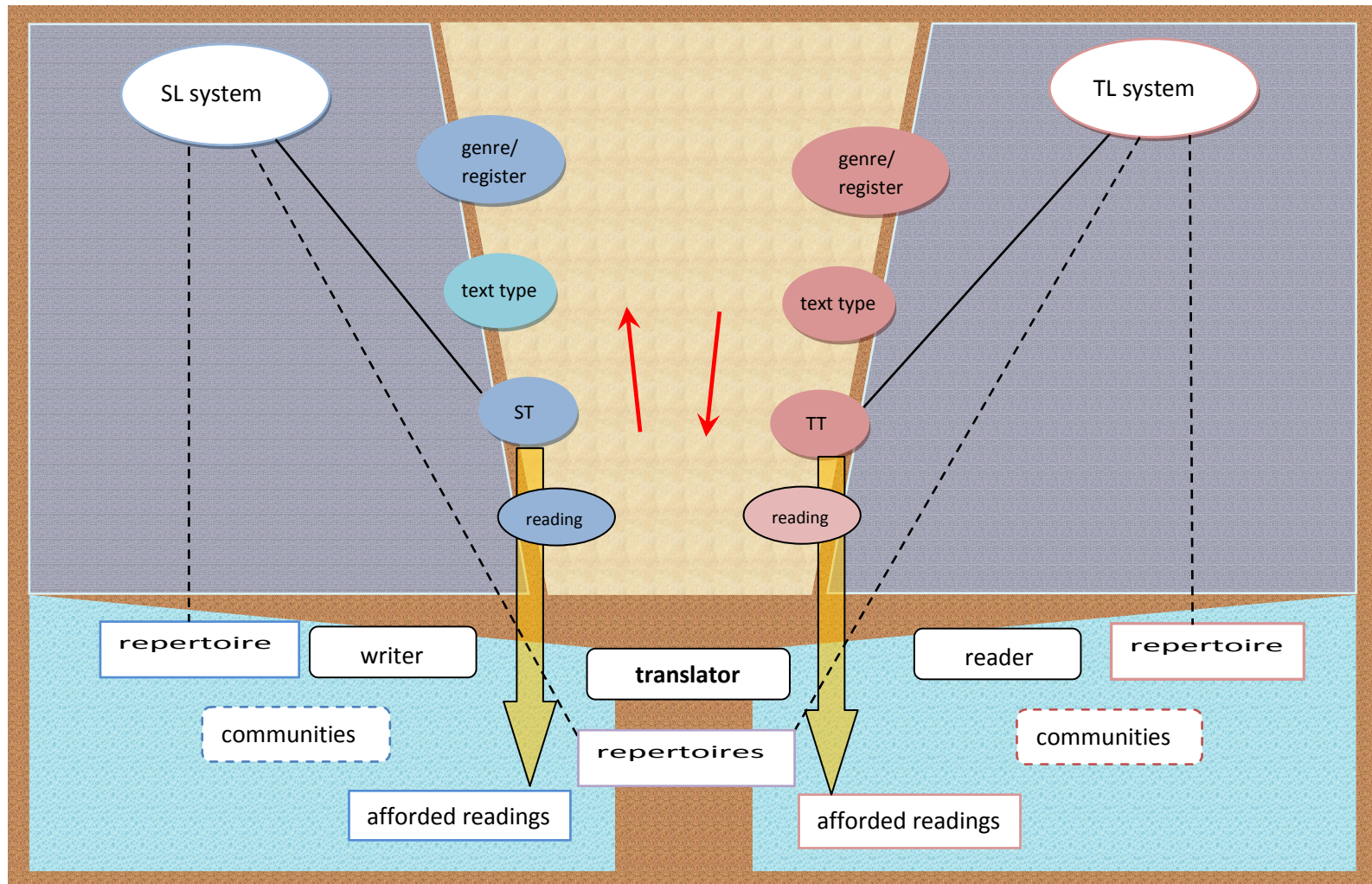


Figure 5.1: A three-dimensional model of interlingual re-instantiation

by producing a “reading”. Another yellow arrow is used to indicate the readings afforded by the unique configuration of meanings in the re-instantiated text according to the social subjectivity of TL readers. Finally, the wider area filled with a cork texture is meant to represent the translation meta-context, i.e., the environment in which the recreation and negotiation of ST’s matrices 1 and 2 is made in view of TT’s matrix 3. In this meta-context, in between the two receiving matrices, stand the translator and his/her repertoires. The translator is placed as joining the two receiving matrices since s/he is both a reader of the ST and a writer of the TT. The intersection of these two roles defines his/her role as a “re-instantiator” of the ST. The translator’s repertoires are also represented as interfacing with the ST’s receiving matrix and with the TT’s receiving matrix, since s/he is a reader in the TL culture who produces a reading of the ST, and a reader and a writer in the TL culture who produces the TT and its new afforded readings.

Table 5.1: Towards a methodology for the analysis of interlingual re-instantiations

<p>Methodology</p> <p>1 – provide overviews of matrices – especially the ST’s matrix 2 (intertextual and interdiscursive relations) and the TT’s matrix 3 (the TT’s intended reader/reading in relation to the ST’s intended reader/reading);</p> <p>2 – trace instances as unique configurations of meanings – this entails deploying the hierarchy of realisation so as to determine which SL resources have been chosen and combined in the ST and, in contrast, which TL resources have been chosen and combined in the TT. This means tracing back to the options in the translator’s SL and TL repertoires when translating;</p> <p>3 – trace relations:</p> <p>a) trace semantic relations between ST and TT (e.g. de/classification, infusion/defusion, lexical metaphor) – identifying how meanings have been coupled and committed in the ST as contrasted to how they have been re-coupled and re-committed in the TT, i.e. defining differences in terms of more/less metafunctional commitment;</p> <p>b) trace translational intertextual relations between ST and TT based on the following proportion between variation in coupling/commitment and the modes of ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrase’ and ‘retelling’ –</p> <p>‘quoting’ – TT is as committed ideationally and/or interpersonally as ST;</p> <p>‘paraphrasing’ – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a given extent;</p> <p>‘retelling’ – TT is more or less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally than ST to a greater extent OR TT commits different ideational and/or interpersonal meanings.</p> <p>4 – Discuss possible alternative readings afforded by the TTs in comparison to those afforded by the ST.</p>
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The model described above and visualized in Figure 5.1 provides an answer to research question I. Now, let me address the set of questions concerning the introductory testing of the model.

5.2 Introductory application

Research question II proposed in chapter 1 was:

II – How do TTs re-instantiate ST appraisals?

And, assuming differences to occur, this question unfolded into three others:

II. a – Are there differences in the use of appraisal resources made in the ST and in corresponding TTs?

In order to answer this question, in chapter 4, I set out to trace the three instances as configurations of appraisal resources. First of all, I provided an overview of the interdiscursive and intertextual matrix of the ST and of the receiving matrix of the TTs (section 4.1). Then, I deployed the hierarchy of realisation, i.e. the appraisal system (as described in Martin & White (2005)) to point out which SL appraisal resources have been chosen and combined in the ST (section 4.2). I offered a fine-grained analysis of resources under each of the subsystems of appraisal – engagement, attitude and graduation – considering how they interact with each other and articulate inscribed to invoked evaluations.

It cannot be over-emphasized that in deploying realisation from the perspective of instantiation, I am not looking at choices and combinations of meaning as “realisations” but as “instantiations”. Realisation remains as the abstract rules through which elements in one stratum get recoded as elements of the next stratum. From the perspective of instantiation, realisation is seen as comprised in the user’s repertoire. It is his/her collection of rules for instantiating a given text with a given social purpose. In these appraisal analyses, I have looked at how resources in the discourse semantics stratum have been used to instantiate the STs and the TTs.

These analyses showed that the TTs present many similarities in terms of the use of appraisal resources (especially in what concerns engagement) but also a considerable number of differences which were seen as likely to generate different readings of the ST. This provided an answer to question IIa.

II.b – What differences, if any, concern the coupling and/or the commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings in evaluations (appraised + appraisal) in these texts?

In order to answer this question, in chapter 4 (section 4.3), I made a contrastive analysis of coupling and commitment in appraisals which were found to differ in the analysis provided in chapter 4, section 4.2 (paragraphs 1, 2, 4 11 and 12). Again, I closely analysed differences in terms of which appraised and which appraisal is committed in each of the TTs, and also in terms of how general/specific is the appraisal or the appraised committed in these texts in contrast to those committed in the ST. I showed where the TTs chose meanings which are comparable to those in the ST as more/less committed ideationally and/or interpersonally and where a different coupling occurs, i.e., different ideational/interpersonal meanings committed. This provides an answer to question IIb.

This question was meant as a way of finding out which intertextual relations are established in relation to appraisal between ST and TTs. So, the classification of differences in terms of coupling and commitment was used to explore which modes of

translational intertextual relation were used in the TTs – ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ and ‘retelling’ – based on the criteria specified in chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.4).

II.c – Do differences in appraisal, if any, generate differences in the readings afforded by the ST and TTs? Which?

In order to answer this question, in chapter 4 (section 4.2), I pointed out how different couplings and commitments in paragraphs 1, 2, 4 11 and 12 can be said to afford different readings of the ST in the TL community. This analysis was complemented in section 4.3 where I discussed the possibility of characterizing the whole texts (TTs) as ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ or ‘retelling’ the ST’s evaluations and which type of reading (compliant, resistant, tactical) may each TT be said to intend for the TL reader. The analysis and discussion provide an answer to question IIc.

5.3 Theoretical and analytical gains of the new model

In this section, I provide an answer to the last research question –

III – What are the theoretical and analytical gains in relation to previous models?

The model of interlingual re-instantiation proposed in the current thesis represents theoretical gains in relation to the following –

1) First of all, by looking at translation from the perspective of three complementary SFL hierarchies – realisation, instantiation and individuation – the model enables a more comprehensive view of translation –

a) instead of defining translation as “preservation of meanings” (cf. Steiner 2001a: 186, 2001b: 9) or as a “semantic mapping” between systems and instances (cf. Matthiessen 2001: 66, 73, 74, 88), it defines translation as a social use of language systems and as a management of matrices by a user of the two (or more) systems involved – the translator – according to his/her repertoires. Thus, it takes into account not only the *systems* and *texts* involved but also the *users* of such systems/texts, along with their *repertoires* (i.e. their construed systems), their *readings* of such texts and their *interests* in using them to negotiate meanings with other users;

b) instead of using the parameters of “equivalence” and “shift” to locate translation in terms of SFL dimensions, it deploys the new concepts of *re-instantiation*, *coupling* and *commitment* so as to illuminate the *scope for choice* in the process of sourcing a TT on an ST. That is, the “indefinitely large set of possible combinations” of meanings “within strata, metafunctions, ranks and simultaneous systems [that] is left open” (Martin 2009a: 24) when a translator sets out to read and re-instantiate a given ST.

This scope for choice also comprises the possibilities of re-creating and renegotiating matrices (see chapter 3, section 3.2.1.4), i.e. of re-instantiating the ST’s systemic and intertextual/interdiscursive relations so as to negotiate meanings with a specific TL community of users.

As a consequence, the model redefines the job of the theorist – instead of helping translators find “equivalences” by developing comparative maps of the languages in order to show “equivalences”/“shifts” in relation to SFL dimensions (cf. Matthiessen 2001: 97; Halliday 2010: 16), the idea now is to use such SFL tools in order to make translators

aware of this “indefinitely large set of possible combinations” of meanings (ibid.) and, most importantly, to make them aware that the negotiation of ST’s meanings can be made in different ways, with different communities of TL users and to different results.

2) Secondly, by turning the focus to instantiation, the model enables translation to be characterized as primarily a relation between instances – the ST and the TT, i.e., as an intertextual relation. By doing so, it allows us to see the TT as one more “link in the chain of speech communication” (Bakhtin 1986: 84) and as related, on the one hand, to the ST, and through it, to the texts the ST responds to and other related SL texts (in terms of genre/register and text type) and, on the other hand, to other TL related texts (in terms of genre/register and text type) including other TTs in the TL/culture. Moreover, the TT can be taken as a text in its own right, produced by a translator who decides on the re-instantiation of its new systemic, intertextual and interdiscursive relations according to the reading s/he projects on the TL reader. This makes the treatment of translation more precise in relation to the three hierarchies (especially realisation and instantiation) than in previous models (cf. Matthiessen 2001: 87, 89, 93 and see current thesis, chapter 3, section 3.2).

3) Last but not least, unlike previous SF models, the current model is in tune with TS views of translation as a renegotiation of meanings (e.g., “re-writing” in Lefevere 1992a and 1992b; “dialogue” in Robinson 1991, “intertextuality” in Venuti 2009). It allows researchers to see the TT as a semantic investment which is made by the translator according to his/her linguistic/cultural repertoires and offered to the TL reader with no guarantee of success as in any other social use of language.

The model of interlingual re-instantiation proposed here also brings gains in relation to the analysis of TTs as contrasted to previous SF models –

4) By means of the concepts of re-instantiation, distantiation, coupling and commitment, the model allows the analyst to show how a ST and a TT in relation of translation are semantically related, i.e. how a TT is sourced on a ST.

This represents an evolution in relation to analyses that are limited to pinpointing static similarities and differences in terms of stratification without accounting for how the relation between ST and TT set their language systems in motion as the translator draws from and even strains them (by moving up and down the clines) towards finding/forging convergences in a given re-instantiation, i.e. recreation and renegotiation of ST meanings.

5) The modes of translational intertextual relation – ‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ and ‘retelling’ are proposed as a possible way of approaching such a recreation/renegotiation of STs meanings at a general level. Given the huge scope for a variety in intertextual relations between ST and TT, the modes introduced here are seen as amenable to refinement (see section 5.4).

6) Another advantage comes from the consideration of the *type of reading* intended by the translator. That is, instead of being analysed as the result of a fixed ideal reading of the ST (cf. Steiner’s concept of “understanding”, 2001b: 9-11), the TT is here taken as re-instantiating the ST for a specific use by a given TL community of users, according to the translator’s linguistic/cultural repertoires. The type of reading intended is here assumed as a most relevant aspect to be taken into account in the analysis of a TT. Since previous SF models do not take into account the language users, their repertoires or social purposes, they do not account for such a variable.

5.4 Limitations of the model

As stated in chapter 1 (section 1.5.1), this research is conceived as primarily conceptual. That means that, although drawing on empirical data (the data source) in order to demonstrate the applicability of the model proposed, I am here focused on the articulation of the model itself – the view of translation as interlingual re-instantiation. The introductory testing provided was meant as way of illustrating new concepts and as a test-drive to show the model’s capabilities and limitations. That is why the robustness of the model in terms of the analysis of TTs produced in different meta-contexts remains to be further probed.

Despite the theoretical and analytical gains claimed above, the current model of interlingual re-instantiation is amenable to improvement in the following respects:

1) As mentioned in the previous section, the scope for intertextual relations between ST and TT is huge and so the proposed modes of translational intertextual relation (‘quoting’, ‘paraphrasing’ and ‘retelling’) are open to refinement. My data source already signalled possible in-between cases and more complex relations.

Related to this are the criteria suggested here to classify such modes in use, i.e. the extent to which the coupling and commitment of meanings vary in TTs as compared to those in corresponding STs (see section 5.1 above). The proportion remains to be fine tuned so as to determine what the given/greater extent is to characterize a ‘paraphrase’ or a ‘retelling’.

2) Regarding the focal point for the convergence of systems (as repertoires), seemingly, it is possible to conceive alternative positions at higher levels on the instantiation clines, i.e. at the genre/register level, and closer to the TL cline, although this may imply discussing views of what counts as translation as a textual practice within a given cultural frame. Practices like the use of archaisms in literary translation indicate “distantiation” moves that extrapolate the instantiation cline and reaches points in the phylogenesis of a system. A vast territory remains unexplored here.

3) Regarding the management of matrices in translation, the two possibilities proposed – privileging matrix 1 or matrix 2 – are but general ones. The privileging of matrix 1, for example, involves a myriad of options like choosing to recreate specific elements or combinations of elements in the meaning configuration of the ST. So does the privileging of matrix 2, which may involve picking specific intertextual relations according to the construed readers and the reading intended. In this respect, an important intertextual relation that was not looked into here is the one established between the TT and other translations of the same/other STs into the TL.

5.5 Towards consolidation – future work

In this section, I point out research which still needs to be done so as to refine and consolidate the model of interlingual re-instantiation proposed in the current thesis.

In my view, in order to reach a three-dimensional perspective of translation, the model proposed here needs to be complemented by research in which the focus is turned to the hierarchy of individuation. This would allow analysts to explore the impact of users individually and as members of different communities (in special translators) on the process of interlingual re-instantiation. Research projects could be conceived so as to

investigate, for example, the negotiation, by means of the TT, of different identities (membership in specific communities), of different ideological interests, and different intended or actual types of reading. New concepts such as “allocation”, “affiliation”, “bond” and “iconicity” (Martin 2009) could prove fruitful in such studies. The issue of the asymmetrical relations between and within languages/cultures and how translators deal with them in different translation jobs could be dealt with by such research projects.

As pointed out in the previous section, the model awaits further probing by means of analyses of TTs focusing on the same area of meaning (appraisal) and on other areas of meaning (e.g., other systems or metafunctions) so as to prove a profitable toolkit.

Before I can call this research a *text*, I would like to recall the common origin of the words “translation” and “metaphor” – from Greek *metapherein* = transfer, carry over. This recalling is not meant to discuss the nature of translation as a transfer. That would contradict the whole work proposed here. This recalling is intended to evaluate what has been done here, from my *locus enuntiationis*. Taking the common basis between the notion of translation and the notion of metaphor, we could understand the current research as a translation, *lato sensu*, of the linguistic theories it draws from into the TS approach proposed here. That is, what I undertook to do was to see translation in terms of the intralingual SFL models within TS. Maybe this is the way towards consilience within TS and in its interdisciplinary relations – seeing “foreign” theories in terms of TS – that is, translating them, transforming them, re-instantiating them so as to account for the complexity of what we call translation, *stricto sensu*.

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APPENDIX 1 - The texts analysed in chapter 4

Source text

[Beslan Atrocity:] They're Terrorists - Not Activists
<http://www.danielpipes.org/2066/beslan-atrocity-theyre-terrorists-not-activists>

"I know it when I see it" was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the vexed problem of defining pornography. Terrorism may be no less difficult to define, but the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.

The press, however, generally shies away from the word *terrorist*, preferring euphemisms. Take the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, many of them children, in Beslan, Russia, on September 3. Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists:

- Assailants - National Public Radio.
- Attackers – the Economist.
- Bombers – the Guardian.
- Captors – the Associated Press.
- Commandos – Agence France-Presse refers to the terrorists both as "membres du commando" and "commando."
- Criminals - the Times (London).
- Extremists – United Press International.
- Fighters – the Washington Post.
- Group – the Australian.
- Guerrillas - in a New York Post editorial.
- Gunmen – Reuters.
- Hostage-takers - the Los Angeles Times.
- Insurgents – in a New York Times headline.
- Kidnappers – the Observer (London).
- Militants – the Chicago Tribune.
- Perpetrators – the New York Times.
- Radicals – the BBC.
- Rebels – in a Sydney Morning Herald headline.
- Separatists – the Christian Science Monitor.

And my favorite:

- Activists – the *Pakistan Times*.

The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com, where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict."

The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics. For example, National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* announced on April 1, 2004, that "Israeli troops have arrested 12 men they say were wanted militants." But CAMERA, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, pointed out the inaccuracy here and NPR issued an on-air correction on April 26: "Israeli military officials were quoted as saying they had arrested 12 men who were 'wanted militants.' But the actual phrase used by the Israeli military was 'wanted terrorists.'"

(At least NPR corrected itself. When the *Los Angeles Times* made the same error, writing that "Israel staged a series of raids in the West Bank that the army described as hunts for wanted Palestinian militants," its editors refused CAMERA's request for a correction on the grounds that its change in terminology did not occur in a direct quotation.)

Metro, a Dutch paper, ran a picture on May 3, 2004, of two gloved hands belonging to a person taking fingerprints off a dead terrorist. The caption read: "An Israeli police officer takes fingerprints of a dead Palestinian. He is one of the victims (*slachtoffers*) who fell in the Gaza strip yesterday." One of the victims!

Euphemistic usage then spread from the Arab-Israeli conflict to other theaters. As terrorism picked up in Saudi Arabia such press outlets as *The Times (London)* and the Associated Press began routinely using *militants* in reference to Saudi terrorists. Reuters uses it with reference to Kashmir and Algeria.

Thus has militants become the press's default term for terrorists.

These self-imposed language limitations sometimes cause journalists to tie themselves into knots. In reporting the murder of one of its own cameraman, the BBC, which normally avoids the word *terrorist*, found itself using that term. In another instance, the search engine on the BBC website includes the word *terrorist* but the page linked to has had that word expurgated.

Politically-correct news organizations undermine their credibility with such subterfuges. How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied?

Worse, the multiple euphemisms for *terrorist* obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. It is bad enough that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; worse is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

Target text 1

Eles são terroristas, não ativistas
<http://pt.danielpipes.org/2085/eles-sao-terroristas-nao-ativistas>

"Eu a reconheço quando a vejo" foi a famosa resposta de um juiz da Suprema Corte dos Estados Unidos à controversa questão de como definir a pornografia. É provável que o terrorismo não seja menos difícil de definir, porém a matança gratuita e cruel de crianças em uma escola, de enlutados em um funeral ou de trabalhadores colhidos em seus escritórios nos arranha-céus com certeza se encaixa no tipo de definição "sei-o-que-é-quando-vejo-um".

Os jornais, contudo, fogem em regra da palavra "terrorista", preferindo os eufemismos. Vejam o ataque que levou à morte cerca de 400 pessoas, muitas delas crianças, em Beslan, Rússia, no dia 3 de setembro. Os jornalistas reviraram seus dicionários e encontraram no mínimo vinte eufemismos para "terroristas":

- Agressores - National Public Radio
- Autores do atentado – o Economist
- Homens-bomba – o Guardian
- Captores – a Associated Press
- Comando – a Agence France-Presse refere-se aos terroristas ou como "membros do comando", ou como "o comando"
- Criminosos - o Times (Londres)
- Extremistas – United Press International.
- Combatentes – o Washington Post
- Grupo – o Australian
- Guerrilheiros – em um editorial do New York Post
- Homens armados – Reuters
- Invasores - o Los Angeles Times
- Insurgentes – em manchete do New York Times
- Seqüestradores – o Observer (Londres)
- Militantes – o Chicago Tribune
- Perpetradores – o New York Times
- Radicais – a BBC
- Rebeldes – em manchete do Sydney Morning Herald
- Separatistas – o Christian Science Monitor

E o meu favorito:

- Ativistas – o *Pakistan Times*.

As origens dessa má-vontade em nomear os terroristas parecem estar no conflito árabe-israelense, motivada por uma estranha combinação entre a simpatia manifesta da imprensa e os atos de intimidação dos árabes-palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida; a intimidação, menos. Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Reuters, referiu-se à segunda de maneira explícita quando aconselhou os correspondentes em Gaza a evitarem problemas, dando a seguinte dica no website www.newssafety.com: "nunca use a palavra 'terrorista' ou 'terrorismo' ao descrever palestinos armados e militantes; para as pessoas, eles são os heróis do conflito."

A relutância em chamar os terroristas pelo nome correto pode atingir níveis absurdos de inexactidão e justificações. Por exemplo, o programa *Morning Edition*, da *National Public Radio*, anunciou em 1º de abril de 2004 que "as tropas israelenses prenderam doze homens apontados como "militantes procurados". Mas o Camera, *Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America*, denunciou o erro e a NPR fez a correção no ar, no dia 26 de abril: "noticiamos que as forças israelenses tinham comunicado a detenção de doze homens que eram 'militantes procurados'. Entretanto, a frase originalmente usada pelos militares israelenses foi 'terroristas procurados'."

(A NPR, pelo menos, corrigiu-se. Quando o *Los Angeles Times* cometeu o mesmo erro, ao escrever que "Israel efetuou uma série de operações na Margem Ocidental que o exército definiu como buscas a militantes palestinos procurados", os editores recusaram-se a corrigir o engano conforme lhes pedira o Camera, com o argumento de que a mudança na terminologia não havia alterado nenhuma citação direta.)

O Metro, um jornal holandês, publicou uma foto, em 3 de maio de 2004, das duas mãos enluvadas de alguém que tirava as impressões digitais de um terrorista morto. A legenda dizia: "um oficial da polícia israelense toma as impressões digitais de um morto palestino. Ele é uma das vítimas (*slachtoffers*) que morreram ontem, na Faixa de Gaza." Uma das vítimas!

O emprego de eufemismos espalhou-se do conflito árabe-israelense para outros palcos. À medida que o terrorismo se intensificava na Arábia Saudita, os meios de comunicação, como o *Times (de Londres)* e a Associated Press, começaram a usar regularmente "militantes" em referência aos terroristas sauditas. A Reuters emprega-o em relação à Caxemira e à Argélia.

"Militantes" tornou-se, assim, o termo padrão para terroristas.

Essas restrições de linguagem auto-impostas por vezes colocam os jornalistas em becos sem saída. Ao noticiar a morte de um de seus próprios câmaras, a BBC, que normalmente evita a palavra "terrorista", acabou por a utilizar. Para dar outro exemplo, o mecanismo de busca instalado no website da BBC indica uma ocorrência para "terrorista", mas a palavra foi expurgada da página em questão.

Agências de notícias politicamente corretas arriscam a credibilidade com tais subterfúgios. Como alguém pode acreditar naquilo que lê, escuta ou vê, quando o fato auto-evidente do terrorismo é parcialmente negado?

Pior, os múltiplos eufemismos para "terrorista" impedem o entendimento claro das violentas ameaças com que se defronta o mundo civilizado. Já é ruim o bastante que apenas um de cada cinco artigos sobre a atrocidade de Beslan mencione as origens islâmicas do atentado; pior ainda é o miasma que se desprende das palavras e isola o público do mal do terrorismo.

Target text 2

Eles São Terroristas, Não Ativistas ou Vítimas!

<http://www.deolhonamidia.org.br/Publicacoes/mostraPublicacao.asp?tID=114>

A imprensa usa até 20 eufemismos para descrever os malfeitores muçulmanos. Ao agir assim, impede um entendimento claro do violento confronto que ameaça o mundo civilizado.

"*Eu a reconheço quando a vejo*", é uma famosa expressão usada pela Suprema Corte dos EUA para determinar a polêmica definição de pornografia. Terrorismo pode ser também difícil de definir, mas o massacre indiscriminado de escolares, de enlutados num funeral, ou funcionários num arranha-céu, certamente se enquadra na definição "*eu a reconheço quando a vejo*".

A imprensa, entretanto, geralmente se envergonha da palavra "*terrorista*", preferendo eufemismos. Vejamos por exemplo, o ataque que levou à morte de cerca de 400 pessoas, a maioria crianças, na Rússia, em 3 de setembro.

Os jornalistas se empenharam em pesquisar em seus dicionários, encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para “terroristas”:

- Assaltantes (Assailants) - National Public Radio
- Atacantes (Attackers) — The Economist
- Bombas-humanas (Bombers) — The Guardian
- Capturadores (Captors) — The Associated Press
- Comandos (Commandos) — Agência France-Press refere-se aos terroristas tanto como “*membros do comando*” como “*comando*”.
- Criminosos (Criminals) - The Times (London)
- Extremistas (Extremists) — United Press International.
- Lutadores (Fighters) — The Washington Post.
- Grupo (Group) — The Australian.
- Guerrilheiros (Guerrillas) – Em um editorial do New York Post.
- Pistoleiros (Gunmen) — Reuters.
- Sequestradores (Hostage-takers) - The Los Angeles Times.
- Insurgentes (Insurgents) — Numa manchete do New York Times.
- Raptos (Kidnappers) — The Observer (London).
- Militantes (Militants) — The Chicago Tribune.
- Perpetradores (Perpetrators) — The New York Times.
- Radicais (Radicals) — The BBC.
- Rebeldes (Rebels) — Em uma manchete do Sydney Morning Herald.
- Separatistas (Separatists) — The Daily Telegraph.

E a minha favorita:

- Ativistas (Activists) — The Pakistan Times

A origem desta má-vontade em rotular corretamente os terroristas parece vir do conflito árabe-israelense, induzida por uma estranha combinação, pela mídia, de simpatia e intimidação pelos palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida, a intimidação nem tanto. O jornalista Nidal al_Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, a explicitou num documento “aviso aos colegas repórteres”: “*Nunca use o termo terrorista ao se referir aos pistoleiros e militantes palestinos; as pessoas os consideram heróis do conflito*”.

Essa relutância de chamar os terroristas pelo seu correto termo atinge as raias do absurdo. Por exemplo, o programa “*Morning Edition*” de primeiro de abril de 2004, da rádio Pública Nacional dos EUA (NPR) anunciou que “*tropas israelenses prenderam 12 homens, considerados por eles militantes procurados*”. Mas a organização CAMERA (Comitê pela exatidão do noticiário do Oriente Médio na América), anunciou o erro, e a rádio emitiu um comunicado de correção, no dia 26 de abril: “*Militares israelenses anunciaram que foram presos 12 homens procurados como militantes*”. Mas na verdade, a frase real utilizada pelos militares era “*procurados como terroristas*”.

Ao menos a NPR se corrigiu. O jornal The Los Angeles Times quando cometeu o mesmo erro, recusou o pedido da CAMERA de corrigir a sua edição de 24 de abril onde anunciava que “Israel executou uma série de ataques na Cisjordânia descritos pelo seu exército como busca por militantes palestinos”, alegando que a mudança na terminologia não ocorreu numa citação direta.

O jornal holandês Metro exibiu em 3 de maio uma foto de 2 mãos enluvadas tirando impressões digitais de um terrorista morto, cuja legenda dizia: “*Um policial israelense tirando digitais de um palestino morto, uma das vítimas (slachtoffers) que tomaram ontem na faixa de Gaza*”. Uma das vítimas!

Essa utilização de eufemismos se espalhou então do conflito árabe-israelense para outros cenários. Os terroristas responsáveis pelos ataques na Arábia Saudita são chamados rotineiramente pelos jornal The Times (London) e pela agência Associated Press de *militantes*. A Reuters também os chama assim na Caxemira e Argélia.

Assim, *militantes* se tornou o termo padrão para *terroristas*.

Esta auto-imposta limitação de linguagem traz embaraços para os próprios jornalistas. Ao relatar a morte de um dos seus câmera-man, a BBC (que normalmente evita o termo *terrorista*), utilizou-o. No entanto, uma pesquisa no site da BBC que incluía a palavra *terrorista* leva à uma página em que esse termo foi expurgado.

As organizações de mídia ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas, afetam sua própria credibilidade com esses subterfúgios. Como uma pessoa pode confiar no noticiário que lê, ouve ou vê, quando o fato do terrorismo está sendo semi-encoberto, contra todas as evidências?

E o que é pior: os múltiplos eufemismos para *terrorista* impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. Somente 1 em cada 5 artigos noticiando a atrocidade (na escola) de Beslan menciona suas origens islâmicas; esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo.

APPENDIX 2 - Examples of different semantic relations between ST and TTs

A) Semantic relations suggested by Martin (2008a, 2008b) and Hood (2008)

1) Relations of de/classification

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
1	<p>Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists: (...)</p> <p>[thesaurus = a reference book in which words with similar meanings are grouped together]</p>	<p>Os jornalistas reviraram seus dicionários⁹⁹ e encontraram no mínimo vinte eufemismos para "terroristas": (...)</p> <p><i>Journalists turned their <u>dictionaries</u> inside out and found at least twenty euphemisms for "terrorists": (...)</i></p> <p>[idem]</p>	<p>Os jornalistas se empenharam em pesquisar em seus dicionários, encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para "terroristas": (...)</p> <p><i>Journalists devoted themselves to searching their <u>dictionaries</u>, finding at least 20 euphemisms for (...)</i></p> <p>[dicionário = a book, generally arranged alphabetically, that lists the words of a language or terms concerning a specific matter and provides their meanings, usage, etymology, pronunciation, etc., in the same or in a different language]</p>
1	<p>assailants</p> <p>[a person who attacks someone violently]</p>	<p>agressores</p> <p><i>aggressor</i></p> <p>[a person who engages in aggression]</p>	<p>assaltantes</p> <p><i>muggers</i></p> <p>[a person who attacks someone else in order to rob him/her]</p>
1	<p>bombers</p> <p>[a person who drops or sets bombs, esp. as an act of terrorism or sabotage].</p>	<p>homem-bomba</p> <p><i>man-bomb</i></p> <p>[a man who deliberately kills himself when detonating a bomb or committing a terrorist act]</p>	<p>bomba-humana</p> <p><i>human-bomb</i></p> <p>[a person who deliberately kills her/himself when detonating a bomb or committing a terrorist act]</p>

⁹⁹ From the viewpoint of the TL the relation between "dicionário" and "thesaurus" is a class/subclass one, since the meaning of 'thesaurus' is rendered by the expression "dicionário de sinônimos e antônimos" [*dictionary of synonyms and antonyms*]. From the viewpoint of the SL, dicionário [dictionary] and thesaurus are both subclasses of the class "reference works".

1	gunmen [a person armed with or expert in the use of a gun, especially one ready to use a gun unlawfully]	homens armados <i>armed men</i> [a person equipped with a weapon]	pistoleiros <i>contract killers</i> [a person hired to kill someone, professional killer]
1	hostage-takers [a person or party who seizes hostages]	invasor <i>invader</i> ¹⁰⁰ [One who invades; an intruder]	sequestradores <i>kidnappers</i> [a person or party who seizes people for use as a hostage or to extract ransom]
6	An ideology capable of appealing to Muslims of every size and shape, from Lumpenproletariat to privileged, (...) [esp. in Marxist theory: the lowest level of the proletariat comprising unskilled workers, vagrants, and criminals and characterized by a lack of class identification and solidarity.]	Uma ideologia capaz de atrair muçulmanos de toda forma e tamanho, dos carentes aos privilegiados, (...) <i>An ideology capable of appealing to Muslims of every shape and size, from the <u>needy</u> to the privileged, (...)</i> [a person who has little or no possession at all]	Uma ideologia capaz de agradar aos muçulmanos de todos os tamanhos e formas, do Lumpenproletariado aos privilegiados, (...) <i>An ideology capable of pleasing Muslims of every size and shape, from <u>Lumpenproletariat</u> to privileged, (...)</i> [Marxist sociology: proletariat social group comprising people who are out of the labour market and so live in deep poverty, having no class consciousness.]
7	In fact, that enemy has a precise and concise name: Islamism, a radical utopian version of Islam. Islamists , adherents of this well funded, widespread, totalitarian ideology, are attempting to create a global Islamic order that fully applies the Islamic law (Shari'a).	Na realidade, esse inimigo tem um nome preciso e conciso: Islamismo, uma versão utópica radical do Islã. Islâmicos , os partidários desta bem financiada e bem difundida ideologia totalitária, está tentando criar uma ordem islâmica global que aplica a lei islâmica (Shari'a) na sua totalidade. <i>In fact, this enemy has a precise and concise name: Islamism, a radical utopian version of Islam. <u>Islamic people</u>, adherents of this well funded, widespread, totalitarian ideology, are attempting to create a</i>	Na verdade, o inimigo tem um nome preciso e conciso: islamismo, uma versão utópica e radical do Islã. Os islamistas , adeptos dessa ideologia bem financiada, disseminada e totalitária, estão tentando criar uma ordem islâmica global que aplique a lei islâmica (Shar'ia) em sua totalidade. <i>In fact, the enemy has a precise and concise name: Islamism, a radical utopian version of Islam. <u>Islamistas*</u>, adherents of this well funded, widespread, totalitarian ideology, are attempting to</i>

¹⁰⁰ This is not a relation of de/classification. "Invader" is a role that might be performed by a hostage-taker.

	[islamist = an Islamic revivalist movement, often characterized by moral conservatism, literalism, and the attempt to implement Islamic values in all spheres of life]	<i>global Islamic order that fully applies the Islamic law (Shari'a).</i> [islâmicos = a follower of Islam; Muslim]	<i>create a global Islamic order that fully applies the Islamic law (Shari'a).</i> [islamista* = (a calque on English) this word is not part of Brazilian Portuguese lexicogrammar]
8	(...) the late American novelist Norman Mailer called its perpetrators "brilliant." [a person who writes novels]	(...) o falecido novelista americano Norman Mailer chamou seus perpetradores de "brilhantes". <i>(...) the late American <u>novelist</u> Norman Mailer called its perpetrators "brilliant."</i> [a person who writes novels]	(...) o falecido escritor americano Norman Mailer chamou de "brilhantes" os autores do ataque. <i>continues</i> <i>(...) the late American <u>writer</u> Norman Mailer called the authors of the attack "brilliant."</i> [a person who writes]

2) Relations of de/composition

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
1	The press , however, generally shies away from the word <i>terrorist</i> , preferring euphemisms. [all the media and agencies that print, broadcast, or gather and transmit news, including newspapers, newsmagazines, radio and television news bureaus, and wire services]	Os jornais , contudo, fogem em regra da palavra "terrorista", preferindo os eufemismos. <i>The newspaper, however, generally run away from the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms.</i>	A imprensa , entretanto, geralmente se envergonha da palavra "terrorista", preferendo (sic) eufemismos. <i>The press, however, generally feels ashamed of the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms.</i>
2	In this spirit, he has quickly apologized to the Kuwaitis and made up with the Syrians (...) <i>Kwaitis =the people</i>	Dentro desse pensamento, logo pediu desculpas ao Kuait e reconciliou-se com a Síria (...) <i>Kwait= the country</i>	Neste espírito, ele se desculpou rapidamente com os kuwaitianos e fez as pazes com os sírios (...) <i>Kwaitis =the people</i>
11	But Brennan informs us that his boss now bases U.S. policy on it.	Mas Brennan nos informa que seu patrão agora baseia a política externa dos Estados Unidos nela. <i>But Brennan informs us that his boss now bases <u>U.S. foreign policy</u> on it.</i>	Mas Brennan nos informa que seu chefe agora baseia a política americana nessa interpretação equivocada. <i>But Brennan informs us that his boss now bases <u>American policy</u> on this erroneous interpretation.</i>

3) Relations of role/incumbent

triplet no	ST	TT1	TT2
1	<p>Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza (...)</p> <p>unspecified role/ incumbent</p>	<p>Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Reuters, referiu-se à segunda de maneira explícita quando aconselhou os correspondentes em Gaza (...)</p> <p><i>Reuters' Nidal al Mughrabi explicitly referred to the latter when he advised Gaza (...)</i></p> <p>incumbent/ unspecified role</p>	<p>O jornalista Nidal al_Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, a explicitou num documento (...)</p> <p><i>Journalist Nidal al Mughrabi, of the Reuters agency, however, made it explicit in a document (...)</i></p> <p>role/incumbent</p>
2	<p>(...) as portrayed by the outpouring of grief for archterrorist Arafat at his funeral, (...)</p> <p>role/incumbent</p>	<p>(...) como bem demonstraram as manifestações de pesar no enterro de Arafat, (...)</p> <p><i>(...) as well demonstrated by the manifestations of grief at Arafat's funeral (...)</i></p> <p>no role</p>	<p>(...) conforme retratado pela efusão de pesar demonstrado pela morte do arquiterrorista Arafat em seu funeral, (...)</p> <p><i>(...) as portrayed by the effusion of grief expressed for the death of archterrorist Arafat at his (...)</i></p> <p>role/incumbent</p>
8	<p>Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite former mayor of London, literally hugged prominent Islamist thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.</p> <p>incumbent/ role</p>	<p>Ken Livingstone, prefeito trotskista de Londres, literalmente abraçou Yusuf al-Qaradawi, proeminente pensador islâmico.</p> <p><i>Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite mayor of London (...)</i></p> <p>incumbent/ different role (different ideational meaning)</p>	<p>Ken Livingstone, o trotskista ex-prefeito de Londres, literalmente abraçou o pensador islamista[1] Yusuf al-Qaradawi.</p> <p><i>Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite former mayor of London, (...)</i></p> <p>incumbent/ role</p>

4) Relations involving grammatical metaphor

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
7	<p>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991, the goal must be to</p>	<p>Primeiro vem o fardo de derrotar um inimigo ideológico. Como em 1945 e 1991, a meta deve ser marginalizar e debilitar (...)</p>	<p>Primeiro vem o fardo de derrotar um inimigo ideológico. Assim como em 1945 e 1991 (...), o objetivo precisa ser a marginalização e o</p>

	<p>marginalize and weaken (...)</p>	<p><i>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991, the goal must be <u>to marginalize and debilitate</u> (...)</i></p>	<p>enfraquecimento_de (...)</p> <p><i>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991 (...), the goal must be <u>the marginalization and weakening of</u> (...)</i></p>
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5) Relations involving lexical metaphor

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
1	<p>Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists: (...)</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to dig the ground, as with a spade <i>Fig.</i> to search deeply and laboriously]</p>	<p>Os jornalistas reviraram seus dicionários e encontraram no mínimo vinte eufemismos para "terroristas": (...)</p> <p><i>Journalists <u>turned their dictionaries inside out and found at least twenty euphemisms for "terrorists":</u> (...)</i></p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to turn something over and over; turn something inside out <i>Fig.</i> to examine closely]</p>	<p>Os jornalistas se empenharam em pesquisar em seus dicionários, encontrando ao menos 20 eufemismos para "terroristas": (...)</p> <p><i>Journalists <u>devoted themselves to searching their dictionaries, finding at least 20 euphemisms for terrorists:</u> (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom [to dedicate oneself entirely to some task or to achieve something]</p>
2	<p>Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, blows off past failures.</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to expel a current of air, as from the mouth <i>Fig.</i> slang: to ignore someone or something considered unimportant]</p>	<p>Nigel Roberts, o diretor do Banco Mundial para a Margem Ocidental e Gaza, desconsidera os erros do passado.</p> <p><i>Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, <u>ignores</u> past failures.</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>	<p>Nigel Roberts, o diretor do Banco Mundial para Judéia, Samaria e Gaza, faz o vento levar fracassos passados.</p> <p><i>Nigel Roberts, the World Bank's director for the West Bank and Gaza, <u>causes the wind to take away</u> past failures.</i></p> <p>would-be idiom</p>

2	<p>Strangely, their efforts to destroy Israel have not inspired efforts to crush this hideous ambition but rather to subsidize it.</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to squeeze or pound into small fragments or particles, as ore, stone, etc. <i>Fig.</i> to destroy, subdue, or suppress utterly: to crush a revolt]</p>	<p>É estranho que seu empenho em destruir Israel não tenha inspirado esforços no sentido de acabar com esse desejo hediondo, mas antes de o subsidiar.</p> <p><i>It is strange that their effort to destroy Israel have not inspired efforts towards <u>ending</u> this hideous desire but rather towards subsidizing it.</i></p> <p>no idiom [end = to bring to a conclusion]</p>	<p>Estranhamente, seus esforços para destruir Israel não inspiraram esforços para destruir esta ambição abominável, mas, pelo contrário, para subsidiá-la.</p> <p><i>Strangely, their efforts to destroy Israel did not inspire efforts to <u>destroy</u> this hideous ambition but rather to subsidize it.</i></p> <p>no idiom [destroy = to ruin completely; spoil]</p>
4	<p>Israel was plastered all over the news but it hardly figured in conversations.</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to cover, coat, or repair with plaster <i>Fig.</i> to cover conspicuously, as with things pasted on; overspread]</p>	<p>Israel estava por toda parte no noticiário, mas quase não fazia parte das conversas.</p> <p><i>Israel <u>was</u> all over the news, but was hardly included in conversations.</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>	<p>O país estava presente em todos os noticiários mas raramente era citado nas discussões.</p> <p><i>The country <u>was present</u> in every published news, but it was hardly cited in discussions.</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>
4	<p>Cairo may have no apparent enemies, but the impoverished Egyptian state sinks massive resources into a military build up.</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> to drive or push something into someone or something <i>Fig.</i> to invest time or money in someone or something; sometimes implying that it was wasted]</p>	<p>Cairo pode não ter nenhum inimigo aparente, mas o Estado egípcio empobrecido aloca recursos volumosos para aumentar sua capacidade militar.</p> <p><i>Cairo may have no apparent enemy, but the impoverished voluminous resources into a military build up.</i></p> <p>no idiom [alocar = to set apart for a special purpose; designate] <i>Egyptian state <u>allocates</u></i></p>	<p>O Cairo pode não ter inimigos aparentes, mas o empobrecido estado egípcio investe recursos gigantescos em seu aparelhamento militar.</p> <p><i>Cairo may have no apparent enemies, but the impoverished Egyptian state <u>invests</u> enormous resources into a military build up.</i></p> <p>no idiom [investir = to commit (money or capital) in order to gain a financial return]</p>

7	<p>Victory against Islamism, presumably, will draw on both these legacies and mix them into a novel brew of conventional war, counterterrorism (...)</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> hot beverage made by cooking a solid in water, esp. tea or coffee <i>Fig.</i> any concoction, esp. a liquid produced by a mixture of unusual ingredients]</p>	<p>Presumivelmente, a vitória contra o islamismo utilizará estes legados e os combinará em uma nova mistura de guerra convencional, contra-terrorismo (...)</p> <p><i>Presumably, victory against Islamism, will use these legacies and will combine them in a new <u>mix</u> of conventional war, counterterrorism (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom [same as TT1]</p>	<p>Presumivelmente, a vitória sobre o islamismo tirará lições desses dois legados, misturando-os numa nova mistura de guerra convencional, contraterroismo (...)</p> <p><i>Presumably, victory against Islamism, will learn from both these legacies, mixing them into a new <u>mix</u> of conventional war, counterterrorism (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom [mistura = combination or blend of different elements, mixture]</p>
8	<p>This cringe-inducing lecture reminds one of a North Korean functionary paying homage to the Dear Leader.</p> <p>idiom [cringe = <i>Lit.</i> shrinking, bending or crouching as in fear or servility <i>Fig.</i> servile or fawning deference]</p>	<p>Esta palestra de indução ao encolhimento por medo, lembra mais um funcionário norte coreano prestando homenagem ao Querido Líder.</p> <p><i>This lecture of induction to shrinking for fear, looks more like a North Korean functionary paying homage to the Dear Leader.</i></p> <p>no idiom [literal translation above]</p>	<p>Essa palestra vergonhosa lembra a de um funcionário norte-coreano homenageando seu querido líder.</p> <p><i>This shameful lecture reminds one of a North Korean functionary paying homage to the Dear Leader.</i></p> <p>no idiom [vergonhoso/a = causing shame, humiliating]</p>
9	<p>A contradictory record: His background brims over with wild-eyed anti-Zionist radicals such as Ali Abunimah, Rashid Khalidi, (...)</p> <p>idiom [wild-eyed = <i>Lit.</i> having an angry, insane, or distressed expression in the eyes <i>Fig.</i> extremely irrational, senseless, or radical]</p>	<p>Um passado contraditório: Seu background transborda com radicais antisionistas de arregalar os olhos como Ali Abunimah, Rashid Khalidi, (...)</p> <p><i>A contradictory past: His background brims over with <u>eye-popping anti-Zionists</u> as Ali Abunimah, Rashid Khalidi, (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom [de arregalar os olhos = quality of something or someone that inspires so much fear, surprise, astonishment or admiration as to make one's eyes to protrude]</p>	<p>Antecedentes contraditórios: em suas experiências, transbordam contatos com anti-sionistas radicais, tais como Ali Abunimah, Rashid Khalidi (...)</p> <p><i>Contradictory antecedents: among his experiences <u>radical anti-Zionist</u> contacts brim over such as Ali Abunimah, Rashid Khalidi, (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>

9	<p>What to make of this whirlwind?</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> a rapidly rotating, generally vertical column of air <i>Fig.</i> a tumultuous, confused rush]</p>	<p>O que fazer deste vendaval?</p> <p><i>What to make out of this <u>whirlwind</u>?</i></p> <p>idiom [strong, violent wind chain of tumultuous events]</p>	<p>O que concluir e esperar dessa rápida sucessão de eventos?</p> <p><i>What to conclude from this <u>rapid sequence of events</u>?</i></p> <p>no idiom [literal translation above]</p>
9	<p>(...) a plan distinct from other diplomatic initiatives for its many loose ends and (...)</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> a nautical term for the condition of a rope when unattached and therefore neglected or not doing its job <i>Fig.</i> unfinished details, incomplete business]</p>	<p>(...) um plano distinto de outras iniciativas diplomáticas pelas suas muitas pendências e (...)</p> <p><i>(...) a plan distinct from other diplomatic initiatives for its many <u>pendencies</u> and (...)</i></p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> hanging <i>Fig.</i> awaiting conclusion]</p>	<p>(...) um plano distinto de outras iniciativas diplomáticas por seus muitos detalhes e questões inconclusos e (...)</p> <p><i>(...) a plan distinct from other diplomatic initiatives for its many <u>details and incomplete issues</u> and (...)</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>
9	<p>Israeli elections on Feb. 10 are likely to bring a government to power not favorably inclined to this plan, spelling rocky U.S.-Israeli relations ahead.</p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> abounding in rocks <i>Fig.</i> difficult or uncertain; full of hazards or obstacles]</p>	<p>As eleições israelenses no dia 10 de fevereiro provavelmente tragam um governo ao poder não favoravelmente inclinado a este plano, resultando em um estremecimento nas relações Estados Unidos-israelenses à frente.</p> <p><i>Israeli elections on Feb. 10 will probably bring a government to power not favourably inclined to this plan, resulting in a <u>shaking</u> of U.S.-Israeli relations ahead.</i></p> <p>idiom [<i>Lit.</i> the act of trembling <i>Fig.</i> causing to lose stability or waver]</p>	<p>As eleições israelenses em 10 de fevereiro (...) provavelmente trarão ao poder um governo não favoravelmente inclinado a aceitar esse plano, significando dificuldades nas relações entre Estados Unidos e Israel mais a frente.</p> <p><i>Israeli elections on Feb. 10 (...) are likely to bring to power a government not favourably inclined to accept this plan, meaning <u>difficulties</u> in U.S.-Israeli relations ahead.</i></p> <p>no idiom</p>

6) Relations of infusion/defusion

triplet no	ST	TT1	TT2
6	<p>Even if Tehran acquires a nuclear weapon, Islamists have nothing like the military machine the Axis deployed in World War II, nor the Soviet Union during the cold war.</p> <p>[acquire = to come into possession of (through one's efforts, through purchase, donation, etc.)]</p>	<p>Ainda que Teerã desenvolva uma arma nuclear, os islamistas não têm nada semelhante à máquina militar utilizada pelo Eixo na Segunda Guerra Mundial ou pela União Soviética na Guerra Fria.</p> <p><i>Even if Tehran <u>develops</u> a nuclear weapon, Islamists have nothing like the military machine the Axis utilised in World War II, nor the Soviet Union during the cold war.</i></p> <p>[desenvolver = make something new, e.g. a product, a mental/ artistic creation] Here = acquire + through one's own efforts, i.e. by developing its own weapon.</p>	<p>Mesmo que Teerã consiga uma arma nuclear, os islamistas não possuem nada semelhante à máquina de guerra que o Eixo arregimentou na Segunda Guerra Mundial, nem à da União Soviética durante a Guerra Fria.</p> <p><i>Even if Tehran <u>gets</u> a nuclear weapon, Islamists have nothing like the military machine the Axis regimented in World War II, nor the Soviet Union during the cold war.</i></p> <p>[conseguir = to receive or come to have possession, use, or enjoyment of, esp. after difficulty]</p>
7	<p>Not coincidentally, this approach roughly parallels what the allied powers accomplished vis-à-vis the two prior radical utopian movements, (...)</p> <p>[accomplish = to do something successfully]</p>	<p>Não coincidentemente, esta abordagem compara de forma grosseira o que as forças aliadas realizaram vis-à-vis nos dois movimentos utópicos radicais anteriores, (...)</p> <p><i>Not coincidentally, this approach compares roughly to what the allied powers did vis-à-vis the two prior radical utopian movements, (...)</i></p> <p>[realizar = to do]</p>	<p>Não é coincidência que, anteriormente, esta abordagem tenha sido posta em prática pelas potências aliadas vis-à-vis dois outros movimentos utópicos radicais, (...)</p> <p><i>It is no coincidence that, previously, this approach has been put into practice by the allied powers vis-à-vis the two other radical utopian movements, (...)</i></p> <p>[por em prática = to put something into practice]</p>
9	<p>Harkening back to the good old days of "20 or 30 years ago" does contain a real message, however (...)</p> <p>[harken back to = give heed to; remind of]</p>	<p>Nostalgizar os bons velhos dias de "20 ou 30 anos atrás" contém uma mensagem real, porém, (...)</p> <p><i><u>Nostalgizing the good old days</u> of "20 or 30 years ago" contains a real message, however (...)</i></p> <p>[nostalgizar = remind of so as to make nostalgic]</p>	<p>Todavia, voltar-se para os bons e velhos dias de "vinte ou trintas anos atrás" de fato contém uma mensagem real, (...)</p> <p><i>However, <u>turning to the good old days</u> of "20 or 30 years ago" in fact contains a real message, (...)</i></p> <p>[voltar-se para = give heed to, deal with or discuss]</p>

10	<p>These days, however, the conflict is typically portrayed by a huge Israel looming over the fractured West Bank and Gaza areas.</p> <p>[loom over = appear as a large or unclear shape often in a frightening way]</p>	<p>Porém, nos dias de hoje, o conflito é tipicamente retratado por um Israel enorme avultando sobre a Cisjordânia fraturada e sobre as áreas de Gaza.</p> <p><i>However, these days, the conflict is typically portrayed by a huge Israel appearing as a magnified form over the fractured West Bank and over Gaza areas.</i></p> <p>[avultar = appear as a magnified form]</p>	<p>Nos dias de hoje, porém, o conflito é tipicamente retratado por um enorme Israel assomando por sobre as áreas descontínuas da Margem Ocidental e da Faixa de Gaza.</p> <p><i>These days, however, the conflict is typically portrayed by a huge Israel appearing at a high place over the fractured West Bank and Gaza areas.</i></p> <p>[assomar = appear at a high place]</p>
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7) Relations of heteroglossic expansiveness

triplet no	ST	TT1	TT2
4	<p>Cairo has in fact not made war on Israel since 1979.</p> <p>pronounce + denial</p>	<p>Cairo não iniciou nenhuma guerra contra Israel desde 1979.</p> <p><i>Cairo <u>did not start</u> any war on Israel since 1979.</i></p> <p>denial</p>	<p>o Cairo, é verdade, não entra em guerra contra Israel desde 1979.</p> <p><i>Cairo, <u>it is true, does not make</u> war on Israel since 1979.</i></p> <p>pronounce + denial</p>
6	<p>Only after absorbing catastrophic human and property losses will left-leaning Westerners likely overcome this triple affliction and confront the true scope of the threat.</p> <p>counter</p>	<p>Ao que parece, só depois de sofrerem perdas humanas e materiais em níveis catastróficos os ocidentais de esquerda serão capazes de superar esse padecimento triplo e enfrentar a ameaça em sua dimensão real.</p> <p><i><u>It seems that, only</u> after suffering human and property losses at a catastrophic level will left-leaning Westerners be able to overcome this triple affliction and confront the true scope of the threat.</i></p> <p>entertain + counter</p>	<p>Somente depois de absorverem uma quantidade catastrófica de perdas de vidas humanas e de propriedade é que os esquerdistas ocidentais provavelmente irão superar essa tripla aflição e encarar o verdadeiro escopo da ameaça.</p> <p><i><u>Only</u> after absorbing a catastrophic amount of human and property losses will left-leaning Westerners likely overcome this triple affliction and confront the true scope of the threat.</i></p> <p>counter</p>

6	<p>The civilized world will likely then prevail, but belatedly and at a higher cost than need have been.</p> <p>entertain + counter</p>	<p>Então o mundo civilizado sairá vencedor, mas tardiamente e a um custo maior que o necessário.</p> <p><i>Then the civilized world will be the winner, <u>but</u> belatedly and at a higher cost than needed.</i></p> <p>counter</p>	<p>Então o mundo civilizado irá provavelmente prevalecer, mas tardiamente e com um custo mais alto do que precisava ter tido.</p> <p><i>Then the civilized world will <u>likely</u> prevail, <u>but</u> belatedly and at a higher cost than need have been.</i></p> <p>entertain + counter</p>
7	<p>"We actually misnamed the war on terror." Instead, he called the war a "struggle against ideological extremists (...)"</p> <p>intratextual counter</p>	<p>"Nós na realidade estamos dando um nome errado à guerra ao terror". Ao invés disso, ele a chamou de "um conflito contra extremistas ideológicos (...)".</p> <p><i>"We really are giving a wrong name to the war on terror". <u>Instead</u>, he called it "a conflict against ideological extremists (...)".</i></p> <p>intratextual counter</p>	<p>"[N]ós realmente chamamos a guerra ao terror por um nome errado". Corrigindo, ele chamou a guerra de "uma luta contra extremistas ideológicos (...)".</p> <p><i>"[W]e really called the war on terror by a wrong name". <u>Correcting it</u>, he called the war "a struggle against ideological extremists (...)".</i></p> <p>endorse</p>
7	<p>Bush effectively admitted this much in mid-2004, acknowledging that (...)</p> <p>pronounce</p>	<p>Bush efetivamente admitiu claramente isto em meados de 2004, reconhecendo que (...)</p> <p><i>Bush <u>effectively</u> admitted this <u>clearly</u> in mid-2004, acknowledging that "[W]e (...)</i></p> <p>pronounce + concur</p>	<p>Bush admitiu isso, efetivamente, em meados de 2004, reconhecendo que (...)</p> <p><i>Bush <u>effectively</u> admitted this in mid-2004, acknowledging that (...)</i></p> <p>pronounce</p>
8	<p>On a larger scale, the Indian Communist party did Tehran's dirty work by delaying (...)</p> <p>monogloss</p>	<p>Em maior escala ainda, o partido comunista da Índia fez o trabalho sujo de Teerã postergando (...)</p> <p><i>On an <u>even</u> larger scale, the Indian Communist party did Tehran's dirty work by (...)</i></p> <p>heterogloss (counter)</p>	<p>Numa escala maior, o Partido Comunista Indiano fez o trabalho sujo por Teerã ao atrasar (...)</p> <p><i>On a larger scale, the Indian Communist party did Tehran's dirty work by delaying (...)</i></p> <p>monogloss</p>
11	<p>Nor can Brennan think straight.</p> <p>denial</p>	<p>Brennan não consegue sequer pensar claramente.</p> <p><i>Brennan <u>cannot even</u> think right.</i></p> <p>denial + counter</p>	<p>Nem Brennan consegue pensar claramente.</p> <p><i><u>Nor</u> can Brennan think right.</i></p> <p>denial</p>

11	<p>If anything, massive transfers of wealth to the Middle East since 1970 contributed to the rise of radical Islam.</p> <p>entertain</p>	<p>Ao contrário: foram as maciças transferências de riquezas para o Oriente Médio desde 1970 que contribuíram para o crescimento do islamismo radical.</p> <p><i>On the contrary: it was the massive transfers of wealth to the Middle East since 1970 that contributed to the rise of radical Islam.</i></p> <p>counter</p>	<p>Na verdade, a maciça transferência de riqueza para o Oriente Médio desde 1970 contribuiu para o crescimento do Islã radical.</p> <p><i>In reality, the massive transfer of wealth to the Middle East since 1970 contributed to the rise of radical Islam.</i></p> <p>pronounce</p>
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8) Relations of degree of explicitness

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
2	<p>This is what happened after Israeli forces fled Lebanon.</p> <p>[flee = move swiftly; fly; speed; run away from]</p> <p>invoked (flagged) negative judgement of tenacity</p>	<p>Foi o que aconteceu depois que as forças israelenses deixaram o Líbano.</p> <p><i>This is what happened after Israeli forces <u>left</u> Lebanon.</i></p> <p>[deixar = to go out of or away from]</p> <p>no invoked judgement</p>	<p>Isto foi o que aconteceu depois que as forças israelenses abandonaram o Líbano.</p> <p><i>This is what happened after Israeli forces <u>abandoned</u> Lebanon.</i></p> <p>[abandonar = to leave completely and finally; forsake utterly; desert to give up the control of]</p> <p>invoked (flagged) negative judgement of capacity</p>
4	<p>Yuval Steinitz, an Israeli legislator specializing in Egypt-Israel relations, estimates that fully 90% of PLO and Hamas explosives come from Egypt.</p> <p>[fully = totally or completely; at least]</p> <p>invoked (flagged) negative judgement of</p>	<p>Yuval Steinitz, um legislador israelense especializado em relações egípcio-israelenses, estima que nada menos que 90% dos explosivos da OLP e do Hamas vêm do Egito.</p> <p><i>Yuval Steinitz, an Israeli legislator specializing in Egypt-Israel relations, estimates that <u>no less than 90%</u> of PLO and Hamas explosives come from Egypt.</i></p> <p>[nada menos que = no less than; at least]</p> <p>invoked (flagged) negative judgement of propriety</p>	<p>Yuval Steinitz, um membro do legislativo israelense especializado nas relações Egito-Israel, estima que impressionantes 90% dos explosivos da OLP e do Hamas venham do Egito.</p> <p><i>Yuval Steinitz, an Israeli legislative member specializing in Egypt-Israel relations, estimates that <u>impressive 90%</u> of PLO and Hamas explosives come from Egypt.</i></p> <p>[impressive = making a strong or vivid impression]</p> <p>invoked through graduation + inscribed negative</p>

	propriety		appreciation (reaction: impact)
4	<p>This long, ugly record of hostility exists despite a peace treaty with Israel (...)</p> <p>long (graduation: scope (time)) + 'ugly' = <u>inscribed</u> negative appreciation: reaction (quality)</p>	<p>Esta realidade, cheia de hostilidade, existe há muito tempo, apesar da existência de um tratado de paz com Israel (...)</p> <p><i>This reality full of hostility has existed for a long time despite the existence of a peace treaty with Israel (...)</i></p> <p>'cheia de' = graduation: quantity (amount) + 'há muito tempo' (graduation: scope (time)) <u>invoked</u> (flagged) negative appreciation: reaction (quality)</p>	<p>Esse longo e terrível histórico de hostilidades existe apesar de um Tratado de Paz com Israel (...)</p> <p><i>This long and terrible record of hostility exists despite a peace treaty with Israel (...)</i></p> <p>long (graduation: scope (time)) + 'terrível' = <u>inscribed</u> negative appreciation: reaction (quality)</p>

9) Relations of number of elements

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
7	<p>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991, the goal must be to marginalize and weaken (...)</p>	<p>Primeiro vem o fardo de derrotar um inimigo ideológico. Como em 1945 e 1991, a meta deve ser marginalizar e debilitar (...)</p> <p><i>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991, the goal must be to marginalize and debilitate (...)</i></p>	<p>Primeiro vem o fardo de derrotar um inimigo ideológico. Assim como em 1945 e 1991 [*], o objetivo precisa ser a marginalização e o enfraquecimento de (...)</p> <p>[*] Nota Editoria: O articulista Daniel Pipes faz parte de uma corrente de pensamento – majoritária no mundo, diga-se – que acredita que o fim da URSS marcou o fim do comunismo. Esta não é a visão da maioria dos articulistas do MSM, nacionais ou estrangeiros. Todavia, essa divergência não somente é salutar para o debate, como não empana, de maneira alguma, o brilho das análises do Sr. Pipes acerca do Oriente Médio e do Islã.</p> <p><i>First comes the burden of defeating an ideological enemy. As in 1945 and 1991</i> [*], the goal must be the marginalization and weakening of (...)</p> <p><i>[*] Editor's Note: The article writer Daniel Pipes</i></p>

			<u>subscribes to a current of thought – a mainstream one world-wide, we should point out – which believes that the collapse of the USSR marked the end of communism. This is not the standpoint of most of MSM national or international article writers. Notwithstanding, this divergence is salutary for the debate and it does not dull the brilliance of Mr Pipes analyses of the Middle East and Islam.</u>
8	Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite former mayor of London, literally hugged prominent Islamist thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.	Ken Livingstone, prefeito trotskista de Londres, literalmente abraçou Yusuf al-Qaradawi, proeminente pensador islâmico . <i>Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite mayor of London, literally hugged prominent Islamist_thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.</i>	Ken Livingstone, o trotskista ex-prefeito de Londres, literalmente abraçou o pensador islamista [1] Yusuf al-Qaradawi. (...) Notas: [1] NT: Aos leitores eventualmente ainda não familiarizados com a terminologia do autor, é importante ressaltar que ele faz profunda distinção entre islâmico e islamista, sendo este último um adepto do islamismo, ideologia radical que faz uso do Islã para promover uma agenda de violência e terror. <i>Ken Livingstone, the Trotskyite former mayor of London, literally hugged <u>Islamist</u> [1] thinker Yusuf al-Qaradawi.</i> <u>Notes:</u> <u>[1] NT: To those readers who are maybe not familiarized with the author's terminology, it is important to stress that he distinguishes sharply between Islamic and Islamist, the latter being an adept of Islamism, radical ideology that uses Islam to promote an agenda of violence and terror.</u>

B) New categories

1) Relations involving graduation

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
2	Strangely, their efforts to destroy Israel have not inspired efforts to crush this hideous ambition but rather to subsidize it. [ambition = strong desire]	É estranho que seu empenho em destruir Israel não tenha inspirado esforços no sentido de acabar com esse desejo hediondo, mas antes de o subsidiar. <i>It is strange that their effort to destroy Israel have not inspired efforts towards ending this hideous <u>desire</u> but rather towards subsidizing it.</i> [desejo = desire]	Estranhamente, seus esforços para destruir Israel não inspiraram esforços para destruir esta ambição abominável, mas, pelo contrário, para subsidiá-la. <i>Strangely, their efforts to destroy Israel have not inspired efforts to destroy this abominable <u>ambition</u> but rather to subsidize it.</i> [ambição= strong desire]
3	A top Hamas figure in Gaza, Ahmed al-Bahar says (...) [top figure = a person who occupies the highest or leading position]	Em Gaza, um membro importante do Hamas, Ahmed al-Bahar, diz que (...) <i>In Gaza, an <u>important member</u> of Hamas, Ahmed al-Bahar, says that (...)</i> [membro importante = a person who has authority or ascendancy or influence]	Ahmed al-Bahar, uma alta patente do Hamas em Gaza, diz que (...) <i>Ahmed al-Bahar, a <u>high-ranking official</u> of Hamas in Gaza, says that (...)</i> [alta patente = a person who occupies a leading position]
4	However frigid the peace, peace it has been. [extremely cold; devoid of warmth and cordiality; expressive of unfriendliness or disdain]	Mesmo sendo frígida , a paz perdura. <i>Despite being <u>frigid</u>, peace goes on.</i> [very cold; severe, insensible]	Mesmo que tépida , a paz é o que temos. <i>Even if <u>tepid</u>, peace is what we have.</i> [moderately warm; halfhearted]
4	Cairo may have no apparent enemies, but the impoverished Egyptian state sinks massive resources into a military build up. [massive = consisting of or making up a large mass]	Cairo pode não ter nenhum inimigo aparente, mas o Estado egípcio empobrecido aloca recursos volumosos para aumentar sua capacidade militar. <i>Cairo may have no apparent enemy, but the impoverished Egyptian state allocates <u>voluminous</u> resources into a military build up.</i> [volumoso = having great volume, fullness, size, or number]	O Cairo pode não ter inimigos aparentes, mas o empobrecido estado egípcio investe recursos gigantescos em seu aparelhamento militar. <i>Cairo may have no apparent enemies, but the impoverished Egyptian state invests <u>gigantic</u> resources into a military build up.</i> [gigantesco = very large, huge]

7	<p>Victory against Islamism, presumably, will draw on both these legacies and mix them into a novel brew of conventional war (...)</p> <p>[novel = strikingly new]</p>	<p>Presumivelmente, a vitória contra o islamismo utilizará estes legados e os combinará em uma nova mistura de guerra convencional (...)</p> <p><i>Presumably, victory against Islamism will use these legacies and will combine them in a <u>new</u> mix of conventional war, counterterrorism (...)</i></p> <p>[new]</p>	<p>Presumivelmente, a vitória sobre o islamismo tirará lições desses dois legados, misturando-os numa nova mistura de guerra convencional (...)</p> <p><i>Presumably, victory against Islamism, will learn a lesson from both these legacies, mixing them into a <u>new</u> mix of conventional war, counterterrorism (...)</i></p> <p>[new]</p>
7	<p>(...) a strain within the world-wide religion of Islam."</p> <p>graduation: scope (space)</p>	<p>(...) uma tensão dentro da religião do Islã no mundo".</p> <p><i>(...) a tension within the religion of Islam <u>in the world</u>."</i></p> <p>no graduation</p>	<p>(...) uma tendência distorcida dentro da religião do Islã".</p> <p><i>(...) a distorted tendency within the religion of Islam."</i></p> <p>no graduation</p>
8	<p>Communists are atheists and leftists secular; (...)</p> <p>no graduation</p>	<p>Os comunistas são ateus e os esquerdistas são seculares; (...)</p> <p><i>Communists are atheists and leftists secular; (...)</i></p> <p>no graduation</p>	<p>Comunistas são ateus e os esquerdistas em geral, seculares; (...)</p> <p><i>Communists are atheists and leftists, <u>in general</u>, secular; (...)</i></p> <p>graduation: scope (space)</p>
10	<p>Participants were also asked toward which group they felt more supportive.</p> <p>[feel supportive = provide sympathy or encouragement]</p> <p>graduation: fulfilment (fulfilled)</p>	<p>Também foi perguntado aos participantes para qual grupo eles se sentiam mais inclinados a dar apoio.</p> <p><i>Participants were also asked which group they <u>felt more inclined to support</u>.</i></p> <p>[feel inclined to support = having a disposition; tending to support]</p> <p>graduation: fulfilment (unfulfilled)</p>	<p>Os participantes também foram convidados a indicar o grupo pelo qual se sentiam atraídos a apoiar.</p> <p><i>Participants were also invited to point the group they <u>felt attracted to support</u>.</i></p> <p>[feel attracted to support = the idea of supporting is appealing]</p> <p>graduation: fulfilment (unfulfilled)</p>

11	<p>The speech contains disquieting signs of ineptitude.</p> <p>[ineptitude = quality or condition of being inept (= without skill or aptitude for a particular task or assignment; maladroit)]</p> <p>no graduation</p>	<p>O discurso contém inquietantes sinais de inépcia.</p> <p><i>The speech contains disquieting signs of <u>stupidity</u>.</i></p> <p>[inépcia = absolute lack of aptitude; stupidity]</p> <p>graduation: intensification</p>	<p>O discurso contém inquietantes sinais de inaptidão.</p> <p><i>The speech contains disquieting signs of <u>ineptitude</u>.</i></p> <p>[inaptidão = lack of aptitude, incapacity, inability]</p> <p>no graduation</p>
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2) Relations involving interdiscursivity

triplet #	ST	TT1	TT2
4	<p>These agreements would be permanent, with no backsliding, much less duplicity.</p> <p>[backsliding (ideational metaphor) > verb: to backslide = (esp. Christianity) to revert to sin or wrongdoing]</p>	<p>Estes acordos seriam permanentes, sem retrocesso, muito menos duplicidade.</p> <p><i>These agreements would be permanent, without <u>retrocession</u>, much less duplicity.</i></p> <p>[retrocesso (ideational metaphor) > verb: retroceder = (standard) to go back (in time or space); to return to a previous stage]</p>	<p>Esses acordos seriam permanentes, sem vacilos, e muito menos sem dubiedade;</p> <p><i>These agreements would be permanent, without <u>vacillation</u>, and much less without ambiguity.</i></p> <p>[vacilo (ideational metaphor) > verb: vacilar = (colloquial) to blunder, to screw up]</p>
7	<p>(...) Tony Blair advanced the discussion by speaking of the enemy as "a religious ideology, a strain within the world-wide religion of Islam."</p> <p>Biology idiom: [a strain = <i>Lit.</i> Biology: A group of organisms of the same species, having distinctive characteristics but not usually considered a separate breed or variety, e.g. new strains of bacteria/ of HIV <i>Fig.</i> kind or sort of something]</p>	<p>(...) Tony Blair prosseguiu com a discussão falando do inimigo como "uma ideologia religiosa, uma tensão dentro da religião do Islã no mundo".</p> <p><i>(...) Tony Blair proceeded with the discussion speaking of the enemy as "a religious ideology, a <u>tension</u> within the religion of Islam in the world."</i></p> <p>Standard idiom: [<i>Lit.</i> a stretching <i>Fig.</i> situation in which sudden conflict or violence is likely to happen]</p>	<p>(...) Tony Blair levou a discussão adiante ao falar do inimigo como "uma ideologia religiosa, uma tendência distorcida dentro da religião do Islã".</p> <p><i>(...) Tony Blair advanced the discussion when speaking of the enemy as "a religious ideology, a <u>distorted tendency</u> within the religion of Islam."</i></p> <p>Standard [tendência = direction or form taken by something, e.g., "tendências da moda" [<i>fashion trends</i>]] idiom: [distorcido/a = <i>Lit.</i> quality of something that has been twisted, pulled out of shape <i>Fig.</i> quality of something whose meaning has been misconstrued]</p>

			“distorted tendency” here is read as a tendency to misconstrue the religion
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3) Relations of co-meronymy

3	<p>"Even if these attacks were not the reason why Sharon came up with the idea of disengagement, the Palestinians are certain that that is the case (...)</p> <p>[come up with = to bring forth, produce, introduce]</p>	<p>"Mesmo que esses ataques não tenham influenciado Sharon a adotar a idéia do desligamento, os palestinos estão certos de que é essa a verdade (...)</p> <p><i>"Even if these attacks have not influenced Sharon to <u>adopt</u> the idea of disengagement, the Palestinians are certain that that is the truth (...)</i></p> <p>[adopt = to choose and follow]</p>	<p>“Mesmo que estes ataques não fossem a razão pela qual Sharon propôs a idéia de desengajamento, os palestinos estão certos que sim (...)</p> <p><i>"Even if these attacks were not the reason why Sharon <u>proposed</u> the idea of disengagement, the Palestinians are certain that they were (...)</i></p> <p>[propose = to suggest]</p>
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APPENDIX 3 – Generic structure of ST and TTs in triplet 1

Table 3.1: the ST and its generic structure

Stages	Phases	Title – [Beslan Atrocity:] They're Terrorists - Not_Activists
thesis	Terrorism as self-evident §1	"I know it when I see it" was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the vexed problem of defining pornography. Terrorism may be no less difficult to define, but the wanton killing of schoolchildren, of mourners at a funeral, or workers at their desks in skyscrapers surely fits the know-it-when-I-see-it definition.
Anti-thesis	Use of euphemisms by the press §2	<p>The press, however, generally shies away from the word <i>terrorist</i>, preferring euphemisms. Take the assault that led to the deaths of some 400 people, many of them children, in Beslan, Russia, on September 3. Journalists have delved deep into their thesauruses, finding at least twenty euphemisms for terrorists:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assailants - National Public Radio. • Attackers – the <i>Economist</i>. • Bombers – the <i>Guardian</i>. • Captors – the Associated Press. • Commandos – Agence France-Presse refers to the terrorists both as "membres du commando" and "commando." • Criminals - the <i>Times</i> (London). • Extremists – United Press International. • Fighters – the <i>Washington Post</i>. • Group – the <i>Australian</i>. • Guerrillas - in a <i>New York Post</i> editorial. • Gunmen – Reuters. • Hostage-takers - the <i>Los Angeles Times</i>. • Insurgents – in a <i>New York Times</i> headline. • Kidnappers – the <i>Observer</i> (London). • Militants – the <i>Chicago Tribune</i>. • Perpetrators – the <i>New York Times</i>. • Radicals – the BBC. • Rebels – in a <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> headline. • Separatists – the <i>Christian Science monitor</i>.
<i>continues</i>	§3	<p>And my favorite:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activists – the <i>Pakistan Times</i>.

Anti-thesis	Origins of use of euphemisms §4	The origins of this unwillingness to name terrorists seems to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, prompted by an odd combination of sympathy in the press for the Palestinian Arabs and intimidation by them. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation less so. Reuters' Nidal al-Mughrabi made the latter explicit in advice for fellow reporters in Gaza to avoid trouble on the Web site www.newssafety.com , where one tip reads: "Never use the word terrorist or terrorism in describing Palestinian gunmen and militants; people consider them heroes of the conflict."
Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Scope of use of euphemisms §5	The reluctance to call terrorists by their rightful name can reach absurd lengths of inaccuracy and apologetics. For example, National Public Radio's <i>Morning Edition</i> announced on April 1, 2004, that "Israeli troops have arrested 12 men they say were wanted militants." But CAMERA, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, pointed out the inaccuracy here and NPR issued an on-air correction on April 26: "Israeli military officials were quoted as saying they had arrested 12 men who were 'wanted militants.' But the actual phrase used by the Israeli military was 'wanted terrorists.'"
	§6	(At least NPR corrected itself. When the <i>Los Angeles Times</i> made the same error, writing that "Israel staged a series of raids in the West Bank that the army described as hunts for wanted Palestinian militants," its editors refused CAMERA's request for a correction on the grounds that its change in terminology did not occur in a direct quotation.)
	§7	<i>Metro</i> , a Dutch paper, ran a picture on May 3, 2004, of two gloved hands belonging to a person taking fingerprints off a dead terrorist. The caption read: "An Israeli police officer takes fingerprints of a dead Palestinian. He is one of the victims (<i>slachtoffers</i>) who fell in the Gaza strip yesterday." One of the victims!
	spread of euphemisms §8	Euphemistic usage then spread from the Arab-Israeli conflict to other theaters. As terrorism picked up in Saudi Arabia such press outlets as <i>The Times (London)</i> and the Associated Press began routinely using <i>militants</i> in reference to Saudi terrorists. Reuters uses it with reference to Kashmir and Algeria.
	§9	Thus has militants become the press's default term for terrorists.
	consequences of euphemistic usage §10	These self-imposed language limitations sometimes cause journalists to tie themselves into knots. In reporting the murder of one of its own cameraman, the BBC, which normally avoids the word <i>terrorist</i> , found itself using that term. In another instance, the search engine on the BBC website includes the word <i>terrorist</i> but the page linked to has had that word expurgated.
	§11	Politically-correct news organizations undermine their credibility with such subterfuges. How can one trust what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is being semi-denied?
	§12	Worse, the multiple euphemisms for <i>terrorist</i> obstruct a clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. It is bad enough that only one of five articles discussing the Beslan atrocity mentions its Islamist origins; worse is the miasma of words that insulates the public from the evil of terrorism.

Table 3.2: TT1 and its generic structure

Stages	Phases	Title – Eles são terroristas, não ativistas <i>They're terrorists, not activists</i>
thesis	Terrorism as self-evident §1	<p>"Eu a reconheço quando a vejo" foi a famosa resposta de um juiz da Suprema Corte dos Estados Unidos à controversa questão de como definir a pornografia. É provável que o terrorismo não seja menos difícil de definir, porém a matança gratuita e cruel de crianças em uma escola, de enlutados em um funeral ou de trabalhadores colhidos em seus escritórios nos arranha-céus com certeza se encaixa no tipo de definição "sei-o-que-é-quando-vejo-um".</p> <p><i>"I recognize it when I see it", was the famous response by a U.S. Supreme Court justice to the controversial issue of how to define pornography. It is probable that terrorism be no less difficult to define, but the gratuitous and cruel killing of children at a school, of mourners at a funeral or of workers reaped in their offices in skyscrapers surely fits the "know-what-it-is-when-I-see-one" type of definition.</i></p>
anti-thesis	Use of euphemisms by the press §2	<p>Os jornais, contudo, fogem em regra da palavra "terrorista", preferindo os eufemismos. Vejam o ataque que levou à morte cerca de 400 pessoas, muitas delas crianças, em Beslan, Rússia, no dia 3 de setembro. Os jornalistas reviraram seus dicionários e encontraram no mínimo vinte eufemismos para "terroristas":</p> <p><i>The newspapers, however, generally run away from the word "terrorist", preferring euphemisms. Take the assault that led to the deaths of around 400 people, many of them children, in Russia, on September 3. Journalists turned their dictionaries inside out and found at least 20 euphemisms for "terrorists":</i></p> <p>Agressores - National Public Radio <i>Aggressors - National Public Radio</i></p> <p>Autores do atentado — o Economist <i>Authors of the attempt — the Economist</i></p> <p>Homens-bomba — o Guardian <i>Men bombs — the Guardian</i></p> <p>Captores — o Associated Press <i>Captors — the Associated Press</i></p>
<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>

<p>anti-thesis</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Use of euphemisms by the press</p> <p>§2</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Comando — a Agence France-Presse refere-se aos terroristas ou como "membros do comando", ou como "o comando" <i>Commando – the Agence France-Presse refers to the terrorists as "membres du commando" or "the commando."</i></p> <p>Criminosos - o <i>Times</i> (Londres) <i>Criminals - the Times (Londres)</i></p> <p>Extremistas – United Press International <i>Extremists – United Press International.</i></p> <p>Combatentes – o <i>Washington Post</i> <i>Combatants – the Washington Post</i></p> <p>Grupo – o <i>Australian</i> <i>Group – the Australian</i></p> <p>Guerrilheiros – em um editorial do <i>New York Post</i> <i>Guerrillas – in a New York Post editorial</i></p> <p>Homens armados – Reuters. <i>Armed men – Reuters.</i></p> <p>Invasores - o <i>Los Angeles Times</i>. <i>Invaders - the Los Angeles Times.</i></p> <p>Insurgentes – em manchete do <i>New York Times</i> <i>Insurgents – in a New York Times headline</i></p> <p>Seqüestradores – o <i>Observer</i> (Londres) <i>Kidnappers – the Observer (Londres)</i></p> <p>Militantes – o <i>Chicago Tribune</i> <i>Militants – the Chicago Tribune</i></p> <p>Perpetradores – o <i>New York Times</i> <i>Perpetrators – the New York Times</i></p> <p><i>continues</i></p>
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anti-thesis	Use of euphemisms by the press §2	Radicais – a BBC <i>Radicals – the BBC</i> Rebeldes – em manchete do <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> <i>Rebels – in a Sydney Morning Herald headline</i> Separatistas – o <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> <i>Separatists – the Christian Science Monitor</i>
anti-thesis	§3 Origins of use of euphemisms §4	E o meu favorito: <i>And my favorite:</i> Ativistas — o <i>Pakistan Times</i> . <i>Activists — the Pakistan Times.</i> As origens dessa má-vontade em nomear os terroristas parecem estar no conflito árabe-israelense, motivada por uma estranha combinação entre a simpatia manifesta da imprensa e os atos de intimidação dos árabes-palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida; a intimidação, menos. Nidal al-Mughrabi, da Reuters, referiu-se à segunda de maneira explícita quando aconselhou os correspondentes em Gaza a evitarem problemas, dando a seguinte dica no website www.newssafety.com : "nunca use a palavra 'terrorista' ou 'terrorismo' ao descrever palestinos armados e militantes; para as pessoas, eles são os heróis do conflito." <i>The origins of this unwillingness to name the terrorists seem to lie in the Arab-Israeli conflict, motivated by an odd combination between the manifest sympathy of the press and the intimidation acts of the Palestinian Arabs. The sympathy is well known; the intimidation, less. Reuters' Nidal al_Mughrabi explicitly referred to the latter when he advised Gaza correspondents to avoid problems, offering them the following tip in the website www.newssafety.com: "never use the word 'terrorist' or 'terrorism' in describing armed and militant Palestinians; to people, they are the heroes of the conflict."</i>
Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Scope of use of euphemisms §5	A relutância em chamar os terroristas pelo nome correto pode atingir níveis absurdos de inexatidão e justificações. Por exemplo, o programa <i>Morning Edition</i> , da <i>National Public Radio</i> , anunciou em 1º de abril de 2004 que "as tropas israelenses prenderam doze homens apontados como "militantes procurados". Mas o Camera, <i>Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America</i> , denunciou o erro e a NPR fez a correção no ar, no dia 26 de abril: "noticiamos que as forças israelenses tinham comunicado a detenção de doze homens que eram 'militantes procurados'. Entretanto, a frase originalmente usada pelos militares israelenses foi 'terroristas procurados'." <i>continues</i>
<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>

Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Scope of use of euphemisms	<i>The reluctance to call terrorists by their correct name can reach absurd levels of inaccuracy and justifications. For example, National Public Radio's program Morning Edition announced on April 1, 2004 that "Israeli troops have arrested 12 men considered wanted militants". But the Camera, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America [untranslated], denounced the error and NPR issued an on-air correction on April 26: "we reported that Israeli forces had announced the arrest of 12 men who were 'wanted militants'. However, the phrase originally used by the Israeli military officials was 'wanted terrorists.'"</i>
	§5	
	§6	(A NPR, pelo menos, corrigiu-se. Quando o <i>Los Angeles Times</i> cometeu o mesmo erro, ao escrever que "Israel efetuou uma série de operações na Margem Ocidental que o exército definiu como buscas a militantes palestinos procurados", os editores recusaram-se a corrigir o engano conforme lhes pedira o Camera, com o argumento de que a mudança na terminologia não havia alterado nenhuma citação direta.) (NPR, at least, corrected itself. When the <i>Los Angeles Times</i> committed the same error, writing that "Israel staged a series of operations in the West Bank which the army defined as searches for wanted Palestinian militants", the editors refused to correct the mistake as Camera asked them to, on the grounds that the change in terminology had not altered any direct quotation.)
	§7	O Metro, um jornal holandês, publicou uma foto, em 3 de maio de 2004, das duas mãos enluvadas de alguém que tirava as impressões digitais de um terrorista morto. A legenda dizia: "um oficial da polícia israelense toma as impressões digitais de um morto palestino. Ele é uma das vítimas (<i>slachtoffers</i>) que morreram ontem, na Faixa de Gaza." Uma das vítimas! <i>Metro, a Dutch newspaper, ran a picture, on May 3, of 2 gloved hands of someone who took fingerprints of a dead terrorist. The caption read: "an Israeli police officer takes fingerprints of a Palestinian dead person. He is one of the victims (slachtoffers) who died yesterday, in the Gaza strip. One of the victims!</i>
	spread of euphemisms	O emprego de eufemismos espalhou-se do conflito árabe-israelense para outros palcos. À medida que o terrorismo se intensificava na Arábia Saudita, os meios de comunicação, como o <i>Times (de Londres)</i> e a Associated Press, começaram a usar regularmente "militantes" em referência aos terroristas sauditas. A Reuters emprega-o em relação à Caxemira e à Argélia. <i>The use of euphemisms spread from the Arab-Israeli conflict to other stages. While terrorism increased in Saudi Arabia, media, like the Times (London's) and the Associated Press, began regularly using "militants" in reference to Saudi terrorists. Reuters uses it with reference to Kashmir and Algeria.</i>
§8		
§9	"Militantes" tornou-se, assim, o termo padrão para terroristas. <i>"Militants became, thus, the standard term for terrorists.</i>	
<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>	<i>continues</i>

Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Consequences of euphemistic usage §10	Essas restrições de linguagem auto-impostas por vezes colocam os jornalistas em becos sem saída. Ao noticiar a morte de um de seus próprios câmaras, a BBC, que normalmente evita a palavra "terrorista", acabou por a utilizar. Para dar outro exemplo, o mecanismo de busca instalado no website da BBC indica uma ocorrência para "terrorista", mas a palavra foi expurgada da página em questão. <i>These self-imposed language limitations sometimes lead journalists into blind alleys. In reporting the death of one of its own cameramen, the BBC, which normally avoids the word "terrorist", ended up using it. To give another example, the search engine installed in the BBC website indicates one occurrence for "terrorist" but the word has been expurgated from the page in question.</i>
	§11	Agências de notícias politicamente corretas arriscam a credibilidade com tais subterfúgios. Como alguém pode acreditar naquilo que lê, escuta ou vê, quando o fato auto-evidente do terrorismo é parcialmente negado? <i>Politically correct news organizations risk their credibility with such subterfuges. How can one believe what one reads, hears, or sees when the self-evident fact of terrorism is partially denied?</i>
	§12	Pior, os múltiplos eufemismos para "terrorista" impedem o entendimento claro das violentas ameaças com que se defronta o mundo civilizado. Já é ruim o bastante que apenas um de cada cinco artigos sobre a atrocidade de Beslan mencione as origens islâmicas do atentado; pior ainda é o miasma que se desprende das palavras e isola o público do mal do terrorismo. <i>Worse: the multiple euphemisms for "terrorist" obstruct the clear understanding of the violent threats confronting the civilized world. It is already sufficiently bad that only one of five articles about the Beslan atrocity mention the Islamist origins of the attempt. Even worse is the miasma which rises from the words and isolates the public from the evil of terrorism.</i>

Table 3.2: TT1 and its generic structure

Stages	Phases	Title – Eles São Terroristas, Não Ativistas ou Vítimas! <i>They Are Terrorists, Not Activists or Victims!</i>
summary	LEAD	A imprensa usa até 20 eufemismos para descrever os malfeitores muçulmanos. Ao agir assim, impede um entendimento claro do violento confronto que ameaça o mundo civilizado. <i>The Press uses up to 20 euphemisms to describe Muslim wrongdoers. In doing so, it obstructs a clear understanding of the violent confrontation that threatens the civilized world.</i>

<p>Anti-thesis</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Use of euphemisms by the press</p> <p>§2</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Criminosos (Criminals) - The Times (London) <i>Criminals (Criminals) - The Times (London)</i></p> <p>Extremistas (Extremists) — United Press International. <i>Extremists (Extremists) - United Press International.</i></p> <p>Lutadores (Fighters) — The Washington Post. <i>Fighters (Fighters) — The Washington Post.</i></p> <p>Grupo (Group) — The Australian. <i>Group (Group) — The Australian.</i></p> <p>Guerrilheiros (Guerrillas) – Em um editorial do New York Post. <i>Guerrillas (Guerrillas) – in a New York Post editorial.</i></p> <p>Pistoleiros (Gunmen) — Reuters. <i>Contract killers (Gunmen) - Reuters.</i></p> <p>Sequestradores (Hostage-takers) - The Los Angeles Times. <i>Abductors (Hostage-takers) - The Los Angeles Times.</i></p> <p>Insurgentes (Insurgents) — Numa manchete do New York Times. <i>Insurgents (Insurgents) — in a headline of the New York Times.</i></p> <p>Raptores (Kidnappers) — The Observer (London). <i>Kidnappers (Kidnappers) — The Observer (London).</i></p> <p>Militantes (Militants) — The Chicago Tribune. <i>Militants (Militants) — The Chicago Tribune.</i></p> <p>Perpetradores (Perpetrators) — The New York Times. <i>Perpetrators (Perpetrators) — The New York Times.</i></p> <p>Radicais (Radicals) — The BBC. <i>Radicals (Radicals) — The BBC.</i></p> <p>Rebeldes (Rebels) — Em uma manchete do Sydney Morning Herald. <i>Rebels (Rebels) — in a headline of the Sydney Morning Herald.</i></p> <p><i>continues</i></p>
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Anti-thesis	<p>Use of euphemisms by the press</p> <p>§2</p> <p>§3</p>	<p>Separatistas (Separatists) — <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>. <i>Separatists (Separatists) — The Daily Telegraph</i></p> <p>E a minha favorita: <i>And my favorite:</i></p> <p>Ativistas (Activists) — <i>The Pakistan Times</i> <i>Activists (Activists) — The Pakistan Times</i></p>
	<p>Origins of use of euphemisms</p> <p>§4</p>	<p>A origem desta má-vontade em rotular corretamente os terroristas parece vir do conflito árabe-israelense, induzida por uma estranha combinação, pela mídia, de simpatia e intimidação pelos palestinos. A simpatia é bem conhecida, a intimidação nem tanto. O jornalista Nidal al_Mughrabi, da Agência Reuters, no entanto, a explicitou num documento “aviso aos colegas repórteres”: “Nunca use o termo terrorista ao se referir aos pistoleiros e militantes palestinos; as pessoas os consideram heróis do conflito”.</p> <p><i>The origin of this unwillingness to label terrorists correctly seems to come from the Arab-Israeli conflict, induced by an odd combination, by the media, of sympathy and intimidation by the Palestinians. The sympathy is well known, the intimidation not so much. Journalist Nidal al-Mughrabi, of the Reuters agency, however, made it explicit in a document “advice to fellow reporters:” “Never use the term terrorist in reference to Palestinian contract killers and militants; people consider them the heroes of the conflict.”</i></p>
<p>Rebuttal of anti-thesis</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Scope of use of euphemisms</p> <p>§5</p> <p><i>continues</i></p>	<p>Essa relutância de chamar os terroristas pelo seu correto termo atinge as raízes do absurdo. Por exemplo, o programa “Morning Edition” de primeiro de abril de 2004, da rádio Pública Nacional dos EUA (NPR) anunciou que “tropas israelenses prenderam 12 homens, considerados por eles militantes procurados”. Mas a organização CAMERA (Comitê pela exatidão do noticiário do Oriente Médio na América), anunciou o erro, e a rádio emitiu um comunicado de correção, no dia 26 de abril: “Militares israelenses anunciaram que foram presos 12 homens procurados como militantes”. Mas na verdade, a frase real utilizada pelos militares era “procurados como terroristas”.</p> <p><i>This reluctance to call terrorists by their correct term reaches the boundaries of absurd. For example, National Public Radio's (NPR) program “Morning Edition” of April 1, 2004 announced that “Israeli troops have arrested 12 men considered by them wanted militants”. But the organization CAMERA (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America [translated into Portuguese]), announced the error, and the radio issued a communication of correction, on April 26: “Israeli military officials announced that 12 men who are wanted militants, have been arrested”. But, actually, the real phrase used by the military officials was “wanted as terrorists.”</i></p> <p><i>continues</i></p>

Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Scope of use of euphemisms	Ao menos a NPR se corrigiu. O jornal The Los Angeles Times quando cometeu o mesmo erro, recusou o pedido da CAMERA de corrigir a sua edição de 24 de abril onde anunciava que “Israel executou uma série de ataques na Cisjordânia descritos pelo seu exército como busca por militantes palestinos”, alegando que a mudança na terminologia não ocorreu numa citação direta.
	§6	
	§7	<p><i>At least NPR corrected itself. The newspaper The Los Angeles Times when it committed the same error, it refused CAMERA’s request to correct its April 24 edition where it announced that “Israel staged a series of attacks in the West Bank which were described by its army as a search for Palestinian militants, claiming that the change in terminology did not occur in a direct quotation.</i></p> <p>O jornal holandês Metro exibiu em 3 de maio uma foto de 2 mãos enluvadas tirando impressões digitais de um terrorista morto, cuja legenda dizia: “Um policial israelense tirando digitais de um palestino morto, uma das vítimas (slachtoffers) que tombaram ontem na faixa de Gaza”. Uma das vítimas!</p> <p><i>The Dutch newspaper Metro showed on May 3 a picture of 2 gloved hands taking fingerprints of a dead terrorist, whose caption read: “An Israeli police officer taking fingerprints of a dead Palestinian, one of the victims (slachtoffers) who fell yesterday in the Gaza strip”. One of the victims!</i></p>
	spread of euphemisms	Essa utilização de eufemismos se espalhou então do conflito árabe-israelense para outros cenários. Os terroristas responsáveis pelos ataques na Arábia Saudita são chamados rotineiramente pelos jornal The Times (London) e pela agência Associated Press de militantes. A Reuters também os chama assim na Caxemira e Argélia.
§8	<i>This use of euphemisms spread then from the Arab-Israeli conflict to other sceneries. Terrorists responsible for the attacks in Saudi Arabia are routinely called militants by the newspaper The Times (London) and by the agency Associated Press. Reuters also calls them so in Kashmir and Algeria.</i>	
§9	Assim, militantes se tornou o termo padrão para terroristas.	
		<i>Thus, militants became the standard term for terrorists.</i>
Consequences of euphemistic usage	Esta auto-imposta limitação de linguagem traz embaraços para os próprios jornalistas. Ao relatar a morte de um dos seus câmera-man, a BBC (que normalmente evita o termo terrorista), utilizou-o. No entanto, uma pesquisa no site da BBC que incluía a palavra terrorista leva à uma página em que esse termo foi expurgado.	
§10	<i>This self-imposed language limitation brings embarrassments to journalists themselves. In reporting the death of one of its cameramen, the BBC (which normally avoids using the term terrorist) used it. However, a search on BBC’s site that includes the word terrorist leads to a page in which this term has been expurgated.</i>	
continues	continues	

Rebuttal of anti-thesis	Consequences of euphemistic usage §11	<p>As organizações de mídia ao tentarem ser politicamente corretas, afetam sua própria credibilidade com esses subterfúgios. Como uma pessoa pode confiar no noticiário que lê, ouve ou vê, quando o fato do terrorismo está sendo semi-encoberto, contra todas as evidências?</p> <p><i>Media organizations in attempting to be politically correct, damage their own credibility with these subterfuges. How can a person trust the news they read, hear or see, when the fact of terrorism is being semi-hidden, against all evidences?</i></p>
	§12	<p>E o que é pior: os múltiplos eufemismos para terrorista impedem a correta compreensão da violenta ameaça ao mundo civilizado. Somente 1 em cada 5 artigos noticiando a atrocidade (na escola) de Beslan menciona suas origens islâmicas; esse miasma de palavras como que isola o público do perigo do terrorismo.</p> <p><i>And what is worse: the multiple euphemisms for terrorist obstruct the correct comprehension of the violent threat to the civilized world. Only 1 of 5 articles reporting the atrocity (at the school) in Beslan mentions its Islamic origins; this miasma of words isolates, as it were, the public from the danger of terrorism.</i></p>

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