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Article:

Munday, JS (2015) Engagement and Graduation resources as markers of translator/interpreter positioning. *Target*, 27 (3). 406 - 412. ISSN 0924-1884

<https://doi.org/10.1075/target.27.3.05mun>

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Engagement and Graduation resources as markers of translator/interpreter positioning

Jeremy Munday

University of Leeds

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

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

1. Introduction

In this article my main concern is the linguistic modelling of translator positioning through applications of appraisal theory. I draw strongly on a systemic functional

linguistic (SFL) model of language in which the actualization of ‘meaning potential’ expresses and constructs a certain discourse and view of reality. Following Halliday (1978, 109), ‘meaning potential’ refers to the range of lexicogrammatical and other choices open to the text producer at all points in a text, constrained by genre and text-type conventions. There is always meaning behind these mainly paradigmatic selections (O’Grady 2013, 2), but we need to be aware of the choice available in order to reliably evaluate the text producer’s, and the translator’s, interventions (Munday 2007). [1]

2. Systemic functional linguistics and appraisal theory

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

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

Please place Table 1 around here

Domain of appraisal	Category	Value	Illustrative realization
Attitude	Affect	Feelings and emotional reactions	Happy, sad
	Judgement	Of ethics, behaviour, capacity	Wrong, brave
	Appreciation	Of things, phenomena, reactions	Beautiful, authentic
Engagement	Monogloss	Single-voiced	Categorical assertion
	Heterogloss	Contractive Expansive	Show, certainly Claim, nearly, possibly
Graduation	Force	Raise Lower	Totally extinct Slightly worried

	Focus	Sharpen	A true champion
		Soften	Kind of blue

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

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

2.1 Engagement

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

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

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

(1) Sanctioning one or two of these illegal négociants who fraudulently export cassiterite **may possibly** demonstrate to others that punitive measures can be taken. However, most economic operators in the area know that these measures are rarely applied. Even if sanctions target one or two notorious operators with financial or travel restrictions, this would **most probably** not effect a change in overall behaviour, since the elimination of one makes room for others. [3]

The epistemic modals highlighted in bold give an evaluation of probability that entertains alternative positions (cf. Martin and White 2005, 108-109) while the underlined discourse markers (however, even if) are counter-expectancy indicators that rhetorically deny the previous proposition (demonstrate ... taken). In this way the text

engages with the audience and builds solidarity for its tentatively expressed argument, namely that sanctions against a few individuals are probably not effective.

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

By contrast, Qian's (2012) analysis of a Chinese translation of a question-and-answer session with the then US Vice President Dick Cheney, finds that the target text reduces some explicit indicators of engagement (*I think*, *certainly*, *of course*) and leaves the position of the speaker somewhat vaguer than in the source text. While Qian (p. 1786) hypothesizes that one of the reasons is that Chinese prefers tighter semantic cohesion, it is also quite possible that some of these omissions are due to text mode: the source text, simply because it is unscripted spoken language, is inevitably less cohesive, more staccato, as Cheney resorts to these typical patterns of positioning to persuade his listeners. However, the formality of written translation is more likely to reduce precisely those features because they characterise spoken language.

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

2.1.1. Reporting verbs

In translation studies, apart from a very descriptive contribution from Ardekani (2002) who considers them as culture-bound items, reporting verbs have generally been overlooked. In applied linguistics, however, they are the key element in research into academic and other writing. A classic study, Thompson and Ye (1991), modified by Hyland (2004: 28), classifies reporting verbs into three rhetorical functions: research (e.g. observe, show), cognition (believe, consider) and discourse acts (discuss, state)

of the United Nations Security Council on 27 January 2010 to debate the situation in Palestine, the blockade of Gaza and the stalled Palestinian– Israeli negotiations. [4] Each participant in the meeting delivered a statement giving their government’s view of the situation. As an engagement resource, reporting verbs are crucial for indicating the producer’s perceived level of confidence in the statement and as a means of attempting to control audience response:

- (2) History **shows** that nothing substitutes for negotiations between the parties.
- (3) There was a substantial increase in Israeli military operations [...] in response to **alleged** security threats.

In (2), the Israeli ambassador uses the contractive reporting verb *shows*, with a high degree of certainty and maximum authorial investment; in (3), the UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs follows the monoglossic categorical assertion of fact (There was a substantial increase...) with the expansive verb *alleged* to distance himself from the second proposition (that there are indeed ‘security threats’) by attributing the statement to the another voice, that of the Israelis themselves. Example 4 uses a similar strategy:

- (4) There is broad international convergence on the parameters of a settlement, and the two leaders **claim** to want a negotiated settlement.

With the categorical assertion (There is broad international convergence...) the speaker (the UK ambassador) projects as fact that the international community is as one on this matter while the reporting verb *claim* casts some doubt on the Israeli and Palestinian

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

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

On this occasion, the Arabic original of the reporting verb is *yadda'ī* ('claim'), similar in force to the English; the French employs the very sceptical *prétend* ('claim/allege') while the Spanish uses the more neutral *asegura* ('assures').[5] Comparison of the whole extract with the Arabic source text shows that the English translation standardizes the voices. The Arabic places quotation marks around the word *musallamāt* ('postulates', rendered by the TT as constants above) to signal another voice, whether it be Netanyahu's own or the Lebanese ambassador's interpretation. It is unclear at what point the punctuation was added to the Arabic. We are dealing with a spoken intervention from the ambassador, but it is not impossible that it featured in a

prepared written text – or it was added later in the process of transcription. What is clear is that this acknowledgement of the other voice is absent from both the French and Spanish versions of this extract. Such apparently minor linguistic shifts in translation play a potentially important role in positioning the speaker in respect of the statement and at the same time in activating reader response.

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

(6) the Palestinian leadership **maintains** that peace negotiations cannot resume while Israeli settlement activities continue.

(7) let me **state** here clearly, as I have **stated** in numerous letters of complaint...

In both sentences, the French uses the calque *maintenir*, while the Spanish uses *sostener* ('sustain') for *maintains* followed by *señalar* ('indicate') and *afirmar* ('affirm') for the *state/stated* example. These choices correspond to the category of non-factive verbs with generally neutral evaluation, with the exception of the intuitively more positive *afirmar*. However, the subjectivity of the assessment of such evaluation requires further investigation in order to understand the rhetorical shifts of positioning that may occur in translation. Let us take the example of *afirmar* in the last example. The Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy (DRAE) defines its reporting sense as: "To assure or give something as certain".[6] Prominent bilingual dictionaries give a range of possible translation equivalents: *assert, state, and affirm that* (Collins Spanish Dictionary, 47) and *state, declare, assert, along with examples with say and with confirm* (Oxford Bilingual Dictionary, 21); all, with the exception of the more neutral *state* and *say*, seem to be non-factive and positive. Moving beyond the traditional dictionary to look at a

parallel-text resource such as Linguee, often used by translators in their search for equivalents, gives a wider list of possible candidates, in order of presentation as follows: claim, affirm, assert, confirm, assure, establish, maintain, contend, attach, submit, protest, aver.[7] The striking inclusion is the verb claim, a very tentative non-factive. This is thrown into starker relief when the Linguee sample of this sense of *afirmar* is subjected to more detailed analysis. In 52 sentence pairs containing *afirma/afirmar* in a reporting sense, the English equivalents are as follows:[8]

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

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

(8a) No obstante, seis meses después de la adquisición ya se puede **afirmar** que ha sido muy positiva para el valor de la franquicia.

(8b) However, six months after the acquisition, it is safe **to say** that it has been very positive about the franchise.

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

(9a) Japan has **claimed** that it has done everything it had to do in terms of apologizing for its past crimes.

(9b) El Japón **afirma** que ha hecho todo lo posible para disculparse por sus crímenes pasados.

(‘Japan affirms that it has done everything possible to apologise for past crimes’)

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

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

(10a) This testing initiative is **arguably** the most significant educational reform in the recent history of Kyrgyzstan.

(10b) Cette initiative **a été saluée comme** la réforme éducative la plus significative de *l’histoire récente du Kirghizistan*.

(10c) **Cabe afirmar que** esta iniciativa ha sido la reforma educativa más importante de la reciente historia de Kirguistán.

Once again, target texts (10b) and (10c) are literal translations except for the indicator of engagement carried out by the reporting verb. The Spanish *cabe afirmar que* ('it is appropriate to affirm that') here translates the English modal adverb *arguably* and French passive construction *a été saluée comme* ('has been greeted as'). In Martin and White's typology of value and orientation (2005, 17), *arguably* would be located as an expression of moderate subjectivity-objectivity and medium intensity, similar to *probably*; *arguably* is a form of dialogic expansion, or hedging (Hyland 2005), the writers wishing to distance themselves from categorical assertion for which they have insufficient evidence. They do this with the addition of this single adverbial, giving space for alternative voices in the text. In this case, the French performs this function by attributing the statement to unnamed third parties (thus reducing the translator's own investment in the statement) but any hedging in the Spanish would depend on the reader's doubtful identification of *afirmar* as being constrictive rather than expansive.

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

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

Most of the translation equivalents listed above could plausibly be used to render the Spanish source. But the selection of *say*, *claim*, *affirm*, *argue*, etc. depends on the translator's interpretation of its rhetorical function. That interpretation in turn constrains the target text receiver's reading of the statement. Since translators often operate to

minimize risk (Pym 2015), it may be hypothesized that for such examples the most likely translation would be the most neutral one (cf. the popularity above of say as an equivalent) or one which calques the source text (affirms). To choose the equivalent claim would involve the translator's very heightened investment in constrictive evaluation since it would carry with it an implicit questioning of the plausibility of Microsoft's statement. The choice of affirm would also indicate greater investment, but would perhaps be less risky since the implicit connotation is positive and thus not challenging to the proposition.

3. Deictic positioning

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

(12a) Israeli security concerns can and must be reconciled with the suspension of the blockade of Gaza. **In fact**, it has been **argued here** that Israeli security stands to gain from the lifting of the blockade, and we **certainly** believe so.

(12b) Las preocupaciones israelíes respecto de la seguridad deben y pueden ser conciliadas con la suspensión del bloqueo de Gaza. **De hecho**, se ha **afirmado** que la seguridad de Israel se va a beneficiar con el levantamiento del bloqueo, y nosotros **ciertamente** creemos que es así.

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

PLEASE PLACE FIGURE 2 HERE

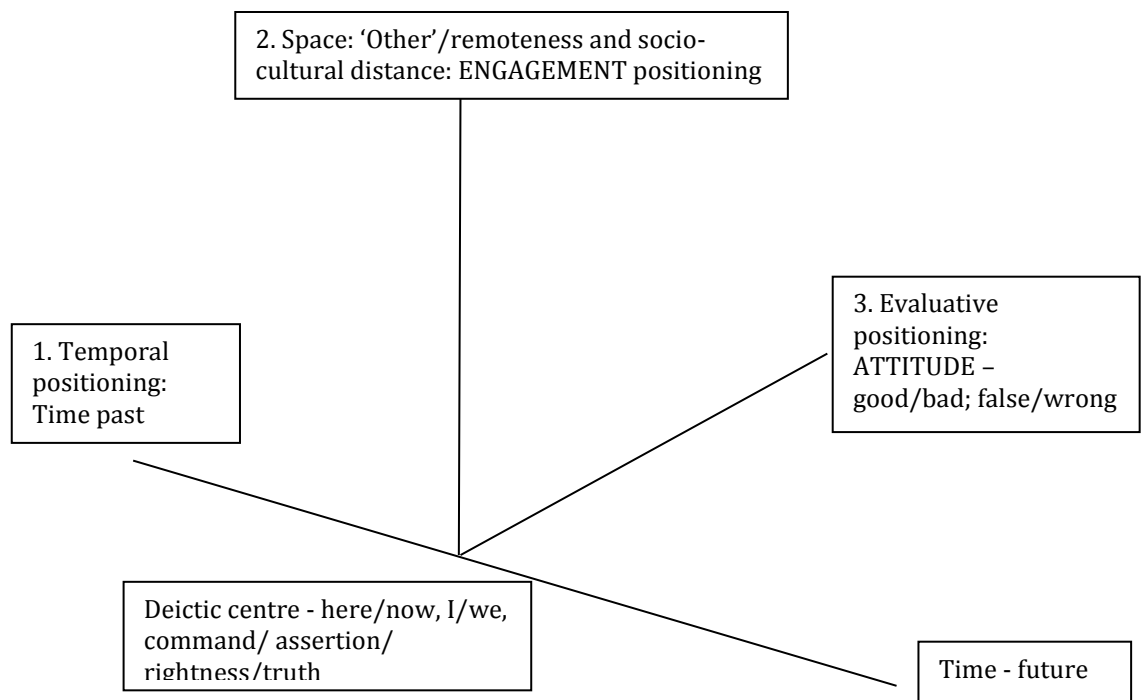


Figure 2. Dimensions of evaluation (adapted from Chilton 2004, 58).

Chilton’s original diagram was oriented towards the representation of political stance; in a speech, the speaker will typically locate him/herself in the centre and opponents/enemies/dispreferred values at a distance on the three axes of (1) time, (2) space, and (3) modality. The new adaptation of the diagram in Figure 2 incorporates the appraisal realizations: the modality axis is expanded to include all expressions of attitudinal value in what I have termed ‘evaluative positioning’; and the space and social distance axis represents ‘engagement positioning’. The time axis would relate to the time difference between publication or utterance of the source text and translation. In the case of simultaneous interpreting, the difference would be almost indistinct, while the translation of a classic literary text may be very distant from the publication of the original. Translators, of course, may consciously or subconsciously distance themselves from the deictic centre at the macro or micro levels depending on how far they articulate

the speaker's degree of investment in the proposition. Variation in degree would be indicated by a shift in location along the axes or a highlighted or diminished strength. This is the realm of graduation.

4. Graduation

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

Intensification is directly linked to writer and reader positioning, as Martin and White explain: "upscaling of attitude frequently acts to construe the speaker/writer as maximally committed to the value position being advanced and hence as strongly outlining the reader into that value position" (152). This 'community of shared value' should be rhetorically coherent in the source text if the writer's intention is to function effectively. However, I suggest that the translator's intervention in a text may disrupt this community since the translator mostly has less investment in the text. To illustrate this, Example 13 is the concluding statement in the European Parliament debate of 24 November 2014 on a controversial motion of censure on the European Commission. This occurred following leaks about alleged tax avoidance schemes set up by

multinational companies in Luxembourg earlier during the premiership of Jean-Claude Juncker, the recently elected Commission president. The polyglot Juncker ends his intervention in the debate with an impassioned plea, beginning in French and concluding in German:

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

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

(Gloss) I was elected on a proposal on tax rules that I intend to implement and I would like all those who know the subject – and they are many because they were prime ministers, finance ministers, national parliamentarians – to support me in this move. I say very solemnly...

Please stop insulting me! I'm still someone one can insult. There are some here who one can really no longer insult. Me one can still insult. I'm doing what I promised here in the house. I'm doing that one hundred percent and with all my strength!

(13b Interpreted TT) I was elected on the basis of the fiscal rules that I wish to bring into operation and ... erm ... there are many ... erm ... erm ... people I know in ... who operate in this area and I would call on all of those ... erm ... ministers and others to

support me in so doing. So may I ask you to stop ... erm ... insulting me ... you know ... I may be thick-skinned ... you can feel free I suppose to ... erm ... cast aspersions about me but ... erm ... I would rather get on with my job. Thank you. [12]

However high the calibre of linguist in such conference settings, the very process of interpreting inevitably causes some shift in positioning. Here, at the macro-level, the English language interpreter seamlessly deals with both source languages (French and German) in such a way that the listeners would most probably be unaware of the dialogic contraction of voice into a single target language. Nevertheless, they would be accepting the expansion in voice produced because of the fact that the Juncker is being interpreted by a female voice. When it comes to the micro-level, the constraints under which interpreters work inevitably mean that there is some omission of detail in pursuit of the overall goal of a coherent discourse. In this particular example, I would argue that the omissions and changes generally reduce the intensity and directness of the source text: thus, the distinguished list of experts whom Juncker calls on for support ('prime ministers, finance ministers, national parliamentarians) is reduced to simply ministers, the omission of the qualifiers prime and finance reduces their value; the direct, though polite, *Hören Sie bitte auf, mich zu beleidigen!* ('Please stop insulting me!') is translated with the modal interrogative *May I ask you....* and hedging is introduced through indicators of solidarity and entertainment of other opinions (you know ... I suppose). The prominent markers of intensity in the source text (in the gloss: 'I say **very** solemnly' and 'I'm doing that **one hundred percent** and **with all my strength!**') are notable by their omission or total standardization. All in all, this example is a remarkable instance of downscaled graduation that affects the attitudinal values of Judgement presented by Juncker in his spirited defence.

5. Concluding remarks

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

Notes

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

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

3 United Nations Security Council Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 8 of resolution 1698 (2006) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 8 February 2007, p. 8

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/DRC%20S200768.pdf>

4 The verbatim transcript and official translations are available at

<http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/A31CA28BA00F4CBE852576BA005416FB>

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

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

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

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

9 Hallak, Jacques, and Muriel Poisson. 2009. *Corrupt Schools, Corrupt Universities: What Can be Done?* Paris; Unesco. French version entitled *Écoles corrompues*,

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universidades corruptas: qué hacer?

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001502/150259f.pdf> p269

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

11 The verbatim transcript of the session is available at

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-%2f%2fEP%2f%2fTEXT%2bCRE%2b20141124%2bITEM-015%2bDOC%2bXML%2bV0%2f%2fEN&language=EN>

12 Transcription made by the author from the video archive available at

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ep-live/en/plenary/video?debate=1416846711653&streamingLanguage=en>

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Author's address

Prof Jeremy Munday
Centre for Translation Studies
School of Languages, Cultures and Societies
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT
UK