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Sono molto contenta di poter presentare un nuovo e pregevole *Occasional Paper*, frutto della collaborazione tra la giovane studiosa Mona Chenani Saleh e la già affermata ricercatrice Alexanne Don.

La Dott.ssa Saleh ha conseguito la laurea nel 2009 e la laurea magistrale nel 2013 presso l'Università Allameh Tabataba'i a Tehran, in Iran, in ambedue i casi specializzandosi nei *Translation Studies*. Attualmente, risiede a Tehran, dove lavora come interprete e traduttrice per una società coreana, una delle aziende sviluppatrici di software più

conosciute in Iran, e porta avanti i suoi studi traduttivi. La sua prima lingua è l'arabo ed ha una perfetta competenza sia in persiano sia in inglese.

La Dott.ssa Alexanne Don risiede da anni in Australia. È ricercatrice indipendente con interessi di ricerca che vertono sulle applicazioni della Linguistica Sistemico-Funzionale (SFL), in particolare sull'uso del quadro teorico dell'Appraisal nell'analisi della costruzione dell'identità nei social media. Esplora anche i meccanismi linguistici della struttura argomentativa. Ha insegnato in istituti scolastici e università a Fukuoka-ken, Giappone, e anche presso l'Università di Birmingham (UK), dove ha conseguito un Dottorato di ricerca in Linguistica Applicata nel 2007, e in seguito anche presso l'Università di Adelaide e l'Università di New South Wales, Sydney. La sua prima laurea in Belle Arti e pedagogia la porta sempre di più a approfondimenti nel campo della semiotica sociale, ma anche a interessi molteplici e di vasto respiro che esulano del tutto dall'accademia, come la sfida dell'orticoltura in un clima secco e l'interagire con la sua macchina fotografica Canon 7D.

Il saggio si intitola:

Ideology and Attitudinal Shift in

Persian Political Interpreting

Il saggio parte dalla premessa che gli interpreti e traduttori non possono essere visti come meri conduttori di significati decontestualizzati. Vanno invece visti come veri e propri 'lettori' di testi che sono sempre radicati in un contesto 'situazionale' (concretamente materiale ma anche sociale) e anche in un contesto culturale ben preciso.

Tali interpreti si possono spesso trovare costretti dalla loro posizione di stipendiati a svolgere il ruolo di agenti di chi li assume – i 'mecenati', la cui influenza può esercitarsi sui modi in cui vengono prodotti le loro letture, magari anche solo inconsciamente.

In base alla loro attenta analisi di due interviste presidenziali e di altri discorsi, teletrasmessi (con traduzione in tempo reale) per un pubblico iraniano, le studiose avanzano l'ipotesi che siano stati infatti fattori extra-linguistici, come la posizione

ideologica del 'patrono', a portare gli interpreti a spostamenti attitudinali verificatisi durante lo svolgimento dei loro compiti e pertanto non scindibili dal contesto politico iraniano all'epoca.

I mutamenti sono emersi dall'indagine testuale – della traduzione letterale in inglese attuata da uno degli autori sia dei testi di partenza sia dei testi, interpretati, di arrivo – con gli appraisal systems (Martin and White 2005). I risultati dimostrano una forte interdipendenza tra ciò che viene detto nella lingua originale e il grado di mediazione da parte degli interpreti nel processo comunicativo. Le autrici presentano ricche evidenze della tendenza degli interpreti ad una mediazione apparentemente tesa a tener fede alla posizione dei loro datori nel contesto politico-ideologico in cui si trovano ad operare.

Donna R. Miller

Donna R. Miller

Responsabile scientifica del CeSLiC e *General Editor* dei Quaderni del CeSLiC

Bologna, li 19 giugno 2019

Ideology and Attitudinal Shift in Persian Political Interpreting

Mona Chenani Saleh

Alexanne Don

1   Introduction

It is now commonly recognised that translators' decision-making is to a great extent affected by the socio-political context in which they work (e.g. Toury, 1995; Cronin, 2006; Hermans, 2009; Van Dijk, 1992; Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990). The focus on "collective schemes and structures" (Meylaerts, 2008:91) led Toury (1995) to define the "various types of sociocultural constraints on human behavior" as norms, a concept deployed in research on texts embedded in sociocultural and political contexts (Meylaerts, 2008:91). Although the interpreter is required to reflect the same stances adopted by the original speaker/writer when converting speech into the target language, sometimes – as demonstrated in the present article – the "different constraints at work" which are "directly related to questions of power and control" (Hermans, 2006: 94) affect this expected goal to a great extent. Questions on how ideology and power impact the production of translations paved the way for the concept of patronage (Lefevere, 1992a). Although initially developed for literary translations, this has since been linked to many issues of power relations (Schäffner, 2007: 137). According to Schäffner (2007: 138) institutions, associations and government bodies that provide funding for publications are examples of patrons (Schäffner, 2007:137). Referring the phenomena of censorship to patronage (Lefevere, 1992a), Schäffner (2007: 138) provides examples of censorship and ideological manipulation in translation and emphasizes the significant role of ideological and political aspects in their audiovisual presentation. Thus, an analysis of target texts

produced by interpreters as 'social and ethical agents' (Hermans, 2009: 94) has the potential to reveal the influence of their patrons (Lefevere, 2009: 94) who may act to control translation production in specific ways. This orientation to the social contexts in which translators practice is exemplified by Hermans (2009) in the area of interpreting, with a particularly egregious instance in which the interpreter of Saddam Hussein's interview was frequently corrected by Saddam Hussein, i.e. the patron himself (Hermans, 2009: 94). Hermans uses this as an example of his argument regarding the constraints of power and control at work in this field, and the way in which these constraints affect the interpreters' performance. At the same time, however, it is still not clear how ideologies dominant in these contexts of power affect the representation of the original speaker's stance through the interpreter's voice. This means that while it is possible to see the influence of the patron, our investigation was concerned with how the interpreter him/herself conveys such ideological stances, which we argue is affected to great deal by the patron's ideology.

Our study aims to provide an insight into some of the ways that ideological/social 'pressures' can affect the ways that interpreters may feel obliged to offer translations in highly politicised environments. We use two specific examples of political discourse, taken from televised presidential interviews and speeches, focussing on the nature of attitudinal shifts during the interpretation task. Martin & White (2005: 35) define attitude as something which deals with 'our feelings', 'judgement of behaviour' and 'evaluation of things', and this paper presents findings using the resources of attitudinal language to trace the stances of the original speakers and the attitudinal shifts during the interpretation process. Tracing speakers' stances during the interpretation process reveals different degrees of translator 'mediation' depending on the degree of compatibility of the direct translation with the dominant political ideology. Our analysis enables us to present

evidence of the interpreters' inclination to mediate in the communicative process to ensure that the patrons' stance is preserved, taking into account the political context in which they operate. Cross-linguistic analysis from a translation perspective helps to highlight some of the metalinguistic factors which might hinder the 'neutral' rendering of attitudes and ideologies which in many cases will be different from the globally dominant ideologies, and perhaps occasionally opaque to intended audiences or even misunderstood by them.

In our attempt to make our investigations of speaker/interpreter attitudinal stance more rigorous, we have adopted Martin & White's (2005) Appraisal framework for attending to the evaluative resources of language. Since Martin & White propose taxonomies of evaluative language in English, we believe that the framework can be adopted for investigating some of the attitudinal shifts apparent in the interpreting work of the examples we have selected. Our analysis provides a general indication of how such (particularly) political contexts operate to constrain what audiences can expect from interpretation. In their 2005 monograph, Martin & White outline an approach to the investigation of evaluative stance based on work within the domain of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), pioneered by M.A.K Halliday in the 1970s, and continually being developed (e.g. Halliday 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). The Appraisal framework represents one of SFL's more recent developments, focussing on the ways language is deployed to evaluate, adopt stances and create textual personae both explicitly and implicitly. In the present article, we focus on the framework's sub-system of meanings proposed under the heading of Attitude. Attitudes are classed as representing three semantic regions which are defined as Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation (Martin & White 2005: 42). While Affect is concerned with the representation of emotions, Judgement deals with the ways people assess the behaviour of other human actors, and Appreciation concerns people's evaluation of semiotic and natural phenomena (Martin &

White 2005: 42). Our study investigates attitudinal orientations of the source language speaker – in particular, high-status political speakers - and compares these with those attitudes in the target language as provided by the interpreter, in an attempt to detect traces of ideological interference.

Although the literature on translation in political discourse has seen a recent proliferation (Schäffner, 2010; Bassnett, 2010; Venuti, 1992; Hatim & Mason, 1997; Lefevere, 1992), we note that despite the studies done by Abbamonte & Cavaliere (2006) and Munday (2012), translation studies of political discourse are presently lacking in research into the ways patrons' ideologies and interests might condition the interpretation of the interpersonal/attitudinal aspects of the political source material. To bridge this gap, this study was designed to suggest ways in which supra-sentential/contextual factors such as ideology might affect the interpretation of the attitudinal elements of the source language speaker in a way that makes it compatible with the dominant attitudinal stance in the target community. To explore such a transfer of attitudinal stance using the appraisal framework, our analysis concentrated on the deployment of attitudinal values. The aim was to note how potential perceptions of the dominant ideologies in the target society might direct the interpreter's performance. More specifically, our discussion reflects on whether and how the patrons' ideologies and interests might affect the interpretation of the speaker's attitudinal stance and the interpreter's voice.

2   Methodology and Data Selection

The subject of analysis for our study was the simultaneous interpretations of firstly, an NBC political interview with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, then Iranian President (2005-2012), which was broadcast in 2011 and translated from Persian to English, and secondly, a speech byMohamed Morsi, Egypt's then President, broadcast in 2012 and translated

from Arabic to Persian. These simultaneous translations were both made for Iranian audiences, by(male) Persian interpreters, whose professional background -even their names- is unknown. Our decision to examine these two translations may seem curious or even inappropriate, given the obvious differences in their social settings (an interview by an Iranian leader interpreted into English for a US audience, and a translation of a speech by an Egyptian leader into Persian for an Iranian audience). However, closer consideration reveals their fitness for our purposes: in both cases the "patron" of the translation is the dominant Iranian political party at the time. They are thus ideally suited for an exploration of the possible influence of that "patron" on the translation, enabling us to explore the effects of that influence in different translational settings. Thus, even though the source and target languages differ, along with the intended audiences for the translation, the "patron" remains the same.

Our first text was obtained from a video of the broadcast interview with Ahmadinejad downloaded from the NBC website, the second was taken from a broadcast on the Persian national TV channel of the speech by Morsi. In this case, since the whole original video was not available for download, the present study focuses only on the parts manipulated by the Persian interpreter and broadcast by Arabic news channels such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya, in order to serve as evidence for the drastic changes made to the source material. Ahmadinejad's interview was conducted in September 2011 during Ahmadinejad's second term as president, and Mohamed Morsi's speech was given in August 2012, also during Ahmadinejad's second term.

The interview, the speech and their interpretations into English and Persian, respectively, were transcribed, and the attitudinal tokens in the transcripts highlighted. The transcripts of the original interview and speech and the transcripts of their interpretation were compared and analysed in terms of the attitudinal lexis and attitudinal shifts that

could be identified, drawing on Martin & White (2005) and Basil Hatim (2009) as models and a point of departure. This means that the attitudinal stances of the two original speakers are first identified in the original transcripts, as well as those made in the interpretations. When comparisons of attitudinal stances are relevant in the translations, a literal translation of the original is also provided. Examples of such attitudinal shifts are discussed below to reveal what supra-sentential factors may have motivated such translational shifts. These we interpret as indications of the nature of the context of culture and situation in which such interviews, and their interpretations, take place.

3   Context of Situation

Although Ahmadinejad's attitude toward foreign affairs provoked strong criticism in the country and abroad, the Iranian Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei, who is in charge of the highest religious and political authority in the Iranian political structure, supported him during his presidential terms (Alexander 2008: 32). Ahmadinejad's interest in the growth of Shi'a groups throughout the Middle East becomes evident when Iran's support for Hezbollah and Shi'a groups in the Middle East turned into one of the neighbouring countries' biggest worries (Ehteshami 2008: 139).

Ahmadinejad was notable for conducting many international interviews during his presidential terms, adopting as he did a strong stance toward regional and international affairs, and for this reason his pronouncements are considered a suitable subject for this kind of analysis given the global political context in which these speeches and interviews appear.

4   Results and Discussion

Before we deal with the results of the analysis, it is worth mentioning that each of the two interpreters employed certain strategies more frequently i.e. the interpreter for Ahmadinejad tends to use more specific meanings, add new meanings, divide one sentence into two, etc., and in contrast, the interpreter of Morsi's speech deployed more general meanings, dropped lexical items and even sentences in some cases and merged two or three sentences during the interpretation (see for example tables 1 & 2 in the appendix).

As already argued, while the patron remains the same in both situations, the analysis of the interpretation of the interview on the one hand, and the speech on the other hand shows that the Iranian interpreters, addressing a different type of target audience, deployed various translation strategies to interpret the ideological values at work. Below, we exemplify some of these strategies by discussing the interview and the speech through a comparison of both interpreters' target text (TT) and Morsi and Ahmadinejad's original sentences' Literal Translation into English (MsLTE and AmLTE respectively) in which the interpretation leads to what Hatim & Mason (1997: 126) term 'minimal mediation' since the main characteristics of the LTE are 'visible' in the TT and no striking shift in the evaluation system of the LTE has occurred during the interpretation process. However, the interpreter of Ahmadinejad's interview has deployed some strategies which led to more clarification, intensification and in some cases moderation of the evaluation system in the TT.

The interpretation of Morsi's speech in Iran, on the other hand, indicates a completely different approach to interpretation. A close analysis of the English literal translation of the interpreter's Arabic-to-Persian translation i.e. the Target Text (MsTT) and the English literal translation of Morsi's Arabic speech transcripts - considered MsLTE here -

illustrates frequent and significant shifts between the attitudinal meanings of the LTE in the target text – to the extent that the target text meanings were often entirely "incommensurate" or simply omitted from the translation. This case provides a sample of a very high degree of mediation where the interpreter mediates the process by "feeding" on his own or the patron's own beliefs in order to effect a version of attitudinal stances which accord with perceived audience expectations and/or patron ideologies. In contrast, the translation strategies applied in the interpretation of Ahmadinejad's speech contribute mostly to the intensification or clarification of the values at stake i.e. where shift was observed in the Ahmadinejad translation, it was essentially a matter of the interpreter merely increasing the force with which Ahmadinejad's views were expressed, so that the particular "attitudes" remained the same, but the strength with which they were expressed was enhanced. This is of particular interest given that the attitudes expressed were such as to potentially alienate the intended US television audience.

With respect to the interpretation of Morsi's speech, noteworthy shifts in the representation of Morsi's attitude were made in the interpretation, shifts which led to some political tensions between Iran, Bahrain and Egypt (Sky News Arabia, 9/2/2012; Alwatan. Kuwait 9/1/2012; CNN 9/30/2012) because, as will be shown in the examples below, when Morsi talked about events in the Middle East, and when his stance was at odds with the "official" Iranian position, in these instances his comments were either omitted from the interpretation or very substantially modified, so as to render them compatible with Iranian policy.

In order to make better sense of the strategies observed during the translation of the stances and ideological positions constructed by Ahmadinejad's answers to the interviewer, a close analysis of the president's evaluative language was crucial. The interview itself focused on a variety of topics: the Iranian president's message in the UN

General Assembly, Iran's nuclear program, sanctions against Iran, President Obama, Israel and the events of September 11th.

Although the president's tendency was to be rather outspoken in expressing his attitudinal stance, one feature which became evident during the analysis was his use of what the Appraisal framework categorises as Affect and Appreciation resources: he was more cautious when it came to judging other politicians' behaviour. Another aspect of Ahmadinejad's stance which we found noteworthy was that, in addition to expressing frank, negative emotions toward the International Atomic Energy Agency, America, and Israel, and given the way in which Iran's nuclear program is typically represented in the US media - this negative view, after all, was the basis of the sanctions - some of his statements were likely to be at odds with views which we note have been particularly prevalent in the US media. The president's dissatisfaction with the International Atomic Energy Agency and American officials' reaction to Iran's nuclear program is lexicalized in a group of words directly interpreted as regrettable, protest, disappoint, etc. Such lexical items representing emotional reactions, what Appraisal categorises as Affect tokens, appear regularly in his responses, with those representing his dissatisfaction (i.e. negative Affect) being the most frequent (18 tokens of negative Affect out of 29 tokens of Affect), while lexical items representing happiness (a sub-type of positive Affect) are much less frequent in the text (11 tokens of positive Affect out of 29 tokens of Affect). While positive Affect lexicalized by words such as love, sympathize, etc. do appear, when they occur they are targeted toward the people of other countries.

Two key tendencies were found by analysing the text produced by Ahmadinejad's interpreter. Firstly, from a translation perspective the interpreter does his best to add some background material (e.g. expanding "it" into "these weapons against other nations"). These changes can be viewed as relatively unproblematic – i.e. they provide additional

background information which US audiences may need in order to understand what Ahmadinejad is talking about. Secondly, from the perspective of the interpreter serving the "patron's" interests i.e. doing his/her best to ensure a "foreign" audience understands what the speaker (here, the "patron") is concerned with, the interpreter sometimes clarifies or intensifies the Affect tokens at work.

Turning now to tokens of Appreciation (i.e. resources which evaluate objects and products of social and aesthetic value) in the texts, as demonstrated in the examples below (and table 1: appendix), tokens of negative Appreciation in the president's talk are much more frequent than positive ones (26 tokens of negative Appreciation out of 45 tokens of Appreciation). His negative assessment of nuclear arms, the International Atomic Energy Agency and American leaders' policies is inscribed in lexical elements such as useless weapon, big barrier, hostile trend, wrong decision, among others.

As noted already, analysis of Ahmadinejad's talk and its simultaneous interpretation demonstrates that 'minimal mediation' (Hatim & Mason 1997: 126) has occurred in the interpretation process and there is no significant shift in the evaluation system at work. However, the "variation in the intensity of the evaluation" (Munday 2012: 47) is the key point noted here. Two general strategies, i.e. Addition and Substitution, were identified as means used for intensifying, toning down and clarifying the evaluative stances at work in the LTE text.

A comparison of the LTE and the TT of Ahmadinejad's interview shows that the interpreter deploys Addition for two purposes: firstly as a clarifying strategy, adding the information the audience may need to understand the text, and secondly as a strategy which allows the introduction of the resources of 'Graduation' into the TT sentences. According to Martin and White (2015: 35), the system which the Appraisal framework terms Graduation "attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and

categories blurred." Propositions can be "graduated" in two ways: in terms of their "force" (meanings by which propositions are strengthened or downgraded) and in terms of their "focus" (meanings by which the boundaries of semantic categories can be blurred or sharpened).

The examples below are taken from the four texts used for analysis and comparison, and are labelled according to whether they have been taken from Ahmadinejad's original (Persian) speech in literal (English) translation (AmLTE) or the actual interpreter's translation of his words into English (AmTT). Similarly, when discussing excerpts of Morsi's speech and its interpretation, those excerpts from his original (Arabic) speech rendered in literal translation are labelled MsLTE1 and the literal (English) translation of what was originally rendered in Persian is labelled MsLTE2. Numbers following these labels refer to line numbers in the texts in question.

As for the interpreters' deployment of Substitution, this leads to the replacement of a more general word in the native language with non-core lexis in their translations i.e. a strategy leading to intensifying or toning down (see example 1 below) the feelings at work. In example 1 (below) the interpreter's use of the word dictatorship instead of government may reflect the interpreter's assumption of his patron's attitude toward the target of his statement. This evidence of the interpreter's voice, and the substitution of the general word (i.e. government with a more specific one i.e. dictatorship) is a strategy the interpreter has used to add his voice to what his patron has been saying. The interpreter's tendency for clarification is also shown in example 2 where Ahmadinejad's interpreter substitutes the words these weapons for a pronoun them, adding the target against which these weapons have been deployed.

Example 1:

AmTT: And they imposed, for another 25 years, a tough <u>dictatorship</u> on us. (16-17)

AmLTE: 15. And for 25 years a tough <u>government</u> kept our nation behind again. (15)

Example 2:

AmTT: and they also use these <u>weapons against other nations</u>. (68-69)

AmLTE: and who have used them before. (44)

As a contrast, in the interpretation of Morsi's speech, the interpreter's voice is used to reflect his patron's attitude, i.e. the reverse of Morsi's, during the interpretation. To do this, the interpreter employs mostly the strategy of Omission as shown in example 3 below:

Example 3:

MsLTE1: And it is our duty to announce our full and undiminished support for the freedom and justice seekers in Syria and to interpret this sympathy of ours into a clear political vision which supports the peaceful transfer into a democratic system which reflects the Syrian nation's expectations of freedom, justice and equality and which at the same time protects Syria from falling into civil war or tumbling into divisions and sectarian clashes. (12-17).

MsLTE2: We should be hopeful that the popular system already there will remain. (7-8)

As the analysis of both AmLTE and MsLTE shows, these different strategies such as Addition, Substitution or Omission are deployed by both Persian interpreters (as shown in all the examples of the present article) to fulfil different political aims and to create the patron's desired effect on their audience.

For example, in Ex.2 above, the interpreter clarifies the situation Ahmadinejad is talking about by deploying a strategy representing two parts of the original sentence i.e. the meaning of a LTE unit is distributed over several units in the translated text. The pronoun them is turned into these weapons and the word before is turned into against other

nations by the Iranian interpreter whose performance reflects his freedom to emphasize and clarify what was being mentioned by the president of his country. On the other hand, entrusted to interpret a Sunni president's speech i.e. Mohamed Morsi, the second interpreter seems more restricted in his choices because he is translating the ideologies of a Sunni president for a Shia audience and a Shia Patron. As example 3 (above) demonstrates, the second interpreter deploys a strategy converting Morsi's attitude toward the Syrian parties into one sentence which assures the Iranian audience that Morsi supports the Syrian government – something that the MsLTE does not seem to indicate.

The addition of new elements to the translated sentences for the purpose of more clarification or intensification is done through different strategies in the data e.g. lexical repetition, the addition of a pronoun, and dividing the original sentence into two or more sentences. However, some of the examples deserve more explanation. The interpreter's deployment of different strategies is illustrated further by the examples in Table 1 of the appendix, and indicates that he aims to depict the situation Ahmadinejad is talking about in more detail. That the interpreter seems inclined to intensify the attitudinal stance adopted by Ahmadinejad during the interview is exemplified in example 4 below. The strategies deployed in the interpretation of Ahmadinejad's interview, referred to previously, leads to more emphasis and intensification of the evaluation system at work. Ahmadinejad's deployment of rhetorical questions, shown in examples 4, 5 and 6 in Table 1, is reflected in the translation (sometimes by splitting each question into two) acting to intensify their attitudinal implications in some way. The following example (4) (c.f. Example 5 in Table 1 of the appendix), illustrates this tendency, where a literal translation (LT) of the ST exemplifies what shifts the translator typically employs.

Example 4

AmTT: How about the people in Afghanistan? Aren't they human beings? (231)

AmLTE: Aren't the people of Afghanistan human beings? (198)

In this example, Ahmadinejad deploys a rhetorical question to highlight oppression against the people of Afghanistan, and the interpreter splits one question into two in order to make his point clearer for the audience. That is, he divides one sentence in the LTE into two or more sentences in the TT in an attempt to intensify the rhetorical effect Ahmadinejad is trying to achieve. By the first question the interpreter draws attention to the people of Afghanistan and by the next question he implies that these people have not been treated fairly.

Table 1 (appendix) provides further examples of how Ahmadinejad's interpreter works with the use of the strategies explained above, and as depicted there, while there are no striking changes with regards to the attitudinal value (negative versus positive attitudinal tokens), there have been changes made with respect to the explicitness of Ahmadinejad's attitudinal stance, in particular, some additions and substitutions with respect to the target of the attitudinal tokens in the LTE sentences. Observe example 5 below (sentence 1 of table 1 in the appendix), which illustrates how the deployment of an Addition strategy has led to an inscription of Attitude - i.e. an implicit attitude in the source text is realized as an attitudinal inscription in the target text.

Example 5:

AmTT: And then we had to suffer and tolerate sanctions, economic sanctions, and different political pressures. (19-20)

AmLTE: And then there were different pressures and sanctions. (18)

In this example, where the original sentence is almost free of any kind of evaluation, the interpreter's tendency to make the TT clearer causes him to mediate and deploy a shift at the interpersonal level. The addition of a pronoun we which refers to the source of the emotion at work, and two emotional lexical items e.g. suffer and tolerate which inscribes

negative Affect in the TL sentence, represents the president's dissatisfaction with the sanctions and perhaps leads the audience to sympathize with the Iranians (i.e. the we: source of the Affect), who are the target of the sanctions. Another example of such a trend is evident in sentence 7 of table 1, (reproduced as Example 6 below) where the president talks about the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980 and the American government's stance toward the parties at war. The interpreter inscribes Saddam's inappropriateness through the addition of a group of lexical items such as regime, imposed, and against. The addition strategy deployed in this sentence lead to the extension of a phrase in the LTE into one or more clauses and the addition of new meaningful elements in the TT sentence. This turns the target language sentence into a 'hybrid' which provokes a negative attitude towards the American officials for supporting an unfair ruling system which imposed a war on Iran.

Example 6:

> AmTT: During the war that had been imposed by Saddam Hussein against Iran, the American adminis— administration supported Saddam's regime. (243-244)

> AmLTE: The American government supported Saddam in his war against Iran. (211-212)

Similarly, in sentence 9 of table 1 (example 7 below) the interpreter has deployed Addition, this time in order to inscribe negative Appreciation. In this example where the president reveals his negative evaluation of NATO by referring to its purpose as killing people, the interpreter mediates by dividing this sentence in the LTE into two sentences in the TT in an attempt to emphasize the president's negative assessment of NATO, upscaling the negativity through the use of addition. In terms of general tendencies, the most interesting thing is not the fact that "the sentence is divided into two", but rather that the interpreter has included an inscription ("killing machine") which was not present in the LTE.

Example 7:

> AmTT: NATO is made for killing people. It's a killing machine. (369-370)

> AmLTE: NATO is for killing people. (363)

As demonstrated in the previous examples, during the interpretation process the deployment of strategies such as Addition contributes to the clarification of any attitudinal stance by referring to the source of feeling or attributing some features to the target of the attitude. For this reason it appears that strategies such as Addition have been deployed by the Iranian interpreter whether consciously or unconsciously which not only explicates the ideational meaning in the TT sentences but also 'provokes' - and in some cases inscribes - the emotions at work. These slight shifts make it much easier for the target language audience to align or disalign with the specific stance adopted by the president, by highlighting what the translator understands as the President's attitudinal stance towards the topics he addresses. These examples illustrate the role Addition strategies have in the interpretation of Ahmadinejad's attitudinal stance for the target audience.

As will be further discussed below, the strategy of Addition has also been employed by the interpreter to introduce different resources of Graduation in order to 'flag attitudinal meaning' (Martin & White 2005: 66) in the LTE sentences, and to grade the emotions at work. Table 2 (appendix) and the examples below show some of the ways the interpreter mediates in the interpretation process to grade the ideational meaning (Hood & Martin 2007: 743) of the LTE sentences.

Consider example 8 below (sentence 10, Table 1, appendix) which shows the interpreter deploying an Addition strategy in order to refer to the manner of the process involved, and thus underline via Graduation, a positive value of Veracity (a subcategory of

Judgement under Appraisal) toward Iranian officials. Here, the lexical item openly has been added to a sentence which otherwise relies on the ideational meaning and the context for this aspect of the judgement of Veracity to be inferred by the international audience.

Example 8:

> AmTT: And we do not need to conceal <u>our intentions</u>. If we want to build a nuclear weapon, we have the courage to announce it <u>openly</u>. (75-76)

> AmLTE: we don't need to conceal anything - if we want to make a nuclear bomb we have the courage to announce it. (64-65)

This potential is achieved by adding to the already declared attitude of 'openness' in the previous sentence: <u>we do not need to conceal our intentions</u>. Such an extra element of positive Veracity towards the target ('we') is also assisted of course by the inscribed judgment of Tenacity (*courage*) already applied to 'our' actions. In fact, by preferring to turn the +invoked Veracity to +inscribed Veracity, the interpreter tends to clarify most of what Ahmadinejad is talking about, with the tendency to inscribe rather than invoke exemplified here. Thus, in this segment, the interpreter mediates the original in order to enhance an attitudinal token which has been afforded by the fused ideational and interpersonal meanings of the sentence i.e. <u>we have the courage to announce it</u>, at the same time reinforcing the previous sentence's rejection of negative Veracity imputed to Iran. In this way, attitude is implied or enhanced in the target text.

Although the main inclination of Ahmadinejad's interpreter is, as mentioned above, to intensify and clarify, there is one single exception to such a general trend. Actually, in the example shown below (Ex.9), the interpreter deploys substitution in order to somehow tone down the negative emotions at work, and turn the inscription in the LTE, i.e. became a barrier, to an invocation.

Example 9:

> AmTT: But unfortunately for a period of 100 years the British <u>Empire influenced</u> the process, the trend of progress in our country. (9-10)

> AmLTE:But unfortunately the British <u>government became a barrier</u> to our progress for more than almost 100 years. (9-10)

Example 9 shows how the interpreter's tendency to tone down the sharpness of the emotions causes him to substitute new wordings for the lexical group 'became a barrier to our progress' in the literal version of the original text. The original wording indicates clearly the inappropriateness on the part of the British government, rather than the more neutral selection of 'influence'. This strategy almost erases the negative evaluation of the British government represented by the literal translation of this segment.

Another substitution in this same segment which, for some audiences, might imply a positive evaluation of the British ruling system takes place through the use of non-core lexis in the TT. The substitution of the word government with empire in the TT sentence invokes for some a positive appreciation of this government, while other audiences might hear this as a negative assessment of the British and their colonial activities, leading to some degree of ambiguity regarding the speaker's stance. Thus, the substitutions which are made in the TT sentence through the interpreter's mediation leads to a major shift in the evaluative system of this segment and may reflect the interpreter's own assessment of the British government instead of Ahmadinejad's. This example shows that more specific lexical items or what Martin &White (2005) call 'non-core lexis' in the original text, has been substituted with more general words in the TT in order to tone down or maybe invoke the emotions at work.

The above examples demonstrate how the interpreter deployed strategies of Addition in order to explicate the evaluation system or to 'flag attitudinal meaning' he deemed was

potential in the original text. The interpreter's tendency to explicate, intensify or tone down the attitudinal stance of the president causes no major shift in the interpretation of the interpersonal meaning during the interview. Therefore, the 'minimal mediation' on the part of the interpreter implies the compatibility of the original speaker's attitudinal stance with that of his compatriot interpreter.

To sum up, we can conclude that although the core attitudinal content/stance has not changed under translation– i.e. the type of attitudes and the targets at which these attitudes are directed have not changed significantly under translation – four general patterns were repeated during the interpretation all of which could imply the interpreter's tendency to assure the patron that the target audience understand clearly his attitude/stance toward the points under discussion. These four patterns are summarized below as:

- The first and more frequent pattern is inscribing what is invoked in the Source Text

- The second frequent pattern is providing background information which the US audience would need in order to understand what Ahmadinejad was talking about

- The third frequent pattern is intensifying the attitudinal impact of rhetorical questions

- The fourth frequent pattern is deploying different resources of Graduation to "flag attitudinal meaning" (Martin & White 2005: 66)

Thus, as all of the shifts deal only with clarification or intensification, such a translation would seem to be entirely compatible with what is "normal/established" translational practice - i.e. that the translation should seek to achieve maximal semantic commensurability between source and target text. However, what is interesting here is the interpreter's inclination to inscribe when the source text mostly invokes. This could, of course, be interpreted as at odds with "usual" translational practice - since this does

involve a form of "shift" or incommensurability. This "aberrant" practice might possibly be interpreted as evidence of the patron's influence – in that the interpreter thereby seeks to ensure that the patron's attitudinal meanings are conveyed to the audience, and is apparently reluctant to leave it to that audience to supply the necessary attitudinal inferences, even when (very interestingly), the attitudinal meaning is likely to alienate the intended US television audience.

With the second Iranian interpreter studied here, frequent mediation is noticed as a result of the influence of the patron's interests/values. The first Iranian interpreter's work, discussed above, appears committed to the close transfer of the Iranian president's answers (including his attitudinal stance towards international affairs), and thus he mediates minimally in the interpretation process. Notwithstanding the second interpreter's similar background and presumed audience, his interpretation of the speech delivered in Iran by Egypt's former president Mohamed Morsi took a different approach. Being an 'agent' employed by the Islamic Republic of Iran's broadcaster, the second interpreter faces some dilemmas during the interpretation process. The "dilemma" is that the apparently powerful influence of the patron's interests means that translational equivalence/commensurability no longer remains the primary objective. Seeking to achieve maximal commensurability is replaced by seeking to serve the patron's ideological interests.

The loyalty of the interpreter to the message of the original language is at stake when he is supposed to translate a message which clashes with the ideologies dominant in the political discourse of his country. Being considered 'an embodied agent' i.e. possessing a body situated in time and place which must express his worldview (Cronin 2006: 78), the interpreter is completely 'aware of the consequences of his interpreting activity' and how 'vulnerable' he could be if 'he couldn't satisfy his superior' (Cronin 2006: 78).

The 16th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement which was held in Tehran from the 26th to 31st August 2012 provides us with a useful example of the dilemmas that interpreters may face during their careers. The summit was held in Iran with the presidents of 28 countries, including Egypt's then president, Mohamed Morsi, attending. After broadcasting the summit, Arabic media such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya news channels, which broadcast the Morsi speech, denounced the interpretation as one where loyalty to the literal meaning needed to be abandoned when the content conflicted with the ruling party's interest/ideology.

Because of the inaccessibility of the interpreter's full translation of Morsi's speech, the present research focuses only on the most controversial part of the speech i.e. how his stance toward the Syrian crisis was reflected in Iran. The speech gave his evaluation of Syria's crisis explicitly. The first impression gained by listening to the original Arabic speech is that the audience is being aligned with Morsi's explicitly negative attitude toward the ruling system in Syria on the one hand, and with his positive assessment of the opposition parties who are demanding 'freedom and justice' on the other hand.

A comparison between the original speech and the interpreter's translation shows how, in contrast, the Iranian audience is being aligned with a completely reversed version of Morsi's assessment of the parties at war i.e. the interpreter presents a positive evaluation of the current ruling system in Syria. It might be argued that this translation is so highly "mediated" that it doesn't constitute a "translation" at all, at least not in the commonly applied sense of "translation" – it might be termed an "adaptation" instead, at least in places. A comparison of the transcript of the original speech and its interpretation indicates that 'extreme departure' at the level of interpersonal and ideational meaning has occurred during the interpreting process. While omission is the key strategy in the interpretation of Morsi's speech in Iran, it doesn't play a significant role in the

interpretation of Ahmadinejad's answers to the interviewer (see, for example Table 1 and 2 in the appendix). In contrast, the interpreter's 'maximal mediation' is at work from the beginning of Morsi's speech when he starts his talk about the 'Arab Spring'. In an attempt to generalize the event to non-Arabic countries, the interpreter refers to it as the 'Islamic Revival' i.e. a sign of shift in ideational meaning as well. This maximal mediation is also manifested when the interpreter deploys strategies to avoid reflecting an attitude which might endanger his situation as an 'embodied agent' in the target society i.e. Iran. This striking feature of the interpretation of Morsi's speech is more noteworthy when a close analysis of the TT (i.e. the Persian translation of the original Arabic speech) shows that the interpreter tends to substitute repeatedly the target of Morsi's negative assessment i.e. the Syrian ruling system, with Bahrain's ruling system, a substitution which later turned it into a subject of inquiry by the media and political analysts (Al Jazeera, 9/1/2012; Al Arabiya, 8/30/2012; BBC, 9/2/2012).

The substitution of more specific words with the more general ones, dropping some meaningful lexical items from the original message, and reducing the number of the sentences during the process of interpreting are among the strategies employed by the interpreter which lead to a major shift in the value system of the original speech.

Table 2 (appendix) contains all examples of the strategies in the excerpt which show the interpreter's tendency to skip any negative attitudinal stance toward the Syrian government on the one hand and to construct a negative attitudinal stance toward Bahrain's officials on the other hand. Some of these are discussed in more detail below.

Consider example 10 below, where the interpreter deploys a mixture of two strategies, substituting a more specific lexical item with a more general one and dropping a group of lexical items.

Example 10:

> MsTT..when a few days ago there was a revolution in Tunisia and then in Libya and Yemen and now the <u>changes</u> that we are witnessing in Bahrain. (1-3)

> MsLTE: ..when a few days ago there was a revolution in Tunisia and then in Libya and Yemen and now Syrian <u>revolution</u> against <u>the cruel government</u> already there. (1-3)

Here, the interpreter has substituted a more general word change for the more specific and evaluatively-charged lexical item revolution, and then drops the group of meaningful lexical items i.e. the cruel government referring to the Syrian government. This example illustrates how the interpreter's mediation turned Morsi's decisive inscribed negative attitude toward the Syrian ruling system into a negative attitude toward the Bahraini officials which is already implied through the context and the ideational meaning alone. What is most significant here is that Iran's ally, the Syrian government, is simply removed from the ideational content in order to manage this "shift", with a different potential target introduced, one of the Iranian government's "enemies", Bahrain. Interestingly here, there is nothing explicitly negative directed against this substitute target. We have what is surely "non-translation" (the substitution of Bahrain for Syria) and then the dropping of any inscribed attitude.

The interpreter's tendency to provoke negative attitude toward the Bahraini ruling system is more explicit in example 11 (sentence 14, table 2, appendix) below where he replaces the fight of the Syrian nation for 'freedom and justice' with the fight of the Bahrainis. In this example, the Palestinians' struggle - which is considered in Iran as a fight with an occupying force - is associated with the Bahrainis' struggle and thus provokes a negative judgment of Propriety toward the political authorities in Bahrain.

Example 11:

> MsTT: The two nations of Palestine and Bahrain and other nations are now fighting. (4)

MsLTE: the Palestinian and Syrian nations are now struggling with outstanding bravery demanding freedom, justice and human dignity. (5-6)

On the other hand, in example 12 (sentence 12, table 2, appendix) the interpreter tends to avoid the negativity toward the Syrian ruling system by deploying another strategy, i.e. reducing a clause into an evaluation-free phrase. The Syrians' struggle against 'a repressive system' turns into a struggle against a 'conspiracy' committed against the country. This in turn signals the interpreter's subjective voice which prevents the Iranian audience from being aligned with Morsi's real stance toward the Syrian authorities.

Example 12:

MsTT: We announce our unity with the Syrian nation against the conspiracy in this country. (6-7)

MsLTE: our unity with the dear Syrian nation's fight against a repressive system which has lost its legitimacy is a moral obligation. (10-11)

As a result of such 'maximal mediation' through which the interpreter's voice – a mirror of the patrons' ideology - is more noticeable than that of the source language speaker, the Iranian audience were deprived of the chance to be familiar with an ideology which is different from the dominant political ideology in Iran - therefore whether such shifts are imposed consciously or unconsciously is not a matter of significance (Hatim & Mason 1997: 121). Thus, we may conclude that 'domestication' in translation does not exclusively happen only at the cultural level i.e. 'to assimilate to a dominant – or even 'hegemonic'- culture' (Hatim & Mason 1997: 121). The striking shift of the evaluation system in the interpretation of Morsi's speech clarifies the fact that domestication may also occur at the level of interpersonal meaning by manipulating the ideational meaning in an attempt to preserve the dominant political ideology in a particular society.

When it comes to reflecting the dominant political ideology in his country on the international political scene, the first interpreter tends to be satisfied with 'minimal

mediation' which aims at clarifying the stance of the Iranian president. In contrast, when it comes to providing local people with the interpretation of attitude which somehow clashes with the dominant attitude in the target culture i.e. Iran, the second Iranian interpreter resorts to 'maximal mediation' to make it more compatible with the dominant political ideology in his country.

5   Conclusion

This short analysis of the work of two interpreters with the same national identity shows how different approaches to the interpretation task depends on the context, the target audience, the interlocutors' identity and the in/compatibility of the original speakers' illocutionary force with dominant political ideology. Being a mirror of the political ideologies in Iran, Ahmadinejad's answers were interpreted to the international audience with the interpreter's minimal mediation. The mediation employed during the interpretation of this interview shows that the strategies deployed not only occur in ideational meanings at the lexico-grammatical level but may also occur in interpersonal meanings. In contrast, the second interpreter, given the task of interpreting Egypt's then president, Mohamed Morsi's speech for Iranian society, opts to deploy 'maximal mediation', and this strategy led to a fierce controversy in the media (Sky News Arabia, 9/2/2012; Alwatan. Kuwait 9/1/2012; CNN 9/30/2012). The striking mediation in this communication process indicates that 'domestication' may be deployed at the level of interpersonal meaning to prevent the target audience from being aligned with different political ideologies, and more particularly, that interpreters themselves need to make choices in their work, for fear of causing offence to their employers, especially on the international stage. The interpretation of Morsi's speech in which the negative evaluation of the Bahraini government is advanced, clarifies the fact that the political ideologies of the target society's patrons may be traced in the interpreters' voice, and further highlights the fact that translation can never be neutral, but is always located in a context of culture and an ideology, which in turn influences what the translator believes about the constraints of their agency.

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Appendix

No	Sentence	Attitude	Polarity	Inscribe /invoke	Explicitation strategy
1	And then we had to suffer and tolerate sanctions, economic sanctions, and different political pressures.	Affect S: we T: sanctions	-ve	Inscribe	New meaningful element in the TL
LTE	And then there were different pressures and sanctions.	None			
2	And we do not accept that. We are against that.	Judgment of propriety T: we	+ve	Invoke	One sentence in the SL is divided into two or more sentences in the TL
LTE	No, we do not need nuclear weapons. And we do not accept that.	Judgment of propriety T: we	+ve	Invoke	
3	And they also use these weapons against other nations.	Judgment of propriety T: they	-ve	Inscribe	New meaningful element in the TL
LTE	And they have used it before.	Judgment of propriety T: they	-ve	Inscribe	
4	What has happened in Iran in the past three years? Did we make a progress or not? We made good progress and we are developing very fast. Faster than the friends of the Americans who follow the American policies.	Judgment of capability T: we	+ve	Evoke	One sentence in the SL is divided into two or more sentences in the TL
LTE	During these three years did we progress or fall behind? We made good progress and we are developing very fast. Faster than the friends of the Americans who follow the American policies.	Judgment of capability T: we	+ve	Evoke	
5	How about the people in Afghanistan? Aren't they human beings?	Judgment of propriety T: not mentioned	-ve	Evoke	One sentence in the SL is divided into two or more sentences in the TL
LTE	Aren't the people of Afghanistan human beings?	Judgment of propriety T: not mentioned	-ve	Evoke	
6	What about the American	Judgment of	-ve	Evoke	One sentence in the

	soldiers in Afghanistan? Aren't they human beings?	propriety T: not mentioned			SL is divided into two or more sentences in the TL
LTE	Aren't the American soldiers in Afghanistan human beings?	Judgment of propriety T: not mentioned	-ve	Evoke	
7	During the war that had been imposed by Saddam Hussein against Iran, the American adminis— administration supported the Saddam's regime. (the affectual token here provoke the inappropriateness of the American admin because of supporting an undesired government which impose war)	Judgment of propriety T: Saddam Affect S: the American admin T: Saddam's regime Judgment of propriety T: American admin	-ve +ve -ve	Inscribe Inscribe Evoke	An SL phrase extended to a clause in the TL/ addition of new meaningful element in the TL sentence
LTE	But during Saddam's war against Iran, the American government supported Saddam.	Judgment of propriety T: Saddam Affect S: the American admin T: Saddam Judgment of propriety T: American admin	-ve +ve -ve	Inscribe Inscribe Provoke	
8	And it was very bad and tragic.	Appreciation T: it	-ve	Inscribe	New meaningful element in the TL
LTE	And it was very bad.	Appreciation T: it	-ve	Inscribe	
9	NATO is made for killing people. It's a killing machine.	Appreciation T: NATO	-ve	Inscribe	One sentence in the SL is divided into two or more sentences in the TL
LTE	NATO is made for killing people.	Appreciation	-ve	Inscribe	
10	And we do not need to hide our intentions. If we want to build a nuclear weapon, we have the courage to announce it openly.	Judgment of Veracity	+ve	Invoke	New meaningful element in the TL
LTE	We don't need to hide	Judgment of	+ve	Inscribe	

| | anything - if we want to make a nuclear bomb we have the courage to announce it. | Veracity | | | |

Table 1. Clarification/Intensification of Attitudinal Tokens in Ahmadinejad's Interview

No	Sentence	Attitude	Pole	Inscribe/ invoke	Implication strategy
11	Egypt's revolution in January 25 represents the column of the Islamic Revival when a few days ago there was a revolution in Tunisia and then in Libya and Yamen and now the changes that we are witnessing in Bahrain.	Judgment of propriety T: Bahrain's officials	-ve	evoke	1.The substitution of a more general word (in the TL) with a more specific one (in the SL) 2. meaningful lexical items are dropped in the TL
LTE	Egypt's revolution in January 25 represents the column of the Arabic Spring when a few days ago there was a revolution in Tunisia and then in Libya and Yamen and now Syrian revolution against the cruel government already there.	Judgment of propriety T: not mentioned (Syrian officials) Judgement of propriety: T: government there (Syria)	-ve -ve	Invoke Inscribe	
12	We announce our unity with Syrian nation against the conspiracy in this country.	Affect	+ve	Invoke	SL units consisting of two or more words are replaced by a TL unit consisting of one word
LTE	Our unity with dear Syrian nation's struggle	Affect Judgment of propriety	+ve -ve	Inscribe Invoke	

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	against a repressive system which has lost its legitimacy is a moral obligation.	T: not mentioned (the Syrian officials) Judgment of propriety T: our unity	+ve	Inscribe	
13	We should make sure that the democratic government already there will remain.	Judgment of propriety T: the democratic government already there Appreciation T: government there	+ve +ve	Invoke Inscribe	Substitution
LTE	The unity of the opposition parties **is** necessary.	Judgment of propriety T: opposition parties	+ve	Inscribe	
14	The veto right has prevented the security council from solving the crises arising from national reforms.	Judgment of propriety T: not mentioned	-ve	Invoke	Two or more sentences in the SL are conjoined into one sentence in the TL
LTE	When the United Nations paralyzed the hands of the security council in dealing with many crises by the veto right which prevents the mature solution to those problems and perhaps the last of those problems for which our hearts are bleeding, is the crisis in Syria.	Judgment of propriety T: united nations Appreciation T: solution Affect S: our heart T: crisis un Syria Judgment of propriety T: united nations (provoked through the affect)	-ve +ve +ve -ve	Inscribe Inscribe Inscribe Invoke	
15	The Palestinian and Syrian nations are now struggling with outstanding bravery demanding freedom, justice and human	Judgment of Propriety T: Palestinian and Syrian nations Judgment of Propriety T: Syrian government	+ve -ve	Inscribe Invoke	

	dignity.			
LTE	The Palestinians and Bahrainis and the other nations are now struggling.	Judgment of Propriety T: Bahrainis government	-ve	Invoke

Table 2. Omission of Attitudinal Tokens in Morsi's speech