Shifting Stance Perspective: Investigating Positionality in English to Arabic Translation of Modern Political Discourse

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Abstract

This study conducts a thorough investigation into how the expression of stance or positionality changes in examples of modern political discourse when translated from English to Arabic. Focusing on expressions of attitudinal meaning in speeches by US Presidents Trump and Biden, and a key opinion piece by leading political scientist Francis Fukuyama, the study analyses translation 'shifts', as conceptualised by Catford (1965) and their impact on ideological representation. The thesis adopts the Systemic Functional model of research in descriptive translation studies, namely the system of Appraisal (Martin and Rose, 2005), which expresses the writer's (and the translator's) attitude and perspective. The analysis explores linguistic elements associated with appraisal meanings, including attitude, graduation, and engagement systems. The findings bespeak varying degrees of discrepancy at the lexicogrammatical stratum (i.e., interpersonal meanings) between the STs and their translations, and four major patterns of shift in translation: (1) neutralisation, (2) intensification, (3) de-intensification, and (4) intersubjective shifts, are identified. These shifts, in turn, highlight how translators' choices shape their positionality and ideologies in translated political discourse.

Key words: SFL, positionality, appraisal framework, ideology, political discourse, translation shift.

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Table of Abbreviations

CDA	**Critical Discourse Analysis**
CNN	The Cable News Network
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Source Language
ST	Source text
TL	Target Language
TT	Target text
IJMES	the International Journal of Middle East Studies

Table of Transliterations (adapted from IJMES)

Arabic	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	English
ء	ʾ	د	D	ض	ḍ	ك	K
ب	B	ذ	dh	ط	ṭ	ل	L
ت	T	ر	r	ظ	ẓ	م	M
ث	Th	ز	z	ع	ʿ	ن	N
ج	J	س	s	غ	gh	ه	H
ح	ḥ	ش	Sh	ف	F	و	W
خ	kh	ص	ṣ	ق	Q	ي	Y

Vowels

Long		Short	
ā	يا	a	◌َ
ū	و	u	◌ُ
ī	ي	i	◌ِ

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Many scholars in the fields of linguistics and discourse analysis have dedicated significant attention to unravelling the profound implications of context within the realms of society and social communication. They have formulated personal interpretations of various communication situations, investigating the subtle ways in which context can reveal differences even in situations that appear similar. This variability plays a pivotal role in shaping the comprehension of social discourse, highlighting the intricate connections between societal dynamics and the language we employ. The concept of context has become a focal point across a spectrum of disciplines, prompting researchers and scholars to embark on extensive inquiries and present various contextual models to deepen our understanding of this multifaceted phenomenon, as evidenced in the works of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), Martin (2014), and Ventola (2005).

Within this debate, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) emerges as a theoretical framework that explores the interplay between social contexts and linguistic elements. SFL's fundamental principles, originating from the work of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p.24), revolve around the notion of language as functional and as a tool for constructing meaning. According to SFL, language use is influenced by situational context, requiring an understanding of how individuals employ language within specific contexts and how it is structured for practical use (Halliday, 1985, p.30). For example, when composing a political email message to advocate a certain cause, an individual selects particular lexicogrammatical functions, distinct from those employed when the same person writes a political email message for objective policy analysis. Thus, situational context significantly influences the choices made in meaning construction, aligning with the

principles of the SFL. This correlation between situational context and linguistic choices is crucial in translation, resonating with skopos theory, which emphasises function and purpose in guiding linguistic choices. Skopos theory, as articulated by Reiss and Vermeer (2014), underscores the importance of considering situational context and communicative goals in translation, including adapting language for the target audience and text purpose.

Within the SFL framework, the concept of genre, as proposed by Martin, is understood as a goal-oriented social activity (1984, p.25). According to Martin and Rose (2008, p.6), genres can be seen as arrangements of register patterns linked to particular social processes. Register, encompassing situational variables such as field, tenor, and mode, provides insights into a text's social purpose, participant relationships, and whether it adopts a spoken or written form (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p.33).

Martin's definition underscores the interrelation between genre and register, emphasising that genres are not isolated entities but are profoundly influenced by the situational aspects encapsulated in the register framework. Field, representing the subject matter, tenor, involvement of the participants and their roles, and mode, indicates the channel of communication (Eggins, 2004, p.111), collectively contribute to the characterisation of a genre (Hu et al., 2022, p.233).

Genre analysis within SFL goes beyond surface features, exploring underlying discourse semantics, metafunctions, and lexicogrammatical realisation. This entails understanding a text's explicit content, expression, and broader social implications. A systemic and functional approach deepens comprehension of language use across diverse social contexts, connecting genre, register, and discourse semantics for a holistic understanding of language in social settings.

This application of theoretical concepts extends beyond genre analysis when exploring translation. Language serves as a dynamic tool for communication, persuasion, and the expression of positionality and ideologies within political discourse. Translation, as noted by Venuti (1995, p.184), is a transformative process that extends into new linguistic and cultural realms, inevitably altering the meaning, style, and ideological import of the source text (ST). Political leaders and translators both employ political and ideological strategies consciously and unconsciously (Baumgarten, 2012, p.46). This research explores interpersonal meaning dynamics in politics, examining how genre elements navigate power dynamics and build audience solidarity.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This study operates on the premise that a translators leave their mark on translated text (TT), a notion supported by Hermans (2009). It also acknowledges translation shifts, which deviate from the ST (Hatim and Munday, 2004; Catford, 1965) and impact its macro-textual level, aligning with the early insights of van Leuven-Zwart's (1989, 1990). The central focus of this thesis is a comprehensive exploration of the transformation of stance or positionality in modern political discourse during the translation process from English to Arabic. 'Positionality' here refers to translators' perspectives, challenging the notion of neutrality (Tymoczko, 2003), and involves ethical considerations about their motivations and competence (Martin and Gómez-Amich, 2021). Choices made by politicians in the ST can influence translators' stances, necessitating adjustments (Munday, 2024, p.22).

This study aims to uncover subtle changes in positionality within contemporary political discourse by analysing linguistic choices at different levels. It seeks to understand how ideologies, priorities, and authorial voices are maintained or altered in Arabic translations. The research focuses on the

interplay between language, ideology, and translation in political communication between English and Arabic. The next part of this chapter will outline the specific aims of the research, followed by a justification of its significance within the broader context of translation studies.

1.3 Research Questions

As previously highlighted, the central aim of this thesis revolves around examining the transformations in positionality within contemporary political discourse as it undergoes translation from English to Arabic. To achieve this goal, the study will address the following questions:

1. What nuanced patterns of translation shifts, impacting the interpersonal (appraisal) meaning of the ST, can be identified through a comparative linguistic analysis aimed at unveiling the distinct translation strategies employed?
2. How do the patterns of translation shifts, influenced by the result of the translator's linguistic choices, reveal distinctive positionality and ideologies representations and positions within the translated political discourse?
3. To what extent does the use of an evaluation framework, emphasising speaker viewpoint as according to Fleischman (1995), contribute to the effectiveness of the analysis in uncovering positionality and ideologies representations within the texts?

In addressing the first question, the research will conduct a comparative linguistic analysis to uncover translation shifts affecting the interpersonal (appraisal) meaning of the STs. Appraisal involves expressing attitudes, emotions, and evaluations (Martin and Rose, 2007, p.26). This involves remapping elements and strategies of the three appraisal systems (attitude, graduation, and engagement) from the STs to the TTs, focusing on lexicogrammatical levels. The study aims

to characterise distinct translation strategies and illuminate how appraisal meanings shift during translation.

In the second question, the analysis will extend beyond linguistic elements to explore the broader implications of these shifts on the ideological landscape of the TTs. By identifying translational choices, the study seeks to uncover underlying ideologies and positions embedded in the translated political discourse, offering insights into how the translator's decisions shape ideological representation.

The third question centres on evaluating the effectiveness of the SFL theory, specifically its appraisal framework, in uncovering appraisal representations within the texts. The study aims to assess the framework's contribution to the analysis, examining its strengths, drawbacks, and suitability for analysing Arabic political texts.

1.4 Original Contribution of the Study

In the field of translation studies, this study stands out for its originality, offering a detailed exploration of high-value political texts in English and Arabic. Departing from traditional comparisons of STs and TTs, the research engages in a critical analysis of translation strategies, following the Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) model pioneered by Toury (2012). The DTS model advocates for a detailed empirical examination of translation as a dynamic process. It encourages investigating translators' strategies, taking into account cultural, social, and contextual factors. This approach enables a thorough exploration of political discourse dynamics across diverse contexts.

By using and refining the appraisal framework proposed by Martin and White (2005) and Munday (2012, 2015, 2017), we aim to reveal individual translators' linguistic habits and how translation

influences positionality, ideologies, priorities, and authorial voices. This approach positions our research as pioneering in the field of translation studies, integrating SFL and the appraisal framework to understand the intricate relationship between language, ideology, and translation.

The analysis centres on three crucial texts and their translated/interpreted versions, each capturing a distinct moment in recent political history. Treated as distinct case studies, each text undergoes comprehensive analysis of its complete content. Selected for their length and significance, these texts provide a thorough exploration of contemporary political discourse, encompassing different political eras, communication styles, and global perspectives. The first text under consideration is a speech delivered by former US President Donald Trump during the Riyadh Summit in 2017. This speech, presented at a diplomatic event aimed at fostering connections with Muslim-majority nations is chosen not only due to its geopolitical significance but also for its reflection of the distinctive communication style characteristic of Trump's presidency. The selection allows for an in-depth analysis of how political messages are tailored in intricate international settings, specifically during a critical diplomatic event, and how these messages are subsequently reflected in Arabic translations (one sourced from the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia, and the other from the CNN Arabic website). The second text under examination is President Joe Biden's inaugural speech in 2021. Acting as a crucial moment that established the tone for his administration, this speech is selected to offer insights into the changing priorities of the US government. Biden’s inaugural speech provides an opportunity to gain a valuable perspective for a comprehensive investigation into the shifts in positionality apparent in the Arabic translations (one by Al-Arabiya and one by Al-Jazeera). The third text is a lengthy article authored in 2021 by the prominent political scientist Francis Fukuyama titled "The End of American Hegemony". It critically examines the changing dynamics of the global order, offering scholarly insight into

ideological shifts in global politics, both in the ST and its six Arabic translations (by APA International Association for Experts, Al-Jazeera, Al-Ghad Newspaper, the Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies, Oman Newspaper, and the Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies). Including Fukuyama's essay aligns with the study's goal of exploring the evolution of positionality in contemporary political discourse translated from English to Arabic. Fukuyama's distinguished perspective enriches the analysis by providing diverse text types, intellectual depth, a global viewpoint, and analytical dimensions, enhancing the originality and richness of the exploration into positionality in translated political discourse.

The selection of diverse texts aims to capture different dimensions of political discourse, from diplomatic rhetoric to scholarly analyses. This approach seeks to unravel linguistic nuances, cultural adaptations, and contextual shifts during translation to gain insights into how positionality, ideologies, priorities, and authorial voices resonate or change in Arabic translations. Moreover, the choice of these texts as individual case studies is motivated by the diverse trends observed in the translators' positioning, evident through shifts in translation. This aspect adds depth to our analysis by enabling a closer examination of how translators' decisions lead to different stances or positions within their translated versions. So, it becomes intriguing to see and compare how these translator choices result in various positions reflected in their translated products, a topic that will be thoroughly discussed in the conclusion chapter, synthesising the findings across the three case studies.

A manual examination will be conducted on the appraisal meanings conveying attitudinal expressions within various systems to determine noticeable differences or translation shifts between the STs and TTs at the lexicogrammatical level. The analysis will attribute these shifts to the individual influence of each translator/interpreter. Additionally, exploration will assess

whether these shifts have a broader impact on the macro-textual level of the STs, revealing the distinctive linguistic habits, propensities, and tendencies of individual translators/interpreters as defining features of their ideology or style. Style, defined as the way language is used in a given context, encompasses various elements such as linguistic choices, contextual factors, and communicative intentions (Leech and Short, 2007, p. 9).

1.5 Organisation of Thesis

The research consists of eight chapters, with the introductory chapter followed by Chapter 2 focusing on three key theoretical frameworks: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the appraisal framework, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It introduces SFL, emphasising its roots in Halliday's work and its role in understanding language and discourse within diverse social contexts. Additionally, it provides an overview of the appraisal framework and introduces CDA, highlighting its focus on power dynamics, social structures, and ideologies within discourse. However, the study prioritises SFL and the appraisal framework over CDA due to their alignment with the study's aims.

Chapter 3 delves into the relationship between translation, ideology and stance, beginning with a discussion of the concept of ideology and exploring its manifestation in the translation process and simultaneous interpreting. It also reviews recent studies within the framework of appraisal theory. Chapter 4 provides comprehensive details regarding both STs and TTs, including an overview of the analytical framework used for the appraisal analysis.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 analyse selected political speeches and articles along with their translations/interpretations using the appraisal framework. Chapter 5 focuses on Trump's speech and its Arabic translations, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods to reveal

underlying positionality and shifts in appraisal instances. Chapter 6 extends the analysis to Biden's inaugural speech, and Chapter 7 examines Fukuyama's article, using similar methods to uncover ideological implications in the translation of diverse political discourses.

Chapter 8 concludes by offering responses to the research questions and a summary of the main findings of this study, including an exploration of the translator's position. Additionally, it addresses the study's limitations and proposes potential directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the intersection of three influential theoretical frameworks in uncovering ideologies: Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the appraisal framework, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). SFL, rooted in the work of Michael Halliday, provides a comprehensive approach to understanding language, emphasising its functional roles in various social contexts. The appraisal framework broadens the analytical scope by offering insights into how evaluative language functions within the contexts elucidated by SFL. While CDA, as advanced by scholars like Fairclough and van Dijk, is not the primary focus of this study, it underpins and contributes to the analysis of political discourse by providing context to the SFL/appraisal model, which will form the core of our examination. Our study aims to explore the shifts in positionality in modern political discourse translated from English to Arabic, with a specific focus on employing SFL and the appraisal framework for their suitability in examining stance within specific social contexts.

2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

In the late 1960s, Halliday developed SFL, a comprehensive language theory that draws major influence from the renowned anthropologist Malinowski (1935) and linguist Firth (1957). SFL primarily serves as a framework for explaining the functioning of language within a given social context. This Hallidayan theory focuses on how meanings are produced by selecting specific lexical elements and grammatical structures instead of other available options, marking a departure from conventional grammar studies that emphasise separating meaning from its realisation in

syntactical structures (Bloor and Bloor, 2004, p.9). In his inaugural speech in 2021, President Biden declared, "To overcome these challenges", and "we come together as one nation", an SFL analysis considers not only syntactical structure but also specific lexical choices and grammatical structures. For instance, if the speechwriter were to choose to replace "one nation" with *great nation* and "challenges" with *confronts formidable challenges*, it would add layers of meaning, emphasising unity and resilience. This shows how word and structure selection, beyond syntax, shapes meaning in political speeches.

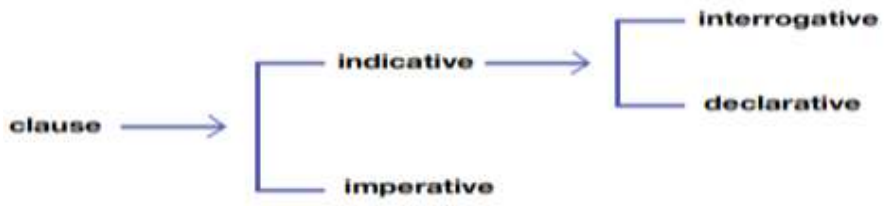
Halliday's viewpoint regards language as a system of such meaningful choices shaped by context. Within SFL, language is seen as a 'social semiotic' system capable of conveying meanings that interact with various systems, extending beyond language to include elements like artifacts, music, dance, and costumes, collectively contributing to culture. Halliday emphasises the close relationship between language and social structures (Eggins, 2004, p.15), highlighting the importance of considering situational and cultural contexts in understanding how language operates and generates meanings. This differs from other perspectives, such as Chomsky's psychological approach (Chomsky, 1965), which centres on mental processes within the human brain for interpreting language (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.4). From SFL's social standpoint, language is viewed as 'purposeful behaviour', deeply rooted in social contexts and used to fulfil communicative purposes, be they oriented towards achieving practical goals (pragmatic) or focused on the social and relational aspects of communication (interpersonal) (Eggins, 2004, p.5). Both functions are crucial in understanding language's operation in contexts such as political discourse, where communication serves to convey information, influence decisions, build connections, and shape societal relationships. Language users employ verbal interaction within a context to achieve specific functions and convey meanings.

2.2.1 System, Paradigmatic, and Syntagmatic Relations

Matthiessen (2007, pp.508-9) outlined that systemic functional theory underwent two major developments. The first of these transformations involved a notable shift in focus, transitioning from structure to system, with a particular emphasis on prioritising paradigmatic choices. This perspective sees syntagmatic structures as representations or realisations of terms within systems (as described by Fattah and Yahiaoui, 2022, p.193). To better understand how SFL operates, it is crucial to comprehend three fundamental principles: system, paradigmatic relations, and syntagmatic relations.

System in SFL, is a central concept, and it serves as the organising principle of linguistic phenomena, in contrast to mere structural aspects (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.193). SFL is systemic because it encompasses various systems providing language users with choices to express meanings (Bloor and Bloor, 2004, p.3). A system in SFL is defined as a set of options with specific entry conditions, where the situation determines the linguistic choices available to the user, and each system involves mutually exclusive linguistic options (Halliday, [1969] 2003, p.180). An example of a system is the clause:

Figure 2.1 Example of System



In this example, a clause can be either indicative or imperative. This illustrates the ‘either-or’ options within the system of clauses. However, one system can lead to another system, constituting

multiple possibilities. For example, if the clause is indicative, it can further be interrogative or declarative. SFL emphasises the vertical dimension of language – the paradigmatic axis.

Paradigmatic analysis in SFL delves into the choices made within a language system, which involves selecting linguistic elements from a set of alternatives to convey meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.22). This process, known as vertical selection, includes opting for specific words or grammatical structures over others. For instance, in political discourse, selecting an interrogative clause instead of a declarative clause can significantly impact the meaning and function of language choices. In SFL, paradigmatic analysis encompasses studying collocation and evaluating epithets, both of which shed light on underlying semantic associations, cultural conventions, and persuasive strategies within discourse. Collocation, such as the frequent co-occurrence of terms like "government intervention" or "national security," reveals semantic relationships and cultural norms. Evaluative epithets, such as contrasting descriptors like "brave" versus "reckless," convey judgment and reflect underlying attitudes and ideologies. Analysing the selection and distribution of collocations and evaluative epithets within discourse provides valuable insights into the attitudes, ideologies, and persuasive strategies employed by language users (Martin, 2016, p.7).

Syntagmatic relations refer to the linear arrangement of elements in a sentence or discourse (Eggins, 2004, p.190; Bache, 2010, p.2563). It focuses on how words and phrases are sequenced together to form meaningful units of language. Syntagmatic analysis involves examining the immediate context and relationships between adjacent linguistic units. In the example from Trump's speech in Saudi Arabia (2017), the clause "**You also hosted me** in the treasured home" can be modified with different circumstantial adjuncts to convey various meanings. For instance, it can be extended with *at this great time* to specify the timing of the hosting, or with *to discuss*

our future relationship to indicate the purpose behind the hosting. This demonstrates the influence of syntagmatic relations, where the choice of adjuncts alters the meaning while keeping the core clause the same. Syntagmatic analysis would explore how each word combines with others to convey the intended message.

SFL analyses language within social contexts by examining linguistic elements in terms of these concepts. Systems offer choices, paradigmatic relationships involve the competition between these choices, and syntagmatic relationships deal with the structural and linear organisation of elements within a text. These concepts collectively aid in understanding language structure, usage, and meaning.

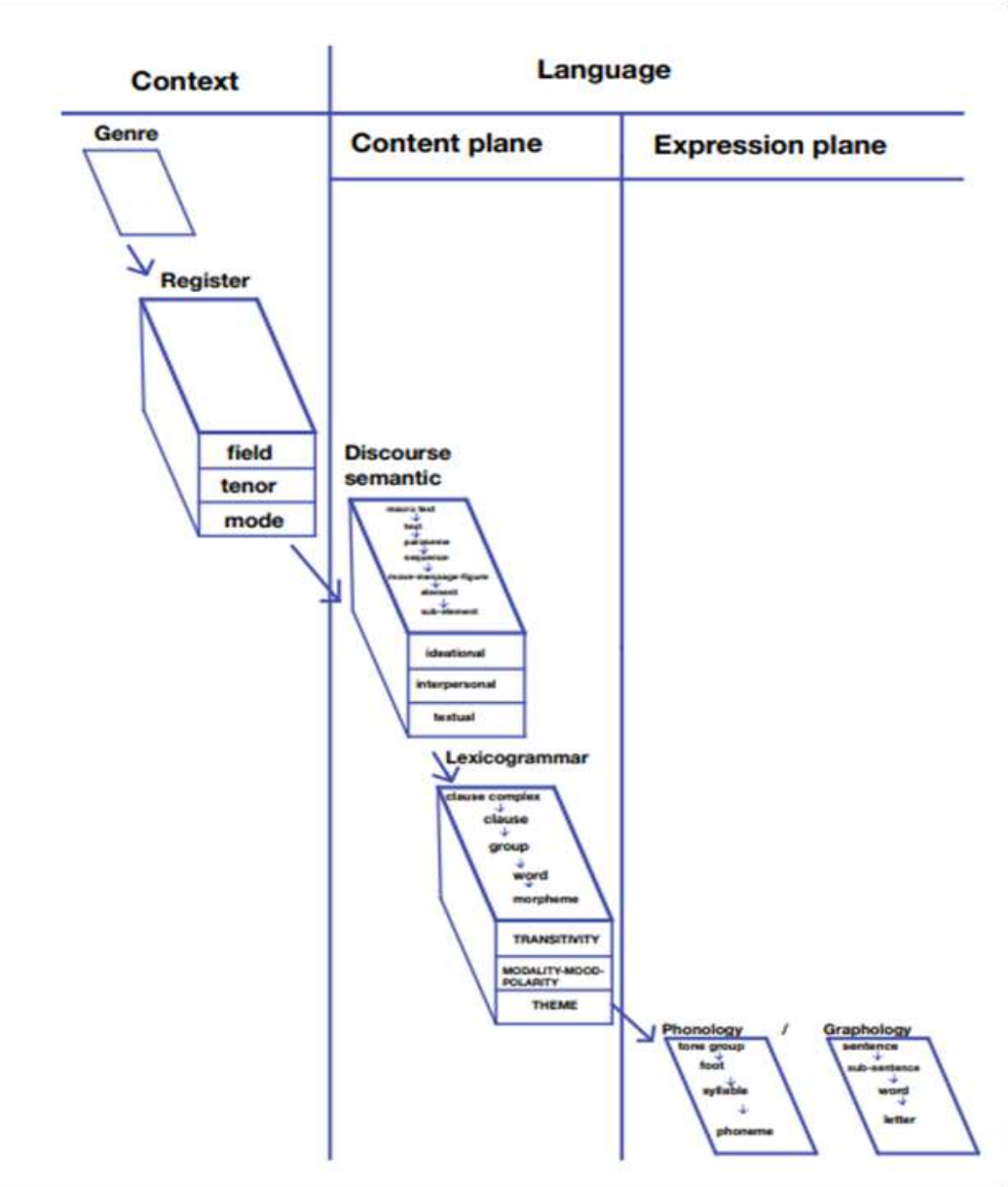
2.2.2 Stratification and Realisation

In SFL, stratification is a central concept that organises language into subsystems through a hierarchical structure, emphasising abstraction (Matthiessen et al., 2010, p.205). Language is divided into two main stratal planes: the content plane and the expression plane, each consisting of various strata or levels. The content plane encompasses context (situation and culture), discourse semantics (meaning), and lexicogrammar (wording), while the expression plane includes phonetics (sounding), and phonology (composing) (see Figure 2.2). This hierarchical ordering of language in SFL clarifies the connection between linguistic choices and the context in which they are applied (Teich, 1999, p.10, p.13; Matthiessen et al., 2010, p.205; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p.24). SFL's structure into stratal planes and levels aids in understanding this relationship.

In examining the hierarchical organisation of language systems within each stratum, our focus will be on the discourse semantics' metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Within SFL, the *rank scale* is crucial for understanding language structure and functions, consisting of

hierarchical levels: clause, phrase or group, word, and morpheme. Understanding this scale is essential for analysing how linguistic choices are influenced by metafunctions and contribute to register analysis (see Section 1.1), as proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen in 2004.

Figure 2.2 Strata of language and context



Realisation involves transforming meaning into wording and then into sound or writing. Language is viewed as a layered encoding system: in language production, meaning is encoded into wording,

then into sound or writing; in comprehension, the process reverses, with sound or writing decoded into wording, then into meaning (Li et al., 2019, p.10).

The growing research on stratification, especially at higher levels of semantics and context, has enhanced SFL's descriptive power, with significant implications for discourse analysis and translation studies (Matthiessen, 2009). This highlights SFL's relevance in translation, emphasising its focus on language in practical use within socio-cultural contexts (Fattah and Yahiaoui, 2022, p.196).

In SFL, Malinowski's concept of context, distinct from 'co-text', encompasses the broader social environment of a given text (Malinowski, [1935] 1979, p.238). Co-text refers to the surrounding words or clauses of a particular sentence. Malinowski's Trobriand Islands research emphasised analysing both mundane and exceptional social events within their social context (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, p.12). For instance, his detailed study of the Kula ring ceremonies (a component of Trobriand culture) exemplifies his commitment to contextual analysis, examining not only the words exchanged but also the broader social setting, verbal interactions, and cultural backgrounds involved (Ziegler, 2012, p.15). This approach aligns with SFL principles, showcasing the interconnectedness of language and broader contextual elements. In the SFL framework, context is perceived as a semiotic system positioned outside language at a higher stratum, divided into what Malinowski called the *context of situation* and *context of culture*. The context of situation, integral to the concept of register, encompasses three crucial aspects: field, tenor, and mode, providing a detailed understanding of language use (see Figure 2.2).

(i) **Field:** within the field, attention is directed toward subject-specific terminology. This involves a meticulous analysis of language use concerning specific topics or themes,

such as dissecting the political agendas embedded in speeches by figures like Trump and Biden.

(ii) **Tenor:** an examination of tenor involves evaluating the roles, status, and relationships of participants. This includes an assessment of formality levels, and the hierarchical dynamics present in political discourse, shedding light on how authority and power are conveyed linguistically.

(iii) **Mode:** mode considers the spoken or written form of language and recognises the hybrid nature of political speeches. For instance, speeches crafted for oral delivery, like those of Trump and Biden, may have written scripts. Fukuyama's primarily written article may also incorporate elements suitable for spoken delivery, acknowledging the subtle influence of orality in political discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, pp.33-4).

These situational aspects, recognised as **register variables**, help describe the context of situation in which a particular stretch of language is produced (Halliday and Hassan 1985, p.26). Example 2.1 provides a simple analysis of Trump's speech at the Arab Islamic American Summit of 2017 using the register variables (context of situation).

(2.1)

Field:	Trump's speech at the Arab Islamic American Summit in Riyadh explores political agendas within international relations.
Tenor:	Addressing leaders of states, the speech evaluates formality, authority levels, and power dynamics, providing insights into the participants' roles and relationships.
Mode:	Trump's written speech crafted for oral delivery.

These three contextual features **register variables** are realised with metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings), which will be discussed in more detail in the following section. Table 2.1 gives a summary of the abstract aspects of register and their realisation in semantic discourse.

Table 2.1 Register variables and metafunctions

Register	Definition	Metafunction	Lexicogrammar systems
Field	What is happening	Ideational	Transitivity
Tenor	Who is participating	Interpersonal	Mood; Modality, Polarity
Mode	What role language is playing	Textual	Theme

The concept of register, involving the dimensions of field, tenor, and mode, aligns with ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions and has been effectively utilised in translation studies (Kunz and Teich, 2017; Halliday, 2002; 1977). Early influential works in discourse analysis and translation studies utilising this concept include those by Hatim and Mason (1990, 2005), Bell (1991), and House (1977). House's translation quality assessment model highlights the importance of the context of situation in assessing translation equivalence, deepening our understanding of language use and register in translations (House, 2015). Amongst the more recent work in this area are Munday (2012, 2024) and Kim et al. (2021, 2023).

Building on this, the examination of pragmatic meaning, crucial for translation within SFL, goes beyond the analysis of the register variables of field, tenor, and mode to examine three primary ‘metafunctions’ of language (ideational, interpersonal, and textual). Pragmatic meaning, concerning how language is employed in context to accomplish communicative objectives, is specifically connected to the interpersonal metafunction (Eggins, 2004).

2.2.3 Metafunctions: Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual

Halliday (1994, p.33) identifies three fundamental dimensions of meaning, known as *metafunctions*: ideational, interpersonal, the textual. The metafunction concept has played a significant role in systemic linguistics, leading to extensive research in translation studies across various language pairs. Research in translation often revolves around metafunctions, aiming to map out these broad categories of meaning and then compare them in the STs and TTs to detect any shifts or changes (Fattah and Yahiaoui, 2022, p.197).

Table 2.2 Metafunctions and their lexicogrammar realisation

Discourse semantics	Definition	Realisation
Ideational metafunction (experiential and logical)	What is happening: the experience	Transitivity; Conjunctions
Interpersonal metafunction	The relationship between people	Mood; Modality; Polarity
Textual metafunction	Connecting all together: cohesion and coherence	Theme

Table 2.2 provides an overview of the principal lexicogrammar systems realising metafunctions at the discourse semantic stratum. The following subsections will briefly discuss these three strands of meaning and their lexicogrammatical patterns of realisation.

2.2.3.1 Ideational Metafunction

The ideational metafunction in SFL focuses on how a clause represents experiences and the language user's perception of the world (Halliday, 1994, p.106). It comprises two components centred around a process: experiential and logical. Experiential meaning is conveyed through the transitivity or process-type system (Eggins, 2004, p.214). It involves a configuration of elements: process (realised by verbal groups), participants (realised by nominal groups), and circumstances

(realised by adverbial groups and prepositional phrases) (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p.213), as shown in the following example (Trump's speech, 2017):

(2.2)

Terrorism	has spread	across the world.
participant nominal group	process verbal group	circumstance adverbial group

The second component of the ideational meaning is the logical metafunction, which is concerned with establishing logical-sematic relationships between clausal units (Eggins, 2004, p.17). It refers to how clauses are related to one another to form a sequence, often achieved through the use of conjunctions to establish logical connections between different clauses.

In translation studies, ideational concepts have been effectively applied. For example, Munday (2014) examines shifts in transitivity structures in English-Spanish translation, focusing on the ideational metafunction.

2.2.3.2 Interpersonal Metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction in SFL focuses on how a clause is shaped for interpersonal exchanges (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, pp.134-5). Interpersonal metafunction is primarily realised through the mood, polarity, and modality systems. Mood types include declarative (statement), imperative (command), and interrogative (question), reflecting the speaker's involvement (Eggins, 2004, p.141). For instance, in a declarative mood as in *We will overcome*, positivity and determination are expressed. Polarity expresses positive, negative, or neutral orientations, conveying agreement, disagreement, or a neutral stance. These features are realised through grammatical structures and word choices (Matthiessen et al., 2010, p.23, 161), as seen in

We cannot ignore the challenges, emphasising acknowledgment of challenges. Modality conveys certainty, necessity, or desirability, reflecting the speaker's assessment (ibid., p.44). For example, in *We must strive for unity,* the modal verb *must* denotes a sense of necessity and obligation (modal expressions of willingness and ability, Palmer, 2001, p.9).

The interpersonal metafunction in translation studies has been a subject of interesting research, using the appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005) to analyse evaluative or ideologically motivated shifts in translation. For example: Munday (2012) explores 'critical points' in texts that translators need to interpret, potentially changing the target text's attitudinal orientation; Fattah and Yahiaoui (2018) and Fattah (2020) use the appraisal framework to reveal hidden ideological and attitudinal elements in English and Arabic news reports. This present study explores how translators or interpreters position themselves through their lexicogrammatical choices.

2.2.3.3 Textual Metafunction

Theme often includes familiar or given information in the text, while **rheme** often conflates new or unknown information in the clause (Eggins, 2004, p.300).

In the field of translation studies, scholars have made significant contributions to the textual metafunction, particularly in areas such as cohesion, thematic structure, and thematic progression. Baker (1992, 2018) explores translation equivalence, while others like Blum-Kulka (1986), House (2004), Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, and Steiner (2007), and Fattah (2010, 2016) focus on cohesive explicitation. Thematic progression and shifts are also key research areas. Munday (1998) uses SFL and corpus linguistics to compare metafunctions in source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs).

SFL helps us understand discourse functions and how social actors shape meaning. For example, analysing modality and attitudinal expressions uncovers interpersonal meanings in the ST and

translator attitudes in the TT. Examining how translators use conjunctions reveals differences in presenting worldviews and ideational meanings. Analysing how translators link clauses to context in the TT underscores their choices in shaping meaning, influenced by socio-cultural contexts, with implications for translations.

SFL explores language in social contexts, providing a framework for analysing language use, including translation. It offers descriptive tools to analyse linguistic features and consider cultural and ideological influences, crucial in translation studies, aiding in contextualising translation choices (Fattah and Yahiaoui, 2022).

2.3 Appraisal Framework

The appraisal framework, rooted in SFL, expands on the interpersonal metafunction by focusing on language assessment or evaluation. Developed by Martin and colleagues (Martin, 1992, 2000, 2014; Martin and White, 2005; Martin and Rose, 2007), it explores evaluative language, including ideologically motivated translation shifts. SFL views language as a social semiotic system shaping meaning in context, providing a broader framework.

Both appraisal theory and SFL share a holistic approach to understanding language's interpersonal metafunction. Appraisal theory, examining linguistic resources for expressing attitudes and emotions, aligns with SFL's emphasis on contextual analysis and interpersonal relationships. In the appraisal framework, Martin and White (2005) identify three interconnected systems: attitude, graduation, and engagement, which serve as the foundation for more intricate sub-systems.

2.3.1 Attitude

Attitude, as defined by Martin and White (ibid., p.35), encompasses emotions, ethics, and aesthetics, involving the representation of emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour, and

evaluation of various issues. It consists of affect, judgment, and appreciation, each with its sub-systems expressing either positive or negative evaluations. Attitude can manifest directly 'inscribed', with explicit expressions of evaluation openly stated in the text, or indirectly 'evoked', implying a particular evaluation without explicitly stating it (Martin and White, 2005, p.61). Examples include "my distinguished guests" (Trump, 2017) for direct inscription and "Take a measure of me and my heart" (Biden, 2021) for invoked evaluation. Attitude may come in different forms, for instance: process (verb), "I want to **thank** King Salman"; epithet (adjective), e.g. "for his **extraordinary** words"; or comment adjunct (adverb), e.g. "you **greatly** honour us with your presence" (Trump, 2017), allowing for the expression of the same attitude across different linguistic categories (Martin and White, 2005, p.10).

2.3.1.1 Affect

The affect system enables speakers to express various emotions, such as un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction, and dis/inclination, each of which can be realised through positive or negative expressions within different lexicogrammatical structures (ibid., p.49). The first group (un/happiness) is associated with "affairs of the heart", such as *sadness* (anger) and *happiness* (love). Group (in/security) relates to ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust such as *safety*, *peace*, and *security*. The dis/satisfaction group is related to the pursuit of goals like *pleasure* and *hope*. The dis/inclination group that includes emotions related to desires or lack thereof concerning future events, encompasses sentiments such as *wishing*, *hoping*, *longing*, *missing*, or rejecting people or phenomena structures like *fearful* (Martin and White, 2005, p.49).

2.3.1.2 Judgement

Munday defines judgement as assessing behaviour, ethics, ability, and persistence, e.g., *great*, and *honestly* (Munday, 2012, p.24). This concept of judgment is further categorised into aspects related to 'Social esteem' and 'Social sanction' (Martin and White, 2005, p.52). Within social esteem, there are three elements: (normality), which examines the uniqueness or commonness of someone's actions and can be either positive or negative such as *un/lucky*; (capacity), which focuses on an individual's ability to perform specific tasks such as *powerful* and *weak*; and (tenacity), which deals with assessing an individual's dependability and reliability like *un/faithful* (ibid.).

The subcategories falling under social sanction encompass (veracity), which revolves around assessing an individual's truthfulness and honesty such as *honest* and *lying*. (Propriety) encompasses a range of ethical criteria that enable the evaluator to determine whether someone adheres to moral, legal, and fair standards, assessing whether they are beyond reproach such as *im/moral* (Li et al., 2019).

2.3.1.3 Appreciation

Appreciation expresses our gratitude when we interpret the significance of our assessments regarding various aspects, such as the items we create, the performances we deliver, and even natural occurrences, by determining their value. This can be understood in a few diverse ways. First, the aspect of (reaction) relates to emotional responses, where individuals express affection or desire for something, as in *remarkable*. Second, (composition) pertains to how we perceive the order and structure of something, focusing on its visual or structural aspects, like *special*. Lastly,

(valuation) is connected to cognitive judgments and opinions, representing a more thoughtful assessment, as in *deep* (Martin and White, 2005, p.57).

2.3.2 Engagement

Engagement can be described as a measure of how deeply the speaker or writer is invested in their discourse, indicating the degree of their active participation or commitment to the communication (ibid., pp.135-36). In the appraisal system of engagement, the primary differentiation lies between monoglossic and heteroglossic. Monoglossic pertains to a situation where alternative viewpoints or positions are excluded or not acknowledged, while heteroglossic relates to a context in which alternative positions or perspectives are recognised and considered. This understanding of engagement offers valuable insights into political communication and the position or stance adopted by the translation, where commitment to truth shapes discourse.

2.3.2.1 Mononglossic engagement

In monoglossic expressions, speakers present highly confident statements as bare assertions, without alluding to alternative viewpoints or using hedging or expressions of modality. These utterances are perceived as neutral, objective, or ‘factual’ (Li et al., 2019). As shown in Example 2.3 from Fukuyama's article (2021, p.1):

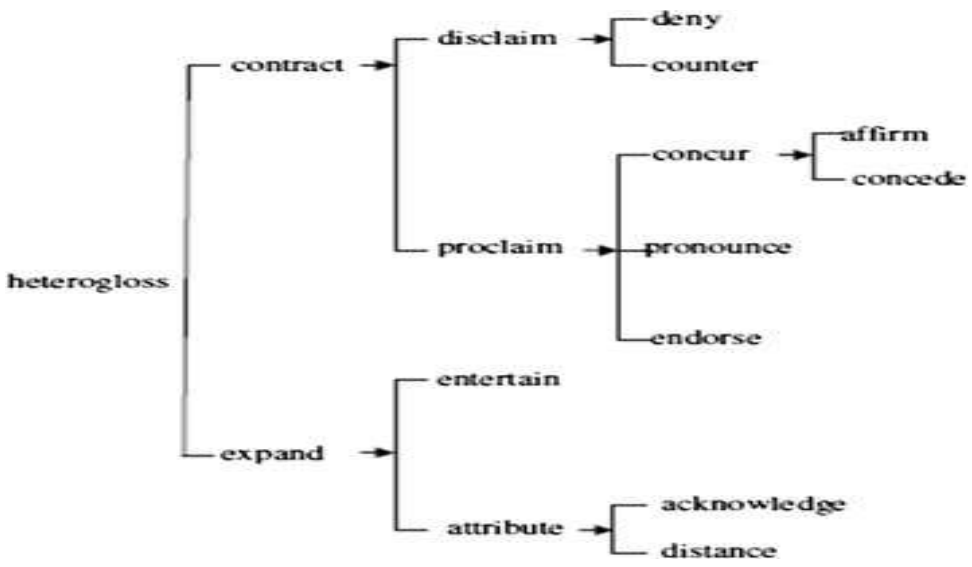
(2.3) "The peak period of American hegemony lasted less than 20 years, from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to around the financial crisis in 2007-09".

The provided example is monoglossic, presenting a single viewpoint without acknowledging alternative perspectives. Fukuyama indicates a specific time for the peak period of American hegemony, offering a clear and unqualified stance.

2.3.2.2 Heteroglossic engagement

Heteroglossic expressions involve acknowledging alternative viewpoints and considering broader context and intertextual aspects, allowing the author to present their own viewpoints while leaving room for possible alternative perspectives in the dialogue. This distinction between (dialogical contraction) and (dialogical expansion), as described by Martin and White (2005, p.102), refers to whether the author restricts alternative viewpoints or allows space for them (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 The Engagement system (adapted from Martin and White, 2005)



Dialogical contraction

In dialogical contraction, the speaker excludes other voices using linguistic resources, with two sub-systems: (disclaims) and (proclaims).

Proclaim

According to Martin and White (2005, p.102), a proclaim emphasises the credibility of the speaker's viewpoint, indirectly downplaying alternative perspectives. It can involve supporting

alternative perspectives (proclaim endorse) as an Example 2.4, openly asserting the truth or justifiability of a position (proclaim: pronounce) as an Example 2.5 or agreeing with other voices in the dialogue (proclaim: concur) as an Example 2.6:

(2.4) "If we **show** a little tolerance and humility".

(Biden, 2021)

(2.5) "The truth of the matter **is** that the end of the American era had come much earlier".

(Fukuyama, 2021)

(2.6) "**Of course**, there is still much work to do".

(Biden, 2021)

Disclaim

Disclaim is linked to several types of negation and contrast, as the textual voice positions itself in opposition to or rejects certain opposing viewpoints. This is achieved through direct denial (disclaim: deny) as an Example 2.7 or providing counterarguments (disclaim: counter) to opposing positions as an Example 2.8

(2.7) "Today, we celebrate the triumph **not** of a candidate, but of a cause, the cause of democracy".

(Biden, 2021)

(2.8) "The country overestimated the effectiveness of military power to bring about fundamental political change, **even** as it under-estimated the impact of its free-market economic model on global finance".

(Fukuyama, 2021)

Dialogical expansion

Conversely, speakers can broaden their statement by considering alternative viewpoints, thereby allowing room for dialogical alternatives.

Entertain

This term signifies the language used by the authorial voice to indicate that their perspective is just one of several possible viewpoints (Martin and White, 2005, p.104). It concerns the dialogistic expansiveness of both modality as an Example 2.9 and evidently as an Example 2.10:

(2.9) "They **could** use violence to silence the will of the people".

(Biden, 2021)

(2.10) "The grinding and **seemingly** endless wars in Afghanistan and Iraq soured many Americans".

(Fukuyama, 2021)

Attribute

This involves introducing external voices, which can either be directly or indirectly quoted. The speaker can choose to merely acknowledge the external voice (implicitly agree with it) as an Example 2.11, or to create some distance from it as an Example 2.12:

(2.11) "And I promise you this: as the Bible **says** weeping may endure for a night but joy cometh in the morning".

(Biden, 2021)

(2.12) "Today roughly half of Republicans **believe** that the Democrats constitute a bigger threat to the American way of life than does Russia".

(Fukuyama, 2021)

2.3.3 Graduation

Graduation is the mechanism by which a speaker or writer adjusts the intensity of their expressed opinions, scaling the level of attitudinal meanings conveyed in terms of attitude and engagement. It operates along two axes of scalability, involving the subsystems of focus and force (Martin and White, 2005, p.135).

2.3.3.1 Focus

The concept of *focus* in language involves categorising entities based on their degree of prototypicality, which refers to how closely they match a core or exemplary example of that category. When something or someone is considered prototypical, it means they are a typical and hard-to-compare example of that category. Gradability and precision play crucial roles in this categorisation, measured along a continuum of prototypicality. Sharpening indicates an increase in prototypicality, as seen in examples like (A **true** champion), while softening indicates a decrease, as in **(Kind** of blue) (Munday, 2015).

2.3.3.2 Force

Force allows communicators to adjust the impact and strength of their expressions, using resources that are gradable and scalable. These resources interact with attitude to increase or decrease the intensity of that attitude. Force can be further categorised into intensification and qualification. Intensification focuses on assessing the degree of intensity, which can be applied to the quality of

something (**slightly** sad,) or processes (**greatly** diminished), subject to gradation and scaling. On the other hand, qualification involves evaluating imprecise measurements of numbers (a **few** months), size, weight, distribution, or proximity (Martin and White, 2005).

Table 2.3 An overview of appraisal system (adapted from Munday, 2012, p.24)

	Appraisal resources	Variables	Appraise (definition)	Example
Appraisal	Attitude	• Affect • Judgement • Appreciation	Related to emotional reactions and feeling. To assess behaviour, ethics, ability, persistence. To evaluate phenomena and processes.	**proud** to see that. **kindness** of your citizens. **magnificent** Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
	Graduation	• Force • Focus	Measuring the intensity level and the quantity. Softening or sharpening the amount of evaluation.	have **always** heard about the splendour of your country. **massive** amount of historic treasures.
	Engagement	• Monogloss • Heterogloss	The reader is not allowed to take alternate positions. The reader is allowed to engage freely with other voices.	this landmark agreement **includes** the announcement, etc. we will discuss

Understanding readers' or translators' positioning concerning text is pivotal in discourse and appraisal theory. Martin and White (2005, p.206) and Munday (2012, pp.158-9) offer insightful perspectives on reader/translator engagement and interpretation, proposing a framework that delineates three positions for understanding translators' approaches to a text: 'compliant,' 'resistant,' and 'tactical. Compliant reading involves aligning with presented meanings without questioning, Tactical reading utilises text for personal goals while acknowledging complexities, and resistant reading actively challenges dominant interpretations. These frameworks highlight varying degrees of compliance, negotiation, and resistance in interpretation, enriching our understanding of reader-text dynamics within linguistic, cultural, and ideological contexts.

Applying appraisal framework to text analysis of Trump, Biden, and Fukuyama's speeches/article and their translations/interpretations, provides insights into the interplay of language, social context, and the expression of attitudes and positionality. This structured framework helps in identifying the cultural and ideological factors that influence language choices and message conveyance, enriching analysis by revealing nuanced attitudes and socio-cultural dimensions.

Despite its strengths, Appraisal framework has faced criticism for its complexity involved in its application. The detailed system of categorising attitudes, such as affect, judgment, and appreciation, can lead to overlapping categories, making it challenging to achieve clear-cut distinctions, especially in cross-cultural studies where linguistic nuances vary significantly. Moreover, the theory's primary focus on the speaker's or writer's evaluative stance may overlook other critical aspects of discourse, such as the influence of audience reception on meaning construction (Martin & White, 2005; Bednarek, 2008). These limitations suggest that while Appraisal framework provides a valuable framework for understanding evaluative language, its

application must be handled with care, particularly when dealing with diverse linguistic and cultural contexts.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a vital framework developed primarily in the late 1980s and early 1990s for examining language, power, and social relations in complex sociopolitical contexts. Drawing from linguistics SFL, sociology, and critical theory, CDA systematically investigates diverse forms of semiotic data, revealing underlying structures of dominance, discrimination, power, and control (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, pp.4-12). Notable scholars like Fairclough (2001, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2017, and 2018), van Dijk (2001, 2004, 2008, 2009, and 2015) and Wodak (2001, 2009, 2011, and 2014) have contributed to its development. CDA comprises a range of theoretical approaches, with three being particularly prominent:

(1) Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach emphasises how cognitive processes influence discourse and vice versa, highlighting the role of social cognition in understanding language's societal role (van Dijk, 1993).

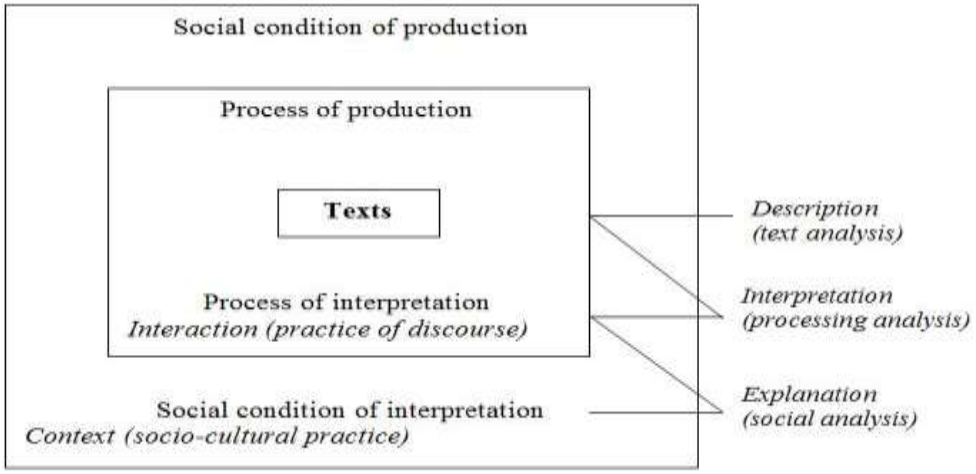
(2) Wodak's discourse-historical approach focuses on historical contexts and roots of discursive practices, crucial for understanding present impacts (Wodak and Meyer, 2016).

(3) Fairclough's three-dimensional model: Fairclough's model is a widely used framework in CDA. It delves into the multidimensional aspects of discourse, categorising it into three interconnected dimensions: the text itself, the practice of discourse, and the socio-cultural context. This model allows for in-depth analysis by considering the textual, contextual, and sociocultural elements of language usage (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough's influential work in CDA has laid the theoretical foundations and methodological framework for the field. In his work *Discourse and Social Change* (1992a), Fairclough presents a social theory of discourse and practical methodology for CDA.

Taking inspiration from the principles of SFL developed by Halliday, Fairclough formulated a CDA model that focuses on examining the process of meaning construction at both contextual and textual levels (Fairclough, 1995a, p.87). This model classifies discourse into three dimensions: the text itself, the practice of discourse, and the socio-cultural context, as shown in Figure 2.4. Within this framework, text analysis is situated within a larger social context, with discursive practice playing a mediating role.

Figure 2.4 Dimensions of discourse as text, interaction, and context (adapted from Fairclough, 2015, p.58)



Fairclough's CDA model includes three dimensions, each dedicated to specific stages of critical analysis. The first dimension involves text analysis, examining linguistic properties like lexicon (e.g., wording, metaphor), grammar (e.g., transitivity, modality), cohesion (e.g., conjunction, schemata), and text structure (e.g., episoding, turn-taking system). This dimension constitutes a pure discourse analysis, independent of the text's production context.

The second dimension of Fairclough's CDA model focuses on discursive practice, exploring text production, distribution, and consumption processes, including elements like speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality. This dimension plays a crucial mediating role between the analysis of the text as an end product and the analysis of the larger social practice.

The third dimension, social practice analysis, explores the text as a communicative event within various contextual levels, ranging from immediate situational context to the broader context of institutional practices and societal and cultural frames. These dimensions correspond to three critical analysis stages: text description, interpretation, and explanation.

Van Dijk has been another prominent figure in the field, especially in studies of media discourse, particularly regarding the portrayal of ethnic groups and minorities in European contexts. Van Dijk's analysis operates at two levels: microstructure and macrostructure. At the microstructure level, he focuses on semantic relations between propositions, syntactic and lexical elements that provide coherence, as well as rhetorical elements such as quotations that lend factuality to news reports. Crucial to van Dijk's analysis of news reports is the macrostructure, which involves the thematic and topical structure of news stories and their overall schemata. He highlights the significance of headlines and lead paragraphs in defining the overall coherence and what information readers are likely to remember (van Dijk, 2008).

Moreover, van Dijk perceives discourse analysis as a form of ideology analysis. He asserts that ideologies are often expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages like images and photographs (van Dijk, 1995, p.30). His ideology analysis comprises social, cognitive, and discourse analysis (ibid.). Social analysis focuses on societal structures, cognitive analysis explores mental representations, and discourse analysis primarily involves text-based analysis. Importantly, van Dijk's approach incorporates cognitive

analysis, which looks at how sociocognition mediates between society and discourse. This cognitive aspect is significant in understanding how ideologies influence personal cognition and group interactions.

The research and writings of van Dijk often centre on the contrastive dimension of 'Us versus Them,' and he believes that analysing this ideological dichotomy in discourse requires a careful examination of the context, power relations, and conflicts involved in the discourse (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b) (this approach is elaborated upon in Chapter 3).

Over the years, CDA has proven to be a valuable analytical framework for examining power, dominance, discrimination, and ideology, making it suitable for the analysis of political discourse and translated political discourse (e.g., Calzada Pérez, 2018; Chilton, 2014; Chilton and Schäffner, 2011; Fairclough, 2013; Schäffner, 2012, 2014, 2019; Wodak, 2014). Recent scholarly contributions have enriched and expanded the scope of CDA, showcasing its dynamic evolution with new perspectives and methodologies. This application of CDA in translation studies has been strengthened by the perspective that treats translation as a social practice like any other naturally occurring language use (e.g., Lefevere, 1992). CDA enables researchers to explore both original and translated texts in their social, political, cultural, and institutional contexts, effectively bridging the gap between text and context.

CDA offers valuable insights into power dynamics and ideological structures within discourse, but it is not without its criticisms. A key concern is CDA's theoretical foundation and the potential for methodological biases. Critics argue that CDA may lack a solid theoretical base and inadvertently reflect the researcher's personal views or values, which can introduce bias into the analysis (Tenorio, 2011). For example, a researcher's strong political beliefs might skew their interpretation of language, leading to conclusions that align more closely with their own perspectives rather than

the text's inherent meanings. This issue underscores the need for careful consideration of subjectivity in CDA. Furthermore, CDA's focus on macro-level power dynamics and ideologies can sometimes overshadow the precision and systematic rigor found in more quantitative approaches. This tendency can affect the generalisability of findings, as CDA's interpretive nature may limit its ability to provide consistent and replicable results (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). While CDA excels in uncovering underlying power structures and ideological influences, it may struggle with maintaining the objectivity and detailed precision required for broad generalisations.

In this study, these criticisms were addressed by complementing CDA with SFL, which offers a more granular analysis of linguistic features and their functions within the text. SFL's detailed approach helps mitigate some of the subjectivity inherent in CDA by focusing on the micro-level of linguistic realisation and providing a systematic framework for understanding language in context (Matthiessen et al., 2022). This combination aims to enhance the depth of analysis and reduce potential biases, offering a more balanced and rigorous examination of translation shifts and ideological representations.

SFL's versatility across cultural and linguistic contexts, stemming from Halliday's early work on Chinese, positions it as a framework transcending language boundaries (Hallidaay, 1994), supporting our goal of conducting an objective and rigorous analysis, avoiding biases and subjectivity. While CDA remains useful for contextualising and comparing findings from different studies, our strategic decision to prioritise SFL ensures a strong theoretical foundation and methodological rigor in the analysis, particularly with an emphasis on the appraisal framework. We will return to CDA in Section 3.5, where its use for the analysis of political text in translation

will be discussed. The SFL emphasis on the paradigmatic axis and its potential to explore multilingual phenomena make it an ideal choice for this study (Matthiessen et al., 2022, pp.1-20).

Chapter 3: Translation, Ideology and Stance

3.1 Introduction

Ideology is a foundational concept with a profound impact on societies and individual belief systems. It resonates across diverse academic disciplines such as political science, sociology, linguistics, and translation studies. According to Eagleton (1991), ideology significantly influences the belief systems and decision-making processes of both individuals and societies. This chapter explores translating ideology through the lens of appraisal theory, aiming to understand its intricate interplay with translation. Through literature and case studies, it seeks to unveil ideology's profound influence on societies and individuals.

3.2 Ideology

Ideology, central to this study, is a multifaceted and controversial concept, particularly within mass media and politics. Despite its frequent reference, consensus on its exact definition in social science remains elusive. This ambiguity stems from ideology encompassing diverse and sometimes conflicting connotations (Eagleton, 1991, p.1).

The term ideology, coined in 1796 by French philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy, has evolved significantly over time. Initially perceived as a "science of ideas" aimed at exploring "how we think, speak, and argue" (Thompson, 1990, pp.26-33). Marxist scholars assert that ideology frequently causes a false consciousness within marginalised groups, notably the working class. According to Marx and Engels (1977), ideology, within the Marxist framework, embodies the prevailing material circumstances and class dynamics of a society rather than being impartial or unbiased.

This study focuses on ideological definitions that serve the research objectives, specifically in relation to examining changes in positionality within modern political discourse during translation from English to Arabic. Drawing from the scholars of translation Hatim and Mason (1997, p.120), ideology is defined as "the tacit assumptions, beliefs, and value systems shared collectively by social groups". This definition aligns well with SFL's social semiotics approach, emphasising context. For instance, translating (free market capitalism) as الرأسمالية الحرة (al-ra'smaliyya al-hurra) in Arabic, which literally translates to (free capitalism), reflects shared beliefs within the Arabic-speaking community, per Hatim and Mason's view. SFL's contextual focus and social semiotics approach, discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2), provide a solid foundation for analysing how ideology is linguistically expressed in specific contexts. By examining linguistic features such as lexical choices, grammatical structures, and discursive strategies, we can understand their role in constructing and negotiating ideological meaning in translated texts (TTs). Hatim and Mason's perspective on ideology as shared beliefs complements SFL's contextual focus, offering a robust theoretical and analytical framework for studying the relationship between language, ideology, and translation.

Building on the historical understanding of ideology, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a lens to examine how ideology shapes discourse, exploring how language sustains power relations and societal structures. Extending the Marxist critique of ideology, CDA helps reveal how discourse reinforces or challenges existing power dynamics. Fairclough’s insights into CDA emphasise the complex relationship between ideology, discourse, and language. According to Fairclough (2001, p.7), ideology encompasses any social policy derived consciously from social theory. His work confirms that ideologies are not just abstract beliefs but are reflected in concrete social policies and actions, often informed by social theories. He also highlights the role of societal

practices in shaping ideology, as these practices carry implicit assumptions that uphold and legitimise prevailing power structures and social norms.

Implicit assumptions, as Fairclough (ibid, p.104) identifies, are unspoken beliefs embedded in the mental models of readers, influencing their interpretation of a text. In political discourse, implicit assumptions can manifest in various ways. For instance, there may be an implicit assumption that economic prosperity alone defines a successful government, affecting how political speeches and policies are framed and understood.

This definition forms the foundation of our analysis, enabling us to explore potential ideological influences in the texts. Fairclough's CDA approach assists us in comprehensively examining the ideological aspects of translations, enhancing our understanding of their effects and significance.

While Fairclough's definition focuses on explicit societal practices and their underlying implicit assumptions, van Dijk offers a different perspective on ideology. According to van Dijk (2013, p.7), ideology encompasses "the collectively held, fundamental beliefs of a social group that distinctively define their identity and objectives". This perspective emphasises the intricate interplay between social and cognitive aspects of ideology, shaping individual perceptions and interactions within the socio-cultural context. It underscores the collective, identity-shaping nature of ideology, influencing worldviews, goals, and group interactions.

Van Dijk's definition provides a robust framework for understanding how shared beliefs drive collective actions and shape societal perceptions, enriching our comprehension of ideology's dynamics in society. For instance, President Biden's inaugural speech (2021) emphasised national unity and shared cultural identity, reflecting American citizens' core values. Translators must consider these beliefs when adapting speeches to different cultural contexts. This illustrates the

relevance of van Dijk’s definition in translation, explaining how shared beliefs drive actions and perceptions. Translators use this framework to align the TT with the target audience’s identity and objectives, aiding our understanding of ideology in translation.

Van Dijk's assertion that ideological elements are fundamentally social and collective resonates with Hatim and Mason’s perspective on ideology. Their definition emphasises ideology as a set of unspoken, common convictions, principles, and presumptions held by a social community, shaping perceptions and guiding actions. This understanding underscores ideology's collective and cultural character, offering a comprehensive framework for grasping its group-level influence on identity and behaviour.

Hatim and Mason's examination of the translation of political discourse, particularly focusing on ideology in Arabic political texts, highlights how translators' linguistic choices may reflect ideologically motivated alterations in texts. This underscores the importance of studying political discourse in translation studies and understanding how translators and media institutions, influenced by their ideological and political backgrounds, may shape target texts.

In a parallel vein, Munday's definition (2008, p.8) views ideology as a system of beliefs that inform individuals' worldviews, realised linguistically and semiotically. This perspective emphasises not only how beliefs are expressed through language but also their manifestation and communication through various signs, symbols, and forms of representation. Together, these definitions by van Dijk, Hatim and Mason, and Munday offer a holistic perspective on the multifaceted nature of ideology, including collective beliefs, shared assumptions, and linguistic realisation, shaping both group identity and individual worldviews.

3.3 Ideology and Translation Studies

The evolution of translation studies, marked by influential scholars such as Hermans (1985), Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), and Venuti (1995), emphasises the profound impact of ideology on literary translation. Their work highlights enduring concerns within the discourse of literary translation, emphasising the considerable influence of translators' core orientations and the pervasive presence of ideology in this domain. A common thread that unites these investigations is the recognition of ideology's pivotal role in the translation process. These authors all emphasise that translations extend beyond linguistic transference, becoming cultural and ideological products intricately shaped by their creation context (Fang, 2011).

The term *cultural turn*, introduced by Bassnett and Lefevere in 1990, signified a significant shift in perspective within translation studies. This conceptual transformation shifted the field's focus away from fixed equivalence towards a broader exploration of translation, emphasising extra-textual approaches and the role of ideology. Scholars increasingly utilise ideology as a theoretical tool, necessitating clarification. In translation studies, it is crucial to distinguish between *the translation of ideology* and *the ideology of translation*, enabling a more nuanced understanding of how ideology shapes both the content and context of translated works (ibid., p.164).

Hatim and Mason (1997, p.145) argue that ideology inherently influences translation, introducing two central concepts: *the ideology of translation* and *the translation of ideology*. They assert that translation is fundamentally an ideological endeavour, a viewpoint echoed by many translation scholars such as Lefevere (1990), Schäffner (2003), Venuti (2004), and Calzada Pérez (2003). According to Lefevere (1990), translation transcends mere language transfer and can significantly contribute to ongoing ideological conflicts. Schäffner stresses the inherent link between ideology

and translation, suggesting that all translation efforts inherently carry ideological elements (2003, p.23).

Translations are influenced by the interests and goals of various societal participants, shaping deliberate choices in source text (ST) selection and intended target text use. They leave a cultural imprint rooted in specific historical events and social contexts within the receiving culture. In serving domestic interests, translations offer ideological solutions for bridging linguistic and cultural gaps present in foreign texts (Venuti, 2004).

Hatim and Mason (1997, p.121) provide an example illustrating how homophobia is manifest in Robert Graves's translation of Suetonius, as documented by Venuti (1995, p.34). The linguistic choices reflecting homophobia align with the prevailing cultural values of the target language society at the time of translation, which was the United Kingdom in 1957. This adaptation of the ST to align with the ideological stance of the target culture demonstrates how translations can convey and uphold specific cultural biases.

According to Venuti (ibid.), translators unavoidably make fundamental ideological choices. What others might perceive as personal preferences often goes against the translator's intentions, presenting an opportunity to either reinforce or challenge dominant cultural norms. Translators operate within a social context and are integral parts of that context. It is within this context that translation becomes inherently ideological.

In the context of translation studies, the concept of *the translation of ideology* explores how ideological elements present in STs are transmitted in TTs, either explicitly or implicitly. Hatim and Mason (1997, pp.148-55) reviewed earlier work in the field and found varying levels of visibility of ST ideology in different translated versions. They argue that translators inevitably

influence the ST world through the lens of their own ideology. According to Hatim and Mason (1997, p.147), mediation is central to understanding how translators interact with STs and TTs. They introduce a spectrum of mediator roles, ranging from maximal mediation, where the translator heavily imposes their interpretation and ideology on the text, to minimal mediation, where fidelity to the ST's ideology is maintained, and partial mediation, which falls in between. Investigating translator mediation involves examining "the degree to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" (ibid.). The term *intervention* in translation studies refers to translators exceeding linguistic requirements to enhance clarity, consistency, or cultural relevance in the target language (House, 2008, p.11). Translators may make changes or additions not strictly needed to convey the linguistic content, reflecting their interpretations and objectives, introducing subjectivity into the translation process.

Munday (2012), in his book *Evaluation in Translation: Critical Points of Translator Decision-Making*, investigates the translator's subjective interpretation and intervention in the translation of value positions represented in the ST. He emphasises that all acts of intervention in translation are evaluative, and it is essential to consider both the translator's conscious and unconscious choices (ibid., p.20). Between House's definition of intervention in translation and Munday's emphasis on the evaluative nature of such interventions lies a critical juncture in understanding the translator's role.

The concept of intervention in translation encompasses a diverse range of expressions and forms, as demonstrated by Schäffner's study (2008). Her research provides a rich example of how translation can influence political discourse through various forms of intervention by translators. In her analysis of a speech by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, specifically the phrase

"wipe Israel off the map", Schäffner explores how different English translations of this phrase reflect the translator's interpretation and intervention. The choice of wording, such as "wipe off the map", "stain of disgrace", or "eliminate from the pages of history", illustrates the translators' interventions. Additionally, the use of brackets to add explanations, like "this disgraceful blot (Israel)", demonstrates translators' efforts to provide clarity and context to the target audience. These interventions significantly influence readers' comprehension of the ST and their perception of its political message.

Similarly, Binjian Qin and Meifang Zhang's research examines newspaper headlines during the 2018 China-US trade conflict, highlighting how translators actively shape narratives through strategic language choices. Their findings underscore the significant influence translators wield in shaping political discourse and lay a foundation for in-depth research on translation's implications for political communication, the ideological underpinnings of translation decisions, and the potential for message distortion (cited in Munday and Calzada Pérez, 2020, p.6).

These examples illustrate translators' significant role in shaping political discourse and influencing public opinion, laying a foundation for in-depth research on translation's implications for political communication, the ideological underpinnings of translation decisions, and the potential for message distortion. This underscores translation's power in shaping political narratives, serving as a fundamental starting point for our analytical exploration of translators' interventions across various dimensions.

Through an analysis of translators' perspectives within specific socio-political contexts, we seek to elucidate the intricate ways in which ideology shapes language translation and interpretation.

3.4 Ideology and Simultaneous Interpreting

In the realm of simultaneous interpreting, ideology profoundly influences interpreters, shaping their linguistic choices and interactions. Hatim and Mason (1997, p.37) and Tymoczko (2003) emphasise that interpreters are not passive conveyors of words but actively engage with spoken texts, integrating their knowledge and beliefs. Interpreters often operate within ideological frameworks, as noted by Pöchhacker (2005). Similarly, Zhang and Munday (2018) highlight translators' active role as mediators shaping narratives across cultures. Their contributions underscore translators' significant involvement in the process.

In examining interpreters' roles as active agents in shaping ideological content, studies often depict ideology as a tool for consolidating power and legitimising institutional dominance. Gao and Munday's (2023) study, conducted during the World Economic Forum's Annual Meeting in China, illustrates how interpreters navigate ideological complexities, often adopting a pro-China stance in their interpretations. Their analysis reveals interpreters' tendency to make predominantly positive or neutral alterations, such as recasting negative terms like "poor" to "developing" to uphold a positive image (ibid., p.20). Interpreters face various challenges, including linguistic obstacles and the delicate task of managing unfavourable remarks related to China. Building on this exploration, Beaton's (2007 p.279) study explores the influence of simultaneous interpretation on the expression and interpretation of ideology within European Parliament discourse. Beaton introduces the notion of the repetition of the term "European Union" in German STs and English TTs, suggesting interpreters' role in manipulating the balance of political power through language choices.

Wang and Munday's (2021) study emphasises the pivotal role of interpreters in shaping discourse, considering the influence of translation shifts and ideological factors on linguistic choices. This research contributes to understanding interpreters as active agents in shaping ideological content, especially in the translation of contemporary political speeches with global significance.

To contextualise these departures, we consider Toury's (2012) descriptive approach and Chesterman's (2002) concept of operational norms, which view norms as recurrent patterns in translational behaviour. Interpreting research often focuses on strategy-oriented norms, intricately linked with the methodologies interpreters employ to address cognitive challenges. Bartłomiejczyk (2006, p.152) outlines interpreting strategies designed to aid interpreters in tackling specific challenges and optimising their performance.

One prominent model in this context is Gile's (2009) effort model of simultaneous interpreting, which categorises interpreting strategies into three primary groups: comprehension tactics, preventive tactics, and reformulation tactics. Comprehension tactics aim to enhance or anticipate understanding of the ST. Preventive tactics proactively address potential difficulties, particularly regarding time constraints or cognitive load. Reformulation tactics are utilised to rectify issues related to production or short-term memory (Bartłomiejczyk, 2006, p.153).

In contrast, Kalina (1998) presents a distinct classification of interpreting strategies, grouping them into two primary categories: comprehension and production strategies. Comprehension strategies, such as inferencing, anticipation, and chunking, are essential for understanding the ST (Bartłomiejczyk, 2006, p.153). Production strategies involve dynamic choices made by interpreters to enhance clarity and effectiveness. Addition, for instance, allows interpreters to include supplementary information or explanations not expressed in the ST (Kalina, 1998). Conversely, omission is a deliberate strategy where interpreters leave out comprehended content,

often due to redundancy or perceived unimportance (Gile, 1995; Kalina, 1998; Napier, 2004). Compression is employed to condense lengthy segments into concise yet meaningful phrases while preserving the intended meaning (Alexieva, 1983).

Gile's effort model and Kalina's interpreting strategies offer a comprehensive framework for understanding interpreter decision-making. They illuminate how interpreters navigate complex language tasks, interpret choices, and convey or alter ideological content. These insights emphasise interpreters as active agents shaping ideological portrayal, enhancing our understanding of their role in the interpretation process.

The study by Al-Khanji and El-Shiyab (2000) provides valuable insights into the compensatory methods used by Jordanian interpreters during the Gulf War in 1990/1991, notably the widespread use of skipping. For example, when faced with ST sentences like "The French Minister was greeted with jeers and violence", interpreters often employed skipping, producing interpretations such as "The French Minister was greeted with violence". This technique helped them manage redundancy and address challenges related to unclear content, linguistic efficiency, message compression, and semantic complexities. It highlights interpreters' pivotal role in effectively transmitting information amidst complex situations. While interpreters often resort to compensatory techniques during simultaneous interpretation, excessive or inappropriate use of these strategies could compromise interpretation quality. The study underscores the delicate balance required when using compensatory techniques in challenging contexts, such as navigating complex international relations during the Gulf War. Interpreters faced formidable tasks, conveying information amidst military conflicts, geopolitical tensions, and extensive media coverage, emphasising the crucial need for clarity and accuracy in disseminating information.

3.5 CDA and Ideology in the Translation of Political Texts

Building on the discussion in Chapter 2, CDA provides a comprehensive framework for analysing the macro-level elements of TTs, encompassing lexical, syntactic, and speech act components. This approach enables researchers to scrutinise translator interventions and the ideological differences evident in their TTs. CDA primarily examines how social power dynamics exert control and influence, and how language and communication sustain or challenge mechanisms of inequality within the social and political context (Fang, 2011, p.12).

Some studies, such as Bennoudi and Zaid's (2023), employ CDA to investigate the impact of ideology on translator choices, including additions, omissions, and other strategies that shape recipient perceptions of a TT. The study provides examples from both theoretical and practical contexts, illustrating how manipulation in translation is pervasive and how individuals, groups, and institutions influence the final product.

A notable aspect highlighted in the study is Almesryoon's translation approach, which involves substituting adjectives for nouns. For instance, the phrase "Iran supporting terrorist groups" is translated as "Iran supports terrorism". This strategic choice serves to avoid specifying names of organisations and countries labelled as terrorists in the ST, contributing to a nuanced and context-aware rendition. Furthermore, Almesryoon excludes agents like "Hezbollah" (the Lebanese militant group and political party), introducing uncertainty in line with Fairclough's notion of strategic vagueness, which aims to keep responsibility or causality undefined (1989, p.124). This choice not only omits specific agents from the ST but also invites examination of how these descriptions may reflect the ideologies of the institutions involved. By intentionally keeping responsibility or causality undefined, Almesryoon's approach aligns with a broader discussion on

how translations can shape perceptions of geopolitical entities, shedding light on the complex interplay between language, ideology, and translation strategies within the broader socio-political context.

In a related study, Edy et al. (2015) examine the use of honorifics to refer to US presidents in the news outlets Fox News and CNN. Their findings reveal a notable bias in favour of the Democratic Obama administration over the Republican Bush administration in CNN's coverage, with Obama being referred to as President more frequently than George W. Bush. Meanwhile, Fox News showed no substantial distinction in the frequency with which they addressed Obama and Bush as President. Similarly, a study by Al Mohannadi (2008) delves into the complexities of translating Osama bin Laden's speech delivered on October 7, 2001, addressing the events of September 11th and the ensuing conflict with the US. The study focuses on translations conducted by two prominent news outlets, the BBC and CNN. It highlights the fidelity of the BBC's translation to the ST, which enhances readability. In contrast, CNN's rendition exhibits variations, omissions, and inconsistencies, prompting scrutiny of these alterations.

The translations conducted by CNN in both Edy et al. (2015) and Al Mohannadi's (2008) research demonstrate a strategic approach aimed at shaping translated content to align with specific editorial or political perspectives. These subtle choices in translation, including the use of honorifics and alterations in the rendition of speeches, indicate a level of editorial influence that extends beyond straightforward conveyance of information. Whether intentional or not, these manipulations underscore the critical importance of examining translation practices in the media, as they have the potential to significantly impact and mould public perceptions and discourse.

These studies provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the broader implications of language manipulation in translation and news coverage, offering valuable insights into the

strategies employed by various media outlets in addressing politically charged topics. While Bennoudi and Zaid's study lays the foundation for scrutinising how translators handle ideological aspects, this present research extends beyond their framework by employing appraisal theory. This approach allows us to explore how translators' evaluative perspectives affect representation in translations, offering deeper insights into the complex interplay between ideology and language in the construction of political narratives. Unlike Edy et al.'s study, which focuses on CNN's use of honorifics for Western political figures, our investigation directs attention to the distinctive language patterns employed when addressing figures from the Middle East.

In the realm of political discourse and cultural representation, the concept of *Us* vs *Them* emerges as a fundamental dynamic, reflecting societal divisions and power dynamics. This binary framework delineates an intricate interplay of identity, belonging, and power dynamics, where individuals or groups construct distinct boundaries between the perceived ingroup (Us) and the outgroup (Them) (van Dijk, 2013). Navarro and Yeh's (2022) analysis of VOX's leader Santiago Abascal's rhetoric and Kansu-Yetkiner's (2014) study on political polarisation in Turkish children's literature translations both illuminate the strategies employed to perpetuate the Us vs Them dichotomy. Navarro and Yeh's study investigates the language and discursive strategies employed by Santiago Abascal, the leader of Spain's far-right party VOX, focusing on the divisive issue of migration. The research reveals a pattern of discursive practices aimed at diminishing political rivals, vilifying immigrants, and challenging government measures inconsistent with VOX's authoritarian conservatism. Similarly, Kansu-Yetkiner's study explores political polarisation between Republicans and Islamists in Turkey through an examination of peritexts in recent translations of world children's literature. The research reveals a distinct Us vs Them polarisation in peritexts from Islamised translations of world classics in children's literature, emphasising

positive attributes of the in-group (Muslims) while portraying the out-group (non-Muslims) negatively.

These studies offer valuable insights into the discursive mechanisms that play a crucial role in shaping public discourse within dynamic and evolving political landscapes, shedding light on the strategies employed to perpetuate Us vs Them dynamics in political rhetoric and cultural representation.

3.6 Appraisal Meanings in Translation Studies

Shifting our attention to studies that illuminate the significant role of the appraisal framework in analysing translator interventions, we find Munday's (2012) research integrating discourse and appraisal analysis within translation studies. In his study, Munday conducts a comparative appraisal analysis of Obama's (2009) inaugural speech and its Spanish translations. This research asserts the importance of the appraisal model in examining translation shifts, revealing that the Spanish translations preserve the core values and message of the ST with minimal changes. Munday's (2017) study extends the application of appraisal framework to President Trump's inaugural speech, where he identifies interpreter/translator interventions. These two studies provide a comprehensive view of how appraisal theory can be employed to explore translator interventions in the context of significant political speeches. In our research, we look to emulate Munday's methodology by conducting a comparative appraisal analysis of STs and their translated versions. This approach enables us to discern the impact of translator interventions on the expression of ideology.

Within the genre of opinion articles, research efforts underscore the critical role of attitude analysis. Llopis's (2017) study conducts a contrastive analysis of interpersonal devices in legal

opinion texts in English and Spanish, revealing challenges in conveying differences in attitude expression, particularly through implicit patterns. This study emphasises the intricacy of interpreting implicit patterns, including metaphors and rhetorical devices, which are more prevalent than explicit manifestations. The complexity highlights potential challenges for translators, emphasising the need for a nuanced understanding of context and cultural subtleties in the translation process. In a complementary vein, Kamyanets's (2021) study combines insights from the application of the appraisal framework to mass media translation. Focusing on Ukrainian opinion articles and their English translations, the research explores various forms of evaluation in STs. Unlike the implicit emphasis of Llopis's study, Kamyanets's analysis starts with explicit forms of evaluation and progresses to more subtle expressions, such as irony, incorporating them into the appraisal framework. The findings indicate an overall trend in opinion article translation towards reducing the intensity of evaluations and metaphorical language, with occasional omission of critical judgments in the target versions. Connecting these studies, Llopis delves into the challenges of implicit expression of attitude, while Kamyanets explores shifts in explicit evaluation. The synthesis of their results suggests that the translation of opinion articles involves a nuanced interplay between implicit and explicit elements, influencing the intensity of evaluation and metaphorical language in the TTs. These insights guide our analysis of Arabic translations of presidential speeches and political articles, focusing on understanding how implicit and explicit attitudes are conveyed and exploring potential differences between written translations and simultaneous interpretations.

Munday (2015) investigates engagement resources and graduation as indicators of translator/interpreter positioning. Through examples from international organisations' texts, the study analyses translation of reporting verbs and intensification, showing the

translator's/interpreter's influence on reader response. This forms the basis for our examination of translation interventions on rhetorical features, especially degree of graduation. Building on Munday's foundation, Li Pan's (2015) study provides an enlightening perspective on how variations in graduation can signify specific ideological orientations, particularly in Chinese translations of English news reports published by Reference News. Pan's findings align with Munday's focus on the rhetorical impact of translations, as they reveal how graduation variations often lean towards Western ideologies, resulting in a nuanced amplification of positive evaluations and mitigation of unfavourable ones. Furthermore, Xiapong's (2013) study adds another layer to our understanding by investigating attitude and graduation in Chinese translations of CNN's Interactive English Magazine. Like Munday and Pan, Xiapong explores the impact of translation interventions on rhetorical features but extends the inquiry to factors such as readership orientation, translator stance, and cultural disparities. The study's emphasis on the prevalence of interventions in soft news items, coupled with a 13% higher occurrence when sensitive topics are addressed, underscores the complex interplay between translation strategies and attitudinal positioning.

Munday's research provides a broad framework for understanding the influence of translation interventions on rhetorical aspects. Pan and Xiapong complement this framework by offering insights into the ideological orientations and attitudinal shifts resulting from graduation variations in Chinese translations. These studies form a cohesive narrative that advances our understanding of how translation strategies shape the rhetorical features of texts originating from international sources.

Badran (2001) and Komail Al-Herz (2021) explore the relationship between modality and ideological representation in translations. Despite focusing on different genres and contexts, both

studies enhance our understanding of how modality influences conveyed ideological stances. Badran (2001) conducted a study analysing two versions of a politically charged letter written by Gibran Tueni to Dr. Bashar Assad. The study reveals how modality and translation interventions influence the conveyed ideological stance. In the Arabic ST, there is a consistent stance maintained, with avoidance of personal attacks and some attribution of blame to Lebanese politicians. However, in the English TT, there is a notable shift towards a personal attack and the use of obligation-related expressions, which alters the power dynamics. This comparison underscores the integral connection between modality and ideology, demonstrating how the speaker's modal choices reflect their level of involvement and ideological position. In Komail Al-Herz's (2021) study, the influence of modality on translated narrative texts, particularly in terms of the translator's voice and its impact on interpersonal meaning, is explored. Al-Herz's comparative analysis of J. M. Coetzee's novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* and its Arabic translations reveals how translation shifts can blur the psychological point of view found in the original text. These findings align with Badran's study, emphasising the role of modality in shaping ideological elements within TTs.

In both Xin's (2018) and Fu and Chen's (2019) studies, the role of modality shifts in diplomatic interpreting is explored. They demonstrate how interpreters actively mediate discourse, adapting target language to communicative norms and shaping interpersonal relationships. These findings underscore the interpreters' significant influence in public diplomatic settings.

These studies collectively explore the active role of language mediators, be they translators or interpreters, in shaping meaning and ideological elements within diverse linguistic contexts. While Badran and Al-Herz focus on translation, Xin, Fu, and Chen extend the discussion to interpretation, offering insights into the impact of modality on communication, particularly in politically sensitive

and diplomatic settings. Together, they provide a comprehensive understanding of how language mediation influences cross-cultural communication dynamics, both in written (translation) and spoken (interpretation) contexts.

In the exploration of linguistic dynamics within journalistic contexts and translation processes, several studies have provided valuable insights into the interplay between language, culture, and communication. Huan's (2016) study, focusing on Chinese and Australian hard news reporting, sheds light on the cultural variability of engagement patterns through the analysis of reporting verbs. By employing the engagement system of the appraisal framework, Huan unveils distinct dialogistic positioning of journalists in relation to news sources in each context. Chinese journalists tend to utilise assertive reporting verbs aligning with official sources, such as "announce", "declare", and "state", while Australian journalists opt for more neutral verbs, such as "report", and "say", reflecting divergent engagement strategies. This variation underscores the intricate relationship between language choices and meaning construction within journalistic discourse. Huan's findings provide valuable insights into how linguistic nuances shape rhetorical strategies in different cultural settings, particularly in political reporting and the shaping of public narratives.

Mahmood's (2015) study explores the challenges of translating English intensifiers into Arabic, emphasising pragmatic, linguistic, and cultural factors that influence successful translation and contribute to a broader understanding of translation challenges, including navigating pragmatic knowledge, linguistic competence, and reader interpretation. These studies offer valuable insights into the complexities of language use and cultural variations, particularly in political discourse translation from English to Arabic. Our analysis draws from these foundational studies to address specific questions and challenges, aiming to contribute new perspectives to translation studies in political contexts.

Munday (2012) and Abdul Fattah (2010) both explore translation strategies and their impact on the quality of translations. Munday's (2012) findings highlight the role of counter-expectancy as a key engagement indicator in translations, identifying specific moments that serve as context-specific indicators of invoked-associative attitude through meticulous examination. Abdul Fattah's (2010) study delves into the phenomenon of explicitation in translation, focusing on the handling of structural and textual conjunctive expressions to enhance cohesiveness and improve comprehensibility in Arabic translations compared to their English STs.

Both Munday's insights into counter-expectancy and Abdul Fattah's examination of explicitation are foundational for our research. Munday's work helps us understand the role of counter-expectancy in translation, while Abdul Fattah's study focuses on improving comprehensibility through explicitation, especially concerning conjunctive expressions. Building upon these studies, our research aims to offer a context-specific exploration of the interplay between counter-expectancy and explicitation, deepening our understanding of translation strategies and their impact on TTs in our research context.

Both Yahiaoui et al. (2021) and Ali (2018) investigate the role of reading position in translation, drawing on Martin and White's appraisal theory to categorise translators' approaches as compliant, resistant, or tactical (see Chapter 2). Yahiaoui et al. focus on Arabic dubbing, revealing how translators' ideological stance influences their attitudes towards the ST and TT formation, while Ali examines diverse reading positions in translation, particularly in addressing knowledge gaps. Ali’s study reveals how translators utilise tactical readings prompted by content schema to navigate ambiguity while maintaining accuracy to the source. These studies emphasise the nuanced interplay between translators' interpretations of STs, their ideological stance, and their translation

decisions, underscoring the importance of understanding reading position dynamics in translation processes.

Al Shunng's (2014) and Phanthaphoommee's (2019) studies both explore recurrent patterns of lexicogrammatical shifts in translation, particularly concerning attitudinal meanings. They delve into how translators manipulate linguistic elements to convey or alter stance, attitude, or ideological content present in STs. In Al Shunng's study, the focus is on how English-language opinion articles related to the Arab Spring are translated into Arabic for newspapers with distinct editorial policies. The analysis categorises shifts in stance, such as weakening, accentuating, or losing the original stance, and is grounded in lexico-grammatical frameworks, appraisal theory, CDA, and narrative theory. Similarly, Phanthaphoommee's research analyses weekly addresses by Thailand's Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha after the May 2014 coup, uncovering recurring translation patterns in official translations. The study employs CDA and SFL, with a specific focus on the appraisal system, to reveal lexicogrammatical shifts that shape a more favourable image of the Thai government. The identified patterns include omission, addition, dilution, or expansion, highlighting the translator's role in shaping the attitudinal meanings in the TTs. Both studies employ qualitative methods to pinpoint translation strategies and recognise the influence of socio-political contexts on translational choices, highlighting the importance of considering the broader environment in which translation occurs.

Building upon the insights gained from Al Shunng's and Phanthaphoommee's studies, this present study aims to explore translators' lexicogrammatical choices and their influence on shaping attitudinal meanings in translated/interpreted texts. Employing a mixed-methods approach, our analysis combines qualitative and quantitative methods to comprehensively examine these choices. While qualitative methods provide rich insights into specific instances of shifts in

translation, quantitative methods enable us to identify broader patterns systematically. Unlike Shunng's narrower genre-specific approach, our research adopts a broader perspective by including diverse STs, such as speeches by political figures and an article by Fukuyama, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of stance expression across different genres and contexts. Through this comprehensive methodology, our research aims to provide a nuanced understanding of lexicogrammatical strategies in translating attitudinal meanings.

The integration of narrative theory, influenced by Baker (2006) and Boéri (2022), into our literature review has reshaped our understanding of ideology within this theoretical framework. This perspective emphasises narratives as dynamic sites for ideological negotiation rather than passive carriers, as demonstrated in Boéri and Fattah's (2020) study on the transediting process during the Gulf diplomatic conflict. Using socio-narrative theory and an appraisal framework, they investigated how Al-Ittihad, an Arabic news outlet controlled by the UAE, reshaped hard news reports about Qatar during the 2017 Qatar diplomatic crisis. Their findings reveal how the outlet converted personal narratives into public news, transformed eyewitness accounts into formal reports, and manipulated visuals to endorse restrictions in air, land, and sea access to Qatar from Saudi Arabia and other neighbouring Gulf states.

Guided by Baker’s theory of narrative, translators emerge as active negotiators in an ideological landscape, navigating complexities conscientiously. Unlike the conventional transparent conduit model, narrative theory positions translators as interpreters and mediators actively shaping ideology during translation. This paradigm shift influences our methodological approach, which employs appraisal theory to uncover how translators negotiate their stances through linguistic choices, shedding light on positioning dynamics. Our analysis extends beyond surface-level translations, unveiling the interplay between language, ideology, and translation strategies.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology employed to analyse the translations of speeches delivered by former US President Donald Trump at the 2017 Arab and Muslim leaders' summit, President Joe Biden's 2021 inaugural address, and a lengthy article authored by the prominent political scientist Francis Fukuyama titled "The End of American Hegemony", published in The Economist on August 18, 2021. Applying an appraisal framework to translation methodology, the study explores linguistic and rhetorical elements, emphasising evaluating the translated versions in relation to their source texts (STs). Furthermore, this chapter presents an overview of the texts scrutinised in this study, including summaries of the English STs, their significance, and the translations examined.

4.2 Methodology: A Triangulated Approach

In the initial stages of this research, several models of translation quality assessment were considered, including House's Model of Translation Quality Assessment. House's Model is recognised for its focus on maintaining functional equivalence between STs and TTs, assessing how well a translation preserves the original text's meaning and function (House, 2015).

However, this study does not primarily aim to evaluate the overall quality or functional equivalence of translations. Instead, the central focus is on exploring the transformation of stance or positionality in political discourse during the translation process. House's Model, with its emphasis on functional alignment, does not fully capture the nuanced shifts in evaluative language and stance that are critical to this research. Therefore, while House's Model provides a robust

framework for assessing translation quality, it was determined that it would not be the most suitable theoretical approach for analysing the complex interplay of ideology, stance, and translation in political discourse.

Instead, the study employs Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Appraisal Theory (Martin and White, 2005) as core frameworks. Appraisal Theory, an extension of SFL, is particularly suited for analysing how language expresses attitudes, emotions, and evaluations, crucial for understanding how political stance and positionality transform through translation. It offers a detailed system for examining the appraisal systems of attitude, graduation, and engagement.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), although not the primary focus of this study, provides additional socio-political context. Developed by scholars like Fairclough and van Dijk, CDA helps to understand how power relations and ideological constructs are reflected in the texts, complementing the linguistic analysis from SFL and Appraisal Theory.

SFL, Appraisal Theory, and CDA are complementary. SFL and Appraisal Theory offer a detailed framework for analysing linguistic choices and evaluative language, while CDA provides context for how these choices reflect and influence broader ideological and power dynamics. By integrating these approaches, the study delivers a comprehensive analysis that captures both linguistic nuances and ideological shifts, offering a holistic understanding of how political discourse is transformed through translation.

Grounded in these frameworks, the research thoroughly examines a carefully selected corpus of three American political texts, focusing on the appraisal systems of attitude, graduation, and engagement to explore how political stance and positionality are conveyed and transformed through translation.

Appraisal theory is considered a powerful framework for interpreting attitudinal meanings within texts, as it is regarded as one of the most systematic approaches, outlining comprehensive taxonomies of resources available to language users for assessment (Hyland, 2005, p.174). In other words, this framework has the capacity to be detailed, explaining specific issues that are "closely tailored" to the communicative purposes of a certain context of situation (White 1998, p.73). This framework is particularly significant in translation studies for examining evaluative lexicogrammatical elements, offering a comprehensive evaluation model and systematic depiction of the evaluation process (Pan, 2014).

The current study aims to apply its findings to two perspectives: political (represented by Trump and Biden) and academic (represented by Fukuyama). Analysing the appraisal meanings in their speeches and academic article, alongside translations and interpretations, offers a comprehensive exploration of language, politics, culture, and translation.

The selection of these texts is driven by several key considerations. Each text is associated with a significant political or scholarly moment: Trump's and Biden's speeches capture crucial points in recent U.S. political history, while Fukuyama's article provides insights into broader global political dynamics. The texts represent a range of political ideologies and communication styles, including conservative viewpoints from Trump, progressive values from Biden, and a scholarly perspective on ideological shifts from Fukuyama.

The choice of texts also reflects a variety of communication styles, from diplomatic speeches and inaugural addresses to scholarly articles, which allows for an analysis of how these different styles impact translation. Additionally, the texts were selected for their ability to reveal how translations manage ideological and cultural nuances, shedding light on how different contexts influence the conveyance of positionality.

Furthermore, the availability of multiple Arabic translations for each text facilitates a comparative analysis of how various translators approach the same content and how these translations may reflect or alter the original ideologies. This approach aims to decode the ideological foundations of language and understand their adaptation or conveyance in translation. By examining these texts and their translations, the study offers valuable insights into how distinct ideologies are expressed linguistically and influenced by cultural and contextual factors, providing a holistic understanding of the interplay between appraisal, language, and ideology.

This research employs both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the STs and their TTs, conducted through manual data collection. By combining these methods, the study addresses the strengths and weaknesses of each approach, enhancing the reliability and validity of the findings (Gorard and Taylor, 2004). Triangulation, the practice of using multiple methods to investigate a phenomenon, ensures solid findings by examining translation phenomena from various perspectives. Adopting a triangulation approach in translation studies allows for a more comprehensive analysis, leading to a deeper understanding of the ideologies present in both STs and TTs.

The methodological framework in this study involves a thorough comparison of STs and their TTs to construct the appraisal profiles of the authors of the STs and their translators/interpreters. This study primarily focuses on examining lexicogrammatical choices, utilising three systems of appraisal: attitude, graduation, and engagement. These systems help analyse and categorise how language is used to convey the speaker or writer's stance or appraisal towards a subject. To operationalise this framework, the STs and their TTs are annotated according to the appraisal theory framework, identifying linguistic features related to attitude (such as affect, judgment, appreciation), engagement (such as heterogloss, monogloss), and graduation (such as focus, force).

Upon conducting frequency comparisons of these profiles, which typically, though not without exception, serve as initial indicators of deviations or shifts, the research proceeds to identify and categorise the observed translational shifts. The study also presents the frequency of occurrence for each type of shift, carefully documented and classified based on the specific operations employed by the translators. These operations include additions, omissions, or alterations of attitudinal meanings.

In this study, I propose four main types of translational shifts based on my analysis of the texts: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective. These terms have been introduced specifically for this study and will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections. Neutralisation eliminates attitudinal meanings in the translation for a more neutral tone. Intensification and de-intensification are versatile shifts that adjust both attitudinal and graduation meanings. Intersubjective shifts focus on changes related to engagement resources, aligning with cultural or linguistic expectations of the target audience for effective communication. I will provide illustrative instances of these shift types in Table 5.3.

In my analysis of the texts, I have identified specific categories of shifts that stand out in the quantitative data. More comprehensive investigations will follow. For instance, in the context of neutralisation shifts, my aim to identify the most frequently omitted attitude meanings, such as affect, judgement, or appreciation, and determine their location within sub-systems like (in)security, capacity, or valuation. This investigation is crucial for refining and formalising my understanding of translator strategies, particularly when dealing with linguistic resources related to attitude, graduation, and engagement in the ST.

Through the analysis of translational shifts, my focus lies in uncovering emerging linguistic patterns or tendencies that highlight the specific linguistic preferences of individual translators,

contributing to the characterisation of their distinct styles. It is important to emphasise that further methodological details regarding the discourse semantic stage, including aspects such as the unit of comparison and analytical challenges, are addressed in subsequent chapters.

4.3 The Data

The data for this study is composed of three English STs, each addressing distinct topics, which resulted in multiple corresponding fully translated or interpreted versions in Arabic. The number of translations/interpretations analysed varies depending on availability, ensuring that each text is accompanied by translations of sufficient quality and accuracy. These STs encompass diverse subject matters, ranging from political speeches to a scholarly article. Their inclusion allows for a comprehensive examination of linguistic and rhetorical elements, shedding light on the complexities of translation and interpretation within varying contexts. Subsequent sections will explore detailed analyses of each text and its translated versions.

4.3.1 Trump's Speech

In Chapter 5 of this study, the focus shifts towards the examination of translations of a significant political speech delivered by US President Trump at the Arab and Muslim leaders' summit on 21 May 2017. This gathering held immense significance as it occurred in the presence of King Salman bin Abdul-Aziz, the Saudi monarch, along with 55 leaders from various Islamic countries. The event took place at the King Abdul-Aziz Conference Centre in Riyadh.

As the President of the US at the time, Trump's speech carried weight and attracted considerable attention for several reasons. Firstly, it was a significant moment in Trump's presidency because it was the first official speech during his inaugural foreign trip after taking office. The timing of the speech was also noteworthy. Coming early in his presidency, it gave Trump an opportunity to

share his vision and goal for tackling major problems like terrorism, extremism, and regional security with the rest of the world. His administration's foreign policy aims were laid out, and his dedication to building connections with Arab and Muslim states was outlined in the speech.

The significance of the speech was heightened by its setting at the leaders summit, providing a rare opportunity for world leaders to meet face to face and collaborate on common issues and objectives. Trump's participation in this meeting and his speech underscored the importance of international cooperation in addressing the urgent problems facing the region and the world.

In his address, Trump extends appreciation to King Salman and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for hosting the summit, acknowledging the country's splendour and the exceptional hospitality shown to attendees. He underscores the enduring partnership between the US and Saudi Arabia, tracing it back to the collaboration between King Abdul-Aziz and President Franklin Roosevelt. While Trump's expressions of gratitude and acknowledgment of the historical partnership serve diplomatic purposes, it is imperative to critically examine the broader context. The speech predominantly emphasises positive aspects, portraying the relationship in a favourable light. However, a thorough analysis should delve into the intricacies of the US-Saudi relationship, recognising both historical cooperation and potential challenges or controversies. Moreover, it is crucial to scrutinise how Trump's rhetoric aligns with broader foreign policy objectives, questioning whether there are discernible shifts or consistencies in his approach to diplomatic relations, particularly in the Middle East. This critical examination is essential to offer a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the speech, moving beyond surface-level expressions of gratitude and partnership.

Trump extends gratitude to all the distinguished heads of state present at the summit, emphasising the importance of unity and the perceived benefits that will result from their time together. As a

representative of the American people, he delivers a message of friendship and hope, emphasising the significance of strengthening old friendships and building new partnerships. This rhetoric reflects Trump's attempt to project an image of camaraderie and collaboration on the international stage, portraying a diplomatic effort to cultivate enduring connections for the supposed benefit of all involved parties.

The central focus of the speech centres around the shared goal of combating extremism and terrorism. Trump underscores the need for Muslim-majority nations to play a leading role in driving out terrorists and extremists. He urgently calls for defeating terrorism, while highlighting its devastating impact on the Middle East. Trump's call for unity in pursuing peace, security, and prosperity in the region emphasises the importance of defeating the ideology that drives terrorism. However, a critical analysis raises questions about the depth of this commitment and the potential for oversimplification of complex geopolitical issues. Trump's communication appears to convey a firm and determined position on the involvement of Muslim-majority nations in tackling a common challenge, the fight against extremism and terrorism. However, his phrase "fostering a more stable and secure future" suggests a broad goal without clear, concrete strategies, leaving room for scrutiny as to the practicality and effectiveness of this proposed collective effort to building a future characterised by stability and security.

The speech also touches on the potential of the Middle East, praising the region's natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and historic treasures. Trump emphasises the importance of religious tolerance, the empowerment of women, and the aspirations and dreams of all citizens, encouraging Middle Eastern countries to become places where people can enjoy a life of dignity and hope.

The speech also addresses the role of Iran in supporting terrorism and destabilising the region. Trump calls for cooperation among responsible nations to end the humanitarian crisis in Syria,

eradicate ISIS, and restore stability to the region. In terms of the speech's emphasis on the need to isolate Iran and deny it funding to prevent its support for terrorism, a critical analysis raises questions about the effectiveness of such isolationist measures and the potential for exacerbating tensions in the already volatile region.

Trump's speech, while highlighting positive aspects of the US-Saudi relationship, may appear overly optimistic, given the historical complexities and potential controversies in this alliance. The call for unity against terrorism, though rhetorically powerful, could oversimplify the multifaceted nature of the issue within the broader geopolitical landscape. Terrorism often has deep-rooted socio-political, economic, and historical factors, making a one-size-fits-all approach unlikely to succeed. A critical examination of the geopolitical landscape requires considering the diverse motivations and interests of the involved countries. Achieving unity on the definition of terrorism and strategies to combat it is likely to be challenging and necessitates a more nuanced and objective approach, especially when considering the prescriptive measures listed in the speech.

4.3.2 Translations of Trump's Speech

Translation of Trump's speech at this significant event, which witnessed the participation of world leaders and dignitaries, is significant in providing a comprehensive understanding of the perceptions of Trump's statements by individuals who may not be proficient in English. The translation is crucial to ensure that a broader audience, including various public groups, can fully absorb the content and context of the speech.

Despite the importance of this speech, it has not received extensive translation into Arabic. To my knowledge, there are only two complete Arabic translations of this speech. However, various Arabic news outlets have extensively covered the speech, providing diverse perspectives and using quotes. These outlets often undertake their translations instead of relying on published translations.

By doing so, they can customise the language to resonate more effectively with their audience, considering cultural subtleties, and linguistic norms. This approach may allow outlets to offer a distinct perspective or interpretation that aligns with their editorial stance or agenda, maintaining their independence and credibility in reporting. Bielsa and Bassnett's (2009, p.71) work on journalistic translation becomes relevant here, offering insights into the strategies employed in this context. Their findings highlight the prioritisation of efficient information dissemination by news agencies, emphasising key practices such as swift handling of video scripts, quoting direct sources, translating official statements, and using idiomatic representation in quotes. The limited availability of full translations could be associated with the linguistic complexities present in Trump's speeches, as evident in Parnell's (2021) comprehensive study covering various contexts. This thorough examination, using diverse methodologies, provides a nuanced understanding of Trump's linguistic range, exploring distinctive aspects outlined in multiple analytical chapters within a notable collection. Media coverage during the 2016 election, particularly the primaries, often emphasised Trump’s lack of stylistic finesse and linguistic complexity, rather than delving into the meaning of his language (Sclafani, 2017, p.11). As a result, translators and interpreters may find it particularly challenging to translate his speeches effectively. Certain characteristics of Trump’s language include a lack of logical coherence, and frequent word repetition. This use of repetition may contribute to the difficulty of translating his speeches and has been noted by linguists analysing his campaign (ibid., p.95). Another factor is that translators may have felt a significant weight of responsibility to convey the speech accurately, as any errors or misinterpretations could have wide-ranging consequences.

Table 4.1 Total Words in the ST & TTs

Texts	ST	TT1 (US Embassy)	TT2 (CNN)
Number of words	3402	2994	3402

The first examined translation into Arabic (TT1) is the official translation provided by the US government. It was made available on the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia on 23 May 2017. This website serves as the official online platform for the US government to communicate with the Saudi public and share relevant news and updates. The site also displays news, statements, and speeches related to US-Saudi relations, in addition to press releases and official announcements from the embassy. It functions as a platform that aims to disseminate news and views of value to the US. TT1 gained widespread visibility and dissemination, as it was subsequently posted on numerous news websites, including Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera.

The other translation (TT2) was published on the CNN Arabic website on 22 May 2017. CNN, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, US, is a renowned news organisation founded in 1980 by American media owner Ted Turner and Reese Schonfeld. Over the years, CNN has expanded globally, establishing counterparts in various languages and cultures, including CNN International, CNN en Español, and CNN Arabic. Known for its dedication to providing timely news, analysis, and international perspectives, CNN has become an authoritative voice in the media landscape.

Both translations fall under the category of institutional translations, involving a collaborative effort from teams of skilled translators and language experts. These teams work within the overarching ideology of their respective institutions to ensure that the translated content aligns with institutional values, policies, and objectives. The translation process involves meticulous review and adherence to specific guidelines, guaranteeing accuracy and consistency in conveying the intended message to a broader audience.

This institutional approach underscores the importance of maintaining a unified voice and message in translations disseminated through prominent platforms like the US Embassy website and CNN Arabic, amplifying the impact and influence of these translated speeches.

4.3.3 Biden's Speech

In Chapter 6, the ST under analysis is an inaugural address by President Biden, who assumed office as the 46th President of the US after winning the presidential election held on 7 November 2020. On 20 January 2021, President Biden delivered his inaugural address at the US Capitol in Washington, D.C., following his swearing-in ceremony. With decades of political experience, Biden previously served as Vice President under President Obama from 2009 to 2017 and as a US Senator for Delaware from 1973 to 2009. His inauguration marked a significant moment in American history as he became the oldest president ever elected (White House, 2023).

In his inaugural speech, Biden addressed several key topics, including unity and healing, emphasising the importance of national cohesion and overcoming division to foster a sense of togetherness among Americans (Biden, 2021). He underscored the significance of democracy, the rule of law, and safeguarding American institutions, stressing the need to rebuild trust and uphold democratic principles. Biden also discussed the COVID-19 pandemic, expressing empathy for those affected and outlining his administration's plan to address the crisis through vaccine distribution, testing, and economic recovery efforts.

Additionally, he highlighted the imperative of achieving racial equality and social justice, pledging to advocate for a fairer and more inclusive society. Biden drew attention to the urgency of addressing climate change, emphasising the importance of rejoining international agreements and implementing measures to mitigate its effects. By emphasising the severity of the issue, Biden aimed to underscore the need for immediate action and global cooperation.

Furthermore, he discussed revitalising the economy by supporting small businesses, creating job opportunities, and reducing income inequality. While not the primary focus, Biden touched on foreign policy and international relations, stressing the importance of rebuilding alliances, engaging in diplomacy, and promoting global peace and cooperation.

By centring his inaugural speech around these topics, Biden effectively communicated his vision, policy priorities, and the call for national unity and progress. Through his emphasis on unity, democracy, healing, climate change, and other pressing issues, Biden articulated his vision for a united and prosperous nation. Biden's inaugural speech served as a powerful expression of his vision for a better future, his commitment to specific policy goals, and his call for unity and collective action to achieve progress.

The choice of analysing Biden's speech in this study was motivated by many factors. Being the first speech of Biden as the 46th President of the US, it garnered significant attention both domestically and internationally. Its significance extended beyond the US, as it served as a crucial message to the global community regarding the direction and priorities of the country. Given the strained relationships between the US and certain nations during the preceding Trump administration, world leaders were eager to hear from Biden, amidst international concerns about democracy, the future of the US, and the broader global implications of his leadership.

Notably, the domestic context of the presidential transition during the COVID-19 pandemic presented an atypical scenario, further compounded by the absence of Trump and the customary large crowds of supporters. As a result, there was a heightened interest among Americans in listening to this speech, which provided valuable insights into the president's policy agenda and priorities. It served as a window into the administration's focal points, encompassing critical areas such as the economy, healthcare, climate change, and social justice.

Biden's inaugural speech is important as it signifies the beginning of his presidency, and in that inaugural speeches are intended to convey a president's values, beliefs, and guiding principles to the nation and the world. It sets the tone and outlines a president's vision and priorities for their term in office. The analysis of Biden's speech assumes paramount significance in the exploration of appraisal meanings, as it offers a wealth of linguistic expressions, attitudes, and evaluation meanings that can be explored through the framework of the appraisal theory. The speech provides insights into Biden's ideological beliefs, which can shape the nation's collective mindset. Consequently, Biden's inaugural speech serves as a captivating subject that warrants detailed examination, to uncover underlying ideologies embedded within the text, and how they are reflected in the interpretations.

4.3.4 Interpretations of Biden's Speech

Given the significance of Biden's inauguration speech on a global scale, many countries swiftly looked to interpret his words for their respective populations. As the leader of the world's most powerful nation, Biden's speech carries weight and offers insights into his vision for America's future and the goals he has set for the country. These social and political circumstances serve as the driving force behind the interpretation of his speech. Among the various Arabic interpretations available, this study focuses specifically on the evaluations presented in Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera, two prominent Arab TV channels. The focus is on simultaneous interpretations of spoken content rather than written texts. The rationales for selecting these two Arabic interpretations in this study, as opposed to others, can be summarised as follows:

Firstly, both Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya are highly prominent and widely watched channels in the Arab world, enjoying significant popularity among viewers. Secondly, a crucial factor behind the choice lies in the ownership and control of each channel. Al Jazeera is an international Arabic-

language news channel based in Doha and funded by the Qatari government. It was established in 1996 by Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. On the other hand, Al Arabiya, launched in 2003, is based in Dubai Media City and is owned and controlled by Saudi Prince Abdul-Aziz bin Fahd and Waleed bin Ibrahim Al Ibrahim. The differing ownership and control of these channels contribute to their distinct ideological biases. Al Arabiya was envisioned as a "more balanced and less provocative" alternative to Al Jazeera, as described by early founder Ali Al-Hedeithy (Arab News, 2003).

As a result, these two channels compete and are likely to present different ideological perspectives. Al Jazeera has been known for its commitment to providing a platform for diverse voices and perspectives (Quinn and Walters, 2003). In attempting to do so, Al Jazeera has sought to adopt a pluralistic approach where all individuals, governments and organisations are treated equally and fairly in the channel's coverage (Lahlali, 2011). However, it has been criticised for reflecting the foreign policy interests of Qatar, its funder (Pourhamzavi and Pherguson, 2015). Despite this, Al Jazeera has been seen to have played a significant role in promoting press freedom and democracy in the Arab world (Fahmy and Johnson, 2007). Al Arabiya positions itself as a counterbalance to Al Jazeera, and often reflects a more conservative and pro-Saudi perspective (Lahlali, 2011). It tends to align with Saudi Arabia's foreign policy interests and is seen as a supporter of moderate Arab regimes. However, it has faced criticism for being cautious and less critical of the Saudi government in its coverage compared to Al Jazeera's approach (Powers and Gilboa, 2007).

To integrate the interpretations of these two institutions into the analysis presented in this study (Chapter 6), their TTs have undergone meticulous transcription, with verification conducted by directly listening to the audio. This verification process ensures accuracy. Following transcription, the TTs are compared with the original written transcription of the speech to identify any

discrepancies or differences. The aim is to generate accurate and accessible transcriptions detailed enough to enable the analysis of appraisal resources for further interpretation. The interpretations are numbered as follows: Al Arabiya's interpretation is labelled as (TT1) and consists of 1849 words, while Al Jazeera interpretation is labelled as (TT2) and spans 1720 words.

4.3.5 Fukuyama's Article

Chapter 7 analyses an article for The Economist on 18 August 2021, titled "The End of American Hegemony", in which Francis Fukuyama argued that the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan might not signal the end of the American era, and that the domestic political divide poses a greater threat to America's standing abroad (Fukuyama, 2021). This genre of academic article typically involves the author expressing their viewpoint and providing analysis on a current political issue or event. In the article, Fukuyama offers his perspective on the decline of American hegemony.

Fukuyama's article argues that the US' status as the dominant global superpower is in decline, and that this trend is likely to continue. Fukuyama suggests that the end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new era in global politics, in which the US no longer faces a single, existential threat that justifies its overwhelming military and economic power. Instead, the US faces a more diffuse set of challenges, including rising powers like China and India, and non-state actors like terrorist organisations.

Fukuyama argues that the US cannot maintain its current level of global dominance indefinitely, and that attempts to do so may be counterproductive. He suggests that the US should focus on building a more sustainable form of global leadership, based on cooperation and shared interests rather than coercion and military force. In particular, he argues that the US should work to

strengthen international institutions like the United Nations, and to support the growth of democratic and free-market institutions around the world.

Fukuyama's article seems to present a sobering assessment of the US' place in the world and suggests that the country must adapt to a new global order to maintain its influence and prosperity. After the publication of this article, some people thought it was sarcastic, because Fukuyama in the 1990s proclaimed *the end of history* and the victory of American leadership, only then to write about the end of US hegemony (Siira, 2021). But as Siira acknowledges, Fukuyama's more recent views seem more realistic today, when he argues that the US is unlikely to return to its former dominant position (ibid.).

4.3.6 Translations of Fukuyama's Article

In Chapter 7, the analysis will focus on the six complete Arabic translations of the article published in 2021. The following table provides an overview of the translations that are examined in the analysis:

Table 4.2 General analysis of the ST & TTs

Texts	Publisher	Translator	Title	Date of publication	Total words
ST	The Economist		The End of American hegemony	18/8/2021	1126
TT1	الرابطة الدولية للخبراء والمحللين السياسيين	N/A	نهاية الهيمنة الأمريكية (The end of American hegemony)	25/8/2021	841
TT2	الجزيرة	منصور سليمان	الانسحاب من افغانستان هل هو نهاية عهد الهيمنة الامريكية؟ (Withdrawal from Afghanistan. Is it the end of the era of US hegemony over the world?)	1/9/2021 17/5/2022	1039
TT3	جريدة الغد	علاء الدين أبو زينة	فرانسيس فوكوياما: عن نهاية الهيمنة الامريكية	22/8/2021	1221

			(Francis Fukuyama: On the end of American hegemony)		
TT4	المعهد المصري للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية	عادل رفيق	فوكوياما: مستقبل الهيمنة الأمريكية بعد الانسحاب من أفغانستان (Fukuyama: The future of American hegemony after withdrawal from Afghanistan)	27/8/2021	1114
TT5	جريدة عُمان	قاسم مكي	الانسحاب من أفغانستان ليس مؤشرا على نهاية الحقبة الامريكية (Withdrawing from Afghanistan is not a sign of the end of the American era)	26/8/2021	992
TT6	مركز حمورابي للبحوث والدراسات الاستراتيجية	N/A	فرانسيس فوكوياما حول نهاية الهيمنة الامريكية (Francis Fukuyama on the end of American hegemony)	28/8/2021	1236

Table 4.2 provides information about the translations analysed, including the places of publication, the titles of the ST, TTs, and back translations of the Arabic titles, dates of publication, and the lengths of the ST and the TTs. It also includes details about the translators involved, where known by name. Among the translations analysed, namely TT1 (841 words), TT2 (1039 words), TT4 (1114 words), and TT5 (992 words), it is evident that some are shorter in length compared to the ST, which consists of 1126 words. This observed length difference contradicts the usual tendency of Arabic translations to be longer than English ST, influenced by factors such as complex morphology, rooted derivations, and frequent use of pronouns (Abu-Rabia, 2012; Oraby, 2013; Williams, 1989). The shorter length of these translations lies in the omission of few sentences by the translators and/or revisers and editors. By selectively excluding specific details, the translators achieved a more concise rendition of the TTs. This reduction in length is not uniform, however;

TT3 exhibits an increase of 95 words, while TT6 has an additional 110 words compared to the ST. The translators of TT3 and TT6 strategically incorporated semantic repetition to enrich the content and provide further explication within their respective translations.

The first translation (TT1) was released by APA International Association for Experts on 25 August 2021. This association is a self-governing, global, non-governmental organisation headquartered in Beirut, with representations established in numerous countries. Its primary objective is to harness the knowledge and skills of political experts and analysts worldwide, facilitating the amalgamation of their expertise. The organisation endeavours to equip them with essential data and information to enhance their effectiveness in supporting causes aligned with the welfare of the people. It is committed to presenting accurate and unbiased facts and analyses, leveraging media channels and communication technologies to foster collaboration between analysts and the media, thereby contributing to heightened public awareness. TT1 follows the same paragraph structure as the ST. Despite this, it is not hard to see that TT1 leaves out a few ST phrases which provide important detail for the picture of US hegemony and how the US might recover its dominance. For instance, the subsequent phrase was excluded:

"Afghanistan’s ultimate effect on geopolitics is likely to be small. America survived an earlier, humiliating defeat when it withdrew from Vietnam in 1975, but it quickly regained its dominance within a little more than a decade, and today it works with Vietnam to curb Chinese expansionism" (19-22).

The second translation (TT2) was first posted on Al Jazeera’s website on 1 September 2021, with the most recent revision appearing on 17 May 2022. The translation was completed by Mansour Soliman, an Eritrean journalist, researcher, and producer at Al Jazeera Media Network. He works as a media analyst, and translator of the Geopolitics of the Horn of Africa. TT2 was published

under the title: الانسحاب من أفغانستان...هل هو نهاية عهد الهيمنة الأميركية على العالم (Withdrawal from Afghanistan. Is it the end of the era of US hegemony over the world?) a manner different from the ST. TT2 starts with a short paragraph of introduction providing a brief biography of the author and a summary of the article. In most respects, TT2 is structurally similar to the ST, with no major deviation made from the division of the ST paragraphs. However, TT2 includes two subheadings: التحدي الأكبر (the biggest challenge), and زمن الاضمحلال الامريكي (a time for American decay). The addition of subheadings by the editor in translation appears to enhance the layout of the translation, making it more engaging for the reader. This tactic can effectively grab the reader's attention and subtly direct them to specific sections. Furthermore, the use of subheadings can improve the quality and effectiveness of a translation, particularly when adapting an ST for publication on a webpage. Subheadings make the text more readable, accessible, and understandable for the target audience. These insertions may also align with the writing conventions followed by Al Jazeera, where subheadings are commonly provided in their non-translated articles.

Some noticeable alterations of the ST are evident in TT2. For instance, the translator inserted certain Arabic lexical items at the beginning of sentences, such as ولهذا (walihatha), لقد (laqad), which can be translated into English as (therefore, indeed, and certainly), respectively. These additions serve to ensure high certainty in the translation or to clarify and provide explication of meaning, as seen in the addition of في الحزبين (in the two parties). Explication instances occur when the TT has more explicit information than the ST, enhancing the translation's informativeness and the readers' understanding of the topic (Becher, 2011, p.19; Saldanha, 2008, p.270).

For lexical consistency, the translator added Arabic items such as من وراء تلك الخطوة (behind this step) in TT2. In the ST, Fukyama mentions the invasion of Iraq in 2003 as the pinnacle of American

dominance and arrogance globally. It expresses the hope of the United States to reshape not only Afghanistan (invaded two years earlier) and Iraq but the entire Middle East. TT2 reads as follows:

وقد شكَّل غزو العراق عام 2003 ذروة الهيمنة والغطرسة الأميركية في العالم، حيث كانت تأمل أن تتمكَّن **من وراء تلك الخطوة** ليس فقط من إعادة تشكيل العراق وأفغانستان (التي اجتاحتها قبل عامين من غزو العراق) فحسب، بل إعادة تشكيل الشرق الأوسط بأكمله.

The inclusion of the Arabic phrase might have been introduced for lexical consistency, aligning with the ST's concept and potentially reflecting the meaning of "remake" in English ST. This addition could aim to maintain consistency and convey the underlying purpose of the step, perhaps contributing to a clearer interpretation for Arabic readers.

Also, the translator in inserted الجدير بالذكر (it is worth mentioning) in TT2 to highlight the rarity of unipolarity during that historical period. This phrase indicates the significance and attention-worthiness of the observed rarity of unipolarity during the specified timeframe, as perceived by the translator.

The third translation (TT3) was published on Al Ghad website on 22 August 2021, with the title: فرانسيس فوكوياما: عن نهاية الهيمنة الأميركية (Francis Fukuyama: On the End of American Hegemony). Al Ghad is the first privately owned, and independent Arabic daily national newspaper, published in Jordan. Al Ghad was established in August 2004 and, by the year 2010, it was the tenth most visited website in the Middle East and North Africa region. This translation in TT3 was done by Aladdin Abu Zina who works as editor-in-chief of the translation department in the Jordanian daily Al Ghad newspaper. From 2011–2023, Al Ghad's website has posted many political translations by Aladdin Abu Zina. He worked as a lecturer at the University of Jordan, a consultant for editing the Cultural Magazine at the University of Jordan, and he has worked as an arbitrator and

consultant on translation affairs for a wide range of publishing houses, study centres, and institutions. He participates in the editorial board of *Rozna* magazine, which is published by the Jordanian Women's Union. The first section of TT3 provides a preview of the content of the article. TT3 is consistent with the ST in terms of structure, retaining the ST's paragraphs and basic organisation. Some situations, however, need further clarification in the translated version, as they may be clear to readers of the ST but not to those of the translated version. The translator in TT3 does not provide additional interpretation of the meanings in such cases, and instead closely renders them as expressed in the ST. For example, the TT3 renders the phrase "that red and blue Americans buy" (34) as يشتريها الأمريكيون الحمر منهم والزرق (The Red Americans and the Blue ones buy it from them), which may not be readily understandable to Arab readers due to their unfamiliarity with the symbolic meaning of these colours. In the specific context of American politics, the colours red and blue have been widely adopted to symbolise the two major political parties: the Republican Party (red) and the Democratic Party (blue). This usage has become a visual shorthand to represent political affiliations or partisan divisions within the American political landscape. Therefore, without this contextual knowledge, the translated phrase may fail to convey its intended meaning to Arab readers. Similarly, the literal translation of the phrase "but this only carries America so far" (53) in TT3, as لكن هذا فقط يحمل أمريكا حتى الآن, clearly indicates that TT3 is a translation rather than an original text. This suggests that TT3 stands out as a translation due to its literal rendering of the ST. In other words, the translated phrase in TT3 lacks the inherent fluency, expression, or idiomatic usage expected in the Arabic language, making it evident that it is a product of translation rather than an original composition in Arabic. In contrast, TT4 translates the same phrase as وهذا فقط ما يبدو أنه يجمع الأمريكيين حتى الان (and that is just what seems to bring

Americans together so far), which maintains the intended meaning while adopting a more idiomatic and fluent expression in Arabic.

The fourth translation (TT4) titled: فوكوياما: مستقبل الهيمنة الأمريكية بعد الانسحاب من أفغانستان (Fukuyama: The future of American hegemony after the withdrawal from Afghanistan) was published by the Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies (EIPSS) on 27 August 2021. EIPSS is an institute for research and strategic thinking established in Turkey in 2014 and registered as a non-profit institution. The vision of this institute is to build an intellectual framework that stems from the cultural and intellectual constants of the Arab and Islamic nations, in the face of the current transformations, and managing the challenges they face. Adel Rafik, an Egyptian translator and journalist, has translated TT4 and has posted around 240 of his political translations on EIPSS. He studied English literature at the Cairo University of Arts and has worked in translation and journalism since 1987. He recently assumed the position of editor-in-chief of the *Middle East Observer*.

Like TT2, the translator of the TT4 adds some Arabic lexical items such as وفي هذا السياق (in this context), representing a significant use of explication – reformulating the TT to make understanding easier. At the same time, the translator applies an implication strategy in a few instances, which is seen when a translated text has a different level of implicitness than its ST. For example, "that red and blue Americans buy" (34) in the ST is rendered as التي يشتريها الأمريكيون (that Americans buy); the translator is being generic by leaving out the words *red and blue* and instead translating only *Americans*. There could be implications added here to help the translation to fit the norms of the TL. Also, there are expansion instances in TT4, for example when the translator adds أو أكثر من ذلك (or more than that):

ST:

"Will the United States be willing to sacrifice its sons and daughters on behalf of that island's independence? Or indeed, would the United States risk military conflict with Russia should the latter invade Ukraine?" (54-57).

TT4:

هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ **أو أكثر من ذلك** في واقع الامر، هل تخاطر الولايات المتحدة بصراع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت الأخيرة أوكرانيا؟.

The translator is using hyperbole to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation and the potential danger to democratic values posed by a direct Chinese attack on Taiwan.

The fifth translation (TT5), has a slightly different title from the ST, and was published in an Oman newspaper on 26 August 2021, with the title الإنسحاب من أفغانستان ليس مؤشرا على نهاية الحقبة الأمريكية (Withdrawing from Afghanistan is not a sign of the end of the American era). The first issue of Oman Newspaper was published in 1972. The newspaper also publishes several supplements, the first of which was the (Al-Wilayat) supplement. According to information on its official website, the Oman Newspaper cooperated with the translation group at Sultan Qaboos University to publish the supplement (Al-Jisr). Through this cooperation, the newspaper created cultural dissemination between the reader and the translated text. Qassem Makki, who has translated many articles in a variety of fields, produced TT5. He has translated around 633 articles for Oman newspapers between 2016 and 2023. In contrast to the other translations, TT5 does not begin with an introduction. The length of the translation (in terms of both word count and the number of sentences translated) and the breaking down of the ST's paragraphs are indicators that the ST's layout has been altered in this translation. Since TT5 appeared in the printed newspaper, it may have been the case that the translator was restricted to a certain number of words, or TT5 was

subject to some other formatting considerations, which explains why TT5 is shorter than the ST. The translator also inserted words like لقد سبق لي (I have previously) with certain statements to emphasise a point or make the voice clearer, or to provide evidence of what has been said. Also, the TT5 translator clearly has his readers in mind because he includes notes for clarification, and rather than adding a footnote, explanations are seamlessly inserted within brackets, visually distinguishing the additional information and providing a more integrated and seamless reading experience for those seeking further clarification.

The last translation (TT6) was published on 28 August 2021 on the website of the Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies with the title: فرانسيس فوكوياما حول نهاية الهيمنة الامريكية (Francis Fukuyama on the End of American Hegemony). This organisation is a scientific research centre established on 18 November 2006, in Iraq. Its listed aim is to extend to the study of political and societal issues in a scientific and strategic manner (HCRC, 2021). The *Hammurabi Journal of Translated International Studies* is one of the many publications produced by the centre; it is published twice yearly and focuses on political and economic research with a strategic focus. Its content is selected from the most prominent international journals and is translated by an in-house translation team. TT6 provides a concise overview of the topics discussed by Fukuyama in this article. TT6's translators adhere closely to the structure of the ST, keeping the same section breaks and paragraph separations.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter delineates the methodology employed for analysing translations concerning speeches by former US President Donald Trump, President Joe Biden's inaugural address, and an article by Francis Fukuyama. It also provides an overview of the scrutinised STs, summarising their

significance. Additionally, it presents a comprehensive view of the translations examined, setting the stage for subsequent chapters to delve into detailed analyses of each translation. Through this systematic approach, the study aims to contribute valuable insights into the complexities of translating diverse texts, especially those with political and rhetorical significance. Subsequent chapters will unpack and scrutinise the translated versions, illuminating the intricacies of conveying nuanced meanings and rhetorical devices across different linguistic and cultural contexts.

Chapter 5: Analysing Trump's Speech

5.1 Introduction

The translation of speeches holds significant importance in intercultural communication, especially during high-profile events like the Arabic Muslim Summit in Riyadh in 2017, where world leaders gather to discuss pressing issues. During this summit, then US President Donald Trump delivered a particularly memorable address. This chapter aims to conduct a thorough analysis of the translations of Trump's address, focusing on the shifts and alterations in the appraisal meanings between the ST and its two Arabic translated counterparts. The translations under scrutiny are sourced from the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia (TT1) and the CNN Arabic website (TT2).

5.2 The Source Text Appraisal Meanings

A detailed analysis of Trump's speech highlights his distinctive style, characterised by the strategic manipulation of various linguistic elements. This includes his selection of modalities such as *can*, *probably*, and utilisation of grammatical moods like declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Moreover, his subtle expressions of attitude encompassing affect, judgment, and appreciation offer further insight into his rhetorical strategies and the persuasive techniques employed to shape public opinion. By examining the lexicogrammatical features of his discourse, we gain a deeper understanding of the intricate interplay between language, social standing, and political objectives.

In Trump's speech, attitude emerges as a dominant feature, constituting a substantial 73% of the discourse, quantified through the identification of all instances of appraisal, which includes linguistic expressions conveying evaluations or attitudes. These instances were categorised into

three groups: attitude, graduation, and engagement, with 'attitude' encompassing expressions of sentiment or opinion.

Table 5.1 Distribution of the Appraisal Resources in the ST

Appraisal resources	Trump's speech (ST)
Attitude	457 (73%)
Graduation	55 (8.8%)
Engagement	113 (18.08%)

A noticeable application of graduation, representing 8.8% of the discourse, is identified, indicating instances where language is intensified or scaled to emphasise specific points or ideas. Furthermore, the engagement element, constituting 18.08% of the speech's content, is distinctly discernible. This denotes a significant level of interaction, involvement, or connection established through language to engage and sustain the audience's attention.

5.2.1 Attitude

In Trump's speeches, both direct 'inscribed' and indirect 'invoked' expressions of attitude are evident. Direct expressions involve explicit statements of opinions or feelings, such as "I am **honored** to be received by such **gracious hosts**" (3). Meanwhile, indirect expressions are subtler, conveyed through tone, word choice, or rhetorical devices, as seen in rhetorical questions like "Will we be indifferent in the presence of evil?" (233). Trump often employs straightforward language for direct expressions, but he also strategically uses indirect expressions to appeal to emotions and persuade the audience. The speech demonstrates a notable presence of positive acknowledgment of Trump's feelings regarding specific topics. The use of positive evaluation is particularly prominent when it comes to the subject matter of his administration and policies: "Our vision is one of **peace**, **security**, and **prosperity**—in this region, and in the world" (24). In this statement, affect is realised through security, Trump expresses a vision for a peaceful and

prosperous global environment. This aligns with his tendency to underscore positive outcomes, aiming to bolster support for his initiatives and highlight the effectiveness of his policies. Furthermore, Trump evaluates the Middle Eastern countries positively through recognition of their achievements. For example:

"The Middle East is **rich** with **natural beauty, vibrant cultures**, and **massive amounts of historic treasures**. It should **increasingly** become **one of the great global centres** of commerce and opportunity" (84-86).

In this instance, Trump employs appreciation resources of valuation to highlight the region's natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and historic treasures. He envisions the Middle East as a global hub for commerce and opportunity, aiming to foster cooperation, strengthen diplomatic relations, and promote common goals.

Negative evaluations on the other hand are prominently employed by Trump when discussing topics related to terrorism, the regimes of Iran and Syria, and Hezbollah:

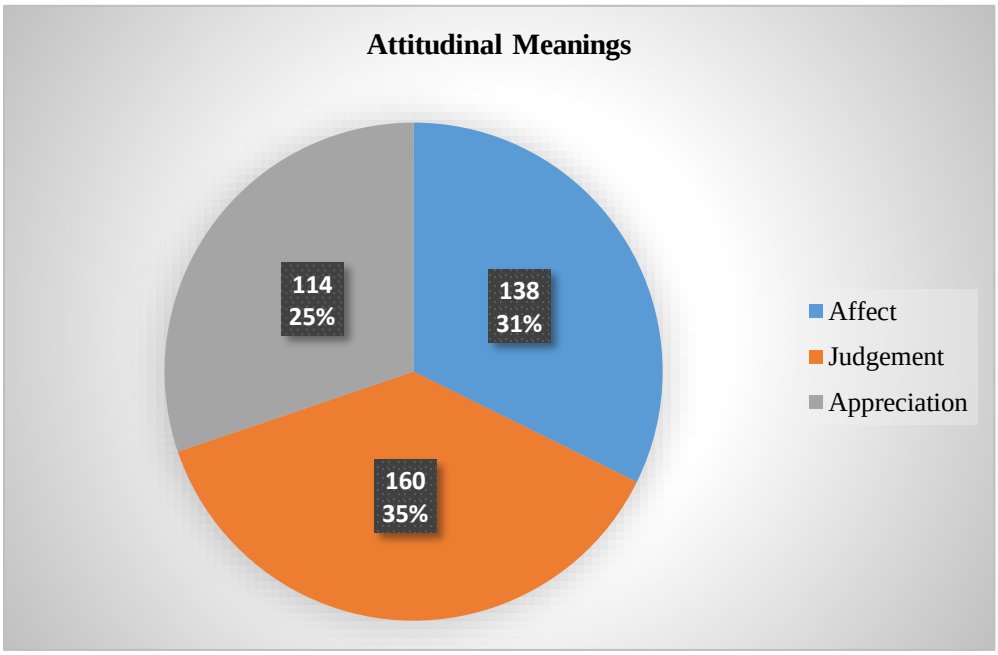
"That means honestly confronting **the crisis of Islamist extremism** and **the Islamist terror groups it inspires**. And it means standing together against **the murder of innocent Muslims**, **the oppression of women**, **the persecution of Jews**, and **the slaughter of Christians**" (170-172).

In this example, Trump highlights the urgency of addressing Islamist extremism and associated terrorist groups, evoking concern through expressions of insecurity and negative judgment. He advocates for what he terms a "straightforward and honest" approach in countering extremist ideologies. Trump's statement regarding Iran, "For decades, Iran has **fueled the fires of sectarian conflict and terror**" (206-207), is another instance of negative judgment and insecurity in the ST. Through the metaphor of "fueling fires", Trump indirectly suggests Iran's destabilising role in

promoting violence among religious groups. These expressions convey Trump's strong condemnation of terrorism and oppressive regimes.

These examples reveal Trump's clear ideological stance towards terrorism, the Iranian regime, and Hezbollah, portraying them negatively, while presenting his nation and Middle Eastern allies positively. Trump's speech employs a binary opposition of "Us vs Them", portraying his nation and allies positively while criticising opposing entities like the Iranian regime. Van Dijk (1995, p.21) describes these rhetorical strategies as "strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-representation," aimed at enhancing the perceived unity and moral superiority of one's own group while undermining the credibility of opposing groups.

Figure 5.1 The Frequency of Attitudinal Meaning in the ST



The frequencies in Figure 5.1 result from a meticulous manual analysis using Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework to identify attitudinal expressions in Trump's speech. Each expression was categorised into relevant attitudinal sub-systems, such as affect, appreciation, or judgment.

Frequencies were manually tallied for each category, illustrating the distribution of attitudinal stances in the ST. Judgement emerges as the predominant category (35%).

The prominence of judgment in political speeches, including Trump's, may reflect attempts to convey a sense of authority, credibility, and the ability to make objective assessments. By emphasising judgment, speakers not only present themselves as knowledgeable and capable decision-makers but also as ethical leaders. This underscores the strong ethical dimension of judgment, shaping public perception and influencing the audience's interpretation of issues based on both facts and the ethical principles they convey. This strategic use of language aligns with the broader rhetorical techniques employed in political discourse, where persuasive tactics are employed to galvanise support and convey a particular image (Munday, 2012).

5.2.2 Graduation

Graduation, as a rhetorical device, involves expressing intensity or degree in speech. Graduation can take different forms, such as amplification, where ideas or actions are emphasised or magnified e.g., "**massive** investment", or downplay, where certain ideas or actions are diminished or minimised played down e.g., "**gradual** reforms". In Trump's speech, there is a noticeable presence of graduation, with some 55 instances observed. As noted by Munday (2017, p.187), Trump often utilises explicit force in his speech to intensify his statements. Siyou and Zhongwen (2018) conducted an examination of speeches given by Donald Trump at the Davos Forum (World Economic Forum) in 2017 and 2018. The objective of their study was to explore how Trump conveys his ideologies, employs language resources to handle emotions, judgments, and appreciation, and employs engagement and graduation of semantic content to comprehend the intersection of language and power. Their analysis, utilising the graduation system, revealed that Trump's speech extensively employs graduation resources to underscore strength and

concentration. For example, Trump used phrases like "**unmistakable** results" and "**totally** unmistakable" to emphasise the clear and undeniable outcomes of his policies. Additionally, he employed terms like "**dramatically** cut taxes" to highlight the significant impact of his actions, showcasing a strong and focused approach in his speech (Siyou and Zhongwen, 2018, p. 3). In his speeches, he often employs rhetorical techniques to emphasise his points, express strong convictions, or convey a sense of urgency. This can be observed through his use of superlatives such as "They have borne the brunt of the killings and **the worst** of the destruction in this wave of fanatical violence" (76-77), Trump's use of the superlative "the worst" in this phrase emphasises the extent and severity of the suffering experienced by the people he is referring to. This language choice aims to evoke empathy, emphasise the gravity of the situation, and underscore the need for urgent action or intervention. Also, Trump uses repetitive phrases:

"**Drive. Them Out**. **DRIVE THEM OUT** of your places of worship. **DRIVE THEM OUT** of your communities. **DRIVE THEM OUT** of your holy land, and **DRIVE THEM OUT** OF THIS EARTH" (131-133).

The use of repetition in this context serves to emphasise Trump's strong and uncompromising position on dealing with the targeted individuals or groups, while also making his message more memorable and persuasive. Emphatic language is another strategy used: "You **greatly honor** us with your presence" (14). Trump's use of emphatic language in this sentence serves to underscore the honour he attributes to the leaders for being present, while also creating a positive and appreciative tone in his speech. By employing graduation, Trump aims to make a persuasive impact on his audience and leave an impression.

5.2.3 Engagement

As indicated in Table 5.1 above, the second significant pattern observed in Trump's speech is his tendency to engage with the subject matter. This engagement is evident in 113 instances, constituting 18.08 % of his speech. In the ST, the engagement resources used by the speaker can be identified by various linguistic indicators. These indicators include the use of modality, which allows a speaker to express different levels of possibility, necessity, or obligation using modal verbs and auxiliaries. Counter-expectancy markers, including modal particles, attitudinal adverbials, and discourse markers, are also utilised to indicate unexpected or contradictory information. Additionally, the speaker employs projection using reported verbs to attribute ideas, beliefs, or statements to others.

Table 5.2 The Frequency of Engagement Indicators in the ST

Engagement in the ST	Modality	Counter-expectancy	Reporting verbs
Total	79 (69.9%)	26 (23%)	8 (7%)

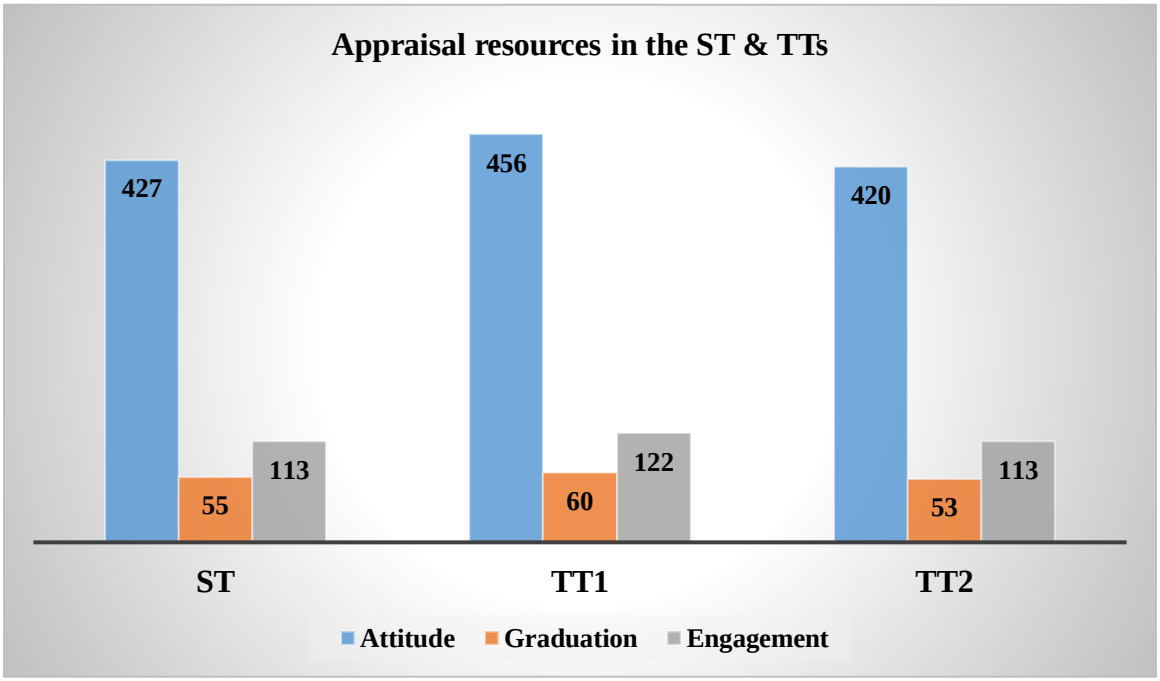
Upon examining the ST, it becomes clear that the speaker heavily relies on modality indicators, with a total of 79 instances, expressing obligations and necessities. Furthermore, there are 26 instances of counter-expectancy markers, with the majority consisting of the words "but" (fourteen instances), "only" (eight instances), and "just" (three instances). In terms of projection, the ST employs only eight reporting verbs, with "applauded" and "know" each used twice, along with "shown", "argued", "pledged", and "promised". The use of engagement resources to alter the discourse and influence audience comprehension is revealed by these linguistic choices in the ST. One example is when he declares, "If we do not confront this deadly terror, we **know** what the future will bring—more suffering and despair" (236-237). In this excerpt, the use of language, notably the phrase "we know", serves as a powerful engagement resource. By acknowledging a

shared understanding of potential consequences, Trump may aim to engage the audience emotionally, emphasising the urgency of confronting terrorism. This choice seeks to alter the discourse by fostering a collective sense of responsibility and influencing how the audience comprehends the severity of the threat outlined in the ST.

5.3 Quantitative Results

This section outlines an examination of translation shifts between two target texts (TTs), with a focus on identifying the lexicogrammatical elements that lead to a shift in translation. Drawing insights from Figure 5.2, an exploration into the overall count of distinct appraisal resources in the ST and the TTs exposes variations between them.

Figure 5.2 Distribution of the appraisal resources in the ST & TTs



Both TT1 (the translation by the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia) and TT2 (the translation by CNN) demonstrate a notable difference in the count of attitude-related appraisal meanings when compared to the ST. While TT1 exhibits a heightened count, surpassing that of TT2, suggesting an emphasis or the introduction of additional expressions during the translation process. This increase in TT1 may indicate the translator's sensitivity to linguistic differences, aiming for a more accurate representation of the ST in the TL. Additionally, stylistic choices may play a role in shaping the perceived attitudes conveyed in both TTs. It is essential to note that TT2 has a lower count (420), indicating a difference in translation strategies between TT1 and TT2.

Similar to the trend observed in attitude, both TTs exhibit a slight difference in the count of graduation-related appraisal meanings compared to the ST. Once again, TT1 stands out with the highest count, signalling a potential inclination by the translator to not only capture but also enhance or specify the degree of appraisal expressions. This may suggest an effort to convey a nuanced sense of intensity or degree in the TTs, potentially influenced by language-specific requirements or the translator's interpretative choices.

In the domain of engagement-related appraisal meanings, TT1 exhibits a slight numerical increase compared to the ST. While TT1 has a slightly higher count than the ST, the overall rise in engagement expressions within TT1 suggests an amplification or adjustment during the translation process. This adjustment could be influenced by considerations related to the culture of the TL or the translator's strategic choices to cultivate more engaging and impactful communication with the target audience. The increase in engagement expressions in TT1 may reflect an effort to enhance the interactive and communicative elements present in the ST.

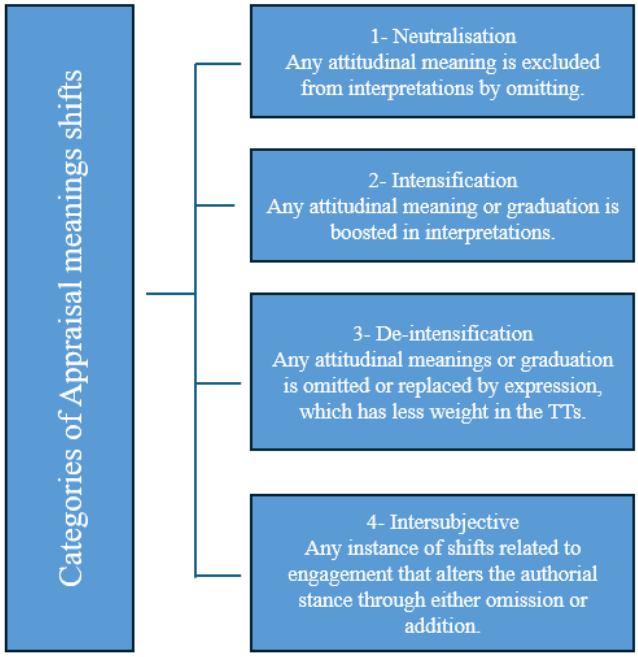
This quantitative analysis reveals differences in appraisal meanings in attitude, graduation, and engagement in both TTs when compared to the ST. TT1 consistently exhibits higher counts across these categories, indicating a potential focus on certain linguistic features or stylistic choices by the translator. Quantitative analysis faces challenges due to subjectivity, especially in assessing translation shifts, where multiple types can occur simultaneously (Kortman, 2021). Trump's speech exemplifies this complexity, with slight differences in wording between TTs, such as (his wonderful words) كلماته الرائعة in TT1 and (his exceptional words) كلماته الاستثنائية in TT2. These variations illustrate subjective translator choices and the difficulty in aligning shifts between different TTs.

Addressing these challenges requires a thorough analysis that recognises the importance of understanding context to identify and interpret shifts in translation. Contextual awareness demands a deep understanding of content and linguistic subtleties, combining quantitative scrutiny and qualitative exploration to grasp translation choices comprehensively. This study employs a detailed qualitative analysis to unravel the implications of these shifts, shedding light on specific instances and offering nuanced insights into how linguistic and stylistic choices contribute to translation strategies in TT1 and TT2. By comparing the ST and the TTs, as per Baker’s perspective (2011), this analysis reveals valuable insights into translators' choices and biases, assessing whether the meaning and nuance of the ST were preserved. This examination captures the intricacies of translator decisions and their impact on conveyed meanings and tones in the TTs. The following section will discuss documented shifts in appraisal meanings in the TTs.

5.4 Types of Shifts in the ST Appraisal Meanings

Examination of the rendering of appraisal meanings in the two TTs shows that more than 10% of the total appraisal meanings in the ST have experienced shifts. The analysis also demonstrates recurrent patterns of shifts, categorised into four types: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective (see Figure 5.3). Neutralisation involves eliminating attitudinal meanings from a translated text, typically applied when a straightforward expression of attitude in the ST is omitted for a more neutral tone in the TT. For instance, if the ST strongly expresses approval, neutralisation might result in a more neutral expression in the TT, reducing the emphasis on attitude.

Figure 5.3 Types of Appraisal Meanings Shifts



Intensification and de-intensification are versatile shifts applicable to both attitudinal and graduation meanings, offering a range of adjustments. Intensification may lead to a more emphatic or heightened expression of positivity or negativity in the TT if the ST has a moderately positive

tone. Conversely, if the ST is strongly positive, de-intensification might result in a toned-down or less emphatic expression in the TT. Intersubjective shifts focus on alterations related to engagement resources, emphasising changes that establish a connection between the speaker in the ST and the target audience. An intersubjective shift might involve rephrasing to align with the cultural or linguistic expectations of the target audience, fostering a more effective and culturally resonant engagement, especially if the ST involves direct addressing of the audience.

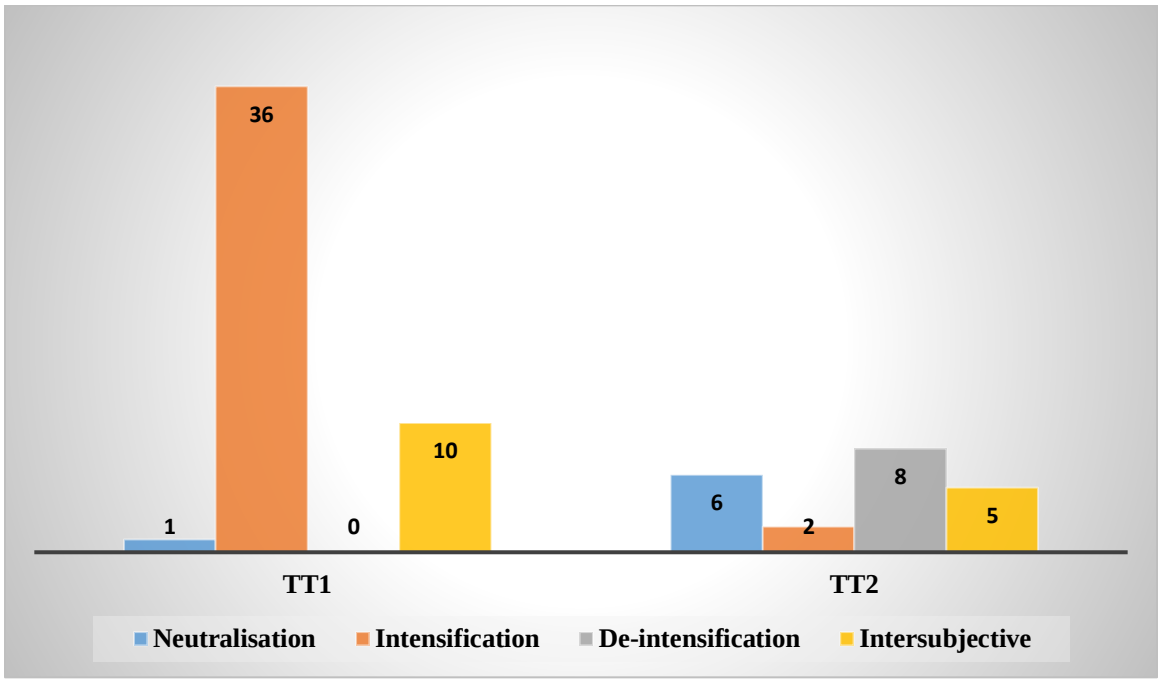
Table 5.3 Example of Appraisal Meaning Shifts

Categories of Appraisal meanings shifts	ST	TTs	Back-translation
Neutralisation	**I am honored** to be received by such **gracious hosts** (3)	Omitted (TT2)	–
Intensification	For Americans, **this is an exciting time**. A new spirit of optimism is sweeping our country (31)	وبالنسبة للأمريكيين، فإن **هذا وقت مثير جداً**، فهناك روح جديدة من التفاؤل تجتاح بلدنا (TT1)	And for Americans, **this is a very exciting time**, as there is a new spirit of optimism sweeping through our country
De-intensification	It should **increasingly** become one of the great global centers of commerce and opportunity (85-86)	وينبغي أن يصبح أحد المراكز العالمية الكبرى للتجارة والفرص (TT2)	It should become one of the major global centers for trade and opportunities
Intersubjective	I am speaking **of course** of Iran (203-204)	أنا أتكلم عن إيران (TT2)	I am speaking about Iran

Illustrative instances of these shift types are presented in Table 5.3, offering detailed examples to elucidate the nature of each shift. The table provides a concrete exploration of how neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shifts manifest in specific contexts within the translations. These examples are drawn from the analysis of Trump's speech (2017), which is the focal point of this chapter's examination.

The depicted Figure 5.4 below provides a comprehensive overview of the frequency distribution of distinct types of appraisal meaning shifts across the ST, and TTs. It visually captures the prevalence of intensification shifts in TT1, and notable de-intensification occurrences in TT2. This graphical representation serves as a valuable tool for understanding the patterns and tendencies of translation shifts, offering insights into the translator's choices and strategies employed in rendering the appraisal meanings from the source to the TL.

Figure 5.4 Frequency of types of appraisal meanings shifts



After examining the frequencies of each shift type in the two TTs, the next step is to conduct a detailed analysis of each shift type. This analysis will help to gain a deeper understanding of how these shifts manifest in the translations and their impact on the overall discourse. This analysis contributes to our exploration of the translator's strategies and the implications for the interpretation of the TT.

5.4.1 Neutralisation Shift

The neutralisation shift refers to the omission of any attitudinal or evaluative meaning in the TTs. In this type of shift, the attitudinal meaning present in the ST is not adequately rendered or expressed in the TTs. The neutralisation shift, although not as frequent as other types of shifts in the two translations, can have a significant impact on the attitudinal nuance and evaluation of the ST. As depicted in Figure 5.4, the analysis reveals a slightly higher number of neutralisation shifts in TT2, with six instances, compared to only one in TT1. However, with such a small number of instances, drawing significant conclusions becomes challenging. At this stage, the analysis will determine whether these neutralisation shifts actually alter the positionality of the ST. The analysis will focus on identifying where these shifts occur within various contexts and assess how they influence the translator's stance relative to the ST author's viewpoints.

A detailed analysis of the neutralisation shifts in the TTs reveals an interesting trend. These shifts mostly occurred when translating positive attitudinal meanings from the ST, indicating that positive evaluations are sometimes not adequately conveyed in the translation. In TT2, out of the total six neutralisation shifts, five instances are associated with the rendering of positive attitudinal meanings. Similarly, in TT1, the single neutralisation shift identified also pertains to the transfer of positive attitudinal meanings. The analysis reveals that the most significant alterations in the neutralisation shift occur in the attitudinal meanings related to the appreciation (valuation) system of the ST. Specifically, there are five instances in the TTs where the notable evaluation subtypes within the ST’s appreciation system were omitted. For instance, in the ST, there are expressions of appreciation towards Saudi Arabia as the host of an event, emphasising its hospitality and generosity. However, in TT2, these positive evaluations occurred less frequently compared to the

ST, suggesting a potential variation in how appreciation towards the host country was represented in the translation as shown in the following examples:

Example 5.1

		Examples	Back-translation
5.1	ST	I am **honored** to be received by such **gracious hosts** (3)	-
5.1a	TT1	**ويشرفني** أن يقوم باستقبالي هذه الجمع **الكريم من المضيفين**	I am **honored** to be received by this **gracious group of hosts**.
5.2b	TT2	Omitted	-

In Example 5.1, this statement serves as a politeness formula in the ST. It is noteworthy that TT2 omits this formulaic phrase, and the translation has been made after the event to access the real content of the ST. Omitting formulaic expressions can lead to a shift in register towards informality and may compromise aspects of cultural sensitivity, formality, and interpersonal function. It also affects the overall texture and coherence of the text, impacting both register variation and metafunction analyses.

Example 5.2

		Examples	Back-translation
5.2	ST	You also hosted me in the **treasured home** of King Abdul-Aziz (7)	-
5.2a	TT1	لقد استضفتموني أيضا في **القصر القيم** لجلالة الملك عبد العزيز	You also hosted me at **the valuable palace** of His Majesty King Abdul-Aziz

5.2b	TT2	استضفتموني في **بيت** الملك عبد العزيز	You hosted me in **the house** of King Abdul-Aziz

Similarly, Example 5.2 expresses a sense of gratitude and admiration towards the host for providing lodging in such a significant and valued site. The phrase "treasured home" acknowledges the historical and cultural significance of the location by identifying it as the home of King Abdul-Aziz, the kingdom's founder. However, in TT2, the mention of the *treasured* is omitted, resulting in a loss of emphasis on the significance of the host's association with the location. The omission reduces the level of formality and respect, impacting the register and influencing the ideational function of conveying historical and cultural significance. The omissions in TT2 have broader implications for the overall texture, coherence, and communicative effectiveness of the TT, influencing how the target audience interprets the speaker's intentions.

On the contrary, TT1 closely echoed the optimistic and thankful style of the ST, as seen in Examples 5.1 and 5.2. This reflects the translator's compliance with the ST's positive appraisal and customary politeness formula, ensuring the retention of the intended tone and emphasising respect and goodwill in TT1. This highlights the importance of preserving these elements to convey the speaker's diplomatic message effectively to the target audience.

The neutralisation shifts observed in the translation process, particularly in TT2, raise critical considerations regarding the representation of positive attitudinal meanings from the ST. The analysis underscores that the omission of appreciative nuances, especially within the ST's valuation system, can impact the register, cultural sensitivity, and overall coherence of the TT.

5.4.2 Intensification and De-intensification Shifts

The translation process often involves shifts in intensity, affecting the strength of appraisal meanings like attitude and graduation. Intensification amplifies expressions by using stronger words or grading, emphasising attitudes in the TTs. Conversely, de-intensification reduces intensity by removing grading words or using weaker lexical items, resulting in a softer expression in the translated text (see Section 5.4).

The analysis reveals a substantial contrast between the frequencies of intensification and de-intensification shifts in the TTs. Intensification shifts occur more frequently, with 38 instances, whereas de-intensification shifts are much less frequent, comprising only eight instances. This notable disparity underscores the prevalence of intensification as a dominant type of shift in these two TTs.

An interesting observation is that the most intensification shifts are observed in TT1, totalling 36 instances, and only two are found in TT2. In contrast, all instances of de-intensification shifts are found exclusively in TT2, with no occurrences in TT1 (see Figure 5.4).

The predominance of intensification shifts is particularly observed within the domain of positive evaluation attitudinal meanings, whereas fewer instances are observed in the graduation system. A significant portion of these intensified occurrences, specifically 16 out of 36 instances, are directed towards Saudi Arabia, aiming to amplify the positive evaluation found in the ST. In TT1, the heightened expressions in positive evaluation attitudinal meanings can be attributed to the incorporation of honorific titles, which are words and phrases used for addressing individuals with respect (Braun, 1988, p.7). This linguistic strategy contributes to the intensified expressions observed in the translation, creating a more emphatic and appreciative tone towards Saudi Arabia.

Example 5.3

		Examples	Back-translation
5.3.1	ST	I want to thank **King Salman** for his extraordinary words (2)	
5.3.1a	TT1	أود أن أتوجه بالشكر **لخادم الحرمين الشريفين جلالة الملك سلمان** على كلماته الرائعة	I would like to thank **the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King Salman**, for his wonderful words
5.3.1b	TT2	أود أن أشكر **الملك سلمان** على كلماته الاستثنائية	I would like to thank **King Salman** for his extraordinary words
5.3.2	ST	You also hosted me in the treasured home of **King Abdul-Aziz** (7)	
5.3.2a	TT1	لقد استضفتموني أيضا في القصر القيم **لجلالة الملك عبد العزيز**	You also hosted me in the valuable palace of **His Majesty King Abdul-Aziz**
5.3.2b	TT2	استضفتموني في بيت **الملك عبدالعزيز**	You hosted me at **King Abdul-Aziz's** house

These examples demonstrate distinct variations in the utilisation of honorific titles between the ST and the TTs. In Example 5.3.1, while the ST addresses the monarch as "King Salman," TT1 expands upon this by adding the Arabic honorific خادم الحرمين الشريفين جلالة الملك سلمان (the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King Salman). Similarly, for King Abdul-Aziz, TT1 appends the honorific لجلالة (His Majesty) to his name. These additions aim to convey reverence, respect, and regal authority, aligning with Arabic linguistic and cultural norms. Reflecting Arabic

conventions, the inclusion of such honorifics in TT1 emphasises formal and respectful tones. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques is a specific honorary title holding religious and cultural significance in Saudi Arabia. The differences in modes of address between the source and TLs, as noted by Xiao-ying (2007), indicate cultural disparities.

In contrast, TT2 refrains from adding extra honorific titles when referring to Saudi Arabian kings, potentially prioritising essential content over decorative language. However, it is interesting to note that TT2 introduces honorific titles for Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, even though they are absent in the ST. This distinction raises questions about the translator's choices in rendering honorific titles for different high-status figures.

Example 5.4

	Examples	Back-translation
ST	Bolstered by Iran, **Assad** has committed unspeakable crimes (210-211)	-
TT1	فقد ارتكب **الاسد**، الذي تدعمه إيران، جرائم لا توصف،	Indeed, **al-Assad**, who is supported by Iran, has committed indescribable crimes.
TT2	إذ ارتكب **الرئيس السوري بشار الأسد**، بدعم من إيران، جرائم لا توصف،	If **Syrian President Bashar al-Assad**, with the support of Iran, committed indescribable crimes.

In Example 5.4, TT2 refers to Bashar Al-Assad as الرئيس السوري (Syrian President). This choice enhances precision and clarity, highlighting his role as Syria's leader and providing additional clarification of his official capacity. In contrast, the simpler reference to "Assad" in the ST and "al-Assad" in TT1 may lack depth and recognition of his formal position, assuming audience familiarity with relevant background information. However, this assumption may not always be valid, particularly for audiences less acquainted with Syrian politics. Referring to him as the (Syrian President) in TT2 explicitly clarifies his official capacity, eliminating potential ambiguity. Therefore, while the use of "Assad" in the ST and of "al-Assad" in TT1 may rely on audience familiarity, TT2's choice provides added clarity and context, potentially benefiting a broader audience.

The variance in honorific titles between TT1 and TT2 may reflect translator strategy, as well as other factors such as translator preferences, editorial guidelines, and cultural norms. While the inclusion of these titles may convey respect, various factors may influence translators' choices. For instance, after studying the official CNN website, we gained insights into CNN's language preferences when referring to political figures. CNN consistently adopts a modest language approach in its political reporting, using honorific titles when mentioning a political figure for the first time in a report. Subsequent references to the same figure often omit the use of titles. This observation aligns with our analysis, where the addition of "President" to Bashar Al-Assad occurred at the initial mention of him. CNN's practice reflects a consistent language strategy in its political reporting.

The use of honorific titles in the translations reflects language strategies impacting the register and metafunction analysis. TT1 aligns with Arabic cultural norms, enhancing formality and respect,

influencing the ideational function positively. In contrast, TT2's choices may prioritise content over formality, affecting the register and ideational function.

The decision to include honorific titles and express positive appraisals towards Riyadh and King Salman's administration in TT1 suggests that the translator was aligning with the cultural expectations of the target audience. In certain cultures, showing respect through honorific titles and expressing positive sentiments is a common linguistic practice. As highlighted by Farghal (1994) and Al-Ali (2010), employing honorific titles and conveying respect in the Arab world constitutes a sophisticated and culturally specific practice shaped by academic and social norms, religious beliefs, and the intricate interplay between language and social systems. This linguistic phenomenon extends beyond the Arab world and is observable in other societies characterised by the presence of royal courts and entrenched class distinctions (Irvine, 1992). The translator's decision can be viewed as conforming to these cultural norms, aiming to ensure that the TT has a positive impact on the target readership. This alignment enhances the effectiveness of the translation by maintaining a tone that is culturally appropriate and respectful, as shown in the next example:

Example 5.5

	ST	TT1	Back-translation
5.5	I want to express our gratitude to King Salman for **this strong demonstration** of leadership (51-52).	وأود أن أعبر عن امتنانا لخادم الحرمين الشريفين جلالة الملك سلمان على **قيادته الرائعة والقوية**	I would like to express our gratitude to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, His Majesty King

			Salman, for **his wonderful and strong** leadership.

In this example, the ST expresses gratitude to King Salman for his strong leadership. However, in TT1, the translator adds the word الرائعة (wonderful) to describe King Salman's leadership, intensifying the positive evaluation. This intensification shift amplifies the praise for King Salman, conveying a more enthusiastic sentiment. The translator's choice may be influenced by a desire to align with the cultural or rhetorical norms of the target audience.

In contrast, TT2 exhibits a consistent pattern of de-intensification shifts, with eight instances identified, as illustrated by the following example:

Example 5.6

ST	TT2	Back-translation
My meetings with King Salman, the Crown Prince, and the Deputy Crown Prince, have been filled with **great warmth** (36-37)	إن اجتماعاتي مع الملك سلمان، وولي العهد، وولي ولي العهد، قد ملأها **الدفء**	My meetings with King Salman, the Crown Prince, and the Deputy Crown Prince, have been filled with **warmth**

As seen in this example, the translator of TT2 seems to try to downplay the strength of positive assessments. This is accomplished by excluding the positive evaluation of "great" and maintaining the term "warmth" when Trump discusses his meeting with King Salman, the Crown Prince, and the Deputy Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia. These alterations in the translation lead to lessen positive implications and temper the overall positive assessment conveyed in the ST. Conversely,

the translator of TT2, in certain cases, endeavours to mitigate the negativity directed at Iran, as illustrated in the following example:

Example 5.7

ST	TT2	Back-translation
Among **Iran's most tragic and destabilising** interventions have been in Syria (210)	ومن بين أكثر التدخلات زعزعة للاستقرار، تدخل إيران في سوريا	And among **the most destabilising** interventions is Iran's involvement in Syria.

In this example the translator of TT2 removed the term "tragic" that shows strong affect, from the ST, resulting in the sentence, ومن بين أكثر التدخلات زعزعة للاستقرار، تدخل إيران في سوريا (And among the most destabilising interventions is Iran's involvement in Syria). This shift involves reducing the intensity or negative emotional impact of the ST while retaining the primary negative connotation related to "destabilising interventions". The decision to omit "tragic" is significant and could suggest a form of censorship or risk aversion by the translator. This might be due to sensitivity or controversy surrounding the topic. Avoiding emotionally charged language helps maintain neutrality and minimise offense. It may reflect the translator's caution and strategic approach to navigating cultural and political complexities. This shift aligns with the previous shifts adhering to the approach commonly observed in CNN's reporting. It highlights the significance of presenting information with clarity and impartiality, avoiding unwarranted emotional intensity.

The translation analysis shows a prevalence of intensification shifts over de-intensification shifts, particularly in positive evaluations. TT1 aligns with Arabic cultural norms by employing honorific titles, contributing to a formal and respectful tone, while TT2 opts for a more content-focused

approach, refraining from additional honorifics and practicing de-intensification in certain instances. These strategies align with CNN's language preferences in political reporting, emphasising a modest language approach. These choices impact the register, ideational function, and cultural appropriateness of the translations, reflecting translators' decisions to meet target audience expectations.

5.4.3 Intersubjective Shift

Intersubjective shift in the context of the appraisal framework refers to the changes in the engagement system that occur when a translator, in translating a text, adopts attitudes or perspectives that differ from those expressed in the ST. It involves a shift in the way the translator engages with the evaluative content of the ST and makes choices regarding the expression of attitudes and judgments (see Section 5.4).

The total number of instances of intersubjective shift in the TTs is 15, with 10 instances found in TT1 and five instances in TT2. The differing frequencies of intersubjective shift between TTs suggest variations in how the translators engage with and convey the evaluative content of the ST. These shifts primarily pertain to modality, which is one of the indicators of engagement. In TT1, out of the 10 instances of intersubjective shift, eight involve the insertion of linguistic markers that are used to emphasise the certainty or truthfulness of a statement. In TT2, one out of the five instances of intersubjective shift involves the insertion of such linguistic markers. These markers are used by the translator to shape the engagement and perspective in TTs. The following examples illustrate the use of these markers:

Example 5.8

		Examples	Back-translation
5.8.1	ST	Yesterday, we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom (39)	
5.8.1a	TT1	**لقد** وقعنا بالأمس اتفاقيات تاريخية مع المملكة	**Indeed** we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom yesterday
5.8.1b	TT2	**لقد** وقعنا أمس (السبت) اتفاقيات تاريخية مع المملكة	**Certainly** we signed yesterday (Saturday) historic agreements with the Kingdom
5.8.2	ST	King Abdul-Aziz began the enduring partnership between our two countries (9)	
5.8.2a	TT1	**لقد** بدأ جلالة الملك عبد العزيز	**Indeed** his Majesty King Abdul-Aziz began
5.8.3	ST	In my inaugural address to the American People, I pledged to strengthen America's oldest friendships (20-21)	
5.8.3a	TT1	**لقد** تعهدت في خطابي الذي ألقيته على الشعب الأمريكي في حفل تنصيبي للرئاسة بتعزيز أقدم الصداقات الأمريكية	**Indeed** I pledged in my inauguration speech to the American people to strengthen the oldest American friendships

It can be observed that all the TT instances in Example 5.8 include the addition of لقد (Laqad), which can be translated as (indeed or certainly) in English. These statements primarily focus on highlighting the significance and importance of agreements, partnerships, and friendships between

the US and other countries. In the TTs, the addition of modal لقد at the beginning of the sentences makes it more emphatic and can convey a sense of certainty or emphasis. It adds a layer of assurance or confirmation to the statement. As elucidated by Komail Al Herz (2016, p.154), the incorporation of *indeed* into the sentence makes the translator's presence clearly felt. The TTs clause vividly demonstrates the speaker's depth of knowledge regarding the event, serving as unequivocal confirmation of its actual occurrence.

Additionally, in Example 5.9, TT1 includes the term فعلاً (truly) when translating Trump's expression of hope or desire for a future in which the Iranian people have a "just and righteous government". This inclusion suggests that there is a genuine acknowledgment or belief that the current government does not meet certain standards of justice and righteousness. It underscores a longing for positive change and an improved political system in Iran. This perspective aligns with the Trump administration's view, which may be shared not only in the US but also in Saudi Arabia.

Example 5.9

ST	TT1	Back-translation
Until the Iranian regime is willing to be a partner for peace, all nations of conscience must work together to isolate Iran, deny it funding for terrorism, and pray for the day when the Iranian people have the just and righteous government they deserve (219-221)	وإلى أن يكون النظام الإيراني مستعداً ليكون شريكا في السلام، يجب على جميع البلدان التي تتحلى بالضمير العمل معا لعزل إيران، ومنعها من تمويل الارهاب – ألا يمكن فعل ذلك- والابتهال كي يأتي اليوم الذي يتمتع فيه الشعب الإيراني بحكومة عادلة وصالحة يستحقها **فعلاً**	And until the Iranian regime is prepared to be a partner in peace, all nations with conscience must work together to isolate Iran and prevent it from funding terrorism – can't that be done –and the prayer is for the day when the Iranian people have a just and righteous

		government that they deserve **truly**

In contrast, in Example 5.10, TT2 omits the phrase "of course", which is an instance of concurrence when Trump is expressing his belief that the Iranian regime is a major contributor to the instability in the region, as shown in the following example:

Example 5.10

ST	TT2	Back-translation
It is a regime that is responsible for so much instability in the region. I am speaking **of course** of Iran (203-204)	إنه نظام مسؤول عن عدم الاستقرار في المنطقة. أنا أتكلم عن إيران.	It is a regime responsible for the instability in the region. I am speaking about Iran

By stating "of course" in the ST, Trump implies concurrence with the idea that this viewpoint is widely known or accepted, and he assumes that the audience shares this perspective. He is emphasising the negative impact he believes Iran has had on regional stability, highlighting that the Iranian regime is a primary source of disruption and unrest in the area. The omission of "of course" in TT2 could indicate a choice to soften the tone, presenting the statement in a more neutral or cautious manner, and avoiding assumptions about the universal acceptance of the viewpoint.

Intersubjective shifts, highlight the translators' choices in moulding engagement and perspectives in the TTs. These shifts, focused on modality indicators, indicate variations in how the translators navigate and convey evaluative content from the ST. The use of linguistic markers often enhances certainty or truthfulness in TTs, influencing the overall tone and assurance of statements. The translators' decisions, observed through these intersubjective shifts, underscore their active role in

adapting and influencing the expressive nuances of the translated content, catering to the intended audience and contextual considerations.

5.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter reveals a slight difference in the portrayal of appraisal meanings between the ST, a speech delivered by Trump at the Arabic Muslim Summit in Riyadh in 2017, and its two translations: from the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia (TT1) and the CNN Arabic website (TT2). While most instances of attitude in the ST are preserved in both translations, there are some shifts identified in the translation process. These shifts can be categorised into four types: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shift. TT1 demonstrates a tendency towards intensification and intersubjective shifts, amplifying the positive evaluations and emphasising agreements and friendships between the US and Middle Eastern countries. On the other hand, TT2 exhibits a different approach, featuring neutralisation, and de-intensification shifts.

The analysis of translation shifts in TT1 and TT2 underscores the complexity of conveying positive attitudinal meanings from the ST. While TT1 aims to maintain the source text's positive tone, TT2's neutralisation shifts raise concerns about representing appreciative elements and their impact on the TT's register, cultural sensitivity, and overall coherence. However, the limited scope of these shifts due to their relatively low frequency, making it challenging to draw dependable conclusions from such a restricted dataset.

The prevalence of intensification shifts over de-intensification shifts in the translation process, especially in positive evaluations, suggests a tendency to amplify attitudinal expressions. The differing approaches of TT1, using honorific titles aligning with cultural norms, and TT2, adopting

a more content-focused strategy, reflect nuanced decisions made by translators. These choices not only impact register, ideational function, and cultural appropriateness but also align with language preferences observed in CNN's political reporting.

The analysis further highlights the translators' active role in shaping engagement and perspectives through intersubjective shifts, particularly in modality indicators. These linguistic markers contribute to the tone and assurance of statements, underscoring the translators' adaptions towards the intended audience and contextual considerations. The chapter underscores the complexity of the translator's task in navigating linguistic and cultural elements, making informed decisions to ensure an accurate, culturally resonant representation in the TT, and ultimately emphasising the translators' pivotal role in shaping the final form of the translated content.

In light of this analysis, it is worth considering the potential influence of the translators' institutional norms in shaping their translation choices. In this regard, TT1, which is the official translation published on the US embassy's website in Saudi Arabia, operates within specific limitations and anticipated standards. TT1 prioritises preserving the positive tone and cultural norms, employing honorifics for formality. Conversely, TT2, featured on CNN's website, demonstrates signs of editorial independence, as evidenced by its focus on content, occasional use of neutralisation shifts, and avoidance of additional honorifics. This suggests a departure from the constraints that TT1 adheres to and aligns with the more flexible editorial environment commonly associated with news platforms like CNN.

Chapter 6: Analysing Biden's Speech

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we thoroughly analyse Joe Biden's inaugural speech (2021) to investigate alterations in stance or positionality in its translation from Arabic to English. We closely examine two Arabic interpretations provided by Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya, exploring how ideological meaning is transmitted through appraisal instances. Employing Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework, our analysis utilises both quantitative and qualitative methods, involving manual data collection and a detailed exploration of lexicogrammatical systems shaping these instances. By examining linguistic strategies and specific lexical elements, we aim to uncover the underlying positions in the interpretations of the chosen TTs. Furthermore, we critically examine the shifts that occur and investigate their plausible reasons, revealing the intricate connections between these shifts and the expressed positions within the text.

6.2 The Source Text Appraisal Meanings

Interpersonal meaning in the ST, which pertains to the relationship between the speaker and the audience, is clearly manifest through various linguistic features. Firstly, Biden incorporates interrogative sentences in his speech, which serve to engage the audience, encourage reflection, or elicit a response through question structures such as: "Will we master this rare and difficult hour?" (225) (Hood, 2010, p.75). Imperative statements in the ST, contrastingly, display a persuasive and commanding tone, urging the audience to take specific actions or adopt certain positions such as "Show respect to one another " (108). Secondly, patterns of modality are notable in the ST; Biden uses the modal verbs *must*, *should*, and *can* frequently, to make clear his position on certain issues,

stressing the significance or necessity of certain actions or policies. The use of modal expressions helps shape the speaker-audience relationship and conveys the level of conviction and authority Biden brings to his speech. Additionally, the consistent use of inclusive pronouns like *we*, *our*, and *us*, which effectively engage the audience and foster a sense of common responsibility. As Beaton's analysis of simultaneous interpreting between German and English in the European Parliament illustrates the ideological significance of the first-person plural pronoun *we* and its role in shaping perceptions of group identity and inclusion (cited in Mason et al. 2010, p.3). Lastly, evaluative words in the ST reflect Biden's personal evaluations and judgments, shaping his relationship with the audience and conveying his attitudes and beliefs.

The ST reveals a relative abundance of appraisal meanings, with 530 instances. This high number, compared to the 457 instances found in Trump's speech at the Arab and Muslim Leaders' summit in Riyadh (2017), despite the latter speech being lengthier, indicates the importance for Biden of rhetoric in capturing emotions and communicating his values. By comparing the appraisal resources in the ST, it is evident that attitudinal meanings play a predominant role, with a total of 296 instances as seen in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Distribution of the Appraisal Resources in the ST

Appraisal resources	Biden's speech
Attitude	296
Graduation	87
Engagement	147

6.2.1 Attitude

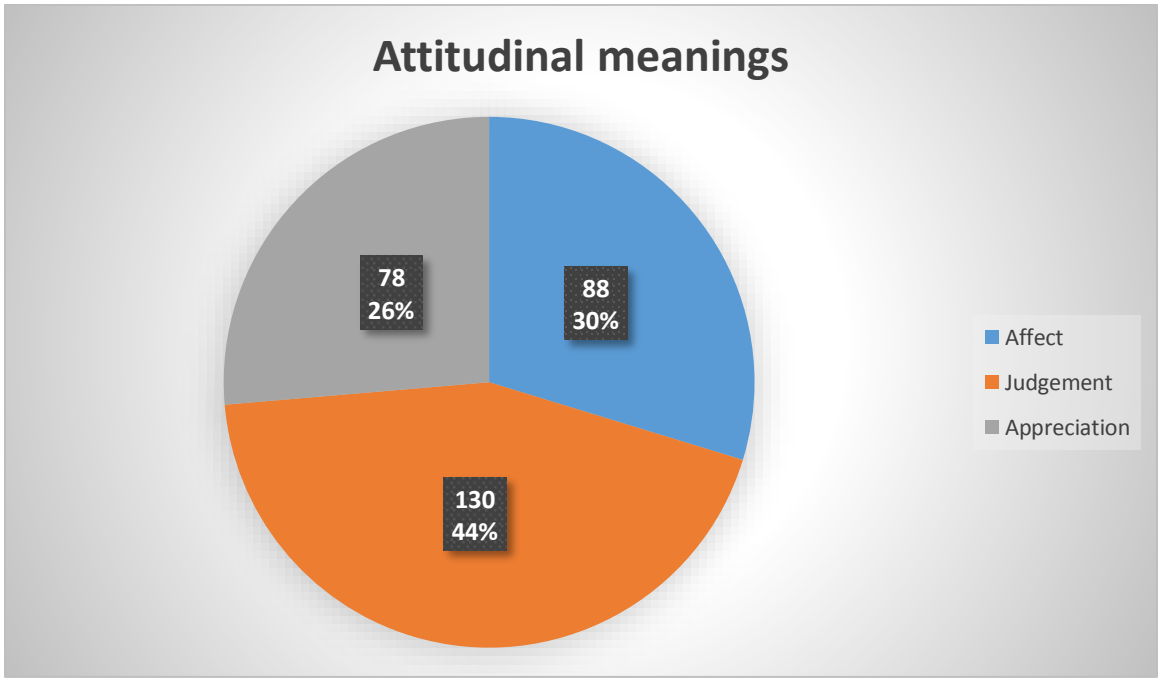
The analysis of the ST reveals the utilisation of three distinct types of attitudinal meanings: direct inscription, invoked or implicit evaluation, and abundant lexical repetition of evaluation (see Section 2.3.1). Compared to Trump's speeches, Biden's style tends to lean more towards indirect

expressions of attitude, emphasising unity, inclusivity, and shared values. The use of explicit attitudinal appraisal resources may show Biden's intentional use of language to boost people's morale and inspire them to work together to overcome problems faced by American society such as division and racism. The ST shows a significant presence of lexical repetition of evaluation, where specific evaluative terms or phrases are repeated throughout the speech to reinforce the intended attitude or judgment such as "the strength, the strength of our nation" (24). Hatim and Mason (1990, p.124) illustrate that speakers deliberately and purposefully choose to precisely repeat a word or phrase.

The analysis highlights a noticeable preference for using direct inscriptions in attitudinal meanings within the ST. Out of a total of 296 instances of attitudinal meanings, 251 are characterised as direct inscriptions, prioritising clear and overt expressions of emotions, attitudes, or evaluations. This approach underscores the importance of unambiguous communication through attitudinal lexis, emphasising clear articulation and surface-level language choices (Martin and White, 2005, p.64). The analysis reveals a significant imbalance in the attitudes expressed during Biden's speech, with 206 instances being positive compared to 90 instances being negative. Negative evaluations acknowledge and confront the existing state of the country, its challenges, and the actions of previous administrations. Positive evaluations articulate the vision and agenda of the incoming president, instilling hope, emphasising accomplishments, and outlining the desired path for the future. One possible interpretation for this skewed distribution could be that Biden strategically employed an abundance of positive attitudes to portray his competence in handling the nation's problems and to create an impression of the possibility for improving conditions in the US. Such emphasis on positivity is not uncommon in political and presidential speeches, where leaders often employ more positive evaluations than negative ones. This finding aligns with the

research conducted by Zhongwen and Siyou (2018, p.100), who see a similar pattern in the speeches of Xi Jinping and Donald Trump. In their attempts to project a positive attitude, foster optimism, and instil confidence in their audience, both leaders lean towards utilising positive evaluations rather than negative ones. Also, the projected nature of an inauguration is normally going to be positive since the new president is setting out his plans and aspirations (Biria and Mohammadi, 2012). This said, in the context of Biden's speech it is essential to juxtapose the positivity with acknowledgment of America's significant challenges: economic instability, political polarisation, social unrest, and public health crises. Effective leadership entails directly addressing these issues, showcasing understanding of governance complexities, and committing to tangible solutions. While positivity is common in political communication, leaders must not overlook confronting real-world problems head-on. A balanced approach, blending optimism with a realistic assessment, is vital for effective leadership and meaningful progress.

Figure 6.1 The Frequency of Attitudinal Meaning in the ST



This analysis highlights the prevalence of judgment as the primary category of appraisal resources in Biden's speech (see Figure 6.1). This dominance of judgment suggests a strategic intention to appeal to and persuade the audience by emphasising his evaluative judgment of people. A similar pattern emerges in Biden's speech targeting the American Muslim community during his virtual campaign, indicating a consistent strategic use of judgment to express his perspective on Muslims (Karimah, 2022). These observations parallel those made by Munday (2012), who also noted a similar distribution of attitude, dominated by judgment, in Obama's inaugural speech. Such patterns in presidential speeches suggest a characteristic feature of this genre.

6.2.2 Graduation

The appraisal resources category of graduation appears as a noteworthy element in Biden's speech, with a substantial presence of 87 instances (see Table 6.1 above). This utilisation of graduation enables Biden to add nuance to his statements and emphasise the importance he assigns to specific topics. It is worth noting that Biden employs graduation elements more often in the context of positive evaluations rather than negative ones. This observation is further supported by the significant difference in frequency between positive and negative attitudinal meanings, with 75 instances of grading for positive attitudinal meanings compared to a mere 12 instances for negative attitudinal meanings. This may show Biden's deliberate use of nuanced language to amplify the positive aspects of his message while employing a more restrained approach in highlighting negative aspects.

6.2.3 Engagement

The appraisal category of engagement emerges as the second most dominant feature in the analysed text, with a total of 147 engagement indicators, including counter-expectancy, modality, and reporting verbs. It is notable that modality is the most often utilised indicator in the text,

appearing 91 times (see Table 6.2 below). By comparison, counter-expectancy and reporting verbs are employed almost equally, with 29 and 27 instances, respectively, a frequency that is deemed quite high. In Biden's speech, the high frequency of reporting verbs is evident in his efforts to convey a sense of accountability, transparency, and attribution of actions to various entities. An illustrative example is found in the statement, "And I **promise** you this: as the Bible **says** weeping may endure for a night but joy cometh in the morning" (185-186). In a crucial moment, President Biden strategically uses the reporting verb promise to anchor the commitment to himself, enhancing credibility and resonance. Simultaneously, the phrase "as the Bible **say**" serves as a reporting structure, attributing the subsequent statement to the authoritative source of the Bible. This dual use of reporting structures contributes significantly to the rhetorical impact of Biden's speech, aligning his promise with both personal commitment and broader cultural and moral authority. Biden's speech is characterised by a significant presence of modal expressions, including obligations or necessities such as "we **must** meet this moment as the United States of America" (98), expressions of ability or capacity like "With unity we **can** do great things" (70), and indications of a high degree of certainty or willingness, as demonstrated by the phrase "We **will** press forward with speed and urgency" (32). By using these modal expressions, Biden effectively conveys to the audience a compelling sense of duty, capability, and conviction.

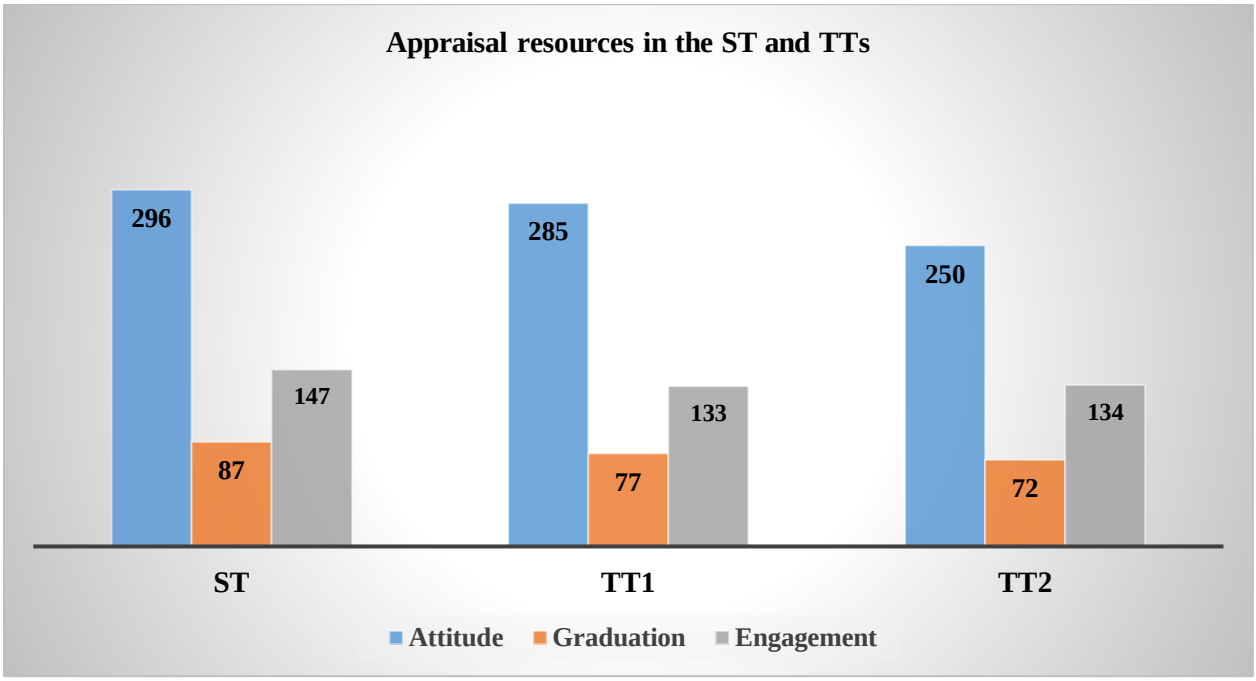
Table 6.2 The Frequency of Engagement Indicators in the ST

Engagement Indicators	Counter-expectancy	Modality	Reporting verbs
Total	29	91	27

6.3 Quantitative Results

Figure 6.2 presents a comparison between the ST and the TTs in terms of shifts related to appraisal resources.

Figure 6.2 Distribution of the appraisal resources in the ST and TTs



The analysis reveals a decrease in the overall number of appraisal meanings in both TTs compared to the ST. TT1 (Al Arabiya interpretation) recorded 495 instances of appraisal meanings, which is lower than the ST's 530 instances: a reduction of 35. Similarly, TT2 (Al Jazeera interpretation) exhibited 456 instances of appraisal meanings, showing a decrease of 74 instances compared to the ST. These figures correspond to a total of 54 shifts in TT1 and an even higher number of shifts, 95 instances, in TT2 (see Figure 6.3 below). The higher number of shifts observed in simultaneous interpretations, compared to written translations, can be attributed to the inherent complexity of interpreting in real-time (Bartłomiejczyk, 2021, p.3). Unlike written translations, interpreters do not rely on a written version of the speech, as evident in the transcribed interpretations. This lack

of a written script contributes to the complexity of simultaneous interpretation. Interpreters must process and render the speech in real-time, allowing limited time for careful consideration. The frequent false starts and hesitations observed suggest that interpreters worked dynamically, adapting to the speech as it unfolded rather than following a prepared script. However, this fast-paced nature of simultaneous interpretation can lead to inaccuracies in capturing subtle meanings, resulting in inevitable omissions and shifts that affect accuracy and precision.

Both interpretations show a decrease in the number of appraisal meanings across all types of appraisal systems when compared to the ST. It is worth noting that attitudinal meanings experienced a higher frequency of shifts compared to the categories of graduation and engagement. This is expected as the ST held a larger presence of attitudinal meanings. TT1 has 11 instances less than the ST, while TT2 has 46 instances less.

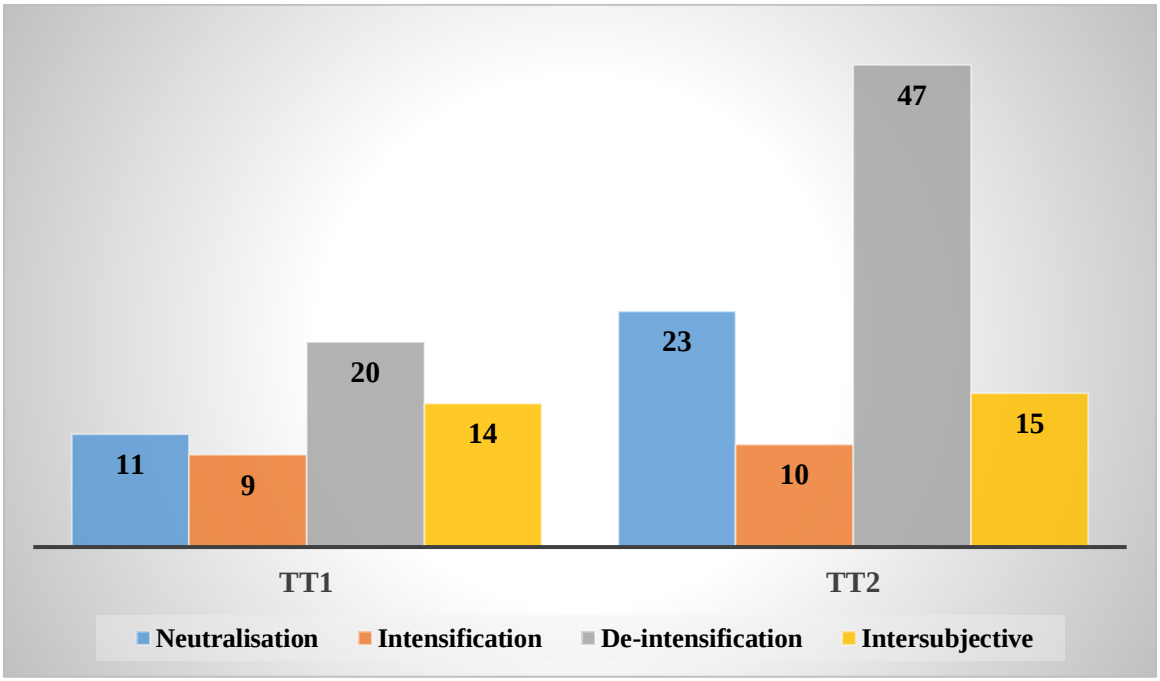
Regarding graduation, TT2 exhibits a higher number of shifts compared to TT1, with 15 instances of shifts in TT2, and only 10 shifts in TT1. It is worth considering whether the pressure constraints of simultaneous interpretation might have contributed to any omissions in graduation. In contrast, the shifts in engagement are relatively similar in both interpretations, with TT1 experiencing 14 instances of shifts and TT2 having 13 instances.

It is evident that TT2 displays a greater number of shifts in appraisal meanings compared to TT1, indicating a higher level of variability and divergence in the interpretation of appraisal resources in TT2.

6.4 Types of Shifts in the Source Text Appraisal Meanings

Premised on a close comparison between the ST appraisal meanings and those present in the TTs, it is discovered that not all appraisal meanings found in the ST are accurately interpreted in the TTs.

Figure 6.3 The Frequency of types of appraisal meanings shifts



The analysis uncovers that around 28% of the total appraisal meanings in the two TTs undergo shifts. Additionally, diverse shift patterns emerge, classified into four types: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shifts (refer to Section 5.4 for more details). These shift patterns highlight the modifications and alterations that occur in the interpretation process, affecting the appraisal meanings conveyed in the TTs.

Figure 6.3 presents a comprehensive overview of the frequency of each type of shift shown in the TTs. The data clearly indicates that both interpretations show a greater prevalence of appraisal meaning shifts categorised as de-intensification, with a total of 67 instances. In contrast, a smaller

proportion of shifts, amounting to 19 instances in both TTs, can be classified as intensification. This suggests that the intensification of evaluation meanings in the ST has a relatively limited impact in the interpretations. Additionally, the figure illustrates that there are 34 instances of neutralisation shifts and 29 instances of intersubjective shifts observed in the interpretations. To examine the frequencies of the several types of shifts in each interpretation, the description of each type of shift and some examples are explored in the next sections of the analysis.

6.4.1 Neutralisation shifts

As previously stated (see Section 5.4.1), this type of shift becomes clear when the attitudinal meaning is omitted or excluded from the interpretations, resulting in the absence of attitudinal expression. There is a minor difference between the two interpreters regarding the omission of attitudinal meanings from the ST. In TT1, 11 instances of neutralisation shifts are observed, while in TT2, there are 23 instances of neutralisation shifts.

Upon analysing these neutralisation shifts, it becomes clear that a significant portion of the attitudinal meaning shifts pertain to the category of judgement. In the ST, judgement can be expressed positively (praise or admiration) or negatively (criticism or condemnation) (see Chapter 2). It is notable that the expression of judgement in the ST varies, with positive judgement being employed when praising and admiring former presidents, the American people, and those who support Biden, referred to as ‘We’. Conversely, negative judgement is employed when criticising and condemning protestors who did not support Biden, often referred to as ‘the Others’. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the neutralisation shifts mainly lean towards positive values. In the TTs, out of the 34 neutralisation shifts, 22 shifts are towards the positive values. This indicates that the interpreters reduce the degree of admiration and praise expressed towards ‘Us’. For instance, when Biden explicitly states:

Example 6.1

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.1	ST	We will press forward **with speed and urgency**, for we have much to do in this winter of peril and significant possibility (32-33)	-
6.1a	TT1	سوف ندفع لان لدينا الكثير من العمل الذي يجب ان نقوم به في هذا الشتاء الصعب والامكانات التي يمكن ان تحققها الكثير.	We will pay because we have so much work to do in this difficult winter and the potential for so much to achieve
6.1b	TT2	نحن نتطلع لان هنالك المزيد أمامنا للقيام به في أوقات الخطورة والشدة هنالك احتمالات وخيارات كثيرة	We are looking forward because there is more ahead of us to do in times of danger and distress. There are many possibilities and options

In the example statement, President Biden communicates a positive judgment through his expression of determination and commitment to addressing the nation's challenges and opportunities. This conveys a sense of determination, evoking urgency and highlighting the challenges of the "winter of peril", which carries a deeper meaning beyond the literal interpretation.

The omission of "with speed and urgency" in the TTs shifts from an evoked to a direct expression. While this phrase in the ST indirectly implies determination and urgency, its absence in the TTs results in a more straightforward expression, lacking the evocative imagery present in the ST statement. Consequently, the TTs may not effectively capture the same level of determination and commitment as intended in the ST. This observation aligns with Phanthaphoommee's (2019)

analysis of Thailand's Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha's weekly addresses after the May 2014 coup. Phanthaphoommee found that the official translation of these addresses presented a less assertive rendition of the conservative ideology of "Nation, Religion, and King". This omission of in the TTs alters the tone, shifting from a proactive and determined register in the ST to a more direct one in the TTs. This change impacts both the interpersonal function of the statement and the overall textual functions.

The analysis of neutralisation shifts in the attitudinal meaning of the TTs indicates that the omission of attitudinal meaning by the interpreters may primarily stem from external constraints rather than conscious decision-making. These neutralisation shifts are often a consequence of challenges and strategies inherent in simultaneous interpreting, such as the inability to keep pace with the speaker's delivery speed, difficulties in comprehension, or the presence of highly dense information. Therefore, it is important to recognise that such shifts on their own cannot be taken as indicative of an interpreter's ideological motivations. Gile (1995, p.173) supports this notion by highlighting that factors such as a 'high rate of delivery' and 'high density of information content' pose challenges for interpreters, leading them to intentionally omit certain information. This suggests that the neutralisation of attitudinal meaning in the TTs is more likely a result of intentional decisions, and these decisions may unintentionally cause shifts. Munday (2017, p.95) also notes that interpreters work within constraints that inevitably result in some omission of detail to achieve a coherent discourse's overall goal. These constraints align with Gumul's model (2021, p.49), which perceives interpreters as always employing interpreting strategies. As a result, some of these shifts can be attributed to the use of interpreting strategies, such as *coping tactics* (see: Bartłomiejczyk, 2006; Kalina, 1998; in Gile, 2009) which inherently affect the ideology of the ST.

An example that provides further evidence that this type of shift may stem from interpreting difficulties can be found in the following examples:

Example 6.2

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.2	ST	A once-in-a-century **virus silently stalks the country**. It's taken as many lives in one year as America lost in all of World War II (41-42)	-
6.2a	TT1	**فيروس** لا يحصل الا مرة في القرن اخذ حياة اشخاص في عام واحد مما فقدته أمريكا في الحرب العالمية الثانية بأكملها	**A virus** that only occurs once in a century took people's lives in one year from what America lost in the entire Second World War
6.2b	TT2	هذا **الفايروس** الذي لم نشهده لقرون قد كلف حياة العديد من الأمريكيين	This **virus** that we haven't seen for centuries has cost the lives of many Americans.

In the given example, Biden utilises personification to illustrate the impact of COVID-19 on the country. Personification, as described by Charteris-Black (2005, p.41), serves an ideological purpose by evoking empathy or opposition towards a particular social group, ideology, or belief. In this case, the virus is personified as a silent entity that "stalks the country". This metaphor characterises the virus as a deadly force responsible for claiming many lives. By using the phrase "virus silently stalks the country", Biden emphasises the destructive nature of the virus and aims to raise awareness of its negative effects.

Neither interpretation captures Biden's metaphor depicting the virus's impact. This deviation from the metaphor in the ST may result from the challenges of dealing with figurative language in real-

time interpretation, leading to a shift in conveyed attitude. Consequently, the TTs appear less metaphorical and intense due to the omission of this metaphor. The absence of the metaphor reduces the figurative intensity, altering the register and metafunction in the TTs. This deviation affects the register analysis and weakening the metafunction of evoking empathy or opposition through personification, thus diminishing the overall rhetorical impact.

The omission of metaphor in interpretation is a common occurrence. Similar findings were reported by Bartłomiejczyk (2021, p.13), who examined English simultaneous interpretation of plenary debates in the European Parliament. The study concluded that metaphors related to war tended to disappear in interpretation, which resulted in the portrayal of the UK as a less active agent. This shows that the omission of metaphor can affect the interpretation and representation of certain attitudes and actions.

Example 6.3

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.3	ST	In another January, on New Year's Day 1863, Abraham Lincoln signed **the Emancipation Proclamation** (56-57).	-
6.3a	TT1	في يناير اخر في عام 1863 وقع أبراهام لنكن	In another January in 1163 Abraham Lincoln signed
6.3b	TT2	في عام 1863 كان هنالك توقيع لفرانكلين	In 1630 it was signed by [Franklin]

In this statement, Biden references Abraham Lincoln's signing of the Emancipation Proclamation on New Year's Day in 1863 to emphasise Lincoln's significance and personal dedication to this

historic act of emancipation. Biden's use of this historical event serves to highlight the importance of taking a strong stance and dedicating oneself wholeheartedly to a cause, indicating his own commitment to the actions he takes and the policies he supports. The misattributions and misinterpretations of the historical action and year in the TTs, such as attributing it to 'Franklin' instead of "Abraham Lincoln" and misinterpreting the year as 1630 in TT2 and 1163 in TT1, deviate from the ST and could impact the audience's comprehension and interpretation of the speech, particularly regarding the historical context of Lincoln's actions in 1863. Such inaccuracies diminish the historical and symbolic weight of the Emancipation Proclamation, weakening the metafunction of highlighting historical resonance and dedication and diminishing the rhetorical effectiveness of the interpretations.

To assess the ideological nature of neutralisation shifts, it is important to take into account the constraints and challenges faced by interpreters. As Schjoldager (1994, p.85) points out, distinguishing between interpreting performance governed by norms and performance influenced by processing conditions can be difficult. While many neutralisation shifts can be attributed to the inherent difficulties of simultaneous interpreting, it is plausible that certain shifts in the TTs are more noticeable and may be influenced by positionality or ideological motives. The following example provides further insights into this type of shift and its potential connection to ideological motivations.

Example 6.4

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.4	ST	Through the Civil War, the Great Depression, World War, 9/11, through struggle, sacrifice, and	-

		setbacks, our **"better angels"** have always prevailed (86-87)	
6.4a	TT1	عبر الحروب الأهلية والنكسة الاقتصادية والحرب العالمية والحادي عشر من سبتمبر التضحية هنا لكي دائما لمن ساعدنا في الانتصار	Through the civil wars, the economic setback, the World War and the eleventh of September, the sacrifice is here so that always for those who helped us win
6.4b	TT2	من خلال الحرب الأهلية والركود العظيم والكساد و أحداث سبتمبر وحتى النضال النكسات دائماً بعد كل هذه النكسات نهضنا جميعا	Through the Civil War, the Great Recession, the Depression, the September events, and even the struggle, always setbacks, after all these setbacks, we all rose.

In this example, Biden refers to "our better angels", symbolising the inherent goodness and resilience of the American people. This metaphor highlights their ability to unite and overcome adversity throughout history, serving as a call to unity and resilience.

However, both TTs omit the phrase "better angels". The omission of this phrase could be related to cultural considerations and the potential sensitivity surrounding the use of the term *angels* in Islamic culture. In Islamic belief, angels are considered heavenly beings, closely associated with God's will, and are not to be equated or compared to human beings. Therefore, the interpreters may have intentionally omitted this phrase to adhere to cultural norms and avoid any potential religious sensitivities. This type of omission shows the translators' awareness of the target audiences' cultural and religious background. By omitting this reference, interpreters align the TT with Arab cultural sensitivities, albeit at the expense of admiration expressed towards Americans

in the ST. This mirrors the crucial role of cultural sensitivity in translation, as underscored by Cunico and Munday's (2007) study. They stress the significance of translators adeptly adjusting tone, rhetoric, and cultural references in political texts to match the cultural sensitivities of the target audience. By considering political ideologies, historical contexts, and societal norms, translators ensure effective message conveyance, navigating the complexities of language, culture, and politics to resonate with the intended meaning. This adjustment reduces metaphorical richness and cultural resonance, impacting register complexity and rhetorical effectiveness, particularly in conveying admiration and persuasive elements in the target context.

Neutralisation shifts in the TTs significantly impact their register, metafunction, and overall rhetorical effectiveness. Omitting key phrases and metaphors leads to a transition from nuanced and impactful language in the ST to a more straightforward expression in the TTs, potentially reducing evocativeness. This affects both interpersonal and textual functions, altering tone, intensity, and cultural resonance. The weakened rhetorical impact underscores the importance of navigating language and cultural nuances in interpretation to preserve the intended meaning and effect of the ST. Analysis suggests two main influencing factors for omissions: interpreter constraints like delivery speed and information density, and cultural considerations such as aligning with target culture norms or beliefs. These factors contribute to the nuanced nature of neutralisation, highlighting challenges and considerations in interpretation.

6.4.2 Intensification and De-intensification shifts

As mentioned before, intensification and de-intensification shifts relate to increasing or reducing a certain element of attitudinal meanings or graduation (see Section 5.4.2). The analysis reveals a significant disparity in the frequency of these two types of shifts. Specifically, there are 19

occurrences of intensification shifts, while de-intensification shifts are seen in 67 instances. Most of these occurrences, 10 intensification shifts and 47 de-intensification shifts, are observed in TT2.

The occurrence of intensification shifts in the two TTs is less frequent compared to the other types, as shown in Figure 6.3. The analysis shows that the prevailing pattern of intensification relies on augmenting evaluative meaning through adding words. Remarkably, a notable absence is seen in the utilisation of gradable words for intensification purposes.

Upon closer examination of the intensification shifts, many of these shifts tend to lean towards negative evaluations. As shown in the following example:

Example 6.5

ST	TT1	Back-translation
This is **a time of testing**. We face an attack on democracy and on truth (206-207)	هذا **وقت اختبار ووقت صعب** نواجهه في هجوم على الديمقراطية وعلى الحقيقة	This is **a testing time** and **a difficult time** that we face in an attack on democracy and on truth

Biden here emphasises the challenges and threats that US society was encountering at the time of his address. By referring to it as "a time of testing", Biden suggests that Americans are being put to the test, facing significant challenges that will decide the strength and resilience of their democratic values. The phrase conveys a sense of urgency and the need to rise to the occasion. In TT1, the addition of the phrase وقت صعب (a difficult time) intensifies the severity of the circumstances, enhancing urgency and gravity. This adjustment amplifies the expressive and attitudinal aspects of the statement, aligning with the translator’s aim to resonate strongly with the target audience.

The intensification shift observed in the TTs affects the strength and emphasis of the ideological stance expressed in the ST. However, it does not directly influence the underlying principles and beliefs, constituting the core ideological layer of the ST. This finding aligns with Al-Shunnag's (2014, p.253) study on English translations of articles about the Arab Spring, which also noted that emphasised stances often carried heightened negative attitudinal meanings without altering the fundamental ideology.

On the other hand, the close examination reveals that de-intensification shifts are prevalent in the TTs, particularly in cases where there is a repetition of attitudinal meaning or similar lexical elements. This repetition strategy is often employed by Biden in his speeches to persuade and reinforce his position. According to Johnson (1985), repetition is a powerful tool for creating rhetorical presence and enhancing persuasive impact. An example highlighting the de-intensification of attitudinal meaning through the omission of repeated lexical elements can be seen in the TTs.

Example 6.6

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.6	ST	I know the resilience of our Constitution and **the strength, the strength of our nation** (23)	-
6.6a	TT1	واعرف عزيمة ومرونة دستورنا **وقوة امتنا**	I know and know the determination and flexibility of our constitution and **the strength of our nation**
6.6b	TT2	اعرف مدى قوة دستورنا **وقوة امتنا**	I know how strong our constitution **and strong our nation is**

In this example, Biden emphasises the resilience of the Constitution and the strength of the nation through the repetition of the phrase "the strength" in his speech. This repetition aligns with the concept of lexical repetition, as discussed by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), and Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.276)'s notion of *reiteration*, which highlights the recurrence of lexical characteristics in communication. The significance of lexical repetition in analysing ideology is underscored by Shlesinger (1995; 2000), who suggests that the repetition of a term itself generates a distinct effect compared to pronominal reference. Similar patterns of repetition have been observed in the speeches of leaders like Hassan Nasrallah (the leader of Hezbollah), serving an ideological purpose of fostering hope, patriotism, and harmony among the audience (Lahlali, 2012, p.10).

In this example, interpreters may have condensed the statement by omitting the repeated phrase "the strength" to avoid repetition and streamline the message. However, this repetition carries ideological significance, as argued by Fairclough (1992), and its omission may lead to a de-intensification of meaning. Beaton (2007, p.142) similarly discusses how telescoping strategies by interpreters can generalise statements, affecting ideological impact. Consequently, the omission of repeated phrases in the TTs diminishes Biden's ideological stance on the nation, impacting the register and metafunction analysis.

It has been noted that in this de-intensification shift, the exclusion of gradable words results in a lessened emphasis or intensity of the ST’s attitudinal meaning. This can be seen in the following example where the omission of these words leads to a reduced level of emphasis or intensity.

Example 6.7

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.7	ST	A cry that can't be any **more desperate** or any **more clear [clearer]** (47-48).	-
6.7a	TT1	نداء من اجل النجاة يأتي من كوكبنا نفسهم نداء **يأس وواضح**	A call for salvation comes from our planet themselves, a call of **desperation and clear**
6.7b	TT2	صرخة النجاة تأتي من الكوكب نفسه صرخة **يأس** وصرخة **واضحة**	The cry for deliverance comes from the planet itself, a cry of **despair** and a **clear** cry

In this example, Biden highlights the urgent need to address environmental issues and the threats of climate change. He emphasises the critical nature of the environmental crisis, asserting that the plea for survival comes not just from humans but also from the planet itself. The phrase "can't be any more desperate or any more clear [clearer]" underscores the urgency for immediate action. However, the omission of gradable words in the TTs may reduce the intensity perceived by audiences, impacting the conveyance of desperation and clarity from the ST. This shift affects the overall impact of the message by diluting attitudinal meaning and altering the register and metafunction analysis.

De-intensification shifts may not always imply intentional manipulation by interpreters but can result from factors such as competency, chosen strategies, and time limitations. Therefore, considering interpreters' competence, strategies, and challenges is crucial when analysing de-intensification. Despite shifts in intensity, the ideological layer of the ST remains unchanged, as its core content, including principles and values, remains intact. Instead, intensification or de-

intensification affects the persuasive power of the ideological message without altering its core content.

6.4.3 Intersubjective shift

Intersubjective shifts are connected to engagement categories, which are expressed through counter-expectancy, modality, and reporting verbs. Among the several types of shifts observed in the TTs, intersubjective shifts occur 29 times, TT1 has 14 occurrences of intersubjective shifts, while TT2 has 15 instances. Counter-expectancy is the predominant types of shifts seen within the intersubjective category, accounting for 11 instances across TTs.

The analysis reveals a notable pattern in the shifts observed within the discourse marker category, specifically in relation to the marker "just". It is seen as the most often omitted discourse marker in the TTs, occurring six times in total. Most of these instances, specifically five occurrences, are found in TT1. This pattern is exemplified in the following example:

Example 6.8

	Texts	Examples	Back-translation
6.8	ST	I **have just** taken the sacred oath each of these patriots have taken an oath first sworn by George Washington (25-26).	-
6.8a	TT1	قد قدمت عهد الولاء المقدس قدمه كل واحد من هؤلاء محبين الوطن الذي أول من قدمه هو جورج واشنطن	I made the sacred pledge of allegiance made by every one of those patriots who first made it George Washington.
6.8b	TT2	انا **الان** أديت قسما مقدسا قام به كل هؤلاء الأبطال القسم الذي اداه جورج واشنطن	I have **now** taken a sacred oath that all these heroes took, the oath that George Washington took

In this example, the word "just" is used as an adverb to show a recent action or occurrence. It implies that Biden has recently taken the sacred oath, emphasising the immediacy and timeliness of the event. Omitting "just" in TT1 alters the emphasis and immediacy of the action, diminishing the sense of recentness or urgency. The statement becomes more general, focusing on the act of making the sacred pledge of allegiance without specifying the exact timing or emphasising the speaker's personal involvement. While in TT2, the interpreter replaces "just" with الان (now), which do not have the same meaning. While both words convey a sense of immediacy, "just" in the ST focuses more on the recent completion of the action, while (now) in TT2 emphasises the present moment and ongoing relevance. This shift impacts the register analysis by changing the temporal nuances and immediacy of the statement found in the ST, affecting the overall metafunction of highlighting timeliness and personal involvement.

Interpreters may omit words like "just" if they deem them unnecessary without altering the main message. Time constraints and the need to keep pace with the speaker may lead to condensing or omitting less crucial elements. This prioritises conveying essential content while maintaining comprehension. Thus, interpreters may exclude redundant words to streamline interpretation.

6.5 Conclusion

Through examination of quantitative data and the provided examples, the analysis reveals that the evaluative meanings expressed in Joe Biden's inaugural speech (2021) are largely preserved in most instances. Nonetheless, significant alterations in evaluative meanings can be found in the interpretations presented by Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera.

The analysis of Biden's inaugural speech, as reflected in two interpreted versions, revealed the presence of four types of shifts: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and

intersubjective shifts. Among these shifts, de-intensification is the most common, while neutralisation shifts are less often seen in the TTs. The analysis reveals that TT2 exhibits a higher number of shifts, totalling 95 instances, compared to TT1 with 54 shifts.

The results of the analysis show that the identified types of shifts do not necessarily impact the underlying ideological layer of the ST. However, the analysis of neutralisation shifts in the translations underscores their significant impact on the register, metafunction, and overall rhetorical effectiveness of the TTs. The omission of key phrases and metaphors results in a shift from nuanced and impactful language in the ST to a more direct expression in the TTs, affecting tone, intensity, and cultural resonance. The weakened rhetorical impact highlights the need for careful consideration of language and cultural nuances in translation to preserve the intended meaning. This result reflects the findings of Al-Shunnag (2014, p.184) who similarly observed a weakening of the ST's stance when English metaphorical expressions were translated to Arabic in a non-metaphorical manner. Al-Shunnag attributed this phenomenon to a lack of complete comprehension of the metaphorical sense.

Additionally, the study of intensification shifts reveals their influence on the strength and emphasis of the ideological stance in the ST, without altering its fundamental ideology. It is essential to recognise that de-intensification shifts, often attributed to factors such as interpreter competence, strategies, and time constraints, do not fundamentally change the core ideological content of the ST.

Moreover, the reason behind intersubjective shifts may be interpreted as a strategic choice by interpreters to streamline the interpretation without substantially altering the overall meaning. The consideration of essential content and comprehension, particularly under time constraints, may drive interpreters to prioritise conveying the core message of a given text.

The shifts identified in interpretation can be influenced by various factors, including interpreter strategies, constraints such as time limitations, cultural disparities, and ideological perspectives. Calzada Pérez (2014, p.7) asserts that translatability raises questions of cultural commodification and ideology, highlighting the role of interpreters' own ideological perspectives. Additionally, interpreters work within specific socio-political contexts, as noted by Schaeffner (2004), which shape their interpretations and contribute to subtle variations reflecting social, political, and ideological disparities. These reasons behind shifts are complex and can vary based on the specific context and the interpreter's individual perspective.

Chapter 7: Analysing Fukuyama's Article

7.1 Introduction

This third analytical chapter examines the appraisal meanings in Fukuyama's lengthy opinion piece "The End of American Hegemony" and six Arabic translations, identifying and classifying translational shifts between the source text (ST) and the translated texts (TTs). This comparison informs the examination of ideological and evaluative meanings in Chapter 7.

7.2 The Author

Francis Yoshihiro Fukuyama, born in 1952, is an American political theorist, philosopher, writer, and a well-known name in the academic communities of politics, economics, and international relations. He is the Olivier Nomellini Senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) at Stanford University. Fukuyama oversaw the institute's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) as its director from 2015 to 2021. In 2019, he served as the program's director for the Ford Dorsey master's in international policy (Stanford University, 2023). Fukuyama attended Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, to study classics (Bachelor, 1974), and his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University in 1981. He then spent 1981 and 1982 as a policy adviser for the US Department of State, where he dealt primarily with Middle Eastern issues and represented the US at an Egyptian-Israeli conference on Palestinian autonomy. He joined the State Department in 1987 to work on a book project titled *The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades*. After spending two years on this project, he returned to the State Department, where he focused on European political and military

issues (Britannica, 2023). He served as Professor at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, from 1996 to 2001. Washington, DC's Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies welcomed Fukuyama as a full professor in 2001.

Fukuyama has published extensively on global politics and development. Fukuyama's first major work *The End of History and the Last Man,* published in 1992, focuses on social philosophy. Fukuyama is best known for this work, which argued that the end of the Cold War marked the triumph of liberal democracy as the final form of human government and the end of the ideological evolution of humankind. If history is to be understood as an evolutionary process, then liberal democracy, according to Fukuyama, must be the end state for all nations (Fukuyama, 2006). This work has been described as having "turned the foreign-policy world on its ear" (Menand, 2018). The book had a significant and unexpected impact on the foreign policy landscape, often by challenging or changing established norms, beliefs, or practices (ibid.).

His subsequent works followed a similar trajectory: *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (1995) gained wide acclaim in the business market (Quddus et al., 2000, p.88); and *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order* (1999) considered US history after World War II as seen through a conservative perspective (Mcnicoll, 1999, p.793). In 2002, he released *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution*, which examines at the potential impact biotechnology could have on human progress (Kazin, 2004, p.151). He then published *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy* (2006), in which he criticised the Iraq war on the grounds that the invasion of Iraq had been poorly planned and organised. Regarding the conflict Fukuyama stated that "if you look at the record of American nation building, it doesn't give you a lot of confidence that you would be able to negotiate this thing all that well" (The Jerusalem Post, 2004). As a result of such

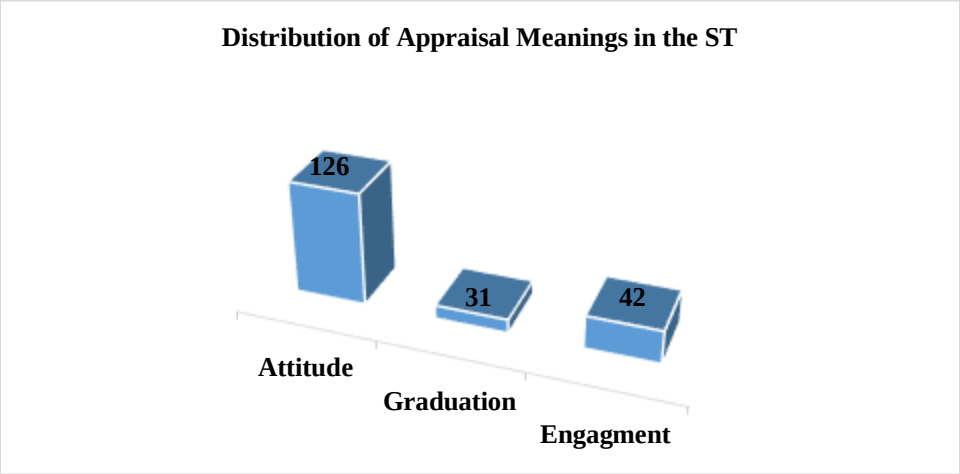
views he found himself at odds with neoconservative allies both inside and outside the Bush administration, since he argued that President Bush's administration grossly underestimated the social construction that would be required to establish a successful democracy after the war. In *America at the Crossroads* he also focuses on the controversies surrounding neoconservatism and why he can no longer support the movement (Battin, 2008, p.213).

Many of Fukuyama's works have been translated, into many languages. Particularly, the stir caused by the publication of *The End of History and the Last Man* in 1992 led to its being translated into over 20 languages, among which is Arabic. This catapulted Fukuyama to prominence not only in the West, but also in the Middle East. In 1993, translators Shaheen, Qassim, and Al Shaybi brought this book to Arabic readers. As a result, to the best of my knowledge, 24 of his works have been translated into Arabic and are widely available, including titles such as: *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (translated by Al Imama and Al Imam, 2015), and *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*, (translated by Al Twibah, 2007).

7.3 The Source Text Appraisal Meanings

Analysis shows the ST is laden with feelings, value judgment meanings as well as the authorial positioning towards the US hegemony over the world, particularly given that the text is short. Attitudinal meanings are the most common linguistic feature of the ST, constituting 126 (63.3%) instances out of the total of 199 appraisal meanings. By contrast, graduation and engagement constitute 31 (15.5%) and 42 (21.1%) instances, respectively, as shown in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Distribution of Appraisal Meanings in the ST



7.3.1 Attitude

In Fukuyama's article, direct (inscribe) expressions of attitude prevail, where he explicitly states his opinions or beliefs. These instances include declarations like "the end of the American era had come much earlier" (3-4) and discussions of specific policy debacles, such as the failure to plan adequately for the collapse of Afghanistan. While indirect (invoked) expressions of attitude, like cautionary language or hypothetical scenarios, are also present, they appear less frequently than direct expressions.

Table 7.1 Distribution of negative and positive evaluation in the ST

Attitudinal meanings	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Total
Frequency	37 (29.3%)	34 (26.9%)	55 (43.6%)	126
Positive evaluation	6 (16.2%)	17 (50%)	22 (40%)	45 (35.7%)
Negative evaluation	31(83.7%)	17 (50%)	33 (60%)	81 (64.2%)

In a closer analysis of the ST attitudinal meanings, the majority of which are realised through epithets, negative evaluation clearly predominates across most attitude categories in the ST, with 81 (64.2%) instances in comparison to the positive 45 (35.7%) instances (see Table 7.1).

In terms of frequency, appreciation is the most dominant category, with 55 (43.6%) instances occurring in the text. Judgement appears less frequently, with 34 (26.9%) occurrences, while affect occurs in 37 (29.3%) instances (see Table 7.1 above). This prevalence aligns with the genre of political commentary or opinion piece, where appreciation is commonly used to convey the author's values, beliefs, or attitudes and to position themselves in relation to their audience or the topic. Bolouri (2008, p.326) notes a similar trend in political discourse, citing Tony Blair's frequent use of appreciation, particularly in online press coverage of his statements. Blair's preference for appreciation, both positive and negative, reflects common practices among politicians to emphasise the superiority of their own policies or viewpoints while critiquing opposing ideologies or actors. However, judgement also holds significance in political discourse, as discussed in earlier chapters. The balance between appreciation and judgement in political texts may vary depending on genre-specific rhetorical strategies.

The appreciation resources found in the ST are mostly inscribed (direct) expressions e.g., "a great power", "democratic values". Negative evaluations outnumber positive ones in this set. Out of the total appreciation meanings, 33 (60%) instances express negative evaluation, while the remaining 22 (40%) are positive (see Table 7.1 above). The predominance of negativity in discussing the US decline and global challenges, as seen in the statement "The long-term sources of American **weakness and decline** are more domestic than international" (4-5), reflects a focus on domestic factors as primary contributors to American weakness. Additionally, the author's personal perspective and the intended message of the article likely influence the higher frequency of negative evaluations, exemplified by the statement "but just how influential it will be depends on its ability to fix its **internal problems**, rather than its foreign policy" (5-6). In addition, the most predominant sub-type of appreciation is valuation, with a total number of 32 (58.1%) instances

recorded, compared to the other two categories: composition (15 instances, 27.2%) and reaction (8 instances, 14.5%) (see Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Frequency of Attitudinal Sub-categories in ST

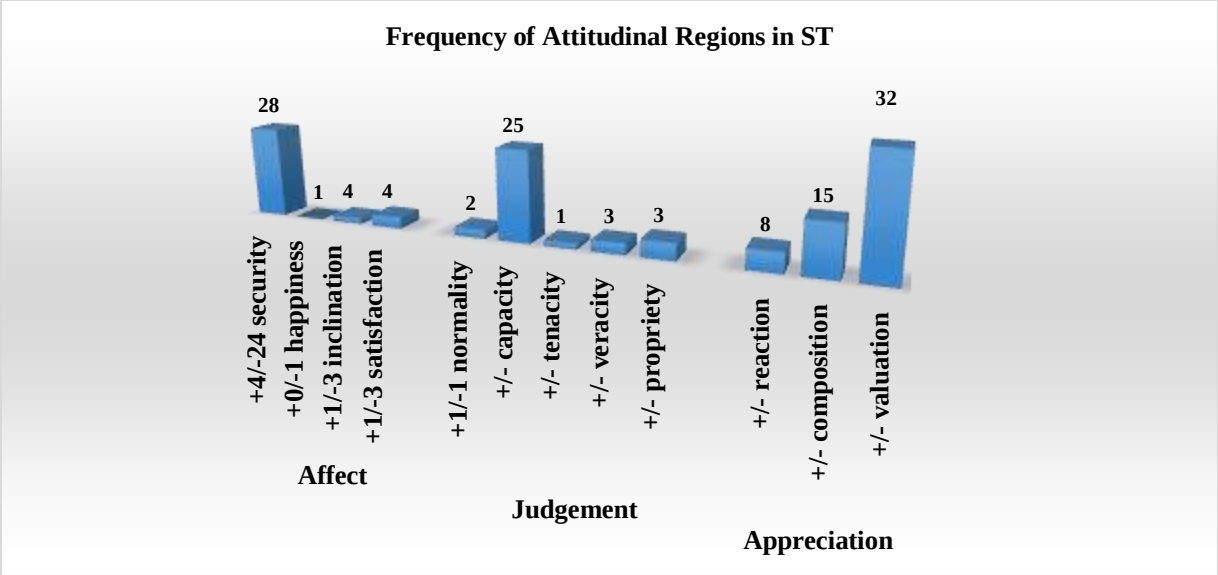


Figure 7.2 also shows that the number of security meanings in the ST (part of affect) is remarkably close to that of the capacity (part of judgement); 28 and 25 instances, respectively. It is also worth noting that the ST has a high concentration of negative evaluation in these categories (security and capacity), as Fukuyama emphasises America's internal problems as well as the impact of US foreign intervention on American hegemony. Despite this, negative security evaluation accounts for more instances than these of capacity (24 and 13, respectively). Finally, one noticeable distinction is that the ST displays only one occurrence of happiness meanings. This is perhaps understandable, as the main argument of the ST is about the ultimate reasons leading to the demise of the US hegemony over the world. That is to say, the ST does not communicate a sense of pleasant feelings regarding its subject matter. The same observation is also reported by Alter

(2010, p.273), who points out that a fewer number of happiness instances are in political addresses – often a product of the gravity of the political situation addressed.

7.3.2 Graduation

Graduation, as an appraisal resource in the ST, serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it carries an evaluative function by expressing the intensity of an attitude or judgment. On the other hand, it serves a dialogic role by enabling speakers or writers to align themselves more strongly or less strongly with the value position presented in the text. This alignment helps individuals position themselves within communities that share similar values and beliefs (Martin and White, 2005, p.94). Fukuyama uses explicit force (part of graduation) to intensify his attitude, whether positive or negative. Fukuyama depicts "American society as **deeply** polarised" (24-25), highlighting significant division. This implies negativity, reflecting substantial polarisation and contributing to the overall negative portrayal. Conversely, he notes that "America still has **many** economic and cultural advantages" (22-23), highlighting strengths amidst challenges. In the ST, the resource of graduation is not frequently used, with only 31 instances found among the total number of appraisal meanings documented (199). However, in the general trend of the ST, there is a preference for utilising intensifying words to emphasise the author's viewpoints. Out of 31 instances of graduation, some 25 (80.6%) are emphasised with intensifying terms, while the remaining six are adverbs used to modify the intensity of the statement by providing context or perspective, rather than directly intensifying the meaning of the word they accompany, such as "The degree of unipolarity in this period has been **relatively rare** in history" (17). The limited number of graduation resources in Fukuyama's article may indicate that they are only employed when he wants to emphasise the importance of his attitudinal stance and engagement. This finding is consistent with that of Su (2016), who finds that only 37 graduation instances out of 186 appraisal

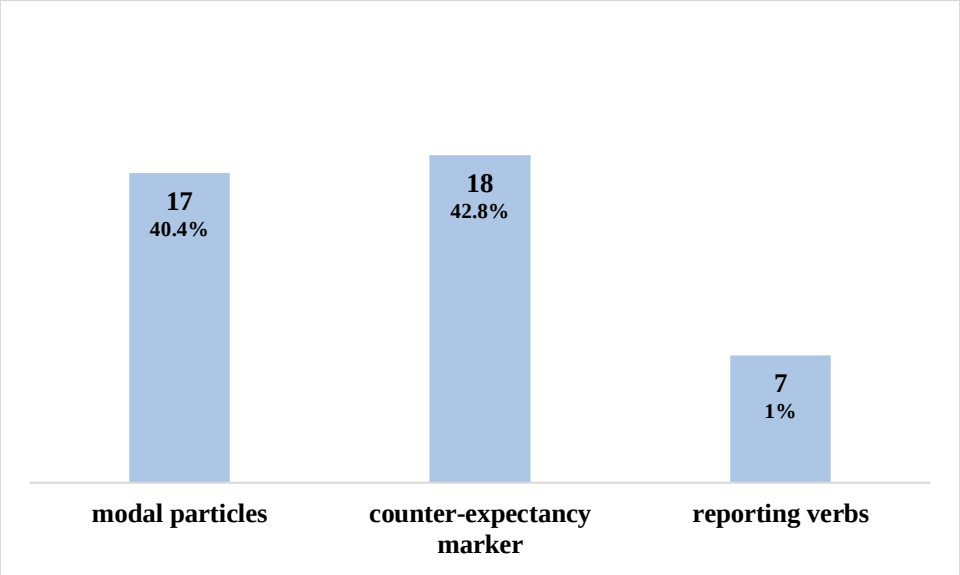
resources in President Xi Jinping's speech delivered at the National University of Singapore, which are sparingly used to amplify the value position and thus align recipients firmly in that value position. It is worth noting that this pattern may not hold across all politicians, as exemplified by figures like Trump, who is known for frequently using intensifying terms, such as "great", often repeated in near proximity.

7.3.3 Engagement

The second main trend of appraisal meaning that can be identified in the ST is engagement, the ST contains 42 occurrences of engagement out of the total 199 appraisal meanings. The ST has explicit indicators of engagement such as modals "will probably", counter-expectancy markers "however", and reporting verbs "suggest". The ST exhibits the highest frequency of counter-expectancy indicators or discourse markers (18 out of 42, 42.8%) compared to reporting verbs and modals. These markers serve to alert the reader that attitudes (positive or negative) are at stake (Martin and White, 2005, p.67). Of the remaining occurrences, 17 (40.4%) are engagement modal occurrences, and reporting verbs are found in only seven (16.6%) occurrences (see Figure 7.3).

Many of the modal expressions found in the ST are subsumed under the category of obligation. For instance, the ST states: "The United States is not likely to regain its earlier hegemonic status, nor **should** it aspire to" (76). Additionally, it highlights a capacity system, exemplified by the statement: "The current administration **needs to** redeploy both resources and the attention of policymakers from elsewhere in order to deter geopolitical rivals and to engage with allies" (73-75).

Figure 7.3 Indicator of Engagement in the ST



This, in large part, can be attributed to Fukuyama's belief that his propositions to maintain the US hegemony over the world should be considered a commitment, rather than other possible actions. The ST also highlights the capabilities and duty of Americans to sustain their dominance. However, there are a few terms that represent the usuality, for example: "**normally**, a big external threat such as a global pandemic should be the occasion for citizens to rally around a common response" (29-30), which relates to the notion that external threats, such as the coronavirus, did not make Americans pull together.

The use of counter-expectancy is considered an indicator of engagement meanings, which include discourse markers, modal expressions, and attitudinal adverbs. Discourse markers such as "however" are rarely used in the ST, but more use is made of modal expressions such as "this only", and attitudinal adverbs such as "not just, even as". These indicators evoke the situation and show critical points when the writer makes a value judgement, whether by refuting what has come before or by emphasising a value (Munday, 2012, p.66). The ST counter-expectancy indicators reveal Fukuyama's negative view towards the effects of polarisation on American society, and the

results of American interventionism in foreign affairs.

Reporting verbs are a form of engagement meanings, which Fukuyama uses to assert his assumptions and positions. As indicated by Thompson (2014, p.75), a writer's position is asserted through his/her use of words with various levels of modal responsibility. Most of the reporting verbs in the ST "believe, see, and suggest" have a high to median degree of certainty, indicating Fukuyama's commitment to the idea of a decline of US hegemony over the world, and the truth value of his propositions in the ST. As Fairclough (2003) demonstrates, the use of reporting verbs is one way to show the speaker's level of commitment to a given issue.

7.4 Quantitative Results

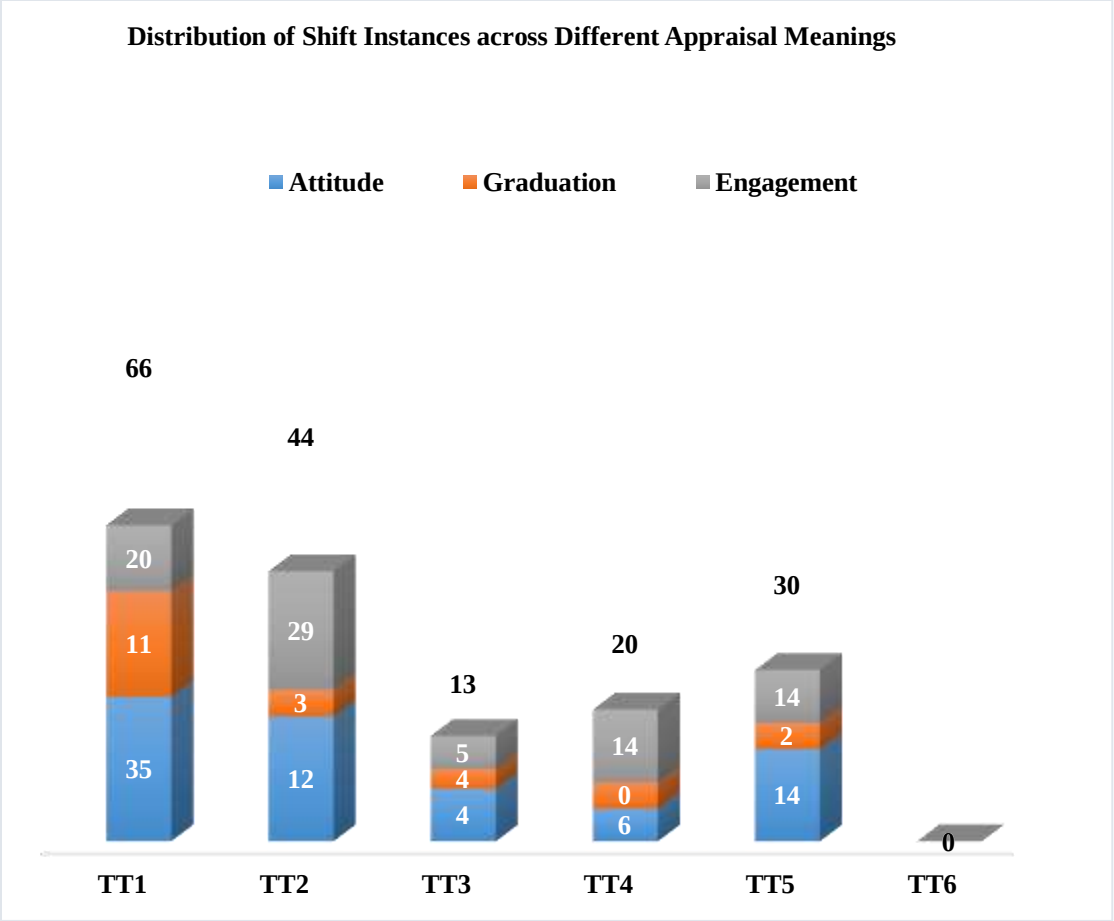
Table 7.2 Distribution of Appraisal Meanings in the ST & TTs

	ST	TT1	TT2	TT3	TT4	TT5	TT6
Attitude	126 (63.3%)	105 (65.6%)	127 (58.7%)	130 (61.9%)	130 (60.1%)	116 (61.7%)	126 (63.3%)
Graduation	31 (15.5%)	24 (15%)	30 (13.8%)	33 (15.7%)	31 (14.3%)	31 (16.4%)	31 (15.5%)
Engagement	42 (21.1%)	31 (19.3%)	59 (27.3%)	47 (22.3%)	55 (25.4%)	41 (21.8%)	42 (21.1%)
Total Appraisal meanings	199	160	216	210	216	188	199

Table 7. shows there are clear differences in the appraisal meanings between the ST and the TTs. Premised on a close comparison between the ST appraisal meanings and those of the TTs, there is a slightly higher number of appraisal meanings recorded in TT2, TT3, and TT4, accounting for 17, 11, and 17 Target Language appraisal meanings added, respectively. In TT1 and TT5, the total number of appraisal meanings is decreased compared to the ST's original 199 instances. TT6 has the same number of appraisal meanings as the ST (199).

Figure 7.4 shows the aggregate results of shift instances across the different appraisal meanings found in the TTs. The total number of appraisal meanings shifted in the TTs is 173 instances.

Figure 7.4 Distribution of Shift Instances across Different Appraisal Meanings



The analysis reveals a considerable number of shifts in attitudinal meanings across the six TTs, totalling 71 instances (41%), as illustrated in Figure 7.4. These shifts involve alterations in attitudinal meanings through various processes such as omission, addition, or replacement, all of which are addressed in the analysis. The prevalence of attitudinal meanings in the ST, where Fukuyama extensively employs attitude resources to express emotions, judgments, and appreciation, contributes to these shifts. A closer examination of attitudinal shifts highlights that most of these changes are associated with the sense of positive or negative valuation, security, and

capacity, which are prominent in the ST (refer to Figure 7.2). For example, in TT1, the term "counterinsurgency" was omitted, altering the sense of security conveyed in the text. Similarly, in TT3, the word وعاشت (and live) was included to augment the capacity of the statement regarding America's endurance following the withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975, despite experiencing a humiliating defeat. Fukuyama's sentiments regarding peace and concern about American hegemony, along with his assessments of America's abilities and current situation in the TTs, might diverge from those conveyed in the ST.

TT1, TT2, and TT5 show more attitudinal shifts (35, 12, and 14 instances, respectively) compared to TT3, TT4, and TT6 (4, 6, and 0 instances, respectively). Notably, TT1 and TT5 have more deletions (24 and 11 instances, respectively) than additions (3 and 1 instances, respectively), potentially diminishing the conveyance of the ST author's attitudes. This results in fewer appraised targets and less emphasis on appraisal words compared to the ST. In contrast, TT3 retains all attitudinal meanings from the ST and incorporates four additional ones, whereas TT4 introduces five new attitudinal meanings while eliminating only one. Adding attitudinal meanings enhances the translator's subjective stance and emphasises the author's attitudes. It is interesting to note that TT6 preserved ST attitudinal meanings without any shifts, accurately maintaining the author's intended stance and emotional impact. However, achieving complete preservation can be challenging due to linguistic and cultural differences, requiring careful decisions by translators to convey attitudes accurately in the target language.

Figure 7.4 shows minimal graduation shifts in the six translations, constituting only 20 instances (11.5% of 173 appraisal meaning shifts). The scarcity of graduation resources in the ST likely contributes to limited shifts in the TTs, indicating overall consistency among translators. TT1, however, stands out with 11 instances, primarily through omission (9 out of 11 instances). The

reduction in total graduation meanings in TT1 compared to the ST suggests a potential oversight in conveying the emphasis or importance of the attitude expressed. Omitting graduation instances may lead to a loss of the ST's intended impact, diminishing the strength of the expressed viewpoint. Given that graduation instances amplify the evaluative dimension of the text, such omissions in translation may result in a less emphatic expression of attitude in the target language. In contrast, TT3 shows a slight increase in total graduation meanings (33 instances, see Table 7.2). This rise may amplify the emotive or evaluative impact of the TT conveying stronger emphasis or intensity in the attitudes expressed in the target language. The decision in TT3 may be geared towards making the translation more expressive and compelling, effectively capturing the intended emotional and evaluative elements of the ST (see Examples 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6).

In the realm of other appraisal meanings, a notable trend emerges in engagement shifts, accounting for 82 shifts (47.3%) across the six TTs (see Figure 7.3). A closer look reveals that many of these engagement shifts involve the inclusion of counter-expectancy indicators, totalling 31 occurrences – an evident sign of translator intervention (Munday, 2012, p.66). TT2 exhibits a higher count of engagement shifts (29 instances) compared to TT3, which registers only five shifts (see Figure 7.3). Similarly, TT1 shows many engagement shifts, totalling 20 instances. Regarding tendencies, TT2, TT3, and TT4 add engagement indicators, while TT1 and TT5 have more engagement shifts through omission (17 and 9 instances, respectively) out of the total in each translation (20 and 14, respectively). The observed shifts suggest the possibility of differing translator stances, especially evident in TT1 and TT2, regarding US hegemony.

The difference in the frequency of appraisal meanings in the ST and TTs, may indicate the presence of shifts that can be attributed to translator interventions. As a result, it is pertinent to examine the renderings of each individual occurrence of the ST appraisal meanings to identify the positionality

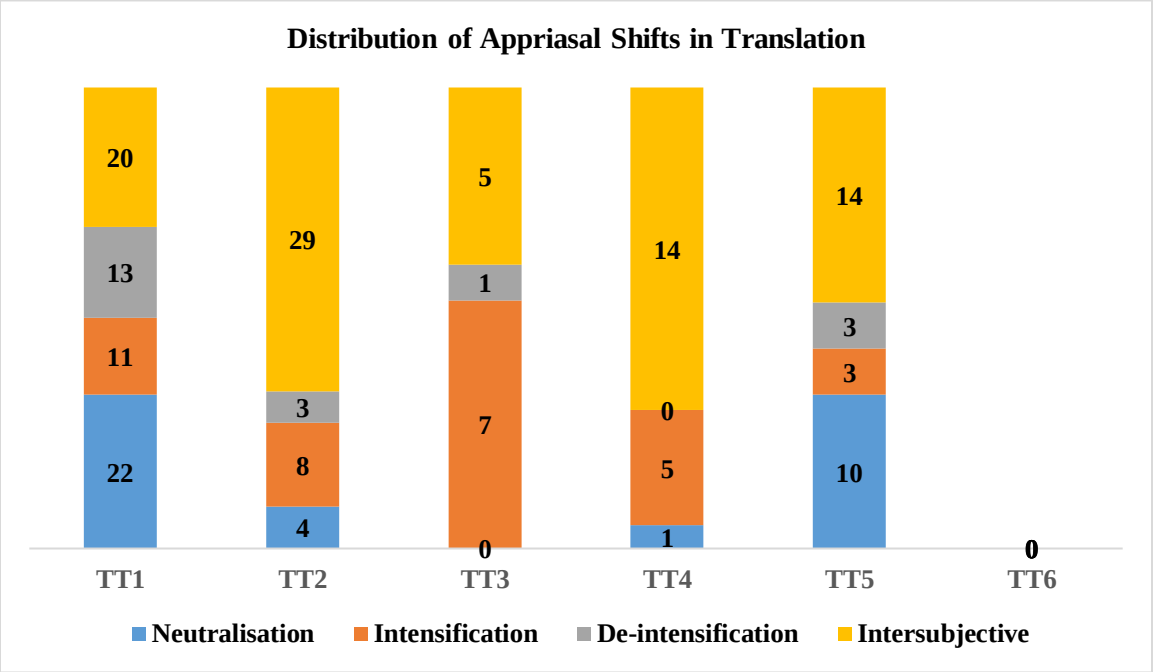
and ideological stances behind of these shifts that the six TTs exhibit. In the following section, I will classify the several types of appraisal meaning shifts detected in the TTs.

7.5 Types of Shifts in the ST Appraisal Meanings

Upon closely comparing the appraisal meanings in the ST with those in the TTs, more than 48.2% of the total appraisal meanings in the six TTs have experienced changes. This highlights the recurring nature of these shifts, which fall into four types as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6: naturalisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective (cf. Section 5.4 and 6.4).

Figure 7.5 shows the frequency of shifts and the total number of shifts in each translation. It shows that there are more appraisal meaning shifts identified with the intersubjective shift in the TTs, contrary to the other types (neutralisation, intensification, and de-intensification) which constitute fewer numbers of appraisal meaning shifts. By contrast, the small number of shifts of the de-intensification type, amounting to 20 out of 173 instances in the six TTs, denotes that the translators are somewhat consistent in preserving the intensity or forcefulness of the ST appraisal meanings. It is also worth noting that TT2 contains a higher number of intersubjective shifts, amounting to 29 occurrences, while most neutralisation, intensification, and de-intensification shifts can be found in TT1.

Figure 7.5 Distribution of Appraisal Shifts in Translation



After highlighting the frequencies of each type of shift in the six TTs, I will examine each type of shift in greater detail to identify the appraisal meanings that involve most shifts, the categories of the appraisal instances that are problematic in translation and the type of TL appraisal meanings that have entered the TTs.

7.5.1 Neutralisation Shift

There is a notable variation among the six translators regarding their preservation of the attitudinal meanings from the ST. Neutralisation shifts can be observed in all translations except for TT3 and TT6, as depicted in Figure 7.5. This type of shift is mostly manifested in the attitudinal meanings that belong to appreciation, while occurrences in affect and judgement are few. The total number of neutralisation shifts in the TTs is 37 instances, with 16 (43.2%) instances in appreciation and 21 (56.7%) instances in either affect or judgement.

Among the translations, TT1 exhibits the highest number of neutralisation shifts, accounting for 22 (59.4 %) out of the total 37 instances. In contrast, TT2, TT4 and TT5 have fewer instances of shifts, with four, one, and ten instances, respectively. TT1 has 13 occurrences of a neutralisation shift that occur in relation to appreciation, whereas TT2, TT4 and TT5 have one, zero, and two instances in appreciation, respectively.

The analysis indicates that valuation in the appreciation category and security in the affect category are the most omitted attitudinal regions in the TTs. This suggests that over half of the neutralisation shifts in the TTs stem from these categories, while being less common in other attitudinal regions. The omission of valuation is registered as the highest occurrence in TT1. With 22 omissions overall, TT1 has seven omission occurrences of valuation, while TT2 and TT5 only have one and three, respectively. Further, TT1 and TT5 each have four instances of omission pertaining to security, while TT2 has three. The omission of attitudinal regions relating to composition registers five instances, four of which are found in TT1, while the remaining instance is in TT5. By contrast, the TTs are more consistent in retaining this ST attitudinal meanings with other attitudinal regions, as only few instances of omission are found.

In TT1, TT2, and TT5, a few qualified clauses from the ST are not included. TT1 omits three clauses that contain attitudinal meanings, namely "humiliating defeat", "to be small" (20), and "short-term actions" (78). TT2 excludes an entire clause that includes the attitudinal meaning "many economic and cultural advantages" (22-23). Similarly, TT5 omits three qualified statements from the ST, which encompass five attitudinal meanings, including "friendly to democratic values", "short-term actions", and "its earlier hegemonic status" (76-78). These omissions underscore the importance of evaluating neutralisation shifts' impact on the overall assessment. This qualitative analysis provides deeper insights into how attitudinal nuances are treated in the

TTs, aiding in assessing their adherence to the ST. The following example can provide more insight into the attitudinal meaning that is more neutralised in the TTs:

Example 7.1

	Examples	Back-Translation
ST	There is more apparent consensus regarding China: both Republicans and Democrats agree it is a threat to democratic values. But this only **carries America** so far (53)	-
TT1	هناك إجماع بين الديمقراطيين والجمهوريين حول (الصين)، على أنها تشكل تهديدا للقيم الديمقراطية .	There is a consensus among Democrats and Republicans that (China) poses a threat to democratic values.
TT2	هناك توافق أكثر وضوحا فيما يتعلّق بالصين، فالجميع في الحزبين الجمهوري والديمقراطي يُجمِع على أن الصين تُمثِّل تهديدا للقيم الديمقراطية.	There is an even clearer consensus regarding China. Everyone in both the Republican and Democratic parties agrees that China is a threat to democratic values.
TT5	وهنالك إجماع أكثر وضوحا تجاه الصين. فالجمهوريون والديموقراطيون على السواء يتفقون على أنها تهدد القيم الديموقراطية.	There is an even clearer consensus on China. Republicans and Democrats alike agree that it threatens democratic values.

Fukuyama directly expresses the consensus among both Republicans and Democrats in the US regarding China's threat to democratic values. However, by omitting the phrase "but this only carries America so far" in TT1, TT2, and TT5, he indirectly suggests limitations in the shared perspective's impact or effectiveness. This omission leads to two shifts: an intersubjective shift by removing "but this only" and a neutralisation shift by omitting "carries America". This alteration significantly affects the conveyed meaning by removing the subtle limitation Fukuyama implies in the ST, thereby altering the register, tone, and interpersonal dynamics. Consequently, the omission impacts the textual coherence of the translated versions, reducing the conveyed complexity of Fukuyama's original message.

The examination of neutralisation shifts reveals a discernible trend among translators, notably in TT1 and TT5, where there is a tendency to mitigate negative evaluations concerning the details of the US regaining its dominance. More than half of the neutralisation shifts occur within the negative evaluation category, indicating a preference to downplay critical or unfavourable aspects. This truncation trend suggests that translators may seek to present a more positive or optimistic perspective, leading to the omission of negative attitudinal meanings. Therefore, their omission of negative evaluations may reflect an intention to convey a more favourable portrayal of the discussed details in the ST. This pattern is also evident in the cases where the most deleted attitudinal meanings in the ST are found in the TTs. Example is the following:

Example 7.2

		Examples	Back-translation
7.2	ST	The biggest policy debacle by President Joe Biden’s administration in its seven months in office has been its	-

		failure to plan adequately for the rapid collapse of Afghanistan. However **unseemly** that was, it does not speak […] (67-70)	
7.2a	TT1	كانت أكبر هزيمة سياسية لإدارة الرئيس "جو بايدن" خلال الأشهر السبعة، التي قضاها في الحكم، هو الفشل في التخطيط السليم لمنع سقوط أفغانستان السريع. على الرغم من أن قرار الانسحاب ، كان سليما.	The biggest policy defeat for President Joe Biden's administration during the seven months in office was the failure to properly plan for the rapid collapse of Afghanistan. Despite the decision to withdraw being sound.
7.2b	TT5	إخفاق إدارة بايدن في التخطيط الوافي لتلافي الانهيار السريع في أفغانستان شكل أكبر فشل لها خلال الشهور السبعة التي انقضت من فترة رئاسته في مجال رسم السياسات. لكن ربما سيتضح في النهاية أن الإنسحاب هو القرار الصائب.	The failure of the Biden administration to adequately plan and prevent the rapid collapse in Afghanistan represents its biggest policy failure during the first seven months of his presidency. But perhaps it will become clear in the end that withdrawal is the right decision.

The statement here directly expresses that the Biden administration's failure to plan for the rapid collapse of Afghanistan constitutes its biggest policy debacle. However, the phrase "However unseemly that was, it does not speak" seems to be an indirect expression or continuation of the argument, suggesting that while the failure in Afghanistan was significant, it does not necessarily define the administration entirely.

Omitting the term "unseemly" from TT1 and TT5 in Example 7.2 significantly impacts the conveyed meaning and tone of Fukuyama's criticism toward the administration's lack of preparedness. This term carries a negative connotation, suggesting behaviour that is improper or inappropriate. Its exclusion eliminates the negative evaluation associated with the administration's actions, resulting in a softened portrayal. Furthermore, the omission of this phrase in TTs leads to the loss of an indirect expression, altering the reader's perception of the severity or ethical implications of the situation. The choice to omit these elements may offer a more neutral interpretation of the events, diminishing the critical tone present in the ST.

Based on the available data, it is evident that TT2 exhibits omissions of positive assessments or evaluations of the US. As the following example illustrates:

Example 7.3

ST	TT2	Back-translation
America still has many economic and cultural advantages that few other countries can match (22-23)	Omitted	-

In Example 7.3, Fukuyama directly underscores the notion that the US maintains numerous unmatched economic and cultural advantages globally, highlighting America's exceptionalism across various dimensions. The omission of this statement in TT2 results in a loss of Fukuyama's positive assessment of the US, potentially leading to a less positive portrayal in the target language. This omission could influence the reader's perception of Fukuyama's attitude towards the US and alter the experiential, interpersonal, and textual aspects of the text.

The analysis reveals that the translations, notably in TT1 and TT5, tend to downplay negative aspects, which are considered indirect expressions, indicating a preference for a more positive portrayal of topics such as the US regaining dominance and policy decisions. The omission of nuanced limitations, such as in the phrase "but this only carries America so far", simplifies the meaning and affects the tone and formality of the translated versions. Additionally, the exclusion of negative terms like "unseemly" softens criticism of the administration's actions. Conversely, the omission of positive assessments, as seen in TT2 where praise for the US's economic and cultural advantages is excluded, leads to a less optimistic portrayal. These shifts impact interpersonal dynamics and textual coherence, reflecting an intent to convey a favourable depiction of Fukuyama's content.

7.5.2 Intensification and De-intensification Shifts

Both intensification and de-intensification shifts involve altering the appraisal meanings (attitude and graduation systems) of the ST. These shifts are typically enacted through three main strategies: including or excluding grading words, substituting the original appraisal resources with words that convey stronger or weaker evaluations, and reinforcing or diminishing evaluation through addition or omission. The frequency of intensification shifts outweighs that of de-intensification shifts in the six TTs, with intensification occurring 34 times compared to 20 instances of de-intensification. The prevalence of intensification shifts suggests that translators often choose to express the evaluations of the ST more explicitly or clearly. By employing techniques such as using stronger language or emphasising specific attitudes, translators aim to effectively convey the evaluative stance and impact of the ST to the target audience.

The analysis reveals that TT1 exhibits a slightly higher number of shifts in both intensification and de-intensification categories. Out of the total 66 appraisal shifts, TT1 accounts for 11 instances of

intensification and 13 instances of de-intensification. By comparison, the other TTs show a different pattern or trend in terms of the frequency of these shifts. Table 7.3 details the instances of intensification and de-intensification of the ST appraisal meanings in the TTs.

Table 7.3 The Frequency of Intensification & De-intensification in the TTs

	TT1	TT2	TT3	TT4	TT5	TT6	Total
Intensification	11	8	7	5	3	0	34
De-intensification	13	3	1	0	3	0	20
Total	24	11	8	5	6	0	54

TT1 stands out with 24 occurrences of these shifts, while TT2, TT3, TT4, TT5, and TT6 employ them less frequently. This could suggest that the translator of TT1 may have made choices to modify the impact or emphasis of certain attitudes in the ST. Conversely, in TT6, there is a distinct absence of explicit emphasis or alteration of the evaluative tone found in the ST. This discrepancy may indicate that the translator of TT6 adopted a different approach to the translation process, potentially opting for a more literal rendering of ST attitudinal meanings.

In the TTs, intensification shifts are found in the reflection of ST attitudinal meanings, with 26 out of 34 occurrences related to valuation and security. The remaining intensification shifts are observed in graduation words, employing grading words in eight instances. These shifts become apparent when statements emphasise the impact of America's interest in external crises over internal problems, aiming to persuade the audience.

Unlike neutralisation shifts, which diminish negative evaluations, intensification shifts employ stronger language or emphasis to persuade the audience of the importance of America's emphasis on external crises, particularly considering the heightened divisions and increased polarisation in American society. The nuanced use of intensification shifts may contribute to the translator's

strategic choices in shaping the evaluative aspects of the content. The following examples can be seen as evidence of an intensification of attitude in the TTs associated with these matters:

Example 7.4

		Examples	Back-translation
7.4	ST	The much bigger challenge to America's global standing is domestic: American society is deeply polarised, and has found it **difficult** to find consensus on virtually anything (24-25)	-
7.4a	TT1	التحدي الأعظم لمكانة الولايات المتحدة العالمية، ينبع من الداخل؛ فالاستقطاب في المجتمع الأمريكي عميق، وأصبح **تقريبا من المستحيل** الوصول إلى إجماع على أي شيء.	The greatest challenge to the global standing of the United States arises from within. The polarisation within American society runs deep, making **it nearly impossible** to achieve consensus on anything.
7.4b	TT2	إن التحدي الأكبر الذي يُهدِّد مكانة أميركا في العالم -بحسب تقديري - هو العامل المحلي. يشهد المجتمع الأميركي استقطابا حادا، ويجد **صعوبة بالغة** في التوصُّل إلى اتفاق حول كل شيء تقريبا.	The biggest challenge that threatens America's global standing, in my estimation, is the domestic factor. American society is intensely polarised and finds it **extremely difficult** to come to an agreement on almost everything.
7.4c	TT3	لعل التحدي الأكبر بكثير لمكانة أميركا العالمية هو تحدٍ محلي، حيث المجتمع الأميركي مستقطب	Perhaps the far greater challenge to America's global standing is a domestic challenge, where

		بشدة، وقد وجد **صعوبة بالغة** في العثور على الإجماع على أي شيء تقريبًا.	American society is deeply polarised and has found it **extremely difficult** to find consensus on almost anything.
7.4b	TT5	التحدي الأكبر لمكانة أمريكا الدولية محلي. فالمجتمع الأمريكي مستقطَب بشدة ويجد **عنتا ومشقة في** التوافق على أي شيء تقريبا.	The biggest challenge to America's international standing is domestic. It finds **difficulty and hardship** in reaching agreement on almost anything.

In this statement, Fukuyama highlights a significant challenge to America's global standing: deep internal polarisation within American society. He stresses that this internal division poses a substantial obstacle, as the difficulty in finding consensus on any issue adds to the complexity of the challenge. These factors significantly affect America's global influence and standing.

The translations (TT1, TT2, TT3, and TT4) employ different strategies to intensify the negative impact of polarisation. In TT1, the translator replaces the negative term "difficult" with تقريبا من المستحيل (nearly impossible), conveying a stronger negative connotation. While "difficult" suggests a challenge, (impossible) implies an insurmountable situation. This change implies that it is not just challenging for Americans to agree but nearly impossible in light of the degree of social polarisation. In TT2 and TT3, the negative view of polarisation is strengthened by adding the intensifier بالغة (extremely) to the negative term "difficult". In TT5, the translator further sharpens this evaluation by introducing the negative term عنتا (hardship) to the statement ويجد عنتا ومشقة في التوافق على أي شيء تقريبا (It finds difficulty and hardship in reaching agreement on almost anything).

Example 7.5

ST	TT3	Back-translation
Polarisation has already **damaged** America's global influence (60)	لقد ألحق الاستقطاب مسبقاً **ضرراً بليغاً** بتأثير أميركا على المسرح العالمي.	Polarisation has already **seriously damaged** America's influence on the world stage.

Example 7.5 is another example of an intensification shift related to polarisation in American society, found in TT3. Fukuyama admits that domestic polarisation has already damaged Washington's global influence; the deep divisions and lack of consensus on various issues have weakened the unity and coherence of the country, which in turn can affect its ability to project a strong and unified stance on the international stage. The addition of بليغاً (seriously) intensifies the negative impact of polarisation, emphasising its significant and severe consequences. This amplification underscores the substantial damage to America's global influence, emphasising the severity of the situation.

Similarly, when Fukuyama emphasises the end of the unipolar era and the return to a state of multipolarity, he suggests that nations such as China, Russia, India, Europe, and others are strengthening and asserting themselves globally, thereby increasing their power relative to the US. The translators intensified this evaluation by introducing the intensifier مزيد, or المزيد (more) in TT1, TT3, and TT5 in Example 7.6:

Example 7.6

		Examples	Back-translation
7.6	ST	And the world has been reverting to a more normal state of multipolarity ever since, with China, Russia, India, Europe and other centres gaining **power** relative to America (17-19)	

7.6a	TT1	وبدأ العالم في التحول إلى حالة طبيعية من تعدد الأقطاب مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا، ومراكز أخرى في العالم، **مزيد من القوى.**	The world began to transition to a natural state of multipolarity as China, Russia, India, Europe, and other centers of the world gained **more powers**.
7.6b	TT3	وكان العالم يعود إلى حالة أكثر طبيعية من التعددية القطبية منذ ذلك الحين، مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا ومراكز أخرى في العالم **المزيد من القوة** مقارنة بأميركا.	The world has been returning to a more normal state of multipolarity since then, with China, Russia, India, Europe, and other centers of the world gaining **more power** than America.
7.6c	TT5	لكن العالم بعد ذلك عاد إلى التعددية القطبية الأكثر عادية مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا والمراكز الأخرى **المزيد من النفوذ** قياسا بأمريكا	But then the world returned to a more normal multipolarity, with China, Russia, India, Europe, and other centers gaining **more influence** than America.

This addition accentuates the idea that these nations are gaining power to a greater extent, implying a significant increase in their strength and influence compared to America. Additionally, TT5 translates "power" as نفوذ (influence), suggesting a detailed interpretation that includes soft power and influence, rather than solely military or economic dominance.

Intensification shifts contribute to a more expressive and emphatic presentation of the issues discussed by Fukuyama. These shifts impact the register by altering the tone and intensity of the language used. Additionally, they influence the metafunction analysis by emphasising certain aspects, shaping the reader's understanding of the severity and significance of the described phenomena.

De-intensification shifts are less frequent in the translated texts compared to intensification shifts, with TT1 containing the highest number of such changes (13 out of 20 instances). These shifts often occur in relation to graduation meanings, specifically in 12 out of 20 instances. They involve

the deletion or substitution of appraisal meanings, or the shifting of grading words, particularly when the ST contains intensifiers. The following example illustrates how appraisal meanings can be de-intensified by the omission of intensifiers:

Example 7.7

		Examples	Back-translation
7.7.1	ST	There is **more apparent consensus** regarding China (52)	-
7.7.1a	TT1	هناك **إجماع** بين الديمقراطيين والجمهوريين حول (الصين)	There is a **consensus** between Democrats and Republicans on (China).
7.7.2	ST	That appeal has been **greatly diminished** (62-63)	-
7.7.2a	TT1	**تضاءلت** الجاذبية الأمريكية	The American appeal **diminished**.
7.7.3	ST	the Democrats constitute **a bigger threat** to the American way of life than does Russia (47-48)	-
7.7.3a	TT3	الديمقراطيين يشكلون **تهديداً** لطريقة الحياة الأميركية أكثر من روسيا نفسها	The Democrats pose **a threat** to the American way of life more than Russia itself.

Comparatives and superlatives in Arabic function similarly to English, with differences in usage and construction. Arabic comparatives employ أكثر (more), while superlatives use الأكثر (the most), enabling effective degrees of comparison (Ryding, 2005, p.246-254). In the ST, intensifiers "more, greatly, and bigger" preceding positive or negative attitudinal meanings "threat, apparent".

During translation into Arabic, translators may opt to omit these intensifiers to maintain readability and fluency, aligning with Arabic linguistic conventions while preserving the intended evaluative stance of the ST. This strategic choice harmonises with linguistic norms and the overarching goal

of conveying intended attitudes and meanings without replicating every linguistic detail. Abbadi's comparative study (2014, p.773) of Arabic and English newspaper editorials identified variations in intensifier usage, suggesting that English editorials use them more frequently than their Arabic counterparts. Consequently, translators' decisions to retain or omit intensifiers may reflect their interpretation of language subtleties and the desired stylistic impact in the TT.

The decision to maintain intensifiers in certain instances suggests translators' considerations of audience comprehension and readability, as observed in the example provided: "The long-term sources of American weakness and decline are **more** domestic than international" (4-5), where all six TTs maintain the presence of the intensifier "more" from the ST.

In translating sensitive or emotionally charged texts, language choice plays a crucial role in shaping the tone and impact of the message conveyed. This is particularly evident in instances where the translation involves discussing potential military conflicts or sacrifices.

Example 7.8

ST	TT2	Back-translation
Will the United States be willing to sacrifice **its sons and daughters** on behalf of that island's independence? (54-55)	هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة على استعداد للتضحية **بأبنائها** لمصلحة الدفاع عن استقلال تلك الجزيرة، أي تايوان؟	Will the United States be willing to sacrifice **its own people** in order to defend the independence of that island, that is, Taiwan?

An example of this can be seen in the translation of a statement regarding the US' stance on potential conflicts involving Taiwan and Ukraine. In the ST, the phrase "its sons and daughters" carries a strong emotional resonance, invoking imagery of sacrifice and familial ties. However, in TT2, this phrase is replaced with بأبنائها (its own people), reflecting a notable de-intensification and

a shift away from the emotional metaphor present in the ST. This alteration in language choice not only tones down the intensity of the statement but also subtly changes the emotional impact, highlighting the importance of linguistic subtleties in translation.

The de-intensification shifts in the Arabic translations of Fukuyama's text involve omitting intensifiers found in the ST, addressing challenges in conveying these linguistic elements in Arabic while focusing on readability and fluency. This strategic decision is influenced by language differences and the translators' interpretation of audience expectations, contributing to the preservation of the essential evaluative stance of the ST. While the impact on register and metafunction analysis may lead to potential tonal shifts, presenting evaluations that are less emphatic compared to the ST, the variations in the treatment of intensifiers suggest that their omission is not systematic. Some translators may choose to retain intensifiers when they are deemed appropriate for conveying specific nuances or stylistic impacts in the target language. This underscores the complexity and context-specific nature of translation decisions.

7.5.3 Intersubjective Shift

Intersubjective shifts refer to any instance of shift that changes the authorial position (engagement) of a ST by deletion or addition. Authorial position refers to the translator's attitude toward an object and the relative position the translator allows the receiver (Munday, 2012, p.33). As previously stated, engagement indicators may be categorised into counter-expectancy, modality, and reporting verbs; in the case of this ST, counter-expectancy and modality dominate (18 and 17 instances, respectively, of the total 42 engagement indicators), with only seven instances reporting verbs. In the TTs, the intersubjective shifts are most noticeable in relation to counter-expectancy, with only a few shifts in other types of engagement indicators.

The analysis of the six TTs shows that there are 48 occurrences of intersubjective shift that occur in counter-expectancy, 24 occurrences in modality, and ten in reporting verbs; the number of shifts of this type ranges from 29 in TT2 to six in TT3, and the overall total of 82 makes intersubjective shifts the most frequent of all appraisal elements that undergo shifts in translation.

7.5.3.1 Counter-expectancy

Among all the shifting indicators of engagement in the TTs, counter-expectancy stands out as the most prominent one, which is considered the clearest form of extension and intervention into the TTs by the translator (Munday, 2012, p.66). Counter-expectancy occurs when the translator introduces information or ideas that are unexpected or surprising based on the ST or the reader's expectations. This can be a strategy used by the translator to draw attention to certain aspects of the text, constituting "acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such (dialogic contraction)" (Martin and White, 2005, p.102).

As can be noted from the analysis, the TTs exhibit a loss of ST counter-expectancy indicators, or discourse markers in some cases. The TTs exclude 16 counter-expectancy indicators or discourse markers from the ST (eight in TT1, four in TT2, and four in TT5). The ST contains modal particles, attitudinal adverbs, and discourse marker, but some of them are removed in the TTs. For instance, in Example 7.1, the ST phrase "But this only carries America so far" includes counter-expectancies – "but" (discourse marker) and "this only" (comment adjuncts), both of which are omitted in TT1, TT2, and TT5.

Omitting "But this only" removes a crucial qualifier from the statement, resulting in an intersubjective shift. This omission eliminates a nuanced perspective implied by the phrase, impacting the register, altering tone and formality, and influencing the metafunction analysis by

changing the interpersonal dynamics and textual coherence of the translations (see Example 7.1).

Furthermore, the omission of the last clause of the ST in TT1 and TT5 further contributes to the reduction of contrast and contraction in the TTs.

Example 7.9

		Examples	Back-translation
7.9	ST	Whether it can do this will depend not on short-term actions in Kabul, but on recovering a sense of national identity and purpose at home (78-79).	
7.9a	TT1	Omitted	-
7.9b	TT5	Omitted	-

In this statement, Fukuyama emphasises that the US's ability to regain global standing is not solely dependent on short-term actions in Kabul but also relies on addressing internal challenges and fostering national identity. Omitting the sentence containing "but" in TT1 and TT5 would not only remove the contrasting element but also the entire perspective that follows, resulting in a loss of nuance and depth. This omission could compromise the coherence and depth of the TT, potentially leading to a less nuanced understanding of Fukuyama's argument. This finding aligns with Phanthaphoommee's (2019) research on translation shifts in speeches by Thai General Prayut Chan-o-cha, where similar omissions of conditional clauses were observed, diminishing expectancy reduction and altering the intended impact of the ST statements.

Another omission of counter-expectancy indicators found in TT1, TT2, and TT5, worth specific consideration, is shown in the following example:

Example 7.10

		Examples	Back-translation
7.10	ST	Will the United States be willing to sacrifice its sons and daughters on behalf of that island's independence? **Or indeed**, would the United States risk military conflict with Russia should the latter invade Ukraine? (54-57)	
7.10a	TT1	هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة، مستعدة للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ **أو** هل ستخاطر الولايات المتحدة بنزاع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت الأخيرة أوكرانيا؟	Will the United States be willing to sacrifice its sons and daughters for the independence of that island? **Or** would the United States risk a military conflict with Russia if the latter invaded Ukraine?
7.10b	TT2	هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها لمصلحة الدفاع عن استقلال تلك الجزيرة، أي تايوان؟ والسؤال الآخر هو: هل تُخاطر الولايات المتحدة بالدخول في صراع عسكري مع روسيا لو قرَّرت هذه الأخيرة غزو أوكرانيا؟	Will the United States be willing to sacrifice its own people in order to defend the independence of that island, that is, Taiwan? The other question is: Would the United States risk entering a military conflict with Russia if the latter decided to invade Ukraine?
7.10c	TT5	فهل ستكون أمريكا حينها على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ وهل حقا ستخاطر الولايات المتحدة بالدخول في صراع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت أوكرانيا؟	Will America then be willing to sacrifice its sons and daughters for the independence of that island? Would the United States really risk entering into a military conflict with Russia if it invaded Ukraine?

In this example, Fukuyama uses the attitudinal adverb "indeed" to assert his viewpoint and exclude alternative perspectives, emphasising the significance of the questions posed regarding US actions in potential conflicts. These questions underscore strategic considerations and decisions in maintaining global commitments and responding to threats.

The term "indeed" confirms the importance of the preceding question, particularly regarding the potential military conflict with Russia. It strengthens the validity of the question and signals the author's certainty (Martin and White, 2005, p.127). However, in TT1, TT2, and TT5, translators omit "indeed" from the clause, suggesting a choice to present alternative propositions without limiting interpretation for readers.

The omission of counter-expectancy indicators or discourse markers, particularly in TT1 and TT5, may align with the translator's choice to minimise negative evaluations in the translation, as previously discussed (see Section 7.5.1). This might be reasoned on the basis the translator deletes those phrases that include a negative assessment towards the US, and also those which contain indicators of a negative expectation.

A total of 31 counter-expectancy indicators or discourse markers were inserted into the translations, with TT4 containing the majority (ten instances). Notably, "but" or "however" were the most frequently added markers, represented in Arabic as ولك (walaak), لكن (lakin), بل (bal), or ومع ذلك (wama'a thalik). According to the analysis, the counter-expectancy indicators or discourse markers inserted within the TTs function as conjunction components to establish a logico-semantic connections between propositions. In this way, counter-expectancy indicators help to establish coherence and cohesion in the translated text. They create a link between different propositions, making it easier for the reader to follow the argument or narrative (Hatim and Mason, 1997, pp.55-63). As such, conjunctions can interact with the meaning of texts by presenting discourse as a wave

of information and by construing experience as sequences of (ideational) acts (Martin and Rose, 2007, p.116). Such conjunctions play a key role in constructing the meaning of a text. By using conjunctions to link clauses, sentences, and paragraphs, speakers and writers create cohesion and coherence in the discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). One hypothesis, based on the limited findings of this thesis, is that translators tend to make implicit textual links in the ST explicit in the TTs. This is done to ensure accurate meaning conveyance to the reader, which may also reflect the translator's interpretation. This hypothesis is supported by several examples, such as the following:

Example 7.11

		Examples	Back-translation
7.11	ST	The degree of unipolarity in this period has been relatively rare in history, and the world has been reverting to a more normal state of multipolarity ever since, with China, Russia, India, Europe, and other centres gaining power relative to America. Afghanistan's ultimate effect on geopolitics is likely to be small. America survived an earlier, humiliating defeat when it withdrew from Vietnam in 1975, but it quickly regained its dominance within a little more than a decade, and today it works with Vietnam to curb Chinese expansionism. America still has many economic and cultural advantages that few other countries can match (17-23).	
7.11a	TT1	في تلك الفترة كانت الأحادية القطبية قد بدأت في التراجع، وبدأ العالم في التحول إلى حالة طبيعية من تعدد الأقطاب مع	In that period, unipolarity had begun to decline, and the

		اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا ومراكز أخرى في العالم، مزيد من القوى. **ولكن**، تظل أمريكا تتمتع بالعديد من المزايا الاقتصادية، والثقافية التي لا تمتلكها العديد من الدول.	world began to turn into a natural state of multipolarity, with China, Russia, India, Europe, and other centers in the world gaining more powers. **However**, America still enjoys many economic and cultural advantages that many countries do not have.

In this example, Fukuyama discusses the transition from unipolarity to multipolarity, highlighting the emergence of China, Russia, India, and Europe as powerful entities relative to the US. He draws parallels with historical events like the US' withdrawal from Vietnam, emphasising the nation's ability to rebound. Despite changing global dynamics, Fukuyama asserts that the US retains economic and cultural advantages unmatched by others, suggesting continued strength in these areas.

In the ST, a logico-semantic link is marked implicitly by not introducing any explicit conjunction. It might not need to be explicitly indicated, as it may be easier for the source audience to understand that from the context. In contrast, TT1 employs the conjunction ولكن (however or but), which explicitly marks the logical and semantic link between propositions by denoting a denial of expectation (Lakoff, 1971). This addition may improve the TTs readability by explaining that the first proposition implies an assumption contradicted by the second.

In this instance, the translator excludes the proposition discussing Afghanistan's limited impact and the US' resilience, opting instead for ولكن (however) in TT1. This choice clarifies Fukuyama's assumption on the shift from unipolarity to multipolarity, explicitly introducing the idea of

enduring US economic and cultural advantages. Adding ولكن (however) enhances formality, readability, and clarity, impacting the register while marking the logical connection between propositions.

In some cases, the conjunction لكن (but) is also used in the TTs to indicate a contrast between two propositions or ideas. In other words, لكن (but) can introduce a statement that contradicts or contrasts with a previous one, as illustrated below:

Example 7.12

		Examples	Back-translation
7.12	ST	During the Obama years, Republicans took a hawkish stance and castigated the Democrats for the Russian “reset” and alleged naïveté regarding President Putin. Former President Trump turned the tables by openly embracing Mr. Putin (44-46).	
7.12	TT5	ففي سنوات أوباما اتخذ الجمهوريون مواقف متشددة ووبخوا الديموقراطيين على "مراجعة السياسة الأمريكية " تجاه روسيا. وزعموا أن تعاملهم يتسم بالسذاجة فيما يخص الرئيس بوتين. **لكن** الرئيس السابق ترامب قلب الطاولة بترحيبه العلني ببوتين	In the Obama years, the Republicans took hard positions and reprimanded the Democrats for "reviewing American policy" towards Russia. They claimed [the Democrats were] naive about President Putin. **But** former President Trump turned the tables by publicly welcoming Putin

Fukuyama notes the political shift towards Russia under Obama and Trump. Republicans criticised Democrats for their approach to Russia, including the reset policy. However, Trump's embrace of

Putin marked a reversal of the previous Republican stance. The use of the conjunction لكن (but) in TT5 establishes a contrastive relationship between two clauses. It guides the reader to discern the contrast between the propositions. This addition elucidates the contrasting nature of the political stances presented. In TT5, لكن (but) impacts the register by adding formality and explicitness to the contrastive relationship. It also facilitates clarity for the target audience, guiding them through Fukuyama's contrasting perspectives on the political shifts.

In line with the explicitation hypothesis (El-Nashar, 2016) in translation studies, the TTs also employ the conjunction لكن (but) in certain instances. This linguistic addition aims to make implicit expectations or assumptions in the ST more explicit in the TTs. For example:

Example 7.13

		Examples	Back-translation
7.13	ST	The horrifying images of desperate Afghans trying to get out of Kabul this week after the United States-backed government collapsed have evoked a major juncture in world history, as America turned away from the world. The truth of the matter is that the end of the American era had come much earlier (1-4).	
7.13a	TT2	لا شك أن الصور المُرعبة التي انتشرت هذا الأسبوع للأفغان وهم يستميتون للخروج من كابول، في أعقاب انهيار الحكومة التي كانت تدعمها الولايات المتحدة، مَثَّلت لحظة فارقة في التاريخ، وبداية لحقبة نأي أميركا بنفسها عن	There is no doubt that the horrific images that circulated this week of Afghans desperate to get out of Kabul, in the wake of the collapse of the government that the United States supported, represented a

		العالم. **ولكن** في حقيقة الأمر، فإن نهاية حقبة سيطرة أميركا حصلت قبل هذه اللحظة بكثير.	defining moment in history, and the beginning of an era of America distancing itself from the world. **But** in fact, the end of America's era of hegemony took place long before this moment.

In this example, Fukuyama suggests recent events in Afghanistan mark a significant shift in US global engagement, though he argues the decline of the US began earlier. By stating "the truth of the matter is", Fukuyama implies a longstanding decline in US influence, reflecting changing global dynamics. The addition of ولكن (but) in TT2 explicitly conveys the contrast between propositions, clarifying the author's intended meaning (Abdelraheem and Al-Khatib, 2016, p.172). El-Nashar (2016) conducted a comparison between the translation of an official document, specifically the *Policies and Procedures Manual for Support Staff* from English to Arabic. In his analysis, he observed that the Arabic translation consistently used conjunctions in every new sentence, even in cases where the English ST did not contain corresponding conjunctions. This finding emphasises the prevalent use of explicitation strategies by Arabic translators. This addition in TT2 enhances formality, provides explicit contrast, and aids clarity. Metafunctionally, it guides readers through contrasting viewpoints, improving coherence and conveying logical relationships.

7.5.3.2 Modality

Modality, as highlighted by Badran (2001, p.49), is a linguistic tool used to reflect individuals' perceptions of reality in alignment with their ideologies. It serves as a means for authors to express their degree of commitment to the truth of their propositions and their views on the desirability of referred states of affairs (Fowler, 1996, pp.166-7). Through modal expressions, speakers and

writers convey levels of certainty, possibility, necessity, obligation, or probability associated with their statements, thus indicating their stance and commitment. This not only imparts factual information but also reflects the evaluative and subjective dimension of language, allowing individuals to express personal perspectives, judgments, and attitudes towards discussed events, situations, or ideas.

The use of modal expressions is the most prominent form of engagement in both the ST and TTs, with modality being a key indicator of engagement. Modality shifts, through deletion or addition, are evident in the analysis of the TTs. TT2 shows the highest number of modality shifts (ten instances), possibly indicating systematic adjustments by translators to the degree of commitment or evaluative stance from the ST. Conversely, TT3 and TT4 exhibit fewer modality shifts, but they may still follow a systematic pattern. Notably, TT2 and TT4 display a higher degree of explicit modality compared to the ST, potentially enhancing the expression of certainty in the translation, as shown in the next examples:

Example 7.14

ST	TT2	Back-translation
The horrifying images of desperate Afghans trying to get out of Kabul this week after the United States-backed government collapsed have evoked a major juncture in world history, as America turned away from the world (1-3)	**لا شك أن** الصور المُرعبة التي انتشرت هذا الأسبوع للأفغان وهم يستميتون للخروج من كابول، في أعقاب انهيار الحكومة التي كانت تدعمها الولايات المتحدة، مَثَّلت لحظة فارقة في التاريخ، وبداية لحقبة نأي أميركا بنفسها عن العالم.	**There is no doubt** that the horrific images circulating this week of Afghans desperate to get out of Kabul, following the collapse of the US-backed government, represented a defining moment in history, and the beginning of an era of

		America's disassociation from the world
but just how influential it will be depends on its ability to fix its internal problems, rather than its foreign policy (5-6).	غير أن مدى فاعلية هذا النفوذ سيعتمد **بالطبع** على قدرتها على حل قضاياها الداخلية وليس مراجعة سياساتها الخارجية.	However, the extent of the effectiveness of this influence will depend, **of course**, on its ability to solve its internal issues and not review its foreign policies.

In TT2, the translator includes the modal adjunct لا شك أن (there is no doubt), emphasising strong affirmation or assertion of the statement's truth. This addition leaves no room for uncertainty, reinforcing the unquestionable truth or widely accepted nature of the information provided. Additionally, the adverbial phrase بالطبع (of course) is introduced, intensifying the sense of certainty and indicating that the proposition is obvious or common knowledge. A similar conclusion was reached in the work of Vandepitte (2011, p.287), who used the appraisal theory to compare two Dutch translations (from 1860 and 2000) of Charles Darwin's on the *Origins of Species* (1859). The findings show that Darwin uses various epistemic clauses to convey different degrees of certainty. There are six more examples of modal addition in TT2 that support this certainty claim. Also, the translator of TT4 twice inserts the adverbial phrase في الحقيقة (in fact) into the translation, as shown.

Example 7.15

ST	TT4	Back-translation
The long-term sources of American weakness and decline are more domestic than international (4-5)	ولكن الأسباب طويلة المدى للضعف والانحدار الامريكي هي **في الحقيقة** محلية أكثر منها دولية	But the long-term causes of American weakness and decline are **in fact** more domestic than international

Normally, a big external threat such as a global pandemic should be the occasion for citizens to rally around a common response; the covid-19 crisis served rather to deepen America's divisions (29-30)	في العادة، يجب أن يكون حدوث تهديد خارجي كبير مثل تفشي جائحة عالمية، على سبيل المثال، بمثابة فرصة للمواطنين للالتفاف حول مواجهة مشتركة لمثل هذا التهديد؛ لكن أزمة كوفيد-19 أدت **في الحقيقة** إلى تعميق الانقسامات في المجتمع الامريكي	Ordinarily, the occurrence of a major external threat such as a global pandemic, for example, should be an opportunity for citizens to rally around a common response to such a threat; But the COVID-19 crisis has **in fact** deepened divisions in American society

As can be seen in these examples, the translator adds في الحقيقة (in fact) to emphasise the truth of the propositions, which are that the US' weakness and the source of its decline are internal, rather than external, and that the Covid-19 crisis is has not united Americans around a common response as might have been expected, but is instead deepening existing divisions. These shifts in TT2 and TT4 make the translations sound more certain than the ST, giving the impression that Fukuyama is more confident in his opinions than he was in the ST.

However, TT3 tends to express less certainty than the ST does by adding the adverb لعل (perhaps) twice, which is used to express uncertainty or possibility about the ST's proposition. For example:

Example 7.16

ST	TT3	Back-translation
The much bigger challenge to America's global standing is domestic (24)	**لعل** التحدي الأكبر بكثير لمكانة أميركا العالمية هو تحدٍ محلي.	**Perhaps** the far greater challenge to America's global standing is a domestic one
The United States is not likely to regain its earlier hegemonic status, nor should it aspire to. What it can hope for is to	من غير المرجح أن تستعيد الولايات المتحدة مكانتها المهيمنة السابقة، ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح إلى ذلك. **ولعل** ما يمكنها أن تأمل فيه هو الحفاظ، مع	The United States is not likely to regain its former dominant position, nor should it aspire to do so. **Perhaps** what it can

sustain, with like-minded countries, a world order friendly to democratic values (76-78)	البلدان ذات التفكير المماثل، على نظام عالمي صديق للقيم الديمقراطية.	hope for is the preservation, with like-minded countries, of a world order friendly to democratic values.

The modals highlighted in bold provide an evaluation of probability, considering alternative situations (Martin and White, 2005, pp.108-109). These examples indicate the author's strongly implied certainty. However, in TT3, the translator reduces this certainty by employing the hedging word لعل (perhaps), signalling uncertainty or probability. This addition suggests that the information may not be definitive, allowing for alternative interpretations or outcomes. By using لعل (perhaps), the translator conveys a sense of possibility rather than certainty in the TT.

The shifts observed in TT2 and TT4 serve to enhance the certainty of the propositions from the ST, thereby reducing the space for alternative voices in the TTs. Conversely, the translator of TT3 introduces modality to diminish the certainty expressed in the ST.

7.5.3.3 Reporting Verbs

Reporting verbs serve as key indicators of engagement, signalling the presence of evaluation in the text (Thompson and Yiyun, 1991, p.369). In Fukuyama's work, these verbs assert his assumptions and positions, reflecting his level of confidence in the statements made. Additionally, reporting verbs are utilised to shape the audience's understanding and interpretation of the text, attempting to control their response (Munday, 2015, p.9). Thompson (2014, p.75) further emphasises that a writer's position is communicated through the use of words with varying levels of modal responsibility. In the ST, various reporting verbs are employed (seven occurrences), attributing statements to different external voices with varying degrees of certainty. This diversity reflects the author's choice to ground the propositions "as grounded in the subjectivity of these

external voices" (Martin and White, 2005, p.98). By attributing statements to specific sources, the author enhances the credibility and authority of their claims.

The author employs reporting verbs such as "believe", "see", and "agree" to express a high degree of certainty in the associated statements he makes. These reporting verbs indicate the author's claim of the truth value of his propositions regarding various aspects of the conflict surrounding the result of the 2020 US election, the ensuring dispute between the supporters of the political parties, how the Republicans see the Democrats as constituting a major threat to the nation, and also the consensus that China presents a threat to democratic values. In contrast, the author employs the expansive verbs "suggest" and "allege" to distance himself from direct responsibility for the reported statements and introduce a level of uncertainty or speculation. When using the distancing verb "suggest", the author attributes the statement to another source, such as Biden, implying a doubtful stance towards the statement's validity. Similarly, the use of "allege" suggests that the proposition is based on someone else's claim rather than being personally endorsed by the author, allowing for potential doubts about its accuracy. By using these verbs, the author introduces uncertainty into the statements, presenting information without assuming full responsibility and acknowledging alternative viewpoints or potential doubts. As Fairclough (2003, p.171) demonstrates, the choice of reporting verbs reflects the speaker's level of commitment.

The translations exhibit a lower frequency of shifting in reporting verbs compared to shifts in counter-expectancy and modality. This can be attributed to the fact that the ST itself has a limited number of reporting verbs, with only seven instances recorded. Based on the analysis, there are 11 shifts in reporting verbs observed in the TTs, with most occurring in TT2 (five instances). These shifts, particularly in TT2, occur at critical points in the text, shaping the author's position regarding the statements and influencing reader engagement (Munday, 2012, p.8). As a result, the

reporting verbs of the ST and TTs can be categorised along the monoglossic-heteroglossic continuum as shown in Figure 7.6.

Figure 7.6 Engagement positioning of illustrative reporting verbs (adapted from Munday, 2017)

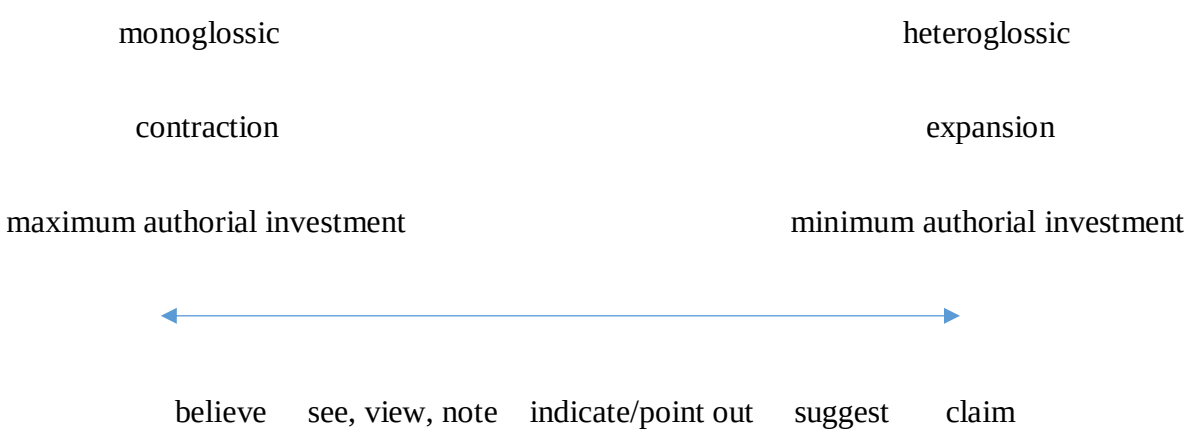


Figure 7.6 illustrates the extent of the dialogue contraction and expansion and the level of author/translators' investment in a proposition (Martin and White, 2005, p.103). There is an interesting correlation between these verbs and their evaluations in the ST and TTs, as the following examples illustrate.

The verb "suggested" in the ST, which conveys a moderate level of certainty, undergoes the most frequent shifts in the TTs, appearing in altered forms in four TTs. As in the following example:

Example 7.17

		Examples	Back-translation
7.17	ST	Mr. Biden has **suggested** that withdrawal was necessary in order to focus on meeting the bigger challenges	

		from Russia and China down the road (70-72)	
7.17a	TT1	**آمن** الرئيس بايدن ، أن الانسحاب كان لابد منه، حتى تركز أمريكا على مواجهة التحدي الأكبر، القادم من روسيا والصين.	President Biden **believed** that withdrawal was inevitable, so that America would focus on facing the biggest challenge, coming from Russia and China.
7.17b	TT2	**أشار** السيد بايدن إلى أن الانسحاب كان ضروريا من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات الكبرى من روسيا والصين في المستقبل	Mr. Biden **indicated** that the withdrawal was necessary in order to focus on facing the greater challenges from Russia and China in the future
7.17c	TT4	فالسيد بايدن **يرى** بأن الانسحاب كان ضرورياً من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات من روسيا و الصين في المستقبل	Mr. Biden **sees** that the withdrawal was necessary in order to focus on facing challenges from Russia and China in the future
7.17d	TT5	**أشار** بايدن إلى أن الانسحاب ضروري من أجل التركيز على مقابلة التحديات الأكبر من روسيا والصين في مقبل الأيام.	Biden **indicated** that the withdrawal is necessary in order to focus on meeting the greater challenges from Russia and China in the coming days.

In this example, the author employs the hedging verb "suggested" to distance himself from the truth of this proposition that the withdrawal was necessary to shift focus towards future challenges from Russia and China. By attributing this proposition to the voice of President Biden, the author indicates a certain level of uncertainty or indirectness regarding the truth of this statement. The use of the expansive verb "suggested" in this context serves to clearly distinguish the author’s voice from the cited external voice (Biden). This does not imply alignment or disagreement, but rather

provides a neutral framework for presenting the viewpoint of the source (Chen, 2011, p.700). By using "suggested", the author invites readers to consider the proposition and in doing so encourages them to explore alternative perspectives or interpretations. However, the author's tentative tone in the ST undergoes changes in the TTs, where a greater level of confidence is expressed in the truth of the proposition. This shift is evident in the use of the contractive verb آمن (believe) in TT1, which conveys a stronger sense of conviction. In TT4, the verb یری (see) enhances the credibility and reliability of the suggestion (Martin and White, 2005, p.118), giving it more weight. In TT2 and TT5, the verb "suggested" is adjusted to sound more natural and appropriate, using the verb أشار (indicate). Consequently, the use of the contractive verb آمن (believe), along with the endorsement verbs یری (see) and أشار (indicate), creates a dialogic and contracting effect in the TTs. These verbs allow for some room for alternative perspectives and contribute to a more open discourse in the TTs. Furthermore, in the given example, the author employs a monoglossic categorical assertion of fact regarding the actions of the Republicans towards the Democrats during Obama's tenure. However, the author uses the expansive verbs "alleged" to create a sense of distance from describing the Democrats as naive. By attributing the statement to the voice of the Republicans themselves, the author establishes a sense of attribution and avoids personal endorsement of the claim.

Example 7.18

	Examples	Back-translation
ST	During the Obama years, Republicans took a hawkish stance and castigated the Democrats for the Russian "reset" and **alleged naïveté** regarding President Putin (44-46).	

TT1	خلال سنوات "حكم أوباما"، اتخذ الجمهوريون ، موقفا متشددا ، وهاجموا الديمقراطيين بسبب سياسة «إعادة ضبط» روسيا ، **وسذاجتهم** فيما يتعلق بالرئيس (بوتين)	During the years of the "Obama rule," the Republicans took a hard line, attacking the Democrats because of the policy of "resetting" Russia, and their **naivety** regarding President (Putin).

It is worth noting that in TT1, the expansive verb "alleged" is not included, resulting in the entire clause being presented as a monoglossic categorical assertion. In this translation, the proposition is explicitly attributed to the author's subjectivity, indicating that the evaluation is made by the author rather than the Republicans (Martin and White, 2005, p.111). The author's stance towards the claims made in the ST is further reinforced in TT1, as highlighted above. This translation reflects a heightened level of criticality on the part of the author. On the other hand, most reporting verb shifts are in TT2. For example:

Example 7.19

ST	TT2	Back-translation
The much bigger challenge to America's global standing is domestic (24)	إن التحدي الأكبر الذي يُهدِّد مكانة أميركا في العالم -**بحسب تقديري**- هو العامل المحلي	The biggest challenge to America's standing in the world, **in my estimation**, is the domestic factor
The long-term sources of American weakness and decline are more domestic than international (4-5).	بل إنني **أزعم** أن عوامل ضعف أميركا وتدهورها مصدرها محلي أكثر من كونه خارجيا.	Rather, **I alleged** that the factors of America's weakness and deterioration are more local than external.
The demand for recognition on the part of groups that feel they have been marginalised by elites was something I	**وأشير** هنا إلى أن قضية المطالبة بالاعتراف من جانب الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها هُمِّشت من قِبَل النُّخب هي	**I point out** here that the issue of demanding recognition by groups that feel marginalized by elites is an issue I identified

identified 30 years ago as an Achilles heel of modern democracy (27-29).	مسألة كنت قد حدَّدتها منذ 30 عاما على أنها نقطة ضعف الديمقراطية الحديثة	30 years ago as the weak point of modern democracy

It is evident that the propositions in the ST are presented as bare assertions without any acknowledgement of alternative perspectives or voices. The author presents these propositions as categorical statements, lacking any indication of dialogue or differing opinions. This can be characterised as "monoglossic", where the author's assertions are presented as definitive and unquestioned, without engaging with contrasting views or considering alternative interpretations (Martin and White, 2005, p.99). This is since these propositions are predicated on Fukuyama's thoughts and beliefs, which Fukuyama, if his propositions are considered monoglossic, regards as "fact", "uncontroversial," and widely "known" or "accepted in the current communicative context" (White: 2003: 263). As indicated by White (2010, p.10) the bare assertions in the scientific discourse are more likely to be *facts* than *new knowledge*. Through the use of monoglossic statements, it is assumed that the reader shares the same values as those expressed in these propositions. By presenting these assertions as guaranteed truths, the author potentially creates a strong ideological effect on the audience, discouraging critical engagement and negotiation of differing viewpoints. This lack of dialogue and negotiation can limit the reader's ability to form an independent opinion and contributes to a one-sided presentation of the author's perspective. The translator of TT2 introduces a shift by replacing the monoglossic propositions with heteroglossic ones. This is achieved by incorporating reporting verbs that not only affirm the propositions but also create space for dialogic alternatives. The translator makes it clear that these propositions originate from the subjective perspective of the author of the ST. By doing so, the translator portrays the propositions as one of several potential viewpoints and acknowledges the existence of alternative possibilities. This approach allows for the consideration of different

perspectives and encourages the exploration of alternatives, reflecting the author's willingness to engage with a range of ideas (Martin and White, 2005, p.98).

As observed previously in Example 7.18, TT2 introduces the phrase: بحسب تقديري (in my estimation) to the proposition that "The much bigger challenge to America's global standing is domestic" (24); the expansive verb أزعم (I alleged) to the proposition". The long-term sources of American weakness and decline are more domestic than international" (4-5); and the neutral evaluation وأُشير (I point out) to the proposition "The demand for recognition on the part of groups that feel they have been marginalised by elites was something I identified 30 years ago as an Achilles heel of modern democracy" (27-29). This suggests the author expresses a certain level of hesitation or doubt regarding these propositions' validity. The translator, by introducing the reporting verb أزعم (I alleged) and the phrase بحسب تقديري (in my estimation), signifies that the author does not assert a strong certainty about the truth of this information or opinions (Thompson and Yiyun, 1991, p.372). In the last example, the translator chooses to use the verb وأُشير (I point out) and attributes it to the author, aiming to create an impression of increased credibility and relevance for the proposition. By presenting the information in this way, the translator suggests that the proposition carries more weight and should be given careful consideration by the readers. This strategic choice of verb and attribution enhances the persuasiveness of the proposition, making it appear more authoritative and deserving of attention (Ya-mei Chen, 2009, p.227). In this instance, the translator adopts the verb وأُشير (I point out) to acknowledge the potential for alternative viewpoints, but at the same time, it imposes certain limitations on those alternatives. By using this verb, the translator implies a higher level of certainty regarding the truthfulness of the propositions compared to the previous reporting verb أزعم (I alleged) and the phrase بحسب تقديري (in my estimation), which express less certainty.

By incorporating these specific words, the translator may deliberately transform these propositions from established facts, representing a certainty of knowledge, into subjective opinions attributed to the author. This strategic shift indicates that the translator actively engages with alternative perspectives and viewpoints, expanding the discourse to accommodate a wider range of interpretations. Consequently, this approach diminishes the level of certainty associated with these propositions, allowing for a more critical evaluation of the author's perspective. The use of the reporting verb suggests a dialogic interaction between the author and the reader, encouraging a deeper engagement and analysis of the article's content (Martin and White, 2005, p.123).

After analysing the shifts in reporting verbs, it is clear that TT2 tends to transform monoglossic propositions into heteroglossic ones. The translator uses expansive verbs, attributing the propositions to Fukuyama while leaving room for alternative viewpoints. This amplifies Fukuyama's voice in TT2, suggesting that the truth of the proposition more to Fukuyama's views than to what Fukuyama himself presented in the ST.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, my focus has been on examining the portrayal of appraisal meanings in Fukuyama's "The end of American hegemony" (ST) and its six Arabic translations (TTs), using the framework proposed by Martin and White (2005). The analysis has yielded significant findings, highlighting a clear disparity between the ST and the TTs in terms of the variety of individual appraisal meanings identified. TT1 and TT2 exhibit a higher frequency of shifts in appraisal meanings. These shifts have the potential to introduce a different evaluative stance or tone in the TTs, thus influencing how the content is perceived and interpreted by the target audience. This divergence

between the ST and the TTs can significantly impact the overall reception of the translated material.

Upon further examination, it has been revealed that the translation process has resulted in a significant shift of appraisal meanings, accounting for over 47% of the total appraisal meanings identified in the six TTs. This indicates a substantial deviation from the ST evaluative profiles present in the TTs. The considerable percentage of shifted appraisal meanings in the TTs signifies a noteworthy alteration in the way evaluations and expressions are conveyed compared to the ST. These shifts can have an impact on how the translated content is perceived and interpreted by the intended audience. They may introduce different attitudes, emotions, or judgments, potentially influencing the readers' overall understanding and engagement with the text.

These shifts in appraisal meanings can be classified into distinct categories, namely neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shifts. These shifts vary in their prevalence across the six TTs. In contrast to other shift types, neutralisation, intensification, and de-intensification shifts were found predominantly in TT1. This indicates that the translation process in TT1 tends to either neutralise the evaluative stance of the ST or amplify and reduce its intensity. However, in TT2, most shifts fall under the intersubjective category. This suggests that TT2 focuses more on establishing a sense of shared subjectivity between the author and the reader.

The analysis of neutralisation shifts in the translations of Fukuyama's text highlights a consistent tendency, especially in TT1 and TT5, to downplay negative evaluations (indirect expressions) and present a more positive or optimistic outlook. This is evident through the omission of critical or unfavourable attitudinal meanings related to the details of how the US may regain its dominance and the administration's policy decisions. The translators' decision to trim negative evaluations indicates an intent to convey a more favourable depiction of the content discussed in the ST.

Moreover, the scrutiny of positive assessments in TT2 reveals that omissions of statements praising the economic and cultural advantages of the US can lead to a less optimistic portrayal of the country. The exclusion of positive evaluations affects experiential and interpersonal metafunctions, changing Fukuyama's perceived attitude toward the US and reducing the overall level of positivity in the translated versions. The identified neutralisation shifts imply a systematic tendency for tonal modifications, potentially guided by the translators' decisions to portray a more positive or negative viewpoint regarding the discussed themes in Fukuyama's text.

The use of intensification shifts in the Arabic translations of Fukuyama's work plays a crucial role in emphasising the gravity of America's challenges, particularly in the context of external crises. By employing heightened language and intensified expressions, the translators effectively convey a sense of urgency and severity, influencing the overall tone and emphasis. The higher frequency of intensification shifts in TT1, compared to other translations, suggests a focused effort to underscore the impact of America's involvement in external crises on deepening societal divisions and exacerbating polarisation. This strategic application contributes to a more impactful and potentially persuasive rendition of Fukuyama's original message, shaping the reader's perception and emphasising the significance of the discussed phenomena in the target language.

The observed de-intensification shifts in the Arabic translations of Fukuyama's text, particularly in phrases emphasising the magnitude of challenges, may involve the deliberate omission of intensifiers to enhance readability and fluency in the target language. The translators aim to preserve the overall attitudinal meanings while adapting to linguistic and cultural conventions, contributing to the essential evaluative stance of the ST in the translations. While this de-intensification may result in a subtle tonal shift, presenting a potentially less emphatic evaluation, it is a strategic decision likely influenced by language differences and the translators' interpretation

of their audience's expectations. The variations in the treatment of intensifiers underscore the context-specific nature of translation decisions, acknowledging the intricacies involved in conveying nuanced linguistic elements across languages.

Intersubjective shifts in the TTs, including changes in counter-expectancy, modality, and reporting verbs, reflect alterations in the representation of perspectives, attitudes, and voices. These shifts, observed in the Arabic translations, may be strategic choices by translators to minimise negative evaluations or enhance explicitness and coherence. They influence tone, formality, and logical relationships, significantly shaping the interpretation of Fukuyama's arguments. These variations highlight the complexity of translation, emphasising the dynamic relationship between ST and TTs as translators navigate linguistic subtleties to convey intended meaning while considering audience expectations.

The analysis of modality shifts in the translations highlights the translators' interpretive choices, which impact the tone, formality, and explicitness of the TTs. These shifts, whether through omission, addition, or hedging, convey the author's level of commitment and engagement, contributing to the overall interpretation of the text. The strategic decisions made by translators in handling modality shape the tone and register of the translations, influencing how readers perceive the author's stance and certainty regarding the propositions presented in the ST. These refined adjustments underscore the dynamic nature of the translation process and its significant role in conveying the author's voice in line with the target language and audience expectations.

The analysis of reporting verbs in both the ST and the TTs may reveal a strategic use of linguistic choices to convey the author's voice and shape ideological positioning. The variety of reporting verbs in the ST enhances credibility and asserts assumptions. Shifts in reporting verbs, especially in TT2, transform the discourse from monoglossic to heteroglossic, introducing subjectivity and

uncertainty. This selection of reporting verbs by translators influences tone, credibility, and engagement, facilitating a nuanced interaction between the author and the reader. These shifts underscore the dynamic nature of translation, emphasising the translator's active role in shaping discourse and guiding interpretation.

Neutralisation and intersubjective shifts have different effects in the TTs. Neutralisation aims to present a more balanced perspective, while intersubjective shifts increase or decrease certainty and transform monoglossic propositions into heteroglossic ones.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study aimed to examine the stance or positionality of translators of political texts through an analysis of translation shifts. The analysis utilised an SFL/appraisal framework, which was replicated from earlier studies and enhanced with a proposed new categorisation of shifts. This approach was underpinned by the belief that translators' presence is discernible in translated texts (TTs), reflecting their distinctive voice and influence (Hermans, 2009). Focusing on Arabic translations or interpretations of speeches delivered by US Presidents Trump and Biden, as well as a lengthy article authored by the prominent political scientist Francis Fukuyama, the research scrutinised translations from various sources including the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia (TT1) and the CNN Arabic website (TT2) for Trump's speeches, and interpretations by Al Arabiya (TT1) and Al Jazeera (TT2) for Biden's inaugural speech. For Fukuyama's article, translations from APA International Association for Experts (TT1), Al Jazeera (TT2), Al-Ghad Newspaper (TT3), the Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies (TT4), Oman Newspaper (TT5), and Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies (TT6) were analysed. This very detailed exploration of three case studies aimed to uncover how translators negotiate and potentially alter attitudinal meanings in political rhetoric across languages.

To achieve this aim, the research predominantly relied on the meticulous and elaborate appraisal framework of Martin and White (2005), which was instrumental in identifying translational shifts by mapping all the lexicogrammatical realisations of the interpersonal metafunction in the entire source texts (ST) onto those of the translated texts (TTs). Making extensive use of the categories

and lists of examples found in the work of Martin and White and others, this research ensured that the selection of lexicogrammatical elements for comparative analysis was conducted with minimal bias, maintaining a high degree of objectivity.

To evaluate the extent to which the study achieved its objectives, the following section provides a summary of the findings obtained from the analyses conducted in the preceding chapters. Following this, the discussion examines the translator's diverse reading positions, involving navigation through varied perspectives, interpretive frameworks, and contextual intricacies to craft translated versions. Subsequently, it will address the specific research questions introduced in Section 1.3. Finally, the study will explore its limitations and propose directions for future research.

8.2 Ideological Representation in Translation

The analysis of texts in the case studies revealed varying distributions of lexicogrammar markers of stance across the three STs. The case studies identified 595 instances of stance in Trump’s speech, 530 in Biden’s speech, and 199 in Fukuyama’s article. Attitude instances were the most prevalent appraisal meanings, with Trump's speech, Biden's speech, and Fukuyama's article featuring 427, 296, and 126 instances, respectively. This dominance underscores their significance in conveying the authors' viewpoints and evaluations. The three texts show a mix of direct and indirect expressions of attitude (referred to as ‘inscribed’ and ‘invoked’ by Martin and White, 2005). Trump's speech mainly uses direct expressions, such as "America is prepared to stand with you", while Biden's speech and Fukuyama's article also feature both direct and indirect expressions, albeit with different emphasis levels. Biden's speech includes direct statements like "This is America’s day" and indirect expressions like inclusive language and metaphors, while

Fukuyama's article leans more towards direct expressions, with occasional indirect ones like cautionary language or hypothetical scenarios. While Trump and Biden emphasise judgment, reflected in 161 and 130 instances respectively, Fukuyama's article prioritises appreciation, evident in 53 instances. This alignment with confrontational political discourse reflects Trump and Biden's choices to assert authority, persuade, and critique, whereas Fukuyama's scholarly approach prioritises appreciation to convey respect and acknowledgment.

Engagement was prevalent across the three texts, with Trump featuring 147 instances, Biden's 113, and Fukuyama's article containing 42 instances. The observed engagement strategies suggest that distinct positionalities may be influenced by the genres and modes of communication employed. For instance, phrases like "But words do not do" and "Just imagine what tomorrow could bring" in Trump's speech underscore urgency and commitment, typical of political speeches. Conversely, Biden's inaugural speech adopts a reflective tone, emphasising themes of unity and resilience, as seen in the phrase "The triumph not of a candidate, but of a cause, the cause of democracy." In Fukuyama's article, a scholarly and analytical approach is evident through phrases like "The truth of the matter" and "However," reflecting a mode suited for formal written opinion pieces. These differences underscore the significant impact of genre and mode on the presentation of ideas and the establishment of speaker positionality. The occurrence of stance graduation, however, was infrequent. This detailed distribution underscores the distinct rhetorical strategies employed by the authors.

The investigation into stance translation in Arabic TTs unveiled significant changes that impact the strength, emphasis, and accuracy of the stance from the STs. After analysing how stance is conveyed and re-conveyed, instances of shifts were grouped into categories that I have labelled as neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shifts (see Section 4.2). Given

the variance in the length of each text, considering relative frequency is imperative for a more accurate analysis. Fukuyama's translations exhibit higher frequencies of neutralisation shifts, some (3.28/100 words) compared to Biden's (0.27/100 words) and Trump's translations (1.12/100 words). Trump's translations show more intensification shifts (1.12/100 words) than Biden's (0.74/100 words) and Fukuyama's translations (3.01/100 words). Biden's interpretations feature more de-intensification shifts (2.62/100 words) than Trump's (0.23/100 words) and Fukuyama's translations (1.77/100 words). Fukuyama's translations also have a higher count of intersubjective shifts (7.28/100 words) compared to Trump's (0.44/100 words) and Biden's interpretations (1.14/100 words). These variations suggest that translators/interpreters employ different strategies in preserving or modifying the evaluative and attitudinal content of the STs, potentially aligning with their intended audience and communicative goals.

Main Findings: Neutralisation Shifts

The analysis of stance translation within neutralisation shifts underscores how contextual factors shape the omission of attitudinal meaning in TTs. This phenomenon is evident in TTs of all three case studies. In Trump's speech TTs, particularly TT2, positive evaluations, towards Saudi Arabia, are toned down, possibly indicating editorial independence and a focus on content (see Example 5.2). However, such omissions can affect register, cultural sensitivity, and overall coherence in the TT. This alteration impacts attitudinal meaning and the interpersonal metafunction, potentially compromising the effectiveness of conveying the speaker's intentions and maintaining diplomatic discourse.

In the same vein, the analysis of Biden's speech interpretations reveals a preference for neutral expressions, with a tendency towards toned-down positive judgments. This transition from indirect to more direct expressions of attitude, particularly through the omission of nuanced phrases and

metaphors, may arise from various factors such as interpretation constraints or cultural considerations, ultimately impacting the rhetorical effectiveness and cultural resonance of the translations.

The analysis of Fukuyama's translations reveals a shift from indirect to more direct expressions of attitude in the TTs, primarily through the omission of nuanced phrases. This alteration simplifies meaning and alters tone, influenced by contextual factors shaping the neutralisation of attitudinal meanings, particularly in valuation and security. Appreciation emerges as the most frequently omitted attitudinal meaning, notably in TT1 and TT5, indicating a tendency to reduce negative evaluations regarding the US regaining its dominance. Neutralisation shifts, achieved by omitting negative terms or detailed limitations, soften the atmosphere, impacting meaning, formality, and interpersonal dynamics. Translator choices in retaining or omitting attitudinal meaning may aim to convey a favourable depiction of Fukuyama's content, particularly by downplaying challenges or criticisms and presenting an optimistic perspective

Main Findings: Intensification and De-intensification Shifts

Intensification and de-intensification shifts alter the strength of appraisal meanings, encompassing attitude and graduation. Analysing these shifts in Trump's translations reveals a significant predominance of intensification over de-intensification, especially in positive evaluations. This trend in TTs mirrors Trump’s inclination towards intensely evaluative language, as noted by Olimat (2020). Olimat's examination of Trump's speeches during the Covid-19 crisis further emphasises this pattern, revealing a predominance of intense evaluative language featuring disparaging terms, assertive rhetoric, and militaristic imagery. The translator of TT1 intensified certain aspects of Trump's speeches, such as the use of honorific titles, as seen in Example 5.3, despite Trump's already intense language. This choice may aim to maintain formality and respect

in the target language context, aligning with cultural norms and ensuring the translation effectively convey the persuasive impact of the ST. In contrast, TT2 adopts a more content-focused approach, omitting honorifics and practicing de-intensification in certain instances as illustrated in Example 5.4. TT2's translation strategies align with CNN's language preferences observed in political reporting, emphasising a modest language approach, while TT1 mirrors the style found on the US Embassy website in Saudi Arabia. These choices impact the register, the ideational function, and cultural appropriateness of the translations, reflecting decisions made to meet target audience expectations.

In contrast to Trump's translations, Biden's interpretations show a prevalence of de-intensification shifts over intensification shifts. Intensification involves adding words to amplify negative evaluative meaning, while de-intensification often omits repeated attitudinal meaning. Intensification shifts influence the strength and emphasis of ideological stance without altering its core content, while de-intensification shifts, linked to factors like interpreter competence, do not fundamentally change the essential content as demonstrated in Examples 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7. These shifts affect formality, cultural appropriateness, and metafunctional analysis, shaping the overall impact and effectiveness of the translated text.

The frequency of intensification shifts outweighs that of de-intensification shifts in the TTs of Fukuyama’s article. These shifts predominantly reflect ST attitudinal meaning, particularly in valuation and security. Intensification shifts in the TTs amplify the seriousness of America’s challenges, especially in relation to external crises, creating a heightened sense of urgency. Unlike neutralisation shifts observed in Fukuyama's work, which reduce negative evaluations, intensification shifts employ stronger language to emphasise America's focus on external crises amidst deepened societal divisions and exacerbated polarisation as in depicted Example 7.4.

Nevertheless, it is pertinent to acknowledge that divergent trends may arise due to the non-systematic approach of translators. De-intensification shifts, seen in phrases emphasising challenges' magnitude, enhance readability and serve to align the TTs with audience expectations as illustrated in Example 7.7. Both shifts influence register, affecting formality, and metafunctions, shaping the ideational metafunction. The treatment of intensifiers highlights the intricacies in translation decisions across languages.

Main Findings: Intersubjective Shifts

Intersubjective shifts in translations involve changes in the translator's engagement with the text, affecting their stance, viewpoint, and relational positioning. In Trump's translations, differences in the frequency of these shifts are evident between TT1 and TT2. TT1 demonstrates a higher prevalence, often through the addition of modal markers like لقد (Laqad) (indeed, or certainly), emphasising agreements and partnerships between the US and other countries as seen in Example 5.8. Conversely, TT2 shows fewer shifts, indicating a more reserved approach in shaping engagement and perspective. These choices influence the tone and assurance of statements. For instance, markers like فعلاً (truly) in TT1 emphasise genuine acknowledgment or belief in the need for positive change, aligning with the ideological stance expressed in the ST (see Example 5.9). Omissions like "of course" in TT2 soften the tone and avoid assumptions about universal acceptance (see Example 5.10). These shifts impact the interpersonal and ideational metafunctions by shaping relationships between participants and influencing clarity and certainty in conveying information.

Intersubjective shifts in Biden's interpretations often involve counter-expectancy, such as the consistent omission of the discourse marker "just", particularly in TT1. These shifts aim to streamline the interpretation process for efficiency and core message conveyance, as shown in

Example 6.8. They impact register by producing a more direct and concise style, prioritising the ideational metafunction. Time constraints may influence these strategic choices, highlighting the dynamic nature of interpretation.

In Fukuyama’s text and its various TTs, linguistic features like counter-expectancy indicators, reporting verbs, and modality reveal strategic choices by translators that shape perspectives. Counter-expectancy shifts are prevalent in the TTs, involving the omission or addition of indicators like (however or but) to enhance coherence and clarity, aligning with the explicitation hypothesis. This hypothesis involves making implicit information explicit in the translations to enhance coherence and clarity, as discussed by Blum-Kulka (2001) and Pym (2005). Scholars have explored strategies like adding connectives and expanding on implicit meanings, as exemplified in Examples 7.11, 7.12, and 7.13. The analysis of modality shifts in the TTs highlights significant patterns affecting engagement and certainty. TT2 and TT4 amplify certainty through emphatic modal expressions, aligning with Fukuyama's assertions, as shown in Examples 7.15 and 7.16. Conversely, TT3 introduces hedging modal expressions, reducing certainty to accommodate alternative interpretations, as depicted in Example 7.17. This underscores the crucial role of translators in balancing the author's voice while adapting the text for the target audience, emphasising the complexities of cross-cultural communication and translation. Reporting verb shifts in TT2 demonstrate significant alterations, impacting the author's stance and audience engagement. TT2 introduces heteroglossic elements, attributing viewpoints to Fukuyama and allowing for dialogue, as shown in Example 7.18. This strategic transformation amplifies Fukuyama's voice and encourages critical analysis among readers, emphasising the translator's pivotal role in shaping engagement and perspective across languages and cultures. These choices influence register and metafunctions, highlighting the dynamic nature of translation.

8.3 Reading Position

The reading positions of translators, as outlined by Martin and White (2005, p. 206), provide a framework for understanding how translators engage with and respond to a text. These positions: ‘compliant’, ‘resistant’, and ‘tactical’, reflect the ways in which translators negotiate between adherence to the ST and adaptation to the target audience's expectations (see Section 2.3.3.2). In the analysis of Trump's speech translations, TT1 and TT2 exemplify distinct reading positions. The translator of TT1 demonstrates a compliant stance, prioritising the preservation of the ST's positive tone and adhering closely to cultural norms. In contrast, the translator of TT2 adopts a tactical approach, strategically employing shifts to convey a culturally sensitive representation while accommodating editorial preferences. This illustrates the complexity of translation, influenced by linguistic differences, cultural norms, and ethical considerations (Munday, 2012, p.158).

In the analysis of Biden's speech translations, both translators primarily employ a tactical approach. They strategically modify elements of the ST to align with the linguistic, cultural, and rhetorical conventions of the target audience while preserving the core meaning. This is evident in instances where they streamline the text, adjust wording for cultural appropriateness, and enhance readability without altering the ideological content. TT2 demonstrates a higher frequency of shifts, suggesting a more active engagement with the source material. Overall, both translations reflect a tactical adaptation to effectively convey Biden's message while resonating with the target audience.

Munday highlights the complexity of translation, where competent translators strategically navigate linguistic, cultural, and stylistic challenges (2012, p.158). Fukuyama's translations

exemplify this complexity, with each translator employing unique strategies that may encompass compliance, resistance, and tactical decision-making. Despite their attempts to ensure coherence, translators find themselves situated at the "interstices" of intersubjective communication, as noted by Bakhtin and Grant (ibid). Here, meaning is negotiated not only at the lexicogrammatical level but also at higher levels of discourse and ideology. In TT1, the translator primarily adopts a compliant stance, prioritising adherence to the ST without introducing significant shifts in certainty or authorial investment. While there may be instances of tactical decisions, such as selective omission of clauses, the overall approach aligns more closely with compliance with the ST. On the other hand, the TT2 translator demonstrates a clear tendency towards a tactical approach. By strategically introducing shifts in reporting verbs, the translator aims to transform monoglossic propositions into heteroglossic ones, thereby enhancing the persuasiveness and engagement of the translated text while remaining true to the author's intentions. Regarding TT3, TT4, and TT5, while there may be potential for some resistance or tactical decisions in these translations, the majority of the approach aligns more closely with compliance with the ST. These translators prioritise consistency and accuracy in conveying the author's tone and style, potentially taking a more compliant approach. Additionally, TT6 can be categorised as compliant since no shifts are recorded, indicating a commitment to accurately conveying the author's intended meaning without introducing significant alterations.

The analysis of translations underscores the dynamic role of translators, who navigate between compliance, resistance, and tactical adaptation to convey meaning effectively. Despite linguistic and cultural challenges, translators strategically ensure coherence while negotiating various reading positions at the intersection of linguistic, cultural, and ideological realms, where meaning is both conveyed and transformed.

8.4 Recap of Research Questions

In this section, I will revisit the research questions initially posed, and draw comprehensive conclusions from the analysis of translations/interpretations. The goal is to synthesise the findings presented in each chapter.

1. What nuanced patterns of translation shifts, impacting the interpersonal (appraisal) meaning of the STs, can be identified through a comparative linguistic analysis aimed at unveiling the distinct translation strategies employed?

The investigation involved an in-depth examination of translational shifts impacting the interpersonal meaning of the STs across Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Through a meticulous comparative linguistic analysis, we aimed to uncover the complex dynamics of translation alterations and discern distinct patterns and strategies employed by translators/ interpreters.

Central to the analysis was the exploration of linguistic elements associated with appraisal meanings, including attitude, graduation, and engagement systems. These elements are crucial for conveying the intricate interpersonal subtleties present in political discourse. By examining these linguistic components, we were able to pinpoint prevalent recurrent shifts at the lexicogrammatical level, shedding light on how translators navigate and interpret the ST.

The findings revealed four primary shifting trends that I have named: neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective shifts. These shifts were identified through the analysis of ST and TT, allowing us to categorise them systematically. We observed a divergence between the choices made by translators and the content of the STs, which suggests the active role of translators in shaping the translated content.

To illustrate these shifting patterns, we provided concrete examples from our research, including translations of speeches by Trump and works by Fukuyama. These examples demonstrated how translational shifts contribute to the construction of distinct positionality and ideological representations within the translated political discourse. By unpacking these patterns, this study offers valuable insights into the interplay between translation strategies and the portrayal of ideological positions across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts.

2. How do the patterns of translation shifts, influenced by the result of the translator's linguistic choices, reveal distinctive positionality and ideologies representations and positions within the translated political discourse?

Through the analysis of translation shifts in the portrayal of appraisal meanings between the STs and TTs, distinct positionality and ideological representations emerge. These translations, potentially influenced by the translator's linguistic choices, convey unique ideological stances. Chapter 5, for instance, highlighted the subtle choices that translators may make when navigating linguistic and cultural complexities. In TT2 of Trump's address, the prevalence of neutralisation shifts prompts critical examination of how positive attitudes are represented, impacting register, cultural sensitivity, and overall coherence. This choice significantly influences conveyed attitudes and cultural subtleties, potentially reflecting a detailed approach aligning with CNN's political reporting preferences.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 uncovered alterations in the interpretations of Biden's inaugural speech. Neutralisation shifts in TTs impact rhetorical effectiveness, subtle variations, and cultural resonance, potentially diluting the intended impact of the ST. Conversely, intensification shifts influence the strength and emphasis of the ideological stance without fundamentally altering the core ideology. The presence of both neutralisation and intensification shifts in the interpretations

of the same text stems from various factors in the translation process, including translators' choices, linguistic and cultural disparities, interpreting constraints, and audience considerations. These trends illustrate the complex nature of translation, where multiple factors interact to shape the expression of attitudinal meanings from the ST to the TT. These findings underscore translators' pivotal role in shaping engagement and perspectives within the translated content, showcasing distinct ideological representations arising from interpretation shifts.

Chapter 7 explored into Fukuyama's work, uncovering key insights into positionality and ideological representations. TT1 predominantly featured neutralisation, intensification, and de-intensification shifts, indicating a tendency to either neutralise or amplify the evaluative stance found in the ST. Interestingly, this alternation in TT1 between neutralising and intensifying the negative attitude toward the US suggests a lack of consistency in the translator's approach. Conversely, TT2 focused on intersubjective shifts, fostering shared subjectivity between the author and the reader. Translation shifts, influenced by translators' choices, shape Fukuyama's arguments, hinting at diverse ideological orientations in the political discourse. This underscores translation's dynamic nature and its impact on ideological representation. Inconsistencies in translation may stem from translators' unsystematic approach.

In the analysis of three case studies concerning translation shifts and their potential impact on positionality and ideological representations, we acknowledge the multifaceted nature of these shifts. While some may arise from choices made by translators to convey specific position meanings, it is important to recognise that not all shifts are necessarily intentional. Linguistic and cultural factors often play a significant role in shaping translation decisions, introducing a layer of complexity to our examination. Consider, for instance, the translation of culturally specific terms or idiomatic expressions that may not have direct equivalents in the target language; translators

are faced with the challenge of finding suitable alternatives that capture the intended meaning while ensuring cultural relevance for the target audience. In such cases, shifts in terminology or phrasing may occur organically as translators navigate the linguistic and cultural intricacies of both the STs and TTs, as seen in Examples 6.2, and 6.3. Furthermore, the socio-political context in which translations are produced can also influence the interpretation and representation of ideological content. Translators may need to navigate censorship laws, political sensitivities, or cultural restrictions that can impact the accuracy of translated texts. These external pressures may lead to shifts in content or tone, sometimes resulting in subtle alterations to the ideological message conveyed in the translation as seen in Examples: 5.3 and 6.6. In Chapter 5, we examined various translation strategies in Trump's speeches, influenced by institutional norms. Chapter 6 focused on Biden's speeches, highlighting shifts in metaphorical (indirect) expressions and cultural disparities. Chapter 7 explored shifts in Fukuyama's work, affecting perceptions of dominance and attitudes toward crises. In examining these translation shifts, we recognise that sometimes the ideational function of language takes precedence over the interpersonal function. This intricate aspect of translation highlights the complexity inherent in the process, demanding careful consideration of linguistic, cultural, and ideological elements.

3. To what extent does the use of an evaluation framework contribute to the effectiveness of the analysis in uncovering positionality and ideologies representations within the texts?

The appraisal framework, as employed in this study, offered valuable tools for analysing appraisal meanings and uncovering positionality and ideological representations in the texts. It facilitated the dissection of these meanings, revealing patterns of translation shifts and contributing to a nuanced understanding of how attitudinal meanings are conveyed and adapted in translation. While translators may not explicitly employ the appraisal framework in their practice, it has great

potential for elucidating the translator's stance and decision-making process, offering insights into how translators navigate socio-cultural and ideological complexities. Scholars can uncover implicit attitudes, evaluations, and positioning embedded in TTs, shedding light on the translator's interpretive choices.

The use of the appraisal framework in this study aligns with insights from Hokkanen and Koskinen (2018), who emphasised its role in understanding attitudes and emotions in language across various discourse types. However, challenges emerged in applying the framework, particularly in attitude classification and assessing how translation shifts influence reader perception. For instance, Fukuyama's statement "American society is deeply polarised" presents ambiguity due to overlapping expressions, challenging precise categorisation within the appraisal framework and leading to subjective interpretations by readers. Similarly, the subjective nature of assessing how translation shifts influence reader perception poses challenges, as demonstrated by variations in lexical choice and semantic expansion in translated texts. Both TTs lose the specific emphasis on "speed and urgency" found in the ST. Additionally, complexities arise in certain instances, like the translation of Biden's inaugural speech, where rich metaphorical expressions (indirect attitude) such as "winter of peril and significant possibility" pose challenges in accurately conveying their intended meaning. This underscores the framework's limitations in capturing subtle linguistic nuances and indicates the necessity for further analytical methods or a deeper comprehension of text complexity, as emphasised by van Dijk (2008, p.2).

8.5 Limitations and Implications for Future Research

This analysis of three case studies delves into translation shifts and ideological representations within high-status texts, offering insights into how translation choices shape meanings and

perspectives. By scrutinising speeches of political leaders and scholarly using the appraisal framework as a model, we have contributed to understanding translation's role in conveying positional accuracy across languages and cultures.

Indeed, it is crucial to acknowledge the significance of our data, which includes speeches directed to different audiences and discussing varied topics. However, it is important to recognise that these texts only represent a fraction of the vast landscape of discourse. By focusing primarily on political speeches and scholarly articles, we may have overlooked important subtleties present in other genres and contexts. Other genres like news articles, opinion pieces, literary works, and social media posts have distinct linguistic features and ideological perspectives. For instance, political speeches are crafted with specific rhetorical strategies aimed at persuading and mobilising audiences, while scholarly articles tend to prioritise precision and academic rigor. Consider the translation choices made in news articles reporting on the same event compared to those in political speeches addressing the same topic. The language used in news articles may prioritise objectivity and factual reporting, while political speeches may emphasise emotive language and persuasive rhetoric. These differences in genre and context can significantly influence how positions are represented through translation. While this aspect was briefly explored in Chapter 5, a deeper analysis of these differences could provide valuable insights into the interplay between translation, genre, and ideological representation. Expanding our analysis would deepen our understanding of translation's influence on ideological representations across various contexts. Our study provides a foundation for future research to explore translation's impact on ideological portrayals in different cultural and linguistic contexts. This approach would enrich our findings and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of translation's role in shaping ideologies across genres and contexts.

Our study encountered limitations in accessing translators directly, hindering insights into the translation process, including revision and proofreading. Limited access to information on social agents like editors, revisers, and publishers also impacted our understanding of their roles and power dynamics. Some websites lacked information about translators, complicating identification of those responsible for the translations. Consequently, our analysis relied solely on examining TTs, limiting our ability to delve deeply into translators' decision-making processes. To mitigate this limitation, we utilised the appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005) to analyse textual features and linguistic choices within the TTs. This framework offers a systematic approach to examining how language expresses attitudes, emotions, and evaluations, allowing us to infer translators' choices and perspectives. For example, by applying the principles of the appraisal framework, we identified instances where translators used evaluative language to convey their stance towards certain topics or entities, such as the de-intensification shift observed in the translation of a phrase expressing admiration in Trump's speech. Despite the limitation of not having direct access to translators, the appraisal framework enabled systematic and rigorous analysis of the TTs, offering valuable insights into translators' choices and perspectives.

Future research could integrate qualitative interviews with translators, editors, revisers, and publishers to illuminate their decision-making processes, power dynamics, and influences on translation choices. Researchers can explore how translators navigate cultural subtleties, how editors prioritise translation aspects, how revisers ensure accuracy, and how publishers consider audience preferences. Studies examining the editorial process's impact on translating politically sensitive material can reveal how these social agents shape ideological stances in final translations. Through a combination of qualitative interviews, case studies, and the appraisal framework

analysis, future research can offer a comprehensive exploration of translation dynamics and their influence on ideological representations.

The substantial difference in the number of translations/interpretations analysed, with a more extensive focus on Fukuyama's article, can be attributed to practical limitations encountered during the research. The limited availability of source materials for Trump and Biden's speeches during the study led to the inclusion of only a few translations, resulting in relatively shorter analyses in Chapters 5 and 6. In contrast, Chapter 7, focusing on Fukuyama's article, extended to six translations due to the greater accessibility of source materials. This difference in length reflects pragmatic constraints faced when collecting source materials for detailed analysis and the desire for a comprehensive exploration of how translation choices influence positionality and ideological representations. Future research should aim to expand the range of source materials when feasible and maintain consistency in chapter lengths to avoid potential biases.

The lack of comprehensive studies on the linguistic realisation or interpersonal function of stance in Arabic posed a significant challenge in this analysis. Without prior research addressing stance markers in Arabic, it was difficult to develop a robust framework for analysing these markers in the translations. This limited our ability to assess how stance is realised and interpreted in Arabic texts, particularly in translation contexts. Relying on broader principles from linguistics and translation studies, rather than established findings specific to Arabic, may not fully capture the intricacies of Arabic language and discourse. This analysis which represents a modest advance in this area, as it has primarily focused on identifying some of the most noticeable cultural, linguistic, and rhetorical nuances influencing stance expression and interpretation in Arabic translations. Future research should aim to fill this gap by conducting comprehensive studies specifically focused on identifying and analysing stance markers in Arabic discourse, including translations.

For instance, examining how expressions of agreement, disagreement, certainty, or doubt are conveyed in Arabic translations of political speeches or news articles can provide valuable insights. By delving into the cultural, linguistic, and rhetorical intricacies influencing stance expression and interpretation in Arabic translations, researchers can enrich our understanding of positionality and ideological representations in translated materials.

While the analysis primarily focuses on exploring interpersonal meanings conveyed through language, it is important to acknowledge the broader ideational and textual dimensions of communication, which have been addressed by others (Hatim and Mason, 1997; Hodge, 2017; Saragih et al., 2024). Future research holds significant potential to expand beyond the interpersonal level and investigate how specific lexical choices and textual features reflect underlying ideological perspectives in scholarly articles. For instance, analysing the use of terms related to political ideologies and examining narrative structure and rhetorical devices in these articles can provide insights into how authors frame their ideas and persuade their audience. Incorporating these additional dimensions of analysis can offer a more comprehensive understanding of how language functions across various contexts and genres.

While this analysis primarily focuses on how interpreters convey attitudinal meanings from the ST to the TT through various linguistic elements, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations and suggest avenues for future research. One such limitation is the lack of exploration into the influence of non-verbal cues, such as facial expressions and body language, on interpretation fidelity, especially in cross-cultural settings. Future research could delve into the influence of voice-related elements on interpretation fidelity, including variations in tone, pitch, intonation, volume, and stress. Comparative studies between different interpreting modalities could be conducted to examine the effectiveness of voice-related elements, while exploring the impact of

linguistic and cultural factors on interpretation strategies would provide valuable insights into cross-cultural practices. Such research can contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of voice in interpretation and enhance interpretation quality in diverse linguistic and cultural contexts.

This study highlights the significance of categorising shifts in translation studies and emphasises its original contribution. Through a detailed exploration of high-value political texts in both English and Arabic, this research offers a unique perspective on the translation process, unravelling multifaceted dynamics of political discourse in diverse social and political contexts. The proposed classification system serves as a foundation for future research, providing deeper insights into the translation process and aiding in training methods, quality assessment, theoretical advancements, and cross-cultural communication. Future studies can build upon this framework to explore translation shifts in diverse languages and cultural contexts, focusing on categories such as neutralisation, intensification, de-intensification, and intersubjective. Comparative analyses of translation strategies in ideological communication and investigations into contextual influences on translation choices hold promise for further inquiry, leveraging the originality and detail of this research.

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Appendix One

Source text 1: President Trump's Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit

Thank You.

I want to thank King Salman for his extraordinary words, and the magnificent Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for hosting today's summit. I am honored to be received by such gracious hosts. I have always heard about the splendor of your country and the kindness of your citizens, but words do not do justice to the grandeur of this remarkable place and the incredible hospitality you have shown us from the moment we arrived.

You also hosted me in the treasured home of King Abdulaziz, the founder of the Kingdom who united your great people. Working alongside another beloved leader – American President Franklin Roosevelt – King Abdulaziz began the enduring partnership between our two countries. King Salman: your father would be so proud to see that you are continuing his legacy – and just as he opened the first chapter in our partnership, today we begin a new chapter that will bring lasting benefits to our citizens.

Let me now also extend my deep and heartfelt gratitude to each and every one of the distinguished heads of state who made this journey here today. You greatly honor us with your presence, and I send the warmest regards from my country to yours. I know that our time together will bring many blessings to both your people and mine.

I stand before you as a representative of the American People, to deliver a message of friendship and hope. That is why I chose to make my first foreign visit a trip to the heart of the Muslim world, to the nation that serves as custodian of the two holiest sites in the Islamic Faith.

In my inaugural address to the American People, I pledged to strengthen America's oldest friendships, and to build new partnerships in pursuit of peace. I also promised that America will not seek to impose our way of life on others, but to outstretch our hands in the spirit of cooperation and trust.

Our vision is one of peace, security, and prosperity—in this region, and in the world.

Our goal is a coalition of nations who share the aim of stamping out extremism and providing our children a hopeful future that does honor to God.

And so this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders—unique in the history of nations—is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect. To the leaders and citizens of every country assembled here today, I want you to know that the United States is eager to form closer bonds of friendship, security, culture and commerce.

For Americans, this is an exciting time. A new spirit of optimism is sweeping our country: in just a few months, we have created almost a million new jobs, added over 3 trillion dollars of new value, lifted the burdens on American industry, and made record investments in our military that will protect the safety of our people and enhance the security of our wonderful friends and allies – many of whom are here today.

Now, there is even more blessed news I am pleased to share with you. My meetings with King Salman, the Crown Prince, and the Deputy Crown Prince, have been filled with great warmth, good will, and tremendous cooperation.

Yesterday, we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom that will invest almost $400 billion in our two countries and create many thousands of jobs in America and Saudi Arabia.

This landmark agreement includes the announcement of a $110 billion Saudi-funded defense purchase – and we will be sure to help our Saudi friends to get a good deal from our great American defense companies. This agreement will help the Saudi military to take a greater role in security operations.

We have also started discussions with many of the countries present today on strengthening partnerships, and forming new ones, to advance security and stability across the Middle East and beyond.

Later today, we will make history again with the opening of a new Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology – located right here, in this central part of the Islamic World. This groundbreaking new center represents a clear declaration that Muslim-majority countries must take the lead in combatting radicalization, and I want to express our gratitude to King Salman for this strong demonstration of leadership.

I have had the pleasure of welcoming several of the leaders present today to the White House, and I look forward to working with all of you.

America is a sovereign nation and our first priority is always the safety and security of our citizens. We are not here to lecture—we are not here to tell other people how to live, what to do, who to be, or how to worship. Instead, we are here to offer partnership – based on shared interests and values – to pursue a better future for us all.

Here at this summit we will discuss many interests we share together. But above all we must be united in pursuing the one goal that transcends every other consideration. That goal is to meet history's great test—to conquer extremism and vanquish the forces of terrorism.

Young Muslim boys and girls should be able to grow up free from fear, safe from violence, and innocent of hatred.

And young Muslim men and women should have the chance to build a new era of prosperity for themselves and ***their peoples.***

God's help, this summit will mark the beginning of the end for those who practice terror and spread its vile creed. At the same time, we pray this special gathering may someday be remembered as the beginning of peace in the Middle East – and maybe, even all over the world.

But this future can only be achieved through defeating terrorism and the ideology that drives it.

Few nations have been spared its violent reach.

America has suffered repeated barbaric attacks – from the atrocities of September 11th to the devastation of the Boston Bombing, to the horrible killings in San Bernardino and Orlando.

The nations of Europe have also endured unspeakable horror. So too have the nations of Africa and even South America. India, Russia, China and Australia have been victims.

But, in sheer numbers, the deadliest toll has been exacted on the innocent people of Arab, Muslim and Middle Eastern nations. They have borne the brunt of the killings and the worst of the destruction in this wave of fanatical violence.

Some estimates hold that more than 95 percent of the victims of terrorism are themselves Muslim.

We now face a humanitarian and security disaster in this region that is spreading across the planet. It is a tragedy of epic proportions. No description of the suffering and depravity can begin to capture its full measure.

The true toll of ISIS, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, and so many others, must be counted not only in the number of dead. It must also be counted in generations of vanished dreams.

The Middle East is rich with natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and massive amounts of historic treasures. It should increasingly become one of the great global centers of commerce and opportunity.

This region should not be a place from which refugees flee, but to which newcomers flock.

Saudi Arabia is home to the holiest sites in one of the world's great faiths. Each year millions of Muslims come from around the world to Saudi Arabia to take part in the Hajj. In addition to ancient wonders, this country is also home to modern ones—including soaring achievements in architecture.

Egypt was a thriving center of learning and achievement thousands of years before other parts of the world. The wonders of Giza, Luxor and Alexandria are proud monuments to that ancient heritage.

All over the world, people dream of walking through the ruins of Petra in Jordan. Iraq was the cradle of civilization and is a land of natural beauty. And the United Arab Emirates has reached incredible heights with glass and steel, and turned earth and water into spectacular works of art.

The entire region is at the center of the key shipping lanes of the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Straits of Hormuz.

The potential of this region has never been greater. 65 percent of its population is under the age of 30. Like all young men and women, they seek great futures to build, great national projects to join, and a place for their families to call home.

But this untapped potential, this tremendous cause for optimism, is held at bay by bloodshed and terror. There can be no coexistence with this violence.

There can be no tolerating it, no accepting it, no excusing it, and no ignoring it.

Every time a terrorist murders an innocent person, and falsely invokes the name of God, it should be an insult to every person of faith.

Terrorists do not worship God, they worship death.

If we do not act against this organized terror, then we know what will happen. Terrorism's devastation of life will continue to spread. Peaceful societies will become engulfed by violence. And the futures of many generations will be sadly squandered.

If we do not stand in uniform condemnation of this killing—then not only will we be judged by our people, not only will we be judged by history, but we will be judged by God.

This is not a battle between different faiths, different sects, or different civilizations.

This is a battle between barbaric criminals who seek to obliterate human life, and decent people of all religions who seek to protect it.

This is a battle between Good and Evil.

When we see the scenes of destruction in the wake of terror, we see no signs that those murdered were Jewish or Christian, Shia or Sunni. When we look upon the streams of innocent blood soaked into the ancient ground, we cannot see the faith or sect or tribe of the victims – we see only that they were Children of God whose deaths are an insult to all that is holy.

But we can only overcome this evil if the forces of good are united and strong – and if everyone in this room does their fair share and fulfills their part of the burden.

Terrorism has spread across the world. But the path to peace begins right here, on this ancient soil, in this sacred land.

America is prepared to stand with you – in pursuit of shared interests and common security.

But the nations of the Middle East cannot wait for American power to crush this enemy for them. The nations of the Middle East will have to decide what kind of future they want for themselves, for their countries, and for their children.

It is a choice between two futures – and it is a choice America CANNOT make for you.

A better future is only possible if your nations drive out the terrorists and extremists. Drive. Them. Out. DRIVE THEM OUT of your places of worship. DRIVE THEM OUT of your communities. DRIVE THEM OUT of your holy land, and DRIVE THEM OUT OF THIS EARTH.

For our part, America is committed to adjusting our strategies to meet evolving threats and new facts. We will discard those strategies that have not worked—and will apply new approaches informed by experience and judgment. We are adopting a Principled Realism, rooted in common values and shared interests.

Our friends will never question our support, and our enemies will never doubt our determination. Our partnerships will advance security through stability, not through radical disruption. We will make decisions based on real-world outcomes – not inflexible ideology. We will be guided by the lessons of experience, not the confines of rigid thinking. And, wherever possible, we will seek gradual reforms – not sudden intervention.

We must seek partners, not perfection—and to make allies of all who share our goals.

Above all, America seeks peace – not war.

Muslim nations must be willing to take on the burden, if we are going to defeat terrorism and send its wicked ideology into oblivion.

The first task in this joint effort is for your nations to deny all territory to the foot soldiers of evil. Every country in the region has an absolute duty to ensure that terrorists find no sanctuary on their soil.

Many are already making significant contributions to regional security: Jordanian pilots are crucial partners against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Saudi Arabia and a regional coalition have taken strong action against Houthi militants in Yemen. The Lebanese Army is hunting ISIS operatives who try to infiltrate their territory. Emirati troops are supporting our Afghan partners. In Mosul, American troops are supporting Kurds, Sunnis and Shias fighting together for their homeland. Qatar, which hosts the U.S. Central Command, is a crucial strategic partner. Our longstanding partnership with Kuwait and Bahrain continue to enhance security in the region. And courageous Afghan soldiers are making tremendous sacrifices in the fight against the Taliban, and others, in the fight for their country.

As we deny terrorist organizations control of territory and populations, we must also strip them of their access to funds. We must cut off the financial channels that let ISIS sell oil, let extremists pay their fighters, and help terrorists smuggle their reinforcements.

I am proud to announce that the nations here today will be signing an agreement to prevent the financing of terrorism, called the Terrorist Financing Targeting Center – co-chaired by the United States and Saudi Arabia, and joined by every member of the Gulf Cooperation Council. It is another historic step in a day that will be long remembered.

I also applaud the Gulf Cooperation Council for blocking funders from using their countries as a financial base for terror, and designating Hezbollah as a terrorist organization last year. Saudi Arabia also joined us this week in placing sanctions on one of the most senior leaders of Hezbollah.

Of course, there is still much work to do.

That means honestly confronting the crisis of Islamist extremism and the Islamist terror groups it inspires. And it means standing together against the murder of innocent Muslims, the oppression of women, the persecution of Jews, and the slaughter of Christians.

Religious leaders must make this absolutely clear: Barbarism will deliver you no glory – piety to evil will bring you no dignity. If you choose the path of terror, your life will be empty, your life will be brief, and YOUR SOUL WILL BE CONDEMNED.

And political leaders must speak out to affirm the same idea: heroes don't kill innocents; they save them. Many nations here today have taken important steps to raise up that message. Saudi Arabia's Vision for 2030 is an important and encouraging statement of tolerance, respect, empowering women, and economic development.

The United Arab Emirates has also engaged in the battle for hearts and souls—and with the U.S., launched a center to counter the online spread of hate. Bahrain too is working to undermine recruitment and radicalism.

I also applaud Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon for their role in hosting refugees. The surge of migrants and refugees leaving the Middle East depletes the human capital needed to build stable societies and economies. Instead of depriving this region of so much human potential, Middle Eastern countries can give young people hope for a brighter future in their home nations and regions.

That means promoting the aspirations and dreams of all citizens who seek a better life – including women, children, and followers of all faiths. Numerous Arab and Islamic scholars have eloquently argued that protecting equality strengthens Arab and Muslim communities.

For many centuries the Middle East has been home to Christians, Muslims and Jews living side-by-side. We must practice tolerance and respect for each other once again—and make this region a place where every man and woman, no matter their faith or ethnicity, can enjoy a life of dignity and hope.

In that spirit, after concluding my visit in Riyadh, I will travel to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and then to the Vatican – visiting many of the holiest places in the three Abrahamic Faiths. If these three faiths can join together in cooperation, then peace in this world is possible – including peace between Israelis and Palestinians. I will be meeting with both Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas.

Starving terrorists of their territory, their funding, and the false allure of their craven ideology, will be the basis for defeating them.

But no discussion of stamping out this threat would be complete without mentioning the government that gives terrorists all three—safe harbor, financial backing, and the social standing needed for recruitment. It is a regime that is responsible for so much instability in the region. I am speaking of course of Iran.

From Lebanon to Iraq to Yemen, Iran funds, arms, and trains terrorists, militias, and other extremist groups that spread destruction and chaos across the region. For decades, Iran has fueled the fires of sectarian conflict and terror.

It is a government that speaks openly of mass murder, vowing the destruction of Israel, death to America, and ruin for many leaders and nations in this room.

Among Iran's most tragic and destabilizing interventions have been in Syria. Bolstered by Iran, Assad has committed unspeakable crimes, and the United States has taken firm action in response to the use of banned chemical weapons by the Assad Regime – launching 59 tomahawk missiles at the Syrian air base from where that murderous attack originated.

Responsible nations must work together to end the humanitarian crisis in Syria, eradicate ISIS, and restore stability to the region.

The Iranian regime's longest-suffering victims are its own people. Iran has a rich history and culture, but the people of Iran have endured hardship and despair under their leaders' reckless pursuit of conflict and terror.

Until the Iranian regime is willing to be a partner for peace, all nations of conscience must work together to isolate Iran, deny it funding for terrorism, and pray for the day when the Iranian people have the just and righteous government they deserve.

The decisions we make will affect countless lives.

King Salman, I thank you for the creation of this great moment in history, and for your massive investment in America, its industry and its jobs. I also thank you for investing in the future of this part of the world.

This fertile region has all the ingredients for extraordinary success – a rich history and culture, a young and vibrant people, a thriving spirit of enterprise. But you can only unlock this future if the citizens of the Middle East are freed from extremism, terror and violence.

We in this room are the leaders of our peoples. They look to us for answers, and for action. And when we look back at their faces, behind every pair of eyes is a soul that yearns for justice.

Today, billions of faces are now looking at us, waiting for us to act on the great question of our time.

Will we be indifferent in the presence of evil? Will we protect our citizens from its violent ideology? Will we let its venom spread through our societies? Will we let it destroy the most holy sites on earth?

If we do not confront this deadly terror, we know what the future will bring—more suffering and despair.

But if we act—if we leave this magnificent room unified and determined to do what it takes to destroy the terror that threatens the world—then there is no limit to the great future our citizens will have.

The birthplace of civilization is waiting to begin a new renaissance. Just imagine what tomorrow could bring.

Glorious wonders of science, art, medicine and commerce to inspire humankind. Great cities built on the ruins of shattered towns. New jobs and industries that will lift up millions of people. Parents who no longer worry for their children, families who no longer mourn for their loved ones, and the faithful who finally worship without fear.

These are the blessings of prosperity and peace. These are the desires that burn with a righteous flame in every human heart. And these are the just demands of our beloved peoples.

I ask you to join me, to join together, to work together, and to FIGHT together— BECAUSE UNITED, WE WILL NOT FAIL.

Thank you. God Bless You. God Bless Your Countries. And God Bless the United States of America.

Target text 1: President Trump's speech at the Arab-American Summit, U.S. Embassy and Consulates in Saudi Arabia translation

أشكركم.

أود أن أتوجه بالشكر لخادم الحرمين الشريفين جلالة الملك سلمان على كلماته الرائعة، وأشكر المملكة العربية السعودية العظيمة على استضافة قمة اليوم. ويشرفني أن يقوم باستقبالي هذه الجمع الكريم من المضيفين. لقد كنت أسمع دائماً عن روعة بلدكم وعن كرم مواطنيكم، إلا أن الكلمات لا تكفي للتعبير عن عظمة هذا المكان البديع والضيافة التي تفوق الوصف التي استقبلتمونا بها منذ لحظة وصولنا.

لقد استضفتموني أيضا في القصر القيم لجلالة الملك عبد العزيز، مؤسس المملكة الذي وحد شعبكم العظيم. لقد بدأ جلالة الملك عبد العزيز، وهو يعمل جنباً إلى جنب مع زعيم آخر محبوب هو الرئيس الأمريكي فرانكلين روزفلت، الشراكة المتينة بين بلدينا.

فخامة الملك سلمان، إن والدكم ليشعر بالفخر بشكل كبير جدا وهو يرى جلالتكم تواصلون ما بدأه – وكما كتب جلالته الفصل الأول في شراكتنا، فإننا نبدأ اليوم فصلاً جديداً سيحقق فوائد دائمة لجميع مواطنينا.

واسمحوا لي أن أعرب أيضاً عن عميق وخالص إمتناني لكل زعماء الدول الموقرين الحاضرين معنا اليوم، لقد شرفتمونا كثيراً بحضوركم اليوم، وأنا أبعث بأصدق التحيات من بلدي إلى بلادكم. شكرا لكم. أنا اعرف أن اجتماعنا معاً سيأتي بالكثير من الخير لشعوبكم ولشعبي.

إنني أقف أمامكم كممثل للشعب الأمريكي كي أقدم رسالة صداقة وأمل وحب. وهذا هو السبب في انني أخترت أن تكون أول زيارة خارجية لي إلى قلب العالم الإسلامي، إلى البلد الذي يخدم الحرمين الشريفين في الديانة الإسلامية.

لقد تعهدت في خطابي الذي ألقيته على الشعب الأمريكي في حفل تنصيبي للرئاسة بتعزيز أقدم الصداقات الأمريكية، وبناء شراكات جديدة سعياً لتحقيق السلام، ووعدت أيضاً بأن أمريكا لن تسعى إلى فرض أسلوب حياتها على الآخرين، بل سنسعى إلى أن نمد أيدينا بروح التعاون والثقة.

إن رؤيتنا هي رؤية قائمة على تحقيق السلام والأمن والرخاء في هذه المنطقة وفي كل ارجاء العالم. إن هدفنا هو إيجاد تحالف من الدول يشترك في هدف القضاء على التطرف وتوفير مستقبل مفعم بالأمل لأطفالنا يشرفهم أمام الله. وهكذا فإن هذا التجمع

التاريخي غير المسبوق للقادة، الفريد في تاريخ الأمم، هو رمز للعالم على عزمنا المشترك واحترامنا المتبادل. وأود أن يعرف زعماء ومواطني كل بلد اجتمعوا هنا اليوم أن الولايات المتحدة حريصة على إقامة روابط أوثق للصداقة والأمن والثقافة والتجارة.

وبالنسبة للأمريكيين، فإن هذا وقت مثير جداً، فهناك روح جديدة من التفاؤل تجتاح بلدنا. ففي غضون بضعة أشهر فقط، أوجدنا حوالي مليون فرصة عمل جديدة، وأضفنا أكثر من ثلاثة تريليون دولار كقيمة جديدة، ورفعنا الأعباء عن الصناعة الأمريكية، وحققنا استثمارات قياسية في جيشنا من شأنها حماية سلامة شعبنا وتعزيز أمن أصدقائنا وحلفائنا الرائعين والكثير منهم موجود هنا اليوم.

الآن، هناك المزيد من الأخبار السارة التي يسعدني أن اتقاسمها معكم. لقد كانت اجتماعاتي مع جلالة الملك سلمان، وولي العهد، وولي ولي العهد حافلة بدفء عظيم، ونوايا حسنة، وتعاون هائل. لقد وقعنا بالأمس اتفاقيات تاريخية مع المملكة ستستثمر ما يقرب من 400 مليار دولار أمريكي في بلدينا وستخلق مئات الآلاف من فرص العمل في الولايات المتحدة والسعودية.

وتشمل هذه الاتفاقية التاريخية الإعلان عن مشتريات دفاعية ممولة من السعودية بقيمة 110 مليار دولار امريكي، وسوف نتأكد من مساعدة اصدقائنا السعوديين على الحصول على صفقة جيدة من شركاتنا الأمريكية الكبرى العاملة في مجال الدفاع – الأكبر في أي مكان في العالم. وستساعد هذه الاتفاقية الجيش السعودي على القيام بدور أكبر في المجال الأمني والعمليات المتعلقة بالأمن.

ولقد بدأنا أيضاً مناقشات مع العديد من البلدان الحاضرة اليوم لتقوية الشراكات وعمل شراكات جديدة لتعزيز الأمن والاستقرار في جميع انحاء منطقة الشرق الأوسط وما هو أبعد منها بكثير.

وفي وقت لاحق اليوم، سنصنع التاريخ مرة أخرى مع افتتاح المركز العالمي لمكافحة الأيديولوجية المتطرفة وهو مركز جديد يقع هنا في هذا الجزء المركزي من العالم الإسلامي. ويمثل هذا المركز الجديد الرائد إعلاناً واضحاً بأنه يجب على الدول ذات الأغلبية المسلمة أن تأخذ زمام المبادرة في مكافحة التطرف. وأود أن أعبر عن امتنانا لخادم الحرمين الشريفين جلالة الملك سلمان على قيادته الرائعة والقوية بكل ما في الكلمة من معنى.

وقد كان من دواعي سروري أن أرحب بالعديد من الزعماء الحاضرين اليوم في البيت الأبيض، وأنني أتطلع للعمل معكم جميعاً.

إن الولايات المتحدة هي دولة ذات سيادة وأولويتنا الأولى هي دائماً سلامة وأمن مواطنينا. إننا لسنا هنا لنُحاضر. ولسنا هنا لنقول للآخرين كيف يعيشون، أو ماذا يفعلون، أو من يكونون، أو كيف يعبدون، ولكن بدلاً من ذلك، فإننا هنا لنعرض شراكة تستند إلى المصالح والقيم المشتركة من أجل تحقيق مستقبل أفضل لنا جميعاً.

إننا سنناقش هنا في هذه القمة العديد من المصالح التي نتقاسمها معاً. ولكن قبل كل شئ يجب أن نتحد في السعي من أجل تحقيق هدف واحد يتجاوز كل اعتبار آخر. هذا الهدف هو ان نجتاز اختبار التاريخ العظيم – وهو الانتصار على التطرف وهزيمة القوى التي يأتي بها الإرهاب في كل مرة.

يجب أن يكون الشباب المسلمون والشابات المسلمات قادرين على أن يكبروا بعيدين عن الخوف، وأن يكونوا آمنين من العنف، وخاليين من الكراهية. ويجب أن تتاح الفرصة لكل شاب مسلم وشابة مسلمة لبناء حقبة جديدة من الرخاء لأنفسهم. يجب أن يتم ذلك، وعلينا أن ندعهم يفعلون ذلك.

وبعون الله، ستشكل هذه القمة بداية النهاية لأولئك الذين يمارسون الإرهاب وينشرون عقيدته الخبيثة. وفي نفس الوقت، فإننا نبتهل لربما يتم تذكر هذه التجمع في يوما ما باعتباره بداية للسلام في الشرق الأوسط، وربما أيضاً في العالم أجمع. ولكن هذا المستقبل لا يمكن تحقيقه إلا من خلال هزيمة الإرهاب والإيديولوجية التي تدفعه.

لقد نجت قلة من الدول من انتشار الإرهاب العنيف. لقد عانت أمريكا مرارا من الهجمات البربرية، من فظائع 11 سبتمبر/ أيلول إلى دمار تفجير بوسطن إلى عمليات القتل البشعة في سان برنادينو وأورلاندو.

وعانت أيضاً الدول الأوربية من رعب لا يوصف. وكذلك الحال بالنسبة لدول افريقيا وأمريكا اللاتينية. وكانت الهند وروسيا والصين واستراليا جميعها ضحايا. ولكن، وبحسب الأرقام، وقعت أكثر الخسائر فتكاً بين الشعوب البريئة للدول العربية والاسلامية والشرق اوسطية. لقد تحملوا العبء الأكبر من أعمال القتل وأسوأ عمليات الدمار في هذه الموجه من عنف المتعصبين. وتشير بعض التقديرات إلى أن أكثر من 95 بالمائة من ضحايا الإرهاب هم أنفسهم مسلمون.

إننا نواجه الآن كارثة انسانية وأمنية في هذه المنطقة تنتشر عبر العالم. إنها مأساة ذات أبعاد مذهلة. ولا يمكن لأي وصف للمعاناة والفساد الأخلاقي أن يستوعب أبعادها كاملة. إن الخسائر الحقيقية الناجمة عن تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام (داعش) -إذا امعنتم النظر فيما يحدث – وتنظيم القاعدة وحزب الله وحماس وكثيرين آخرين لا يجب أن تُحسب فقط بعدد القتلى، ولكن يجب أن تُحسب بأجيال من الأحلام الضائعة.

إن الشرق الأوسط غني بالجمال الطبيعي، والثقافات النابضة بالحياة، وبكميات هائلة من الكنوز التاريخية. أنه يجب أن يصبح بشكل متزايد واحد من المراكز العالمية الكبرى للتجارة والفُرص. لا ينبغي أن تكون هذه المنطقة مكاناً يفر منه اللاجئين، بل يتدفق اليه القادمون الجدد.

إن المملكة العربية السعودية هي مقر الحرمين الشريفين لواحد من أعظم الديانات في العالم. وفي كل عام يأتي ملايين المسلمين من كل أنحاء العالم إلى المملكة العربية السعودية للمشاركة في الحج. وعلاوة على الروائع القديمة، فإن هذا البلد هو أيضاً مقر لروائع حديثة، بما في ذلك الانجازات الشامخة في الهندسة المعمارية.

وكانت مصر مركزاً مزدهراً للتعلم والإنجاز منذ آلاف السنين قبل أجزاء اخرى من العالم. و تقف روائع الجيزة والأقصر والاسكندرية كآثار تدعوا إلى الفخر بهذا التراث القديم. ويحلم الناس في جميع أنحاء العالم بالتجول في البتراء بالأردن. وكان العراق هو مهد الحضارة وهو أرض الجمال الطبيعي. ووصلت الإمارات العربية المتحدة إلى مستويات رفيعة في استخدام الزجاج والصلب، وحولت الأرض والماء إلى أعمال فنية رائعة. إن المنطقة كلها تقع في قلب الممرات الرئيسية للتجارة المتمثلة في قناة السويس والبحر الأحمر ومضيق هرمز.

إن امكانيات هذه المنطقة هي الآن أكبر من أي وقت مضي، حيث ان خمسة وستين بالمائة من سكانها تحت سن الثلاثين. وهم شأنهم شأن جميع الشباب والشابات، يسعون لبناء مستقبل عظيم، وللانضمام إلى مشروعات قومية عظيمة، ولإيجاد مكان لعائلاتهم يطلقون عليه وطن. إلا أن هذه الامكانيات غير المستغلة، وهي سبب كبير للتفاؤل، محاصرة بسفك الدماء والإرهاب.

لا يمكن أن يكون هناك تعايش مع هذا العنف. لا يمكن التسامح معه، ولا يمكن قبوله، ولا يمكن تبريره، ولا يمكن تجاهله. في كل مرة يقوم فيه ارهابي بقتل شخص بريئ، ويذكر زوراً أسم الله، فإن ذلك يجب أن يشكل إهانة لكل شخص مؤمن. الإرهابيون لا يعبدون الله، ولكنهم يعبدون الموت.

إذا لم نتحرك للعمل ضد هذا الإرهاب المنظم، فإننا نعرف ماذا سيحدث وماهي النتيجة في النهاية. سيستمر انتشار تدمير الإرهاب للحياة، وسيطوق العنف المجتمعات المسالمة، وللأسف سوف يتبدد مستقبل العديد من الأجيال. إذا لم نقف موحدين لإدانة هذا القتل، فلن تحكم علينا شعوبنا فقط، ولن يحكم علينا التاريخ فقط، ولكن سيحكم علينا الله.

هذه ليست معركة بين أديان مختلفة، أو طوائف مختلفة، أو حضارات مختلفة. هذه معركة بين مجرمين همجيين يسعون إلى القضاء على الحياة الإنسانية، واشخاص أسوياء، وكلها باسم الدين. اشخاص يرغبون حماية الحياة ويريدون حماية دينهم.

هذه معركة بين الخير والشر. وعندما نرى مشاهد الدمار في أعقاب الارهاب، فإننا لا نرى إشارات تدل على أن القتلى كانوا يهوداً أو مسيحيين، شيعة أو سُنة. وعندما ننظر إلى أنهار دم الابرياء وهي تُغرق الأرض القديمة، فإننا لا نستطيع معرفة دين الضحايا أو طائفتهم أو قبيلتهم. إننا فقط نرى أنهم كانوا أبناء العلي القدير الذين يُعد موتهم إهانة لكل ما هو مقدس. ولكننا لا يمكننا التغلب على هذا الشر إلا إذا كانت قوى الخير متحدة وقوية، وإذا أدى كل من في هذه القاعة نصيبه العادل وقام بالوفاء بالجزء الذي يخصه من العبء.

لقد انتشر الإرهاب في كل أرجاء العالم، غير أن طريق السلام يبدأ من هنا، على هذا الأرض القديمة، وفي هذه الارض المقدسة. إن الولايات المتحدة مستعدة للوقوف معكم – سعيا لتحقيق المصالح المشتركة والأمن المشترك. ولكن لا يمكن لبلدان الشرق الأوسط أن تنتظر القوة الأمريكية لكي تسحق لها هذا العدو. يجب على بلدان الشرق الأوسط أن تقرر نوع المستقبل الذي تريده لأنفسها، ولبلدانها وبصراحة، لعائلاتها ولأطفالها.

إنه اختيار بين مستقبلين – وهو اختيار لا تستطيع الولايات المتحدة أن تقوم به نيابة عنكم.لا يمكن تحقيق مستقبل أفضل إلا إذا قامت بلدانكم بطرد الإرهابيين والمتطرفين. اطردوهم. اطردوهم من اماكن عبادتكم. اطردوهم من مجتمعاتكم المحلية. اطردوهم من أرضكم المقدسة، واطردوهم من هذه الارض.

أما بالنسبة لدورنا، فإن الولايات المتحدة ملتزمة بتعديل استراتيجياتنا للتعامل مع التهديدات المتطورة والحقائق الجديدة. سوف نستبعد تلك الاستراتيجيات التي لم تنجح، وسوف نطبق مقاربات جديدة تستفيد من الخبرة والموهبة والقدرة على الحكم على الأمور. إننا نتبنى واقعية مستندة إلى المبادئ ومتأصلة في القيم والمصالح المشتركة والحس السليم. لن يشكك اصدقائنا أبداً في دعمنا، ولن يشك أعدائنا أبداً في إصرارنا.

إن شراكاتنا ستعزز الأمن من خلال الاستقرار، وليس من خلال العراقيل المتطرفة. وسوف نتخذ قرارات مستندة إلى نتائج حقيقية موجودة في العالم، وليس على اساس ايديولوجيه غير مرنة. وسوف نسترشد بدروس الخبرة، وليس بحدود التفكير المتزمت. وسوف نسعى نحو إصلاحات تدريجية، وليس تدخلاً مفاجئاً، كلما كان ذلك ممكناً. يجب أن نسعى إلى شركاء، وليس إلى الكمال – وأن يكون لنا حلفاء من جميع الذين يشاركوننا أهدافنا.

وقبل كل شيء، فإن الولايات المتحدة تسعى إلى السلام، وليس الحرب. يجب أن تكون البلدان الاسلامية مستعدة لتحمل العبء، إذا ما أردنا دحر الارهاب وإرسال ايديولوجيته الشريرة إلى غياهب النسيان.

إن المَهَمة الأولى في هذا الجهد المشترك هو أن تمنع بلدانكم جنود الشر من التواجد على أي جزء من أراضيها. إن على كل بلد في المنطقة واجب أساسي يتمثل في التأكد من أن الإرهابيين لا يجدوا ملاذا على أرضه.

وتقدم الكثير من البلدان بالفعل إسهامات ملموسة للأمن الإقليمي: فالطيارين الاردنيين هم شركاء أساسيين ضد تنظيم داعش في العراق وسوريا. وقد اتخذت المملكة العربية السعودية وتحالف اقليمي إجراءات قوية ضد المقاتلين الحوثيين في اليمن. ويطارد الجيش اللبناني عناصر تنظيم داعش الذين يحاولون التسلل إلى أراضيه. وتدعم قوات الأمارات العربية المتحدة شركائنا الافغان، وتدعمهم بقوة. وتدعم القوات الأمريكية الاكراد، والسُنة، والشيعة الذين يقاتلون معا في الموصل لأجل وطنهم. كما أن قطر التي تستضيف القيادة المركزية للولايات المتحدة هي شريك استراتيجي هام. وتواصل شراكاتنا طويلة الأمد مع الكويت والبحرين تعزيز الأمن في المنطقة. ويقدم جنودنا الأفغان الشجعان تضحيات هائلة في الحرب ضد طالبان، وآخرون، في قتالهم من أجل بلدهم.

ومع قيامنا بحرمان المنظمة الارهابية من السيطرة على الأراضي والسكان، يجب علينا أيضا تجريدهم من امكانية الحصول على التمويل. ويجب علينا وقف القنوات المالية التي تسمح لتنظيم داعش ببيع النفط، وتسمح للمتطرفين بدفع الأموال لمقاتليهم، وتساعد الارهابيين على تهريب تعزيزاتهم.

وإنه لمن دواعي شعوري بالفخر أن أعلن أن البلدان الموجودة هنا اليوم سوف توقع اتفاقا لمنع تمويل الارهاب، سيطلق عليه مركز استهداف تمويل الارهاب – تتشارك الولايات المتحدة والمملكة العربية السعودية في رئاسته، وينضم إليه كل أعضاء مجلس التعاون الخليجي. وهذه خطوة تاريخية أخرى في يوم سوف يُذكر طويلاً.

وأنا أُشيد أيضا بمجلس التعاون الخليجي لمنعه الممولين من استخدام بلدانه كقاعدة تمويل للإرهاب، ولإدراجه حزب الله كمنظمة إرهابية في العام الماضي. كما انضمت المملكة العربية السعودية إلينا هذا الاسبوع في فرض عقوبات على واحد من أكبر قادة حزب الله.

وبالطبع، مايزال هناك الكثير الذي يجب عمله. إن ذلك يعني بصراحة مواجهة أزمة التطرف الإسلامي والإسلاميين والإرهاب الإسلامي بكل أنواعه. يجب علينا أن نوقف ما يفعلوه من أجل الإلهام لأنهم لا يقومون بأي شئ ملهم وإنما يقتلون فقط. إن لدينا تأثيراً عميقاً إذا ما نظرتم إلى ما حدث مؤخراً. ويعني ذلك الوقوف معا ضد قتل المسلمين الأبرياء، وقمع النساء، واضطهاد اليهود، وقتل المسيحيين.

يجب على الزعماء الدينيين أن يجعلوا هذا الامر واضحاً تماماً: الهمجية لن تأتي لك بالمجد – الاخلاص للشر لن يأتي لك بالكرامة. وإذا اخترت طريق الإرهاب، فإن حياتك ستكون فارغة، وستكون حياتك قصيرة، وسوف تُدان روحك تماماً. ويجب على الزعماء السياسيين أن يتحدثوا ليؤكدوا على نفس الفكرة: الأبطال لا يقتلون الابرياء، بل ينقذونهم.

لقد اتخذت العديد من البلدان الموجودة هنا اليوم خطوات هامة لايصال هذه الرسالة. إن رؤية 2030 للمملكة العربية السعودية هي تعبير هام ومشجع على التسامح، والاحترام، وتمكين المرأة، والتنمية الاقتصادية. كما أن الأمارات العربية المتحدة شاركت أيضا في معركة لكسب القلوب والنفوس – وقد أطلقت مع الولايات المتحدة مركزاً لمكافحة نشر الكراهية من خلال الانترنت. وتعمل البحرين أيضا على تقويض التجنيد والتطرف.

وأُشيد أيضا بالأردن، وتركيا، ولبنان لدورهم في استضافة اللاجئين. إن ارتفاع اعداد المهاجرين واللاجئين الذي يعيشون في ظروف سيئة حتى انهم أُجبروا على مغادرة الشرق الاوسط يستنزف رأس المال البشري الضروري لبناء مجتمعات واقتصاديات مستقرة. وعوضا عن حرمان هذه المنطقة من الكثير من الإمكانيات البشرية، فإن بإمكان بلدان الشرق الاوسط أن تمنح الشباب الأمل في مستقبل أكثر اشراقا في أوطانهم ومناطقهم. ويعني ذلك تعزيز تطلعات واحلام جميع المواطنين الذين يسعون للحصول على حياة أفضل، بما فيهم النساء والاطفال وأتباع جميع الديانات. وقد ذكر العديد من العلماء العرب والمسلمين ببلاغة بأن حماية المساواة من شأنها أن تقوّي المجتمعات المحلية العربية والمسلمة.

كان الشرق الاوسط للعديد من القرون وطنا للمسيحيين والمسلمين واليهود الذين عاشوا جنبا إلى جنب. يجب علينا ان نمارس التسامح واحترام أحدنا الآخر مرة أخرى، ولنجعل من هذه المنطقة مكانا يستطيع فيه كل رجل وامرأة، بغض النظر عن ديانتهم أو انتمائهم العرقي، التمتع بحياة كريمة ومُفعمة بالأمل.

وبهذه الروح، وبعد انهاء زيارتي للمكان الرائع الذي نتواجد في اليوم، الرياض، والتي تعرفت عليها جيداً في وقت قصير جداً، سوف اسافر إلى القدس وبيت لحم، وبعد ذلك إلى الفاتيكان، لأزور العديد من أقدس الأماكن في الأديان الابراهيمية الثلاثة. وإذا تمكنت هذه الاديان الثلاثة من التعاون معا، فإنه من الممكن تحقيق السلام في هذا العالم، بما في ذلك السلام بين الاسرائيليين والفلسطينيين. سوف التقي مع كل من رئيس الوزراء الاسرائيلي بنيامين نتانياهو والرئيس الفلسطيني عباس.

إن حرمان الارهابيين من أراضيهم، وتمويلهم، والجاذبية الكاذبة للأيديولوجية الجبانة سيكون أساسا لهزيمتهم بسهولة. غير أنه لن تكون هناك مناقشة كاملة حول القضاء على هذا التهديد دون ذكر الحكومة التي تمنح الارهابيين الأمور الثلاثة – الملاذ الآمن،

والدعم المالي، والمكانة الاجتماعية اللازمة للتجنيد. إن هذا النظام مسؤول عن الكثير من عدم الاستقرار في هذه المنطقة. أنا بالطبع اتحدث عن إيران.

من لبنان إلى العراق واليمن، فإن إيران تمول وتسلّح وتدرّب الارهابيين والمليشيات والجماعات المتطرفة الاخرى التي تنشر الدمار والفوضى في كل انحاء المنطقة. لقد غذّت إيران لعقود حرائق الصراع الطائفي والارهاب. إنها حكومة تتحدث صراحة عن القتل الجماعي، وتتعهد بتدمير إسرائيل، والموت للولايات المتحدة، والخراب للعديد من زعماء الدول الموجودين في هذه القاعة.

من بين أكثر تدخلات إيران المأساوية والمُزعزعة للاستقرار شاهدتموها في سوريا، فقد ارتكب الاسد، الذي تدعمه إيران، جرائم لا توصف، وقد اتخذت الولايات المتحدة إجراءات صارمة ردا على استخدام نظام الاسد لأسلحة كيميائية محظورة، حيث أطلقت الولايات المتحدة 59 صاروخا على القاعدة الجوية السورية التي انطلق منها ذلك الهجوم المهلك. يجب على البلدان المسؤولة أن تعمل معاً لإنهاء الأزمة الإنسانية في سوريا، والقضاء على تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام (داعش)، واستعادة الإستقرار في المنطقة، وبأسرع وقت ممكن.

إن الضحايا الاكثر معاناة من النظام الايراني هم شعبه. إن لإيران تاريخ غني وثقافة غنية، ولكن الشعب الإيراني تحمل المشقة واليأس في ظل سعي قادته المتهور للصراع والإرهاب. وإلى أن يكون النظام الإيراني مستعداً ليكون شريكا في السلام، يجب على جميع البلدان التي تتحلى بالضمير العمل معا لعزل إيران، ومنعها من تمويل الارهاب – ألا يمكن فعل ذلك – والابتهال كي يأتي اليوم الذي يتمتع فيه الشعب الإيراني بحكومة عادلة وصالحة يستحقها فعلاً. إن القرارات التي سنتخذها من شأنها أن تؤثر على حياة عدد لا يحصى من الناس.

خادم الحرمين الشريفين جلاله الملك سلمان، أود ان اتقدم لكم بالشكر على إيجاد هذه اللحظة الرائعة من التاريخ، وعلى استثماركم الكبير في الولايات المتحدة، وصناعتها، ووظائفها. وأشكر جلالتكم أيضا على استثماركم في مستقبل هذا الجزء من العالم. إن المنطقة الخصبة – وهي خصبة جداً – يتوفر بها جميع مكونات النجاح الاستثنائي – تاريخ غني وثقافة غنية، وشعب فتي نابض بالحياة، وروح تواقة للقيام بالمشروعات. ولكنكم تستيطعون فقط تحقيق هذا المستقبل بتحرير مواطني الشرق الاوسط من التطرف، والارهاب، والعنف.

نحن المتواجدون في هذه القاعة زعماء لشعوبنا، فهم يتطلعون إلينا للحصول على اجابات وللقيام بأفعال. وعندما ننظر نحن بدورنا إلى وجوههم، فسنجد خلف كل عينين نفسا تواقة للعدالة وتواقة للسلام. واليوم تنظر إلينا مليارات من الوجوه الآن، تنتظر منا التعامل مع الموضوع الكبير لعصرنا: هل سنقف غير مبالين بوجود الشر؟ هل سنحمي مواطنينا من أيديولوجيته العنيفة؟ هل سنترك سُمه ينتشر في مجتمعاتنا؟ هل سنتركه يدمر أكثر الأماكن قُدسية على الارض؟

إذا لم نواجه هذا الارهاب الفتاك، فإننا نعلم ما الذي سيأتي به المستقبل – المزيد من المعاناة والموت واليأس. ولكن لو تحركنا – لو خرجنا من هذه القاعة الرائعة موَحَدين وعازمين على القيام بما يتطلبه الامر لتدمير الارهاب الذي يهدد العالم – فلن يكون هناك حدود للمستقبل الرائع الذي سيتمتع به مواطنونا.

إن مهد الحضارة ينتظر ليبدأ نهضة جديدة. فقط تصوروا ما يمكن أن يأتي به الغد. عجائب رائعة من العلم والفن والطب والتجارة التي تلهم البشرية، ومُدن عظيمة مبنية على أنقاض مدن محطمة، وفرص عمل وصناعات جديدة من شأنها أن ترتقي بملايين وملايين الناس. وأولياء أمور لم يعودوا قلقين على اطفالهم، وأسرهم ولم يعدوا يحزنون على أحبائهم، واتباع ديانات يتعبدون أخيراً دون خوف. إن هذه هي ثمار الرخاء والسلام. وهذه هي الرغبات التي تشتعل بشعلة الصلاح في قلب كل إنسان، وهذه هي المطالب العادلة لشعوبنا الحبيبة.

أطلب منكم الإنضمام لي، والإنضمام معاً، والعمل معا، والكفاح معا – لأننا بوحدتنا لن نفشل. لا يمكن أن نفشل. لا أحد – لا أحد على الإطلاق – يمكن أن يهزمنا.

أشكركم. بارك الله فيكم. بارك الله في بلدانكم، وبارك الله في الولايات المتحدة الامريكية. أشكركم شكراً جزيلاً.

Target text 2: Trump's speech at the Arab-Islamic Summit, CNN translation

أود أن أشكر الملك سلمان على كلماته الاستثنائية، والمملكة العربية السعودية الرائعة لاستضافتها قمة اليوم.. لقد سمعت دائماً عن روعة بلدكم ولطف مواطنيكم، ولكن الكلمات لا تنصف عظمة هذا المكان الرائع والضيافة المذهلة التي أظهرتموها لنا منذ لحظة وصولنا.

استضفتموني في بيت الملك عبدالعزيز، مؤسس المملكة الذي وحد شعبكم العظيم. وقد بدأ الملك عبدالعزيز، إلى جانب زعيم آخر محبوب - الرئيس الأمريكي فرانكلين روزفلت - الشراكة الدائمة بين دولتينا. أيها الملك سلمان، والدك كان سيفخر جداً برؤية أنك تواصل إرثه - وكما فتح هو الصفحة الأولى في شراكتنا، نبدأ اليوم فصلاً جديداً يحقق فوائد دائمة لمواطنينا.

واسمحوا لي الآن أن أعرب عن امتناني العميق والصادق لكل رؤساء الدول الموقرين الذين قطعوا هذه الرحلة إلى هنا اليوم. إنكم تشرفوننا كثيراً بحضوركم، وأرسل أحر التحيات من بلدي إلى بلادكم. وأنا أعلم أن وقتنا معاً سيجلب العديد من الفوائد لشعبكم ولشعبي.

إنني أقف أمامكم وأنا أمثل الشعب الأمريكي، لأقدم رسالة صداقة وأمل. وهذا هو سبب اختياري أن تكون أول زيارة خارجية لي إلى قلب العالم الإسلامي، إلى الأمة التي تخدم أقدس موقعين في دين الإسلام.

في خطاب تنصيبي أمام الشعب الأمريكي، تعهدت بتعزيز أقدم الصداقات الأمريكية، وبناء شراكات جديدة سعياً لتحقيق السلام. كما وعدت بأننا لن نسعى لفرض طريقة حياتنا على الآخرين بل سنمد أيدينا بروح التعاون والثقة.

رؤيتنا هي رؤية تتمحور حول السلام والأمن والازدهار في هذه المنطقة، وفي العالم.

وهدفنا هو تحالف الأمم التي تشترك في هدف القضاء على التطرف، وتزويد أطفالنا بمستقبل متفائل يحترم الله.

ولذلك، فإن هذا التجمع التاريخي وغير المسبوق للقادة - الفريد من نوعه في تاريخ الأمم - هو رمز للعالم يعكس عزمنا المشترك واحترامنا المتبادل. وبالنسبة لقادة ومواطني كل بلد اجتمعوا هنا اليوم، أريدكم أن تعرفوا أن الولايات المتحدة حريصة على إقامة روابط أوثق للصداقة والأمن والثقافة والتجارة.

إن هذا وقت مثير للأمريكيين. وتجتاح دولتنا روح جديدة من التفاؤل: إذ في غضون أشهر قليلة، أنشأنا ما يقرب من مليون وظيفة جديدة، وأضافنا أكثر من 3 تريليونات دولار من القيمة المضافة الجديدة، وخففنا الأعباء على الصناعة الأمريكية، وسجلنا استثمارات قياسية في جيشنا ما سيحمي سلامة شعبنا ويُعزز أمن أصدقائنا وحلفائنا الرائعين - وكثير منهم هنا اليوم.

الآن، هناك المزيد من الأخبار السارة التي يسعدني أن أشاركها معكم. إن اجتماعاتي مع الملك سلمان، وولي العهد، وولي ولي العهد، قد ملأها الدفء وحسن نية والتعاون الهائل.

لقد وقعنا أمس (السبت) اتفاقيات تاريخية مع المملكة تستثمر ما يقرب من 400 مليار دولار في بلدينا وتخلق آلافاً من فرص العمل في أمريكا والسعودية.

وتشمل هذه الاتفاقية التاريخية الإعلان عن مبيعات دفاعية للسعودية بقيمة 110 مليار دولار، وسنتأكد من مساعدة أصدقائنا السعوديين للحصول على صفقة جيدة من شركات الدفاع الأمريكية الكبرى. وستساعد هذه الاتفاقية الجيش السعودي على القيام بدور أكبر في العمليات الأمنية.

وقد بدأنا أيضاً مناقشات مع العديد من البلدان الحاضرة اليوم بشأن تعزيز الشراكات الحالية وتشكيل شراكات جديدة لتعزيز الأمن والاستقرار في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وخارجها.

في وقت لاحق اليوم، سنصنع التاريخ مرة أخرى بافتتاح مركز عالمي جديد لمكافحة الأيديولوجية المتطرفة – وسيكون المركز موجوداً هنا، في هذا الجزء المحوري من العالم الإسلامي. ويمثل هذا المركز الجديد الرائد إعلاناً واضحاً بأنه يجب على الدول ذات الأغلبية المسلمة أن تأخذ زمام المبادرة في مكافحة التطرف، وأود أن أعرب عن امتناننا للملك سلمان على هذا الاستعراض القوي للقيادة.

وقد كان من دواعي سروري أن أرحب بالعديد من القادة الحاضرين اليوم في البيت الأبيض، وأتطلع إلى العمل معكم جميعاً.

إن أمريكا دولة ذات سيادة، وأولويتنا الأولى هي دائما سلامة وأمن مواطنينا. نحن لسنا هنا لنُحاضر - لسنا هنا لنملي على الآخرين كيفية عيش حياتهم أو التصرف أو ممارسة دينهم. وإنما نحن هنا لعرض الشراكة – على أساس المصالح والقيم المشتركة – بهدف الوصول إلى مستقبل أفضل لنا جميعاً.

هنا في هذه القمة سنناقش العديد من المصالح التي نتشارك فيها. ولكن قبل كل شيء يجب أن نتحد في السعي إلى تحقيق هدف واحد يتجاوز كل اعتبار آخر. وهذا الهدف هو مواجهة اختبار التاريخ العظيم - القضاء على التطرف وقهر قوى الإرهاب.

وينبغي أن يستطيع الفتيان والفتيات من الشباب المسلم أن يكبروا بعيدا عن الخوف، وفي مأمن من العنف، ولا تحرمهم الكراهية من البراءة.

وينبغي أن يتاح للمسلمين والمسلمات فرصة بناء حقبة جديدة من الازدهار لأنفسهم ولشعوبهم.

وبمساعدة الله، ستشكل هذه القمة بداية النهاية لأولئك الذين يمارسون الإرهاب وينشرون عقيدته الخبيثة. وفي الوقت نفسه، ندعو أن يُذكر هذا التجمع الخاص يوماً ما باعتباره بداية السلام في الشرق الأوسط - وربما حتى في جميع أنحاء العالم.

ولكن هذا المستقبل لا يمكن تحقيقه إلا من خلال هزيمة الإرهاب والأيديولوجية التي تدفعه. وقد نجا عدد قليل من الدول من انتشاره العنيف.

عانت أميركا من هجمات بربرية متكررة - من الفظائع التي وقعت في 11 سبتمبر إلى دمار تفجير بوسطن، إلى عمليات القتل الرهيبة في سان برناردينو وأورلاندو.

لقد عانت دول أوروبا أيضاً من رعب لا يُوصف. كما الحال في دول أفريقيا وحتى أمريكا الجنوبية. ووقعت الهند وروسيا والصين واستراليا ضحايا.

ولكن، بأعداد هائلة، حلت أكثر الخسائر فتكاً بالشعوب العربية والإسلامية والشرق أوسطية البريئة. لقد تحملوا العبء الأكبر من أعمال القتل وحلت بهم أسوأ أشكال الدمار بهذه الموجة من العنف المتعصب.

وتشير بعض التقديرات إلى أن أكثر من 95 في المائة من ضحايا الإرهاب من المسلمين.

إننا نواجه الآن كارثة إنسانية وأمنية في هذه المنطقة تنتشر عبر كوكبنا. إنها مأساة ذات أبعاد ملحمية. ولا يمكن لأي وصف للمعاناة والفساد أن يبدأ في استيعابه بالكامل.

التأثير الحقيقي لتنظيم داعش والقاعدة وحزب الله وحماس والعديد من التنظيمات الأخرى، لا يجب أن يُقاس فقط بعدد القتلى. يجب أن يُقاس أيضاً بأجيال من الأحلام المتلاشية.

الشرق الأوسط غني بالجمال الطبيعي، والثقافات النابضة بالحياة، وكميات هائلة من الكنوز التاريخية. وينبغي أن يصبح أحد المراكز العالمية الكبرى للتجارة والفرص. ولا ينبغي أن تكون هذه المنطقة مكانا يفر منه اللاجئون، وإنما يتدفق إليها القادمون الجدد.

المملكة العربية السعودية هي موطن لأقدس المواقع لأحد أكبر الديانات في العالم. كل عام يأتي الملايين من المسلمين من جميع أنحاء العالم إلى السعودية لأداء الحج. وبالإضافة إلى العجائب العتيقة، هذه الدولة هي أيضاً موطن لعجائب حديثة - بما في ذلك الإنجازات المذهلة في الهندسة المعمارية.

كانت مصر مركزاً مزدهراً للتعليم والإنجازات منذ آلاف السنين، وسبقت أجزاء أخرى من العالم. عجائب الجيزة والأقصر والإسكندرية هي مصدر فخر لهذا التراث القديم.

في جميع أنحاء العالم، يحلم الناس بزيارة أنقاض البتراء الأثرية في الأردن. وكان العراق مهد الحضارة وهو أرض الجمال الطبيعي. وقد وصلت الإمارات العربية المتحدة إلى ارتفاعات لا تصدق بالزجاج والصلب، وحوّلت الأرض والمياه إلى أعمال فنية مذهلة.

وتقع المنطقة بأكملها في قلب الممرات الرئيسية في قناة السويس والبحر الأحمر ومضيق هرمز.

وإمكانات هذه المنطقة أكبر الآن من أي وقت مضى. إذ أن 65 في المائة من سكانها تحت سن الثلاثين. وكما الحال مع جميع الشباب والشابات، فهم يسعون لبناء مستقبل كبير، وللانضمام إلى مشاريع وطنية، وإيجاد منازل لعائلاتهم.

ولكن هذه الإمكانات غير المستغلة، هذا السبب الهائل للتفاؤل، يكبحه سفك الدماء والإرهاب. ولا يمكن أن يكون هناك تعايش مع هذا العنف. لا يمكن أن يُحتمل، أو يُقبل، أو يُعذر، أو يُتجاهل.

في كل مرة يقتل إرهابي شخصاً بريئاً، ويستخدم اسم الله على نحو كاذب، ينبغي أن يمثل ذلك إهانة لكل شخص مؤمن.

الإرهابيون لا يعبدون الله، إنهم يعبدون الموت.

وإذا لم نتصرف ضد هذا الإرهاب المنظم، فإننا نعرف ما سيحدث. وسيستمر انتشار تدمير الإرهاب للحياة. ستتحول الجماعات السلمية إلى العنف. وسيضيع للأسف مستقبل أجيال عديدة. إذا لم نقف في إدانة موّحدة لهذا القتل، فلن تحاسبنا شعوبنا فحسب، ولن يحاسبنا التاريخ فحسب، وإنما سيحاسبنا الله.

هذه ليست معركة بين مختلف الديانات أو الطوائف المختلفة أو الحضارات المختلفة. هذه معركة بين المجرمين الهمجيين الذين يسعون إلى طمس حياة الإنسان، والناس الكرماء من جميع الأديان الذين يسعون إلى حمايته.

هذه معركة بين الخير والشر.

عندما نرى مشاهد الدمار في أعقاب الإرهاب، لا نرى أي علامات على أن القتلة كانوا من اليهود أو المسيحيين، من الشيعة أو السنة. عندما ننظر إلى تيارات الدماء البريئة التي أغرقت الأراضي القديمة، لا يمكننا أن نرى دين أو طائفة أو قبيلة الضحايا – كل ما نراه فقط أنهم كانوا أبناء الله الذين يُعد موتهم إهانة لكل ما هو مقدس.

ولكننا لا نستطيع التغلب على هذا الشر إلا إذا كانت قوى الخير متحدة وقوية - وإذا قام كل فرد في هذه القاعة بنصيبه العادل وتحمل جزءاً من العب.

لقد انتشر الإرهاب في جميع أنحاء العالم. ولكن الطريق إلى السلام يبدأ هنا، في هذه الأرض العتيقة، في هذه الأرض المقدسة.

الولايات المتحدة مستعدة للوقوف معكم من أجل المصالح المتبادلة والأمن المشترك.

لكن دول الشرق الأوسط لا يمكنها انتظار تدمير القوة الأمريكية لهذا العدو (الإرهاب) بالنيابة عنهم. على أمم الشرق الأوسط أن تقرر نوع المستقبل الذي تريده لنفسها، وبصراحة، لعائلاتها وأطفالها.

إنه خيار بين مستقبلين – وهو خيار لا يمكن لأمريكا أن تأخذه بالنيابة عنكم.

المستقبل الأفضل سيكون محتملاً فقط في حال طردت أممكم الإرهابيين والمتطرفين. اطردوهم من أماكن العبادة. أخرجوهم من مجتمعاتكم وأراضيكم المقدسة. اطردوهم من الأرض.

ومن جانبنا، فإن أمريكا ملتزمة بتعديل استراتيجياتها لمواكبة تطور التهديدات والحقائق الجديدة.

سنتخلى عن الاستراتيجيات التي لم تنجح، وسنطبق نهجاً جديداً مستنيراً بالخبرة والفطنة. نحن نعتمد الواقعية الأخلاقية، المتجذرة في القيم والمصالح المشتركة.

إن أصدقائنا لن يشككوا أبداً في دعمنا، ولن يشك أعداؤنا أبداً في عزمنا. إن شراكاتنا ستعزز الأمن من خلال الاستقرار، وليس من خلال الاضطراب الجذري. وسنتخذ قراراتنا على أساس النتائج في العالم الحقيقي – وليس بناءً على أيديولوجية غير مرنة.

سنسترشد بدروس الخبرة، ولن ننحصر ضمن حدود التفكير المتزمت. وسنسعى، حيثما أمكن، إلى إجراء إصلاحات تدريجية - وليس التدخل المفاجئ.

ويجب علينا أن نسعى للشراكة، وليس إلى الكمال، وأن نسعى للتحالف مع من يشاركنا أهدافنا.

وفوق كل شيء، تسعى أمريكا للسلام وليس الحرب.

ويجب أن تكون الدول الإسلامية مستعدة لتحمل العبء، إذا أردنا أن نهزم الإرهاب ونرسل أيديولوجياته الشريرة إلى غياهب النسيان.

المهمة الأولى في هذا الجهد المشترك هي أن تحرم أممكم جنود الشر من الأراضي. ويجب على كل دولة في المنطقة أن تضمن ألا يجد الإرهابيون ملاذاً آمناً فيها.

الكثير يقدمون بالفعل مساهمات كبيرة في الأمن الإقليمي: الطيارون الأردنيون شركاء حاسمون ضد "داعش" في سوريا والعراق. وقد اتخذت السعودية والتحالف الإقليمي تحركات قوية ضد المسلحين الحوثيين في اليمن. الجيش اللبناني يلاحق عناصر "داعش" الذين يحاولون التسلل إلى أراضي لبنان. وتدعم القوات الإماراتية شركائنا الأفغان. في الموصل، تدعم القوات الأمريكية الأكراد والسنة والشيعة الذين يقاتلون معاً من أجل وطنهم. وتعتبر قطر، التي تستضيف القيادة المركزية الأمريكية، شريكاً استراتيجياً حاسماً. وتواصل شراكتنا الطويلة الأمد مع الكويت والبحرين تعزيز الأمن في المنطقة. والجنود الأفغان الشجعان يقدمون تضحيات هائلة في الكفاح ضد حركة طالبان، وغيرها، ضمن جهود الكفاح من أجل بلدهم.

وبينما نمنع المنظمات الإرهابية من السيطرة على الأراضي والسكان، يجب علينا أيضاً تجريدهم من إمكانية حصولهم على الأموال. يجب علينا قطع القنوات المالية التي تسمح لداعش ببيع النفط، والسماح للمتطرفين بالدفع لمقاتليهم، ومساعدة الإرهابيين على تهريب إمداداتهم.

إنني فخور بأن أعلن أن الأمم هنا اليوم ستوقع اتفاقاً لمنع تمويل الإرهاب، بمسمى "مركز استهداف تمويل الإرهاب"، الذي تشترك في رئاسته الولايات المتحدة والمملكة العربية السعودية وينضم إليه جميع أعضاء مجلس التعاون الخليجي. إنها خطوة تاريخية أخرى في يوم سيُذكر على مدى طويل.

وأثني أيضاً على مجلس التعاون الخليجي لحجبه الممولين عن استخدام بلدانهم كقاعدة مالية للإرهاب، وتصنيفه "حزب الله" منظمة إرهابية العام الماضي. كما انضمت المملكة العربية السعودية إلينا هذا الأسبوع في فرض عقوبات على أحد كبار قادة "حزب الله."

وبطبيعة الحال، لا يزال هناك الكثير مما يجب القيام به.

وهذا يعني مواجهة أزمة التطرف الإسلامي والجماعات الإسلامية الإرهابية. وهذا يعني الوقوف معاً ضد قتل الأبرياء المسلمين، وقمع النساء، واضطهاد اليهود، وذبح المسيحيين.

يجب على القادة الدينيين أن يوُضحوا أن البربرية لن تجلب لك أي مجد - تبجيل الشر لن يجلب لك أي كرامة. إذا اخترت مسار الإرهاب، ستكون حياتك فارغة، ستكون حياتك قصيرة، وستكون روحك مدانة.

ويجب على القادة السياسيين أن يتحدثوا لتأكيد نفس الفكرة: الأبطال لا يقتلون الأبرياء؛ بل يحموهم. وقد اتخذت دول كثيرة هنا اليوم خطوات هامة لنشر هذه الرسالة. إن رؤية السعودية 2030 يُعد تصريحاً هاماً ومشجعاً حول التسامح والاحترام وتمكين المرأة والتنمية الاقتصادية.

كما شاركت الإمارات العربية المتحدة في المعركة من أجل القلوب والنفوس، وأطلقت مع الولايات المتحدة مركزاً لمواجهة انتشار الكراهية على الإنترنت. كما تعمل البحرين على تقويض التجنيد والتطرف.

كما أشيد بالأردن وتركيا ولبنان لدورهم في استضافة اللاجئين. إن تدفق المهاجرين واللاجئين الذين يغادرون الشرق الأوسط يستنزف رأس المال البشري اللازم لبناء مجتمعات واقتصادات مستقرة. وبدلاً من حرمان هذه المنطقة من إمكانات بشرية كبيرة، يمكن لبلدان الشرق الأوسط أن تعطي الشباب الأمل في مستقبل أكثر إشراقاً في دولهم ومناطقهم.

وهذا يعني تعزيز تطلعات وأحلام جميع المواطنين الذين يسعون إلى حياة أفضل - بمن فيهم النساء والأطفال وأتباع جميع الديانات. وقد قال العديد من العلماء العرب والإسلاميين ببلاغة إن حماية المساواة تقوي المجتمعات العربية والإسلامية.

لقرون عديدة كان الشرق الأوسط موطناً للمسيحيين والمسلمين واليهود الذين يعيشون معاً. ويجب أن نمارس التسامح والاحترام المتبادل مرة أخرى، وأن نجعل هذه المنطقة مكاناً يمكن فيه لكل رجل وامرأة، بصرف النظر عن إيمانهم أو عرقهم، أن يتمتعوا بحياة كريمة يملأها الأمل.

وبهذه الروح، في ختام زيارتي للرياض، سأسافر إلى القدس وبيت لحم، ثم إلى الفاتيكان، حيث سأزور العديد من أقدس الأماكن في الأديان الإبراهيمية الثلاثة. وإذا أمكن لهذه الديانات الثلاث أن تتعاون معاً، فإن السلام في هذا العالم سيكون ممكناً - بما في ذلك السلام بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين. وسأجتمع مع رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي، بنيامين نتنياهو، والرئيس الفلسطيني، محمود عباس.

إن حرمان الإرهابيين من أراضيهم وتمويلهم والجاذبية الكاذبة لإيديولوجياتهم الجبانة، ستكون أساساً لهزيمتهم.

ولكن لن يكون هناك نقاش حول القضاء على هذا التهديد بالكامل، دون الإشارة إلى الحكومة التي تعطي الإرهابيين الملاذ الآمن، والدعم المالي، والمكانة الاجتماعية اللازمة للتجنيد. إنه نظام مسؤول عن عدم الاستقرار في المنطقة. أنا أتكلم عن إيران.

من لبنان إلى العراق إلى اليمن، تقوم إيران بتمويل وتسليح وتدريب الإرهابيين والميليشيات والجماعات المتطرفة الأخرى التي تنشر الدمار والفوضى في المنطقة. على مدى عقود، غذّت إيران حرائق الصراع الطائفي والإرهاب.

إنها حكومة تتحدث صراحة عن القتل الجماعي، وتتعهد بتدمير إسرائيل والموت لأمريكا، والخراب لكثير من القادة والأمم في هذه القاعة.

ومن بين أكثر التدخلات زعزعة للاستقرار، تدخل إيران في سوريا. إذ ارتكب (الرئيس السوري، بشار) الأسد، بدعم من إيران، جرائم لا توصف، واتخذت الولايات المتحدة إجراءات حازمة رداً على استخدام نظام الأسد للأسلحة الكيماوية المحظورة، حيث أطلقت 59 صاروخا من طراز توماهوك على القاعدة الجوية السورية (الشعيرات) حيث نشأ هذا الهجوم القاتل.

يجب على الدول المسؤولة أن تعمل معاً لإنهاء الأزمة الإنسانية في سوريا، والقضاء على داعش، واستعادة الاستقرار في المنطقة.

وأكبر ضحايا النظام الإيراني هو شعبه. لدى إيران تاريخ وثقافة غنية، ولكن الشعب الإيراني عانى من المشقة واليأس في ظل سعي قادته بتهور للصراع والإرهاب.

وحتى يرغب النظام الإيراني في أن يكون شريكاً في السلام، يجب على جميع الدول أن تعمل معاً لعزل إيران، ومنعها من تمويل الإرهاب، وأن تدعو أن يأتي اليوم الذي يتمتع فيه الشعب الإيراني بالحكومة العادلة الصالحة التي يستحقها.

إن القرارات التي نتخذها ستؤثر على حياة أعداد لا حصر لها.

أيها الملك سلمان، أشكرك على خلق هذه اللحظة العظيمة في التاريخ، ولاستثماركم الضخم في أمريكا وصناعاتها ووظائفها. كما أشكركم على الاستثمار في مستقبل هذا الجزء من العالم.

هذه المنطقة الخصبة لديها كل المكونات لتحقيق نجاح استثنائي - تاريخ غني وثقافة، وشعب شاب ينبض بالحياة، وروح المبادرة. ولكن لا يمكن أن يُحقق هذا المستقبل إلا إذا تم تحرير مواطني الشرق الأوسط من التطرف والإرهاب والعنف.

ونحن في هذه القاعة قادة شعوبنا. إنهم يتطلعون إلينا للحصول على إجابات ولاتخاذ إجراءات. وعندما ننظر إلى وجوههم، نرى وراء أعينهم روحاً تتوق إلى العدالة.

واليوم، تنظر مليارات الوجوه إلينا الآن، في انتظار أن نتخذ إجراءً بشأن أعظم سؤال في عصرنا.

هل سنكون غير مبالين في وجود الشر؟ هل سنحمي مواطنينا من أيديولوجيته العنيفة؟ هل سنترك سمّه ينتشر عبر مجتمعاتنا؟ هل سنتركه يدمر معظم الأماكن المقدسة في الأرض؟

إذا لم نواجه هذا الإرهاب القاتل، فإننا نعرف ما سيحدث في المستقبل – المزيد من المعاناة واليأس.

ولكن إذا تصرفنا - إذا تركنا هذه الغرفة الرائعة متحدين وعازمين على القيام بما يلزم لتدمير الإرهاب الذي يهدد العالم - فلا يوجد حد للمستقبل العظيم الذي سيحظى به مواطنوننا.

مسقط رأس الحضارة ينتظر أن بداية نهضة جديدة. تخيلوا فقط ما يمكن أن يحققه الغد.

عجائب العلوم والفنون والطب والتجارة لإلهام البشرية. المدن الكبرى التي بنيت على أنقاض المدن المحطمة. وظائف وصناعات جديدة من شأنها أن ترفع من معيشة الملايين من الناس. الآباء والأمهات الذين لم يعودوا بحاجة للقلق على أطفالهم، والأسر التي لم تعد في حالة حداد على أحبائهم، والمؤمنون الذين يستطيعون أخيراً ممارسة دياناتهم دون خوف.

هذه هي بركات الرخاء والسلام. هذه هي الرغبات الجامحة في قلب كل إنسان. وهذه هي المطالب العادلة لشعوبنا الحبيبة.

أطلب منكم أن تنضموا إلي، الانضمام معاً، للعمل معاً، والقتال معاً – لأنه إذا اتحدنا، فلن نفشل.

شكراً. حماكم الله وبارك في بلادكم. وبارك الله الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية".

Appendix Two

Source text 2: President Biden's Inaugural Address

The United States Capitol

11:52 AM EST

THE PRESIDENT: Chief Justice Roberts, Vice President Harris, Speaker Pelosi, Leader Schumer, Leader McConnell, Vice President Pence, my distinguished guests, my fellow Americans.

This is America's day.

This is democracy's day.

A day of history and hope.

Of renewal and resolve.

Through a crucible for the ages America has been tested anew and America has risen to the challenge.

Today, we celebrate the triumph not of a candidate, but of a cause, the cause of democracy.

The people - the will of the people has been heard and the will of the people has been heeded.

We have learned again that democracy is precious.

Democracy is fragile.

And at this hour, my friends, democracy has prevailed ().

So now, on this hallowed ground where just few days ago violence sought to shake this Capitol's very foundation, we come together as one nation, under God, indivisible, to carry out the peaceful transfer of power as we have for more than two centuries.

As we look ahead in our uniquely American way – restless, bold, optimistic – and set our sights on the nation we know we can be and we must be.

I thank my predecessors of both parties for their presence here today.

I thank them from the bottom of my heart ().

I know the resilience of our Constitution and the strength, the strength of our nation.

As does President Carter, who I spoke with last night but who cannot be with us today, but whom we salute for his lifetime of service (). I **have just** taken the sacred oath **each** of these patriots **have** taken— an oath first sworn by George Washington.

But the American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us.

On "We the People" who seek a more perfect Union.

This is a great nation and we are a good people.

Over the centuries through storm and strife, in peace and in war, we come so far. But we still have far to go.

We will press forward with speed and urgency, for we have much to do in this winter of peril and significant possibility.

Much to repair.

Much to restore.

Much to heal.

Much to build.

And much to gain.

Few people in our nation's history have been more challenged, or found a time more challenging, or difficult than the time we're in now.

A once-in-a-century virus silently stalks the country.

It's taken as many lives in one year as America lost in all of World War II.

Millions of jobs have been lost.

Hundreds of thousands of businesses closed.

A cry for racial justice some 400 years in the making moves us. The dream of justice for all will be deferred no longer ().

A cry for survival comes from the planet itself. A cry that can't be any more desperate or any more clear [clearer].

And now, a rise in political extremism, white supremacy, domestic terrorism that we must confront and we will defeat.

To overcome these challenges – to restore the soul and to secure the future of America – requires so much more than words.

It requires that most elusive of all things in a democracy:

Unity.

Unity.

In another January, on New Year's Day 1863, Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

When he put pen to paper, the President said, and I quote "If my name ever goes down into history it will be for this act and my whole soul is in it."

My whole soul is in it.

Today, on this January day, my whole soul is in this:

Bringing America together.

Uniting our people.

uniting our nation.

And I ask every American to join me in this cause.

Uniting to fight the foes we face:

Anger, resentment, hatred.

Extremism, lawlessness, violence.

Disease, joblessness, hopelessness.

With unity we can do great things. Important things.

We can right wrongs.

We can put people to work in good jobs.

We can teach our children in safe schools.

We can overcome the deadly virus.

We can reward work, rebuild the middle class, and make health care secure for all.

We can deliver racial justice.

We can make America, once again, the leading force for good in the world.

I know speaking of unity can sound to some like a foolish fantasy these days.

I know the forces that divide us are deep and they are real.

But I also know they are not new.

Our history has been a constant struggle between the American ideal that we are all created equal and the harsh, ugly reality that racism, nativism, fear, and demonization have long torn us apart.

The battle is perennial.

And Victory is never assured.

Through the Civil War, the Great Depression, World War, 9/11, through struggle, sacrifice, and setbacks, our "better angels" have always prevailed.

In each of these moments, enough of us enough of us come together to carry all of us forward.

And, we can do that now.

History, faith, and reason show the way, the way of unity.

We can see each other not as adversaries but as neighbors.

We can treat each other with dignity and respect.

We can join forces, stop the shouting, and lower the temperature.

For without unity, there is no peace, only bitterness and fury.

No progress, only exhausting outrage.

No nation, only a state of chaos.

This is our historic moment of crisis and challenge, and unity is the path forward.

And, we must meet this moment as the United States of America.

If we do that, I guarantee you, we will not fail.

We have never, ever, ever, ever failed in America when we have acted together.

And so today, at this time and in this place, let us start afresh.

All of us.

Let’s begin to listen to one another again.

Hear one another.

See one another.

Show respect to one another.

Politics does not have to be a raging fire destroying everything in its path.

Every disagreement doesn’t have to be a cause for total war.

And, we must reject the culture in which facts themselves are manipulated and even manufactured

().

My fellow Americans, we have to be different than this.

America has to be better than this.

And, I believe America is so much better than this.

Just look around.

Here we stand, in the shadow of a Capitol dome. As mentioned earlier, completed amid the Civil War, when the Union itself was literally hanging in the balance.

Yet we endured and we prevailed.

Here we stand looking out to the great Mall where Dr. King spoke of his dream.

Here we stand, where 108 years ago at another inaugural, thousands of protestors tried to block brave women from marching for the right to vote.

And Today, we mark the swearing-in of the first woman in American history elected to national office – Vice President Kamala Harris ().

Don’t tell me things can’t change.

Here we stand across the Potomac from Arlington National Cemetery.

And here we stand, just days after a riotous mob thought they could use violence to silence the will of the people, to stop the work of our democracy, and to drive us from this sacred ground.

It did not happen.

It will never happen.

Not today.

Not tomorrow.

Not ever.

Not ever ().

To all those who supported our campaign I am humbled by the faith you have placed in us.

To all those who did not support us, let me say this: Hear me out as we move forward. Take a measure of me and my heart.

And if you still disagree, so be it.

That's democracy. That's America. The right to dissent peaceably, within the guardrails of our Republic, is perhaps our nation's greatest strength.

Yet hear me clearly: Disagreement must not lead to disunion.

And I pledge this to you: I will be a President for all Americans all Americans.

And I promise you I will fight as hard for those who did not support me as for those who did.

Many centuries ago, Saint Augustine, a saint of my church, wrote that a people was a multitude defined by the common objects of their love.

Defined by the common objects of their love

What are the common objects we as Americans love, that define us as Americans?

I think we know.

Opportunity.

Security.

Liberty.

Dignity.

Respect.

Honor.

And, yes, the truth ().

Recent weeks and months have taught us a painful lesson.

There is truth and there are lies.

Lies told for power and for profit.

And each of us has a duty and responsibility, as citizens, as Americans, and especially as leaders – leaders who have pledged to honor our Constitution and protect our nation — to defend the truth and to defeat the lies ().

Look, I understand that many of my fellow Americans view the future with some fear and trepidation.

I understand they worry about their jobs, I understand like my dad they lay in bed at night staring at ceiling wondering : ‘can I keep my healthcare? Can I pay my mortgage? Thinking about their families, about what comes next.

I promise you I get it.

But the answer is not to turn inward, to retreat into competing factions, distrusting those who don’t look like you do, or worship the way you do, or don’t get their news from the same sources you do.

We must end this uncivil war that pits red against blue, rural versus urban, conservative versus liberal.

We can do this if we open our souls instead of hardening our hearts.

If we show a little tolerance and humility.

And if we're willing to stand in the other person's shoes, as my mom would say. Just for a moment, stand in their shoes.

Because here is the thing about life: There is no accounting for what fate will deal you.

some days when we need a hand.

There are other days when we're called to lend a hand.

That's it has to be, that's what we do for one another.

And, if we are this way, our country will be stronger, more prosperous, more ready for the future. And we can still disagree.

My fellow Americans, in the work ahead of us, we are going **to need** each other.

We **will need** all our strength to persevere through this dark winter.

We are entering what may well be the toughest and deadliest period of the virus.

We must set aside the politics and finally face this pandemic as one nation one nation ().

And I promise you this: as the Bible says weeping may endure for a night but joy cometh in the morning.

We will get through this, together together ()

Look folks, all my colleagues I serve with in the House and the Senate up here, we all understand the world is watching. Watching all of us today.

So here is my message to those beyond our borders: America has been tested and we have come out stronger for it.

We will repair our alliances and engage with the world once again.

Not to meet yesterday's challenges, but today's and tomorrow's challenges.

We will lead not merely by the example of our power but by the power of our example ().

We will be a strong and trusted partner for peace, progress, and security.

Look, you all know, we've been through so much in this nation

And, in my first act as President, I would like to ask you to join me in a moment of silent prayer to remember all those we lost this past year to the pandemic.

those 400,000 fellow Americans –moms and dads, husbands and wives, sons and daughters, friends, neighbors, and co-workers.

We will honor them by becoming the people and nation we know we can and should be.

So, I ask you

Let us say a silent prayer for those who lost their lives, and those they left behind, and for our country.

Amen.

Folks, this is a time of testing.

We face an attack on democracy and on truth.

A raging virus.

Growing inequity.

The sting of systemic racism.

A climate in crisis.

America's role in the world.

Any one of these would be enough to challenge us in profound ways.

But the fact is we face them all at once, presenting this nation with one of the gravest of responsibilities we've had.

Now we are going to be tested.

Are we going to step up.

All of us.

It is a time for boldness, for there is so much to do.

And, this is certain.

I promise you We will be judged, you and I, for how we resolve the cascading crises of our era.

Will we rise to the occasion of the question?

Will we master this rare and difficult hour?

Will we meet our obligations and pass along a new and better world for our children?

I believe we must. I'm sure you do as well. I believe we will.

And when we do, we will write the next great chapter in the history of the United States of America, American story.

It's a story that might sound something like a song that means a lot to me.

It's called "American Anthem" and there is one verse that stands out, at least for me:

"The work and prayers
of centuries have brought us to this day
What shall be our legacy?
What will our children say?…
Let me know in my heart
When my days are through
America
America
I gave my best to you."

Let's, us, add our own work and prayers to the unfolding story of our great nation.

If we do this then when our days are through our children and our children's children will say of us they gave their best.

They did their duty.

They healed a broken land.

My fellow Americans, I close today where I began, with a sacred oath.

Before God and all of you I give you my word.

I will always level with you.

I will defend the Constitution.

I will defend our democracy.

I will defend America.

And I'll give all, all of you, keep everything I do in your service

Thinking not of power, but of possibilities.

Not of personal interest, but of the public good.

And together, we shall write an American story of hope, not fear.

Of unity, not division.

Of light, not darkness.

A story of decency and dignity.

Of love and of healing.

Of greatness and of goodness.

May this be the story that guides us.

The story that inspires us.

And The story that tells ages yet to come that we answered the call of history.

We met the moment.

That democracy and hope, truth and justice, did not die on our watch but thrived.

That our America secured liberty at home and stood once again as a beacon to the world.

That is what we owe our forebearers, one another, and generations to follow.

So, with purpose and resolve we turn to those tasks of our time.

Sustained by faith.

Driven by conviction.

And, devoted to one another and to this country we love with all our hearts.

May God bless America and may God protect our troops.

Thank you, America.

END

12:13 pm EST

Target text 1: The speech of the American President Joe Biden after taking the constitutional oath, Aljazeera translation

ضيوفي الكرام أخوتي الأمريكيين هذه هذا يوما أمريكي هذه هي هذا هو اليوم للاحتفاء بالديموقراطية هو يوما تاريخي وللامل وللحسم لأجيال كاختبرت أمريكا وقد كانت أمريكا على قدر التحدي اليوم نحتفي بانتصارليس مرشح لكن انتصار قضية قضية الديمقراطية ان الشعب ورغبة الشعب قد سمعت ورغبة الشعب قد تم الاستماع إليها

لقد تعلمنا مرة أخرى ان الديمقراطية غالية، الديمقراطية هشة. وهذه يااصدقائي هي لحظة انتصار الديمقراطية (تصفيق).

لذلك الان في هذه الأرض المقدسة قبل أيام فقط حاول العنف ان يهز أسس هذة البناية توحدنا كأمة واحدة لا يمكن هزيمتنا من أجل أن نستمر بانتقال السلطة بشكل سلمي كما قمنا بذلك لقرنين في الوقت الذي نتطلع فيه إلى الأمام بطريقتنا الأمريكية الفريدة بجرأة وتفاؤل نضعوا نصب عينا هدفاً للامة التي نرغب بكونها

ان أشكر هنا الرؤساء الذين سبقوني أنا اشكرهم من أعماق قلبي وأنا اعرف (تصفيق) أنا اعرف مدى قوة دستورنا وقوة امتنا وكما قال الرئيس كارترالذي لم يكن بامكانه ان يأتي هنا ويكون معنا لكنه خصص حياته لخدمة هذا البلد

انا الان أديت قسما مقدسا قام به كل هؤلاء الأبطال القسم الذي اداه جورج واشنطن أول رئيس لكن القصة الأمريكية لا تعتمد على ايا احداً منا ليس على بعضا منا لكن على كلنا جميعا ونحن نحن الشعب الذين نسعى من اجل تحقيق الاتحاد الأفضل هذه أمة عظيمة نحن شعب طيب وعبر قرون من النضال في أوقات السلم والحرب قطعنا أشواطا طويلة لكن مايزال أمامنا الكثير

نحن نتطلع لان هنالك المزيد أمامنا للقيام به في أوقات الخطورة والشدة هنالك احتمالات وخيارات كثيرة هنالك أمورا كثيرة يجب ان نقوم ببنائها وتعافيها ونربحها هنالك أمم قليلة في التاريخ واجهت التتحديات التي نواجهها الان والصعوبات مشابهة للاوقات التي نشهدها الان

هذا الفايروس الذي لم نشهده لقرون قد كلف حياة العديد من الأمريكيين اكثر من عدد ملايين الوظائف قد خسرت عشرات الآلاف من المشاريع والأعمال قد أغلقت والصرخة لتحقيق العدالة الاجتماعية تحركنا حلم العدالة للجميع لن ياجل بعد الان (تصفيق)

صرخة النجاة تأتي من الكوكب نفسه صرخة يأس وصرخة واضحة الان وأيضا صعود التطرف السياسي الإرهاب المحلي و تفوق العنصر الأبيض هذه الأمور يجب ان نواجهها كل هذه التحديات سنعمل على إعادة إحياء مستقبل أمريكا الأمر يتطلب اكثر

من الكلمات بل يتطلب أمورا مهمة الوحدة الوحدة يتطلب منا الوحدة في عام 1630 كان هنالك توقيع لفرانكلين قال الرئيس في وقتها إذا ما سجل اسمي في التاريخ فسيكون لهذا القانون و روحي مصبوبة في هذا القانون

اليوم في يوم في هذا اليوم فأنا اضع روحي في هذا اليوم أحاول أن أوحد شعبنا أوحد امتنا وأنا أطلب من كل أمريكي أن ينضم لي في هذا السعي (تصفيق)

لكي نستطيع أن نحارب الأعداء والكراهية والتطرف وانعدام القانون والعنف والمرض والبطالة وانعدام الأمل بالوحدة بالوحدة باستطاعتنا ان نحقق أشياء عظيمة

بإمكاننا ان نصحح الأخطاء بإمكاننا ان نعيد الوظائف للناس بإمكاننا ان نعلم أطفالنا وننقذ المدارس ونواجه هذا الفايروس القاتل وبإمكاننا أن نعيد بناء الطبقة المتوسطة ونوفر الرعاية الصحية للجميع وبإمكاننا ان نطبق العدالة الاجتماعية و نجعل من أميركا مرة أخرى قائدة لعمل الخير في العالم

وانا أتحدث هنا عن الوحدة يبدو وكأن هذا الأمر خيال ساذج في هذه الأحيان أعرف ان القوى التي تقسمنا وتخلق انشقاق بيننا عميقة لكنني أعرف انها ليست جديدة أيضا ان تاريخنا كان فيه نضال مستمر بين المثل الامريكي بأننا خلقنا متساوين و الواقع القبيح القسام والخوف والشيطنة والتمييز والتمييز والتفرقة التي قسمتنا جميعاً

ان النصر ليس مضمونا من خلال الحرب الأهلية والركود العظيم والكساد و أحداث سبتمبر وحتى النضال النكسات دائماً بعد كل هذه النكسات نهضنا جميعا في كل هذه اللحظات أتينا جميعا من اجل المضي قدماً و بإمكاننا ان نقوم بهذا الأمر الان

التاريخ والإيمان والمنطق تظهر لنا الطريق طريق الوحدة بإمكاننا ان نرى بعضنا لبعض ليس كأعداء لكن كجيران بإمكاننا ان نعامل بعضنا البعض بكرامة واحترام بإمكاننا ان نضم قوانا ونوقف الصراخ ونحقق الوحدة لان بدون وحدة ليس هنالك سلام فقط سيكون هنالك مرارة ليس هنالك تقدم فقط تعب وغضب ليس هنالك أمة بل سيكون هناك دولة فوضوية كل هذه لحظات تاريخية هذه لحظات وحدة لمواجهة التحدي ولحظة المضي قدما ويجب علينا ان نواجه هذة اللحظة كولايات متحدة أمريكية اذا ماقمنا بذلك اضمن لكم اننا لن نفشل لم نفشل لن نفشل ابدا في امريكا اذا ما تحركنا سوية

لذلك اليوم في هذه اللحظة ومن هذا المكان لنبدأ بداية جديدة جميعا لنبدأ في الاستماع بعضنا البعض و نسمع بعضنا البعض ونرى بعضنا البعض ونظهر الاحترام لبعضنا البعض لا يجب لايجب ان يكون هنالك غضب ونار تدمر الجميع كل اختلاف لا يجب ان يكون سببا لاندلاع حرب ويجب علينا ان نرفض ثقافة التلاعب والتضليل (تصفيق)

اخواني الأمريكيين ان أمريكا يجب ان تكون افضل من هذا وانا مؤمن ان أمريكا افضل بكثير من ذلك لننظر حولنا نحن نقف في ظل قبة الكابيتول التي تم إكمال بنائها في منتصف الحرب الأهلية حيث كانت هنالك الأمور كثيرة على المحك لكننا تحملنا وانتصرنا

انظر الان امامي حيث موقع الذي تحدث فيه دكتور كينغ عن حلمه بعد 108 عام و عمليات تنصيب والكثير من العمليات كان هنالك أيضا الكثير من المتظاهرات من نساء شجعان واليوم نقوم نشهد باول نائبة رئيسا رئيسا أول امرأة تقوم بأداء اليمين الدستورية كنائبة لرئيس الولايات المتحدة

هنا نقف بالقرب من مقبرة ارلينغتون للشجعان الذين ضحوا بحياة من اجل الحفاظ على سلامتنا و نحن هنا نقف اليوم بعد أيام من اقتحام الرعاع الذين اعتقدوا باستخدامهم العنف بإمكانهم ان يقفوا عمل ديمقراطيتنا وان يبعدونا عن هذه الأرض المقدسة الأمر لم يحدث ولن يحدث ابدا ليس اليوم ولاغدا ولا ابدا ابدا لن يحدث (هتاف وتصفيق)

لكل من دعم حملتنا انا اشعر بالتواضع لايمانكم بي لكل من لم يدعمنا دعوني أقول لكم هذا اسمعوني وتعالوا معي اذا ماكنتم مازلتم تختلفون معي لا لا باس بذلك هذه هي ديمقراطية هذه هي أمريكا الحق بالاختلاف بطريقة سلمية لربما ان هذة الأمة هي احد نقاط قوتها هذي لكننا اسمعوني بوضوح ان الاختلاف لا يجب ان يؤدي إلى التفرقة و قد نتعهد بهذا لكم سأكون رئيسا لكل الأمريكيين كل الأمريكيين و انا أعدكم أننا حتى الأشخاص الذين لم يدعموني أنني سأقاتل دفاعا عنكم لكل من لم يدعمني كما اقانل دفاعا عمن دعمني (تصفيق)

قبل قرون عديدة اوغسطين وهو كتب كان هنالك في الكنيسة التي اذهب ان الناس يحددون يتحددون بمن احد الأهداف التي يحبها الأمريكيين والتي تحددنا وتقدمنا كامريكيين من الذي نعرفه

اعتقد اننا جميعا نعرفه الفرص والأمن والحرية والكرامة والشرف ونعم الحقيقة (تصفيق) خلال الأسابيع والاشهر الماضية تعلمنا درسا قيما ومؤلما هنالك حقائق وأكاذيب تس وو

من مسؤوليتنا جميعا كمواطنين كامريكيين وخاصة كقادة قادة الذين تعهدوا باحترام دستورنا وحماية امتنا ودفاعا عن الحقيقة وهزيمة الأكاذيب (تصفيق)

ان افهم ان العديد من المواطنين الأمريكيين هنا يخافون المستقبل وينظرون إلى المستقبل بقلق وانا اعرف انهم قلقون على وظائفهم وهم يتساءلون هل بإمكانه ان يبقوا على رعايتهم الصحية بإمكانه ان يدفعوا أقساط منازلهم يفكرون بعوائلهم لكن ماهي الخطوة التالية انا اعدكم انني اسمعكم وافهمكم لكن هذا ليس سببا يدفعنا للانغلاق أوللا نقسام أو انعدام للثقة أو لن نثق بالذي لايشبهنا أولا لمن يمارس دينهم بالطريقة التي نمارس فيه ديننا علينا ان ننهي هذه الحرب التي التي نراها بين المحافظين والليبراليين بين أهالي المدن ومناطق الريف يمكننا ان نحقق ذلك اذا مافتحنا قلوبنا اذا ماظهرنا تسامحا وطيبة واذا مارغبنا بان نكون محل الشخص الاخر قالت كانت امي تقول لي فقط للحظة واحدة فكر وضع نفسك مكان الشخص الاخر ليس هنالك بعض الأيام قد عندما تحتاج إلى يدا مساعدة وهنالك ايام أخرى يجب ان تمد يدك إلى الاخر هذه هي هذا مانقوم به بعضنا لبعضنا الاخر

وإذا ماقمنا بهذا الأمر سيصبح بلدنا اقوى واكثر رفاهية واكثر استعدادا للمستقبل و بإمكاننا ان نختلف اخواني الأمريكيين هنالك العمل **الماثل** أمامنا سنحتاج بعضنا البعض سنحتاج لقوتنا كلها لكي نمر عبر هذه الأوقات الصعبة قد تكون هذه هي ربما الفترة الأكثر فتكا للفايروس

بإمكاننا يجب علينا ان نبعد السياسة ونحارب الفايروس كأمة واحدة أمة واحدة (تصفيق) وانا اعدكم بالتالي كما قال الأنجيل ان المتعة تأتي في النهار سنتخطى هذا الأمر سويا سويا كل زملائي الذين خدمت معهم في مجلس الشيوخ هنا موجودين و نحن نفهم ان العالم يراقبنا يراقبنا جميعا هنا اذن هذه رسالتي لمن هم في الخارج

ان أمريكا كانت تحت الاختبار وقد خرجنا من هذا الاختبار اكثر قوة سوف نقوم بإعادة تحالفاتنا وننخرط مع العالم مرة أخرى و لا اقصد لتحديات الماضي لكن تحديات اليوم وتحديات الغد وسنقود ليس فقط عن طريق قوتنا لكن عن طريق الدور الذي نلعبه (تصفيق) سنكون شركاء أقوياء وموثقين للسلام والأمن

انتم تعرفون ان قد مررنا بالكثير في هذة الأمة و أمرين الاول كرئيس أريد منكم ان تنضموا لي بصلاة صامتة لتذكر كل من خسرنا خلال السنة الماضية للجائحة ال 400 الف أمريكي أمهات واباء وأبناء وبنات وأصدقاء وجيران و زملاء عمل نحتفي بهم ونحن نعرف اننا بإمكاننا ان نكون أمة افضل

أطلب منكم ان تتلوأ صلاة صامتة لتكريم حياة من خسرناهم في هذا البلد (لحظة صمت)

أصدقائي هذي أوقات صعبة لقد واجهنا هجمة على الديمقراطية وعلى **حديث** واجهنا فايروس و زيادة في عدم المساواة وتفرقة وتمييز منهجية وكل من هذه الأمور كانت تمثل تحدياً كبيرا لكن حقيقة الأمر اننا واجهناها جميعا وأعطتنا مسؤولية احد مسؤولية الاهم الان سننهض جميعا حان الوقت الان لنتكاتف لان هنالك الكثير أمامنا يجب ان نقوم به وهذا انا اعدكم أننا سيتم الحكم علينا انا وأنتم حول كيفية مواجهتنا لهذه التحديات سنكون على قدر المسؤولية وسنتمكن من إدارة هذه الساعات الصعبة ونقوم بتمرير عالم افضل لاولادنا انا اؤمن بهذا وانا اعرف اؤمن بأننا سنقوم وعندما نقوم بذلك سنكتب الفصل القادم العظيم للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية القصة الأمريكية القصة التي قد تبدو وكأنها أغنية وتعني الكثير لي النشيد الوطني الامريكي هنالك جزءا منه يشد انتباهي دائما

ان عمل وصلاة قرون قد وصلت بنا إلى هذ اليوم و تظهر لنا إرثنا وما الذي سيقوله عنا أطفالنا دعوني اعرف من صميم قلبي عند انتهاء أيامي لكن أمريكا امريكا أنا أعطيت افضل ما لدي لك دعوني اضيف دعونا نضيف كلماتنا إلى هذه القصة المستمرة القصة العظيمة لأمتنا

واذا ماقمنا بهذا الأمر فإن أيامنا وستستمر هذه الأيام عبر أولادنا وسيعرفونا اننا اعطيناهم الأفضل واننا قمنا بواجبنا وانهم ساعدوا على تعافي الجراح عندما أوديت هذا اليمين والقسم المقدس أمام الله اعطيتكم كلمتي أدافع عن الدستور سأدافع عن ديموقراطيتنا وسأدافع عن أمريكا وسأعطي كلكم الجميع كل ما أقوم به وأكون في خدمتكم ولا افكر بالسلطة بل بالفرص من اجل مصلحة الجميع وسوف نكتب ونستمر في كتابة القصة الأمريكية قصة الأمل وليس الخوف الوحدة وليس القسام النور وليس الظلام قصة الاحترام والكرامة الحب و التعافي العظمة والطيبة

لتكون هذه القصة التي ترشدنا القصة التي تلهمنا القصة التي تخبرنا ان هنالك أوقات افضل آتية اننا نستمع لطلب التاريخ ان الديمقراطية والأمل الحقيقة والعدالة لن تموت بل ستنتعش ان أمريكا مأمنة والعادلة ستكون منارة مرة أخرى للعالم هذا مانحمله على اكتافنا و نتعهد به وسنمرره للأجيال القادمة

اذا بكل إخلاص سنمرر هذا الأمر ويحدونا الأمل والاعتقاد وبإخلاص بعضنا البعض وحبنا لبلدنا ليبارك الرب أمريكا ويحمي قواتنا شكرا لك أمريكا

Target text 2: A speech for the American President Joe Biden after taking the oath, Al Arabiya translation

رئيس القضاة روبرتس ، نائبة الرئيس هاريس بيلوسي وشومر وماكونيل نائب الرئيس بنس ، وضيوفي الكرام والرفاق الامريكان
هذه هذا هو يوم أمريكا هذا هو يوم الديمقراطية يوم التاريخ والأمل التجديد والعزيمة عبر الأجيال اختبرت أمريكا تكرارا ومرارا
و وقفت أمريكا في وجه التحدي وانتصرت عليه اليوم نحتفل بانتصار ليس مرشح بل قضية قضية الديمقراطية الشعب ورغبة
الشعب سمعت ورغبة الشعب لبيت

لقد تعلمنا مرة أخرى بأن الديمقراطية ثمينة الديمقراطية هشة وفي هذه الساعة يا أصدقاء الديمقراطية انتصرت (تصفيق)

والان في هذه الأرض حيث قبل بضعة أيام العنف سعى لهز أسس العاصمة نجتمع معا كأمة واحدة تحت الله غير مقسمين للقيام
بتسليم السلطة السلمي كما فعلنا منذ اكثر من قرنين بينما نتطلع إلى المستقبل بأسلوبنا الامريكي الفريد بكل جرأة و عزيمة وتفاؤل
ونصب أعيننا على أمة يمكن ان نصل إليها ويجب ان نصل إليها

أشكر السابقين من قبلي من كلا الحزبين اشكرهم من أعماق قلبي (تصفيق) واعرف واعرف عزيمة و مرونة دستورنا وقوة امتنا
كما عرفها الرئيس كارتر الذي تحدثت معه ليلة أمس لم يتمكن من الحضور معنا اليوم ولكننا نحييه على خدماته طوال حياته

لقد قدمت عهد الولاء المقدس قدمه كل واحد من هؤلاء محبين الوطن الذي أول من قدمه هو جورج واشنطن لان القصة الأمريكية
لا تعتمد على أي واحداً منا فحسب ولا على بعضنا بل على جميعنا على نحن الشعب الذين نسعى إلى وحدة اكثر مثالية هذة أمة
عظيمة نحن شعب خير وعلى مر القرون عبر العواصف والاوقات الصعبة خلال السلم والحرب حققنا الكثير ولكن لايزال أمامنا
شوطاً طويل

سوف ندفع لان لدينا الكثير من العمل الذي يجب ان نقوم به في هذا الشتاء الصعب والامكانات التي يمكن ان تحققها الكثير الذي
يجب ان نصحه ونستعيده ولشفائه ولبنائه ولكسبه القلة من الأشخاص على مدى تاريخ امتنا واجهوا تحديات أو وجدوا أوقات اكثر
تحدياً أو صعوبة من الأوقات التي نواجهها الان

فيروس لا يحصل الا مرة في القرن اخذ حيوات اشخاص في عام واحد مما فقدته أمريكا في الحرب العالمية الثانية بأكملها الملايين من الوظائف خسرت مئات الألاف من الشركات أغلقت نداء من اجل الإعداد العرقية منذ مئات من السنوات نعمل من اجله يحركنا حلم العدالة من التضحية اجل الجميع لن يقف بعد الان (تصفيق)

نداء من اجل النجاة يأتي من كوكبنا نفسهم نداء يأس و واضح الان بلا العنصرية البيضاء والإرهاب المحلي يجب ان نواجهه وسوف نهزمه (تصفيق)

من اجل تجاوز هذه التحديات واستعادة روح أمريكا وتأمين مستقبلها فنحن بحاجة إلى اكثر من كلمات بل يتطلب اكثر من مجرد ديمقراطية الوحدة الوحدة في يناير اخر في عام 1163 وقع أبراهام لنكن عندما وضع الحبر على الورق قال الرئيس واقتبس منه قال اذا ما كتب اسمي في التاريج فسأكون من اجل هذا القانون و روحي بأكملها في هذا القرار

روحي بأكملها فيه اليوم في مثل هذا اليوم من يناير روحي بأكملها في هذا العمل ان نوحد أمريكا ونوحد شعبنا نوحد امتنا واطلب من كل أمريكي ان ينضم الي في هذة القضية (تصفيق)

علينا ان نحارب المخاطر التي نواجهها الغضب والكراهية والتطرف وانعدام القانون العنف الوباء وفقدان الوظائف و خذلان الأمل مع الوحدة بإمكاننا ان نحقق اشياء عظيمة ومهمة

بإمكاننا ان نصحح الأخطاء ونوفر الوظائف والعمل ونعلم أطفالنا ونتجاوز هذا الفايروس الفتاك يمكن ان نبني الطبقة المتوسطة ونجعل من الرعاية الصحية متوفرة للجميع يمكن ان نوحد أمريكا مرة أخرى ونجعلها قوة الخير العالمية

ان اعرف عندما أتحدث عن الوحدة قد يبدو للبعض بأنه مثل الخيال الغبي أو اعرف القوى التي تفرقنا عميقة وهي حقيقية ولكنني اعرف أيضا بأنها ليست بالجديدة تاريخنا كان كفاحاً مستمراً بين المثل الأمريكية أن الكل مخلوقين بالتساوي وبين الواقع المر و الصعب و هو بان العنصرية والخوف

المعركة صعبة والانتصار غير مضمون عبر الحروب الأهلية والنكسة الاقتصادية والحرب العالمية والحادي عشر من سبتمبر التضحية هنا لكي دائما لمن ساعدنا في الانتصار في كل واحدة من هذه اللحظات بما يكفي منا عدد قليل منا اجتمعوا لحملنا جميعا و دفعنا الى الأمام يمكننا ان نفعل ذلك الان

التاريخ الأمل والإيمان تظهر الطريق طريق الوحدة نستطيع ان نرى بعضنا البعض ليس على شكل خصوم بل جيران يمكننا ان نعامل بعضنا البعض بكرامة واحترام يمكننا ان نوحد قوانا و نوقف الصراخ و خفض التوتر من دون وحدة لايوجد سلام فقط المرارة والغضب لا تقدم فقط غضب صارخ ومرهق لا أمة فقط دولة فوضى

هذه هي لحظتنا التاريخية في خضام ألازمات والتحديات والوحدة هي الطريق للمضي قدما و يجب ان نقف في هذه اللحظة كالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية واذا فعلنا ذلك اضمن لكم بأننا لن نفشل لم نفشل ابدا في أمريكا عندما عملنا معا

بذلك اليوم في هذا الوقت وفي هذا المكان لنبدأ من جديد كلنا لنبدأ بالاصغاء والاستماع إلى بعضنا لبعض ونرى بعضنا البعض ونظهر الاحترام لبعضنا البعض. السياسات لا يجب ان تكون نارا تدمر كل شيء في طريقها كل خلاف لا يجب ان سببا لحربا شاملة ويجب ان نرفض الثقافة التي يتلاعب فيها بالحقائق بل وتصنع(تصفيق)

رفاقي الأمريكيين يجب ان نكون مختلفين عن ذلك أمريكا يجب ان تكون افضل من ذلك وانا أؤمن بأن أمريكا افضل من ذلك بكثير انظروا من حولكم هنا نقف امام قبة العاصمة كما سمعنا من قبل التي أكملت في وسط الحرب الأهلية عندما كانت الوحدة تواجه اختلالا في التوازن مع ذلك استمرينا وانتصرنا

ها نحن هنا نقف و ننظر إلى نفس المكان الذي تحدث فيه الدكتور كينغ عن احلامه هنا نقف حيث قبل 108 أعوام في تنصيباً اخر لا ثمة متظاهرين حاولوا حجب ومنع النساء الشجاعات من اجل حقهن في التصويت و اليوم تدلي أول امرأة كاثي في تاريخ الولايات المتحدة في منصبي نائب الرئيس كاملا هاريس

لاتقولوا بأن الأشياء لا يمكن ان تتغير (تصفيق)

ها نحن هنا نقف عبر مقبرة ارلينغتون حيث الأبطال الذين ضحوا بكل مالديهم يرقدون بسلام أزلي وهنا نقف نحن بعد أيام من أحداث الشغب عصابة اعتقدوا بأنهم يستخدمون العنف من اجل إسكات الجميع وإيقاف الديمقراطية ودفعنا بعيد عن هذه الأرض المقدسة لكن ذلك لم يتحقق ولن يتحقق ابدا لا اليوم ولا غدا ولا ابدا ابدا

وكل هؤلاء الذين دعموا حملتنا الانتخابية انا متواضع امام الإيمان الذي تحليتم به من أجلنا وكل الذين لم يدعمونا اسمحوا لي ان أقول لكم التالي اسمعوني بينما نمضي قدما تأملوا في و قرارتي إذا مااختلفتم معي هذه هي الديمقراطية هذه هي أمريكا الحق في الاختلاف بشكلاً سلمي و ربما قوى هذه الأمة

اسمعوني بوضوح الخلاف لا يجب ان يقود إلى تفكيك وحدتنا واأتعهد بالتالي أمامكم أنا سأكون رئيساً لكافة الأمريكيين كل الأمريكيين (تصفيق) وأعدكم بأنني سأحارب من أجل هؤلاء الذين لم يدعموني بقدر ما سأحارب من أجل هؤلاء الذين دعموني (تصفيق)

قبل عدة قرون القديسة أوغسطين قديسة كنيستي كتب بأن الشعب تحددهم الأشياء المشتركة التي يحبونها ماهي الأشياء المشتركة نحن الأمريكيون نحبها التي تحدد هويتنا كأمريكيين

اعتقد بأننا نعرف الفرص الامن الحرية النزاهة الكرامة والاحترام ونعم الحقيقة (تصفيق) خلال الأسابيع والاشهر الماضية علمتنا درساً مؤلماً هنالك حقيقة وهنالك أكاذيب أكاذيب تقال من أجل السلطة والربحية

وكل واحداً منا أمامه واجب ومسؤولية كمواطنين و أمريكيين وخاصة كقادة قادة تعهدوا باحترام دستورنا وحماية أمتنا الدفاع عن الحقيقة وهزيمة الأكاذيب

انظروا أنا ادرك بأن العديد من رفاقي الأمريكيين يرون المستقبل بشكل متخوف وأدرك بأنهم يقلقون وخائفين على وظائفهم وأدرك مثل والدي الذي كان يتساءل في كل ليلة هل سيحافظ على رعايته الصحية وسداد ديون المنزل و لكن ما التالي انا ادرك ذلك

ولكن الإجابة ليست بالتخلي أو الاستسلام وعدم الثقة بهؤلاء الذين لا يشبهوننا بالشكل أو ليس لديهم نفس معتقداتنا أو يحصلون على أخبارهم من نفس مصادرنا يجب ان ننهي هذه الحرب غير الأهلية التي تضع الأحمر مقابل الأزرق والمدني ضد المناطق النائية أوالمحافظي ضد الليبرالي نستطيع ان نحقق ذلك اذا مافتحنا أرواحنا بدلاً من قسوة قلوبنا

اذا ما أظهرنا بعض التسامح والتواضع واذا كنا مستعدين من أجل التأمل في الموقف الذي يمر به الشخص الاخر كما قالت لي والدتي فكر بما يمر به الشخص الذي امامك لان الشيء الذي يميز الحياة لا توجد مساءلة لما ستقدمه لك إيمانك في بعض الأيام عندما تكون بحاجة إلى يد المساعدة وفي أياماً أخرى عندما يطلب منا نحن من تقديم يد المساعدة هكذا يجب ان تكون الأمر وهذا ما نفعله من أجل الآخرين

واذا مكانا بهذا الشكل فبلدنا سيكون أكثر قوة وازدهاراً وأكثر جاهزية للمستقبل ومع ذلك يمكننا ان نختلف في الرأي . رفاقي الأمريكيين العمل أمامنا نحن سنكون بحاجة إلى بعضنا البعض بحاجة إلى كل قوانا من أجل الانتصار و تجاوز هذا الشتاء المظلم و ربما سندخل اصعب فترة من الفايروس وأكثرها فتكاً

يجب ان نضع السياسات جانبا وان نواجه هذه الجائحة كأمة واحدة أمة واحدة واعدكم التالي كما يقول الأنجيل قد نواجه الظلمات في الليل والصعوبات ولكن متعتنا ستأتي في النهار نحن سنحقق ذلك معاً كل زملائي الذين خدمتوا معهم في مجلس الشيوخ كلنا ندرك بأن العالم يراقبنا يراقبنا جميعاً اليوم فهذة رسالتي لمن يعيش خارج حدودنا

أمريكا اختبرت وقد خرجنا من الاختبار أقوياء سنصلح تحالفاتنا و وننخرط في العمل مع العالم ليس لمواجهة تحديات الامس بل لتحديات اليوم والمستقبل

وسنقود ليس فقط بقوتنا بل بقوة مثالنا سنكون شريكا قويا و موثوقا من أجل السلام والتقدم والأمن

انتم جميعا تعرفون لقد خضنا الكثير في هذه الأمة و أول قرار لي كرئيس أود أن أطلب منكم ان تنضموا الي في لحظة دعاء لكل هؤلاء الذين خسرناهم في العام الماضي جراء الجائحة أل 400الف شخص أمريكي من الأمهات والآباء والزواج والبنات والابناء الأصدقاء والجميع سنكرمهم بان نصبح الأمة والشعب الذي يجب ان نكون عليها

لذلك أطلب منكم نقدم صلاة صامتة لكل من خسر حياته و من أهمل و من اجل بلادنا

آمين هذا وقت اختبار و وقت صعب نواجهه في هجوم على الديمقراطية وعلى الحقيقة فيروس فتاك انعدام المساواة المتنامية والعنصرية المنظمة والمناخ في أزمة دور أمريكا في العالم كل واحدة من هذه السبل تشكل تحدياً بأشكال كثيرة الا ان الحقيقة نحن نواجهها جميعا مرة واحدة

وتقدم لهذه الأمة أكبر مسؤولياتها عى الإطلاق والان سنختبر هل سنقف جميعا في وجه هذا الاختبار حان الوقت للجراة لان أمامنا الكثير الذي يجب أن نفعله وهذا الأمر مؤكد اعدكم بأننا سنحاكم أنا وأنتم حول كيف حل هذه الأزمات و سنقف في وجه التحديات وحل ستأتي بالتزاماتنا ونمرر عالماً جديداً وأفضلا لأطفالنا اعتقد بان نفعله ذلك وانت أيضا واعتقد بأن سنفعل ذلك بالفعل وعندما نحقق ذلك سنكتب فصلا عظيما في تاريخ الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية القصة الأمريكية القصة التي قد تبدو مثل الأغنية التي تعني الكثير بالنسبة لي و اسمها النشيد الوطني الامريكي وهنالك نسخة واحدة بيت واحد عالاقل فيه وهو التالي

عملي وصلواتي القرون أوصلتنا لهذا اليوم ولكن هذا سيكون أرثنا ماذا سيقول أطفالنا دعوني اعرف في قلبي عندما تنتهي أيامي أمريكا امريكا أنا قدمت افضل مالدي من أجلك لنضيف عملنا وصلواتنا لقصة امتنا العظيمة اذا مافعلنا ذلك فعندما تنتهي أيامنا أطفالنا وأطفال أطفالنا سيقولون بأننا منحنى افضل ما لدينا وقمنا بواجبنا واصلحنا هذه الأرض المحطمة رفاقي الأمريكيين ان اختم بنفس الشكل الذي بدات فيه بهذا اليمين المقدس امام الله وامامكم اعدكم بأنني دائما سأكون صادقاً معكم وادافع عن الدستور وسأدافع عن ديموقراطيتنا وسأدافع عن أمريكا

وسأقدم لكم جميعا في خدمتكم لانفكروا في السلطة بل بالإمكانات ليس من اجل الخدمة المصلحة الخاصة بل العامة معا سنكتب القصة الأمريكية قصة الأمل وليس قصة الخوف قصة الوحدة وليس الانقسام قصة النور وليس الظلام قصة النزاهة والكرامة الحب والشفاء العظمة والخير لتكن هذت القصة التي ترشدنا وتلهمنا و القصة التي تخبر الأجيال المستقبلية بأننا أجبنا نداء التاريخ و وقفنا في هذه اللحظة من أجل الدفاع عن الديمقراطية والأمل والحقيقة لم تمت في وقتنا بل ازدهرت ان أمريكا حققت الحرية في الوطن و وقفت مرة أخرى منارة للعالم هذا مايقف أمامنا الأجيال المستقبلية التي ستحكم عليه

لذلك بهذا الغرض والعزيمة نواجه هذه المهام في هذا الزمن مستدامون بإيمانا ومدفعون بقناعتنا لبعضنا البعض والبلد الذي نحبه بكل قلوبنا فليبارك الله في أمريكا وليحمي الله جنودنا شكرا لكم أمريكاا

Appendix Three

Source text 3: Francis Fukuyama's Article (The End of American Hegemony)

The horrifying images of desperate Afghans trying to get out of Kabul this week after the United States-backed government collapsed have evoked a major juncture in world history, as America turned away from the world. The truth of the matter is that the end of the American era had come much earlier. The long-term sources of American weakness and decline are more domestic than international. The country will remain a great power for many years, but just how influential it will be depends [depends] on its ability to fix its internal problems, rather than its foreign policy.

The peak period of American hegemony lasted less than 20 years, from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to around the financial crisis in 2007-09. The country was dominant in many domains of power back then—military, economic, political and cultural. The height of American hubris was the invasion of Iraq in 2003, when it hoped to be able to remake not just Afghanistan (invaded two years before) and Iraq, but the whole of the Middle East.

The country overestimated the effectiveness of military power to bring about fundamental political change, even as it under-estimated the impact of its free-market economic model on global finance. The decade ended with its troops bogged down in two counterinsurgency wars, and an international financial crisis that accentuated the huge inequalities that American-led globalisation had brought about.

The degree of unipolarity in this period has been relatively rare in history, and the world has been reverting to a more normal state of multipolarity ever since, with China, Russia, India, Europe and other centres gaining power relative to America. Afghanistan's ultimate effect on geopolitics is

likely to be small. America survived an earlier, humiliating defeat when it withdrew from Vietnam in 1975, but it quickly regained its dominance within a little more than a decade, and today it works with Vietnam to curb Chinese expansionism. America still has many economic and cultural advantages that few other countries can match.

The much bigger challenge to America's global standing is domestic: American society is deeply polarised, and has found it difficult to find consensus on virtually anything. This polarisation started over conventional policy issues like taxes and abortion, but since then has metastasised into a bitter fight over cultural identity. The demand for recognition on the part of groups that feel they have been marginalised by elites was something I identified 30 years ago as an Achilles heel of modern democracy. Normally, a big external threat such as a global pandemic should be the occasion for citizens to rally around a common response; the covid-19 crisis served rather to deepen America's divisions, with social distancing, mask-wearing and now vaccinations being seen not as public-health measures but as political markers.

These conflicts have spread to all aspects of life, from sports to the brands of consumer products that red and blue Americans buy. The civic identity that took pride in America as a multiracial democracy in the post-civil rights era has been replaced by warring narratives over 1619 versus 1776—that is, whether the country is founded on slavery or the fight for freedom. This conflict extends to the separate realities each side believes it sees, realities in which the election in November 2020 was either one of the fairest in American history or else a massive fraud leading to an illegitimate presidency.

Throughout the cold war and into the early 2000s, there was a strong elite consensus in America in favour of maintaining a leadership position in world politics. The grinding and seemingly

endless wars in Afghanistan and Iraq soured many Americans not just on difficult places like the Middle East, but international involvement generally.

Polarisation has affected foreign policy directly. During the Obama years, Republicans took a hawkish stance and castigated the Democrats for the Russian "reset" and alleged naïveté regarding President Putin. Former President Trump turned the tables by openly embracing Mr Putin, and today roughly half of Republicans believe that the Democrats constitute a bigger threat to the American way of life than does Russia. A conservative television-news anchor, Tucker Carlson, travelled to Budapest to celebrate Hungary's authoritarian prime minister, Viktor Orban; "owning the libs" (ie, antagonising the left, a catch-phrase of the right) was more important than standing up for democratic values.

There is more apparent consensus regarding China: both Republicans and Democrats agree it is a threat to democratic values. But this only carries America so far. A far greater test for American foreign policy than Afghanistan will be Taiwan, if it comes under direct Chinese attack. Will the United States be willing to sacrifice its sons and daughters on behalf of that island's independence? Or indeed, would the United States risk military conflict with Russia should the latter invade Ukraine? These are serious questions with no easy answers, but a reasoned debate about American national interest will probably be conducted primarily through the lens of how it affects the partisan struggle.

Polarisation has already damaged America's global influence, well short of future tests like these. That influence depended on what Joseph Nye, a foreign-policy scholar, labelled "soft power", that is, the attractiveness of American institutions and society to people around the world. That appeal has been greatly diminished: it is hard for anyone to say that American democratic institutions have been working well in recent years, or that any country should imitate America's political

tribalism and dysfunction. The hallmark of a mature democracy is the ability to carry out peaceful transfers of power following elections, a test the country failed spectacularly on January 6th.

The biggest policy debacle by President Joe Biden's administration in its seven months in office has been its failure to plan adequately for the rapid collapse of Afghanistan. However unseemly that was, it doesn't speak to the wisdom of the underlying decision to withdraw from Afghanistan, which may in the end prove to be the right one. Mr Biden has suggested that withdrawal was necessary in order to focus on meeting the bigger challenges from Russia and China down the road. I hope he is serious about this. Barack Obama was never successful in making a "pivot" to Asia because America remained focused on counterinsurgency in the Middle East. The current administration needs to redeploy both resources and the attention of policymakers from elsewhere in order to deter geopolitical rivals and to engage with allies.

The United States is not likely to regain its earlier hegemonic status, nor should it aspire to. What it can hope for is to sustain, with like-minded countries, a world order friendly to democratic values. Whether it can do this will depend not on short-term actions in Kabul, but on recovering a sense of national identity and purpose at home.

Target text 1 (APA International Association for Experts): The End of American Hegemony.

نهاية الهيمنة الأمريكية

المشاهد الأليمة للأفغان اليائسين، وهم يحاولون الفرار من (كابول) هذا الأسبوع بعد انهيار حكومة أفغانستان، المدعومة من الولايات المتحدة ، مثلت منعطفا تاريخيا ، ابتعدت فيه الولايات المتحدة عن العالم. الحقيقة، ان انتهاء عصر الولايات المتحدة، جاء مبكرا، وأسباب هذا الانحدار داخلية ، أكثر من كونها خارجية. ستبقى أمريكا، قوة عظمى لسنوات عديدة قادمة، ولكن قدرتها على أن تكون دولة مؤثرة ، يعتمد على نجاحها في إصلاح مشاكلها الداخلية.

ذروة الهيمنة الأمريكية ، استمرت لمدة أقل من عشرين عاما، منذ سقوط حائط برلين إلى الأزمة المالية في 2007 – 2009؛ وقتها ، هيمنت أمريكا على العديد من المجالات؛ عسكرية واقتصادية وسياسية وثقافية. وصلت الغطرسة الأمريكية إلى ذروتها عندما اجتاحت (العراق) على أمل أن تغير، ليس فقط العراق وأفغانستان، بل الشرق الأوسط بأكمله.

بالغت أمريكا في تقديرها لكفاءة قوتها العسكرية ، من أجل إحداث تغيرات سياسية جوهرية، ولم تقدر أهمية نموذجها الاقتصادي الحر في التأثير على الاقتصاد العالمي. انتهى العقد بتورط القوات الأمريكية في حربين ، وأزمة اقتصادية عالمية ، زادت من حدة عدم المساواة ، التي أحدثتها العولمة تحت القيادة الأمريكية. في تلك الفترة كانت الأحادية القطبية قد بدأت في التراجع، وبدأ العالم في التحول إلى حالة طبيعية من تعدد الأقطاب مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا،ومراكز أخرى في العالم ، مزيد من القوى. ولكن، تظل أمريكا تتمتع بالعديد من المزايا الاقتصادية ، والثقافية التي لا تمتلكها العديد من الدول.

التحدي الأعظم لمكانة الولايات المتحدة العالمية ، ينبع من الداخل؛ فالاستقطاب في المجتمع الأمريكي عميق، وأصبح تقريبا من المستحيل الوصول إلى إجماع على أي شيء. هذا الاستقطاب ، بدأ حول قضايا تقليدية ، مثل : الضرائب والإجهاض، ومنذ ذلك تفاقم إلى صراع حول الهوية الثقافية. مطالبة الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها مهمشة من قبل النخبة بالاعتراف بها ، هو أمر حددته قبل 30 عاما ، بأنه كعب أخيل للديمقراطية الحديثة. كان من الطبيعي أن يدفع وجود تهديد خارجي المواطنين للتعاضد من أجل الوصول إلى استجابة مشتركة؛ ولكن أزمة كوفيد- 19 على العكس ، أدت إلى تعميق الانقسامات في المجتمع الأمريكي، مع

قواعد التباعد الاجتماعي وارتداء الأقنعة ، والآن التطعيمات التي ينظر إليها كـ(أداة) تخدم أجندات سياسية ‘‘بدلا’’ من كونها وسيلة للحفاظ على الصحة العامة.

وصلت هذه الصراعات إلى جميع مناحي الحياة، من الرياضة إلى أنواع السلع الاستهلاكية، التي يشتريها الأمريكيون (الزرق والحمر). حل الجدل حول ما إذا كانت الولايات المتحدة ، أنشأت على العبودية ، أم على الكفاح من أجل الحرية ، محل الهوية المدنية ، التي افتخرت بها أمريكا ، باعتبارها ديمقراطية متعددة الأعراق. هذا الصراع يمتد أيضا إلى جوانب أخرى، مثل الجدل حول انتخابات 2020 ، إما كونها الأكثر عدلا في التاريخ الأمريكي ، أم الأكثر تزويرا ، وما نتج عنها من رئاسة غير شرعية.

طوال الحرب الباردة ، وحتى أوائل القرن الحادي والعشرين، كان هناك إجماع قوي من النخبة في أمريكا حول الحفاظ على موقع قيادي في السياسة العالمية. أدت الحروب الطاحنة التي لا نهاية لها في ‘‘أفغانستان والعراق’’ إلى عدم قدرة الأمريكيين على تحديد أهمية التدخلات الأمريكية من عدمها، ليس فقط في الأماكن الصعبة مثل الشرق الأوسط، ولكن حول التدخل الدولي بشكل عام.

لقد أثر الاستقطاب في المجتمع الأمريكي على السياسة الخارجية بشكل مباشر. خلال سنوات ‘‘حكم أوباما’’، اتخذ الجمهوريون ، موقفا متشددا ، وهاجموا الديمقراطيين بسبب سياسة «إعادة ضبط» روسيا ، وسذاجتهم فيما يتعلق بالرئيس (بوتين) . قلب الرئيس السابق دونالد (ترمب)، الطاولة باحتضانه بوتين ،علنا. واليوم يعتقد معظم الجمهوريين -تقريبا- أن الديمقراطيين يشكلون تهديدا أكبر من روسيا على أسلوب الحياة الأمريكية. سافر مذيع الأخبار المحافظ، ‘‘تاكر كارلسون’’، إلى بودابست للاحتفال برئيس الوزراء المجري الاستبدادي، ‘‘فيكتور أوربان’’ في مشهد أوضح ، أن ازعاج الليبراليين ، كان أهم من الدفاع عن القيم الديمقراطية.

هناك إجماع بين الديمقراطيين والجمهوريين حول (الصين)، على أنها تشكل تهديدا للقيم الديمقراطية. ولكن الاختبار الأصعب من أفغانستان للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية ، سيحدث إذا تعرضت ‘‘تايوان’’ لهجوم مباشر من الصين. هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة ، مستعدة للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة ؟ أو هل ستخاطر الولايات المتحدة بنزاع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت الأخيرة أوكرانيا ؟ هذه أسئلة ، يصعب الإجابة عليها.

دمر هذا الاستقطاب بالفعل التأثير الأمريكي العالمي، التأثير الذي أسماه العالم الأمريكى جوزيف ناي : «القوة الناعمة»، والذي يعني مدى جاذبية المؤسسات والمجتمع الأمريكي للشعوب حول العالم. تضاءلت الجاذبية الأمريكية، ومن الصعب قول : ان

المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأمريكية ، كانت تعمل بشكل جيد في السنوات الأخيرة، ومن الصعب دعوة أي دولة لتقليد النظام القبلي الأمريكي المختل. السمة المميزة للديمقراطية الناضجة، هي القدرة على إجراء عمليات نقل سلمية للسلطة بعد الانتخابات، وهو اختبار فشلت فيه البلاد بشكل هائل في 6 يناير.

كانت أكبر هزيمة سياسية لإدارة الرئيس "جو بايدن" خلال الأشهر السبعة ، التي قضاها في الحكم ، هو الفشل في التخطيط السليم لمنع سقوط أفغانستان السريع، على الرغم من أن قرار الانسحاب ، كان سليما. آمن الرئيس بايدن ، أن الانسحاب كان لابد منه ، حتى تركز أمريكا على مواجهة التحدي الأكبر ، القادم من روسيا والصين. نتمنى أن ينجح بايدن في ذلك ، وألا يفشل مثل أوباما في التحول نحو آسيا ، الذي استمر تركيزه على حروب الشرق الأوسط.

على الأغلب ، لن تسترجع أمريكا هيمنتها، ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح لذلك. ما يمكن أن تطمح إليه ، هو الحفاظ على نظام عالمي ، يحترم القيم الديمقراطية من خلال معرفة غايتها ، واستعادة شعورها بالهوية

Target text 2 (Al-Jazeera): Withdrawal from Afghanistan...is it the end of the era of American hegemony in the world?

الانسحاب من أفغانستان.. هل هو نهاية عهد الهيمنة الأميركية على العالم؟

منصور سليمان

|1/9/2021آخر تحديث: (2022/5/17) 12:41 PM مكة المكرمة

مقدمة الترجمة

في مقاله المنشور في مجلة "إيكونوميست" البريطانية، يُعلِّق فرانسيس فوكوياما، الكاتب والمفكِّر الأميركي ذو الأصول اليابانية، وأحد أشهر المُنظِّرين لما صار يُعرف بتيار "المحافظين الجدد"، على مشاهد الانسحاب الأميركي من أفغانستان، وإذا ما كان هذا الانسحاب يُمثِّل علامة على نهاية سطوة أميركا على العالم، مؤكِّدا أن تراجع الحضور العالمي لواشنطن يعود لأسباب داخلية في المقام الأول، حتى وإن كان في ظاهره مرتبطا بأخطاء في سياسة البلاد الخارجية.

نص الترجمة

لا شك أن الصور المُرعبة التي انتشرت هذا الأسبوع للأفغان وهم يستميتون للخروج من كابول، في أعقاب انهيار الحكومة التي كانت تدعمها الولايات المتحدة، مَثَّلت لحظة فارقة في التاريخ، وبداية لحقبة نأي أميركا بنفسها عن العالم. ولكن في حقيقة الأمر، فإن نهاية حقبة سيطرة أميركا حصلت قبل هذه اللحظة بكثير. ليس ذلك فحسب، بل إنني أزعم أن عوامل ضعف أميركا وتدهورها مصدرها محلي أكثر من كونه خارجيا. هذا لا يمنع أن تظل أميركا قوةً عظمى في العالم لسنوات عديدة، غير أن مدى فاعلية هذا النفوذ سيعتمد بالطبع على قدرتها على حل قضاياها الداخلية وليس مراجعة سياساتها الخارجية.

لقد استغرقت حقبة هيمنة السيادة الأميركية على العالم أقل من عشرين سنة، من لحظة سقوط جدار برلين عام 1989 إلى فترة الأزمة المالية في الفترة من 2007-2009. خلال تلك الفترة، فرضت أميركا هيمنتها على عديد المجالات، العسكرية والاقتصادية والسياسية والثقافية. وقد شكَّل غزو العراق عام 2003 ذروة الهيمنة والغطرسة الأميركية في العالم، حيث كانت تأمل أن تتمكَّن

من وراء تلك الخطوة ليس فقط من إعادة تشكيل العراق وأفغانستان (التي اجتاحتها قبل عامين من غزو العراق) فحسب، بل إعادة تشكيل الشرق الأوسط بأكمله.

من الواضح أن أميركا قد بالغت في تقدير فاعلية قدرتها العسكرية في إحداث تغيير سياسي جذري، في حين قلَّلت من شأن أثر نموذج اقتصاد السوق الحر على التمويل العالمي. ولهذا انتهت هذه الحقبة بتعثُّر جيوشها في حربين، وحدوث أزمة مالية عالمية زادت الفوارق الهائلة التي أحدثتها العولمة التي تتزعَّمها الولايات المتحدة.

الجدير بالذكر أن الأُحادية القطبية التي اتسمت بها تلك الفترة كانت من الأمور النادرة في التاريخ. ولهذا، فسرعان ما بدأ العالم يعود إلى وضعه الطبيعي الذي تسود فيه تعددية الأقطاب، فاكتسبت بلدان كالصين وروسيا والهند والمحاور الأخرى كأوروبا نفوذا على حساب أميركا. مع ذلك، فمن المرجَّح أن يكون للانسحاب من أفغانستان أثر ضئيل على الجيوبوليتيك. فقد واجهت أميركا من قبل تداعيات هزيمة مهينة حينما انسحبت من فيتنام عام 1975، لكنها سرعان ما استعادت سطوتها في أقل من عقد، وهي اليوم تتعاون مع فيتنام لكبح جماح التوسُّع الصيني.

التحدي الأكبر

إن التحدي الأكبر الذي يُهدِّد مكانة أميركا في العالم -بحسب تقديري- هو العامل المحلي. يشهد المجتمع الأميركي استقطابا حادا، ويجد صعوبة بالغة في التوصُّل إلى اتفاق حول كل شيء تقريبا. ابتدأ هذا الاستقطاب بالاختلاف على السياسات التقليدية المعتادة مثل سياسات الضرائب والإجهاض، لكنه بعد ذلك تحوَّل إلى صراع مرير حول الهوية الثقافية. وأُشير هنا إلى أن قضية المطالبة بالاعتراف من جانب الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها هُمِّشت من قِبَل النُّخب هي مسألة كنت قد حدَّدتها منذ 30 عاما على أنها نقطة ضعف الديمقراطية الحديثة [1]. ومع أن التهديد الخارجي الكبير للبلدان مثل تهديد الجائحة العالمية يُفترض أن يكون في العادة مناسبة لالتفاف المواطنين لتشكيل رد مشترك، فإن أزمة "كوفيد-19" أدَّت إلى تعميق الانقسام وسط الأميركيين، فاختلفوا حول تأويل التباعد الاجتماعي وارتداء الأقنعة، والآن باتوا ينظرون إلى عمليات التطعيم ليس على أساس كونها تدابير للصحة العامة، ولكن باعتبارها إجراءات سياسية.

امتدت هذه الصراعات إلى جميع جوانب الحياة، من الرياضة إلى العلامات التجارية للمنتجات الاستهلاكية التي يشتريها الأمريكيون في الحزبين الجمهوري والديمقراطي. واستُبدِلت الهوية المدنية التي افتخرت بها أميركا باعتبارها أمة ديمقراطية متعددة الأعراق في حقبة ما بعد الحقوق المدنية بروايات متناحرة على تفسير تاريخ ميلاد الدولة الأميركية عام 1619 مقابل عام

1776، أي السجال على ما إذا كانت الدولة قامت على ميراث العبودية أم أنها قامت على أساس النضال من أجل الحرية [2]. وهكذا، صار الصراع يتوسَّع في خلق وقائع يراها كل طرف بصورة مستقلة ومنفصلة، وهو ما جعل انتخابات نوفمبر/تشرين الثاني 2020 تبدو لأحد الطرفين واحدة من أكثر الانتخابات نزاهة في التاريخ الأميركي، في حين نظر إليها الطرف الآخر باعتبارها انتخابات شهدت تزويرا واسع النطاق وأدَّت إلى رئاسة غير شرعية.

طوال سنوات الحرب الباردة إلى أوائل سنوات الألفية، كان هناك إجماع وتوافق قوي في الآراء وسط النُّخَب الأميركية لصالح المحافظة على تقلُّد أميركا دفة القيادة في سياسات العالم. غير أن ضراوة الحروب التي أضحت تَدُور بلا أُفق في أفغانستان والعراق جعلت العديد من الأميركيين يضيقون ذرعا بقضايا التدخُّل، ليس في الأماكن الصعبة كالشرق الأوسط فحسب، بل بالتدخُّلات الدولية في العموم.

هذا الاتجاه أثَّر بصورة مباشرة على السياسة الخارجية. ففي سنوات أوباما، اتخذ الجمهوريون مواقف مُتشدِّدة ووبَّخوا الديمقراطيين واتهموهم بالسذاجة فيما يتعلَّق بموقفهم من الرئيس بوتين. ثم جاء الرئيس السابق ترامب فقلب تلك الموازين واحتفى علنا بالسيد بوتين، حتى أصبح اليوم ما يقارب نصف الجمهوريين يؤمنون بأن الديمقراطيين يُشكِّلون الخطر الأكبر على نمط الحياة الأميركية أكثر من روسيا. ومن الشواهد على هذا الاستقطاب سفر "تاكر كارلسون"، المذيع التلفزيوني المحافظ، إلى بودابست للاحتفاء بفيكتور أوربان، رئيس الوزراء المجري الدكتاتوري. فلاحظ كيف أصبح استعداء التيار الليبرالي [3] (أي استعداء اليسار) أكثر أهمية من الدفاع عن القيم الديمقراطية.

في المقابل، هناك توافق أكثر وضوحا فيما يتعلَّق بالصين، فالجميع في الحزبين الجمهوري والديمقراطي يُجمِع على أن الصين تُمثِّل تهديدا للقيم الديمقراطية. ولهذا فإن تايوان ستكون الاختبار الأصعب للسياسة الخارجية الأميركية أكثر من أفغانستان، خاصة إذا تعرَّضت تايوان إلى هجوم صيني مباشر. فهل ستكون الولايات المتحدة على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها لمصلحة الدفاع عن استقلال تلك الجزيرة، أي تايوان؟ والسؤال الآخر هو: هل تُخاطر الولايات المتحدة بالدخول في صراع عسكري مع روسيا لو قرَّرت هذه الأخيرة غزو أوكرانيا؟ هذه تساؤلات جدّية وليس من السهل الإجابة عنها، لكن من المرجَّح أن يُجرى نقاش عقلاني حول المصلحة الوطنية الأميركية، لكنه في المقام الأول سيكون من منظور تأثير تلك القضايا على الصراعات الحزبية.

زمان الاضمحلال الأميركي

لقد أضرَّ الاستقطاب بالفعل بتأثير أميركا العالمي، قبل حصول مثل هذه الاختبارات في المستقبل. لطالما اعتمدت أميركا في ذلك التأثير على ما أطلق عليه جوزيف ناي، الباحث في السياسة الخارجية، "بالقوة الناعمة"، أي جاذبية المؤسسات الأميركية والمجتمع الأميركي للناس في جميع أنحاء العالم. لقد تراجعت جاذبية هذا النموذج إلى حدٍّ كبير: من الصعب على أي شخص أن يقول إن المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأميركية كانت تسير على ما يُرام في السنوات الأخيرة، أو إن أي دولة يجب أن تُقلِّد العصبية السياسية والاختلال الوظيفي الذي شهدته أميركا. إن السمة المميزة للديمقراطية الناضجة هي القدرة على إجراء عمليات انتقال سلمي للسلطة بعد الانتخابات، وهو الاختبار الذي أخفقت فيه البلاد إخفاقا مذهلا في 6 يناير/كانون الثاني 2021.

إن أكبر كارثة سياسية لإدارة الرئيس جو بايدن خلال الأشهر السبعة التي قضتها في الحكم هي فشلها في التخطيط بشكل يتناسب مع الانهيار السريع لأفغانستان. لكن مهما بدا ذلك غير موفَّق، فإنه لا يُلغي الحكمة وراء القرار الأساسي بالانسحاب من أفغانستان، فقد تُثبت الأيام في النهاية أنه القرار الصائب. أشار السيد بايدن إلى أن الانسحاب كان ضروريا من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات الكبرى من روسيا والصين في المستقبل، وآمل أن يكون جادا في هذا الأمر. فباراك أوباما لم ينجح أبدا في إبرام "حلف" لآسيا لأن أميركا ظلَّت مشغولة على الدوام بمكافحة العصيان والتمرُّد في الشرق الأوسط. لهذا، فإن الإدارة الحالية تحتاج إلى إعادة توزيع الموارد واهتمام صانعي السياسة من أماكن أخرى من أجل ردع المنافسين الجيوسياسيين والانخراط مع الحلفاء.

ليس من المرجَّح أن تستعيد الولايات المتحدة وضعها السابق في الهيمنة، بل ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح إلى ذلك. ما يمكن أن يأمل فيه الأمريكيون هو العمل مع البلدان ذات التفكير المماثل للحفاظ على نظام عالمي صديق للقيم الديمقراطية. في التحليل الأخير، فإن مدى قدرة الولايات المتحدة على القيام بذلك لا يعتمد على الإجراءات قصيرة المدى في كابول، ولكن على قدرتها على استعادة الشعور بالهوية الوطنية والإحساس بالهدف داخل البلاد.

Target Text 3 (Al-Ghad Newspaper): Francis Fukuyama: On the end of American hegemony.

فرانسيس فوكوياما: عن نهاية الهيمنة الأميركية

2021-08-22م10:02

ترجمة: علاء الدين أبو زينة

فرانسيس فوكوياما* – (الإيكونوميست) 2021/8/1

حسب المفكر الأميركي فرانسيس فوكوياما، ألحق الاستقطاب الداخلي مسبقاً ضرراً بليغاً بأميركا وتأثيرها العالمي، ناهيك عن الضرر الذي يمكن أن تلحقه الاختبارات المستقبلية من هذا النوع. وقد اعتمد ذلك التأثير على ما أطلق عليه جوزيف ناي، الباحث في السياسة الخارجية، وصف "القوة الناعمة"؛ أي الجاذبية التي لاقتها المؤسسات الأميركية والمجتمع الأميركي لدى لناس في جميع أنحاء العالم. وقد تضاءل هذا القبول الذي تمتعت به أميركا إلى حد كبير: من الصعب على أي شخص أن يقول إن المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأميركية كانت تعمل بشكل جيد في السنوات الأخيرة، أو أن أي دولة يجب أن تقلد القبلية السياسية السائدة في أميركا واختلالها الوظيفي.

* * *

شكلت الصور المروعة التي يظهر فيها أفغان يائسون وهم يحاولون الخروج من كابول الأسبوع الماضي بعد انهيار الحكومة المحلية المدعومة من الولايات المتحدة منعطفًا رئيسيًا في التاريخ العالمي، بينما تدير أميركا ظهرها وتبتعد عن العالم. وحقيقة الأمر هي أن نهاية الحقبة الأميركية جاءت قبل ذلك بكثير. وكانت المصادر طويلة الأمد للضعف والانحدار الأميركيين محلية أكثر منها دولية. وسوف تبقى الولايات المتحدة قوة عظمى لسنوات عديدة، لكن مدى تأثيرها سيعتمد على قدرتها على إصلاح مشاكلها الداخلية، أكثر من اعتماده على سياستها الخارجية.

استمرت فترة ذروة الهيمنة الأميركية أقل من 20 عامًا، من سقوط جدار برلين في العام 1989 إلى وقت قريب من الأزمة المالية العالمية في 2007-2009. وكان هذا البلد مهيمناً في العديد من مجالات القوة آنذاك -العسكرية، والاقتصادية، والسياسية والثقافية. وكانت ذروة الغطرسة الأميركية هي غزو العراق في العام 2003، عندما كانت أميركا تأمل في أن تكون قادرة على إعادة تشكيل -ليس أفغانستان (التي كانت أميركا قد غزتها قبل عامين) والعراق فحسب، وإنما الشرق الأوسط بأكمله.

وقد بالغ البلد في تقدير فعالية القوة العسكرية في إحداث تغيير سياسي أساسي، حتى في الوقت الذي قلل فيه من تقدير تأثير نموذج اقتصاد السوق الحرة في التمويل العالمي. وانتهى العقد بتورط القوات الأميركية في حربين مضادتين للتمرد، وأزمة مالية دولية زادت من التفاوتات الهائلة التي أحدثتها العولمة التي تقودها الولايات المتحدة. كانت درجة أحادية القطبية في تلك الفترة من النوع النادر نسبيًا في التاريخ، وكان العالم يعود إلى حالة أكثر طبيعية من التعددية القطبية منذ ذلك الحين، مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا ومراكز أخرى في العالم المزيد من القوة مقارنة بأميركا. ومن المرجح أن يكون التأثير النهائي لأفغانستان على الجغرافيا السياسية ضئيلاً. وقد نجت أميركا وعاشت بعد هزيمة مذلة سابقة عندما انسحبت من فيتنام في العام 1975، لكنها سرعان ما استعادت هيمنتها في غضون أكثر من عقد بقليل، وهي تعمل اليوم مع فيتنام للحد من التوسع الصيني. وما تزال أميركا تتمتع بالعديد من المزايا الاقتصادية والثقافية التي لا يمكن أن تضاهيها سوى دول أخرى قليلة.

لعل التحدي الأكبر بكثير لمكانة أميركا العالمية هو تحدٍ محلي، حيث المجتمع الأميركي مستقطب بشدة، وقد وجد صعوبة بالغة في العثور على الإجماع على أي شيء تقريبًا. وبدأ هذا الاستقطاب حول قضايا السياسة التقليدية، مثل الضرائب والإجهاض، لكنه تحول منذ ذلك الحين إلى صراع مرير حول الهوية الثقافية. وكانت مطالب الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها تعرضت للتهميش على يد النخب بالاعتراف بها شيئاً كنتُ قد حددتُه قبل 30 عامًا على أنه كعب أخيل بالنسبة للديمقراطية الحديثة. في العادة، ينبغي أن يكون أي تهديد خارجي كبير، مثل جائحة عالمية، هو المناسبة التي يلتف معها المواطنون حول استجابة مشتركة؛ لكن أزمة "كوفيد – 19" أدت إلى تعميق الانقسامات الأميركية، مع تدابير التباعد الاجتماعي وارتداء أقنعة الوجه، والآن يُنظر إلى المطاعيم -ليس على أنها تدابير للصحة العامة، وإنما كعلامات سياسية.

وقد امتدت هذه الصراعات إلى جميع جوانب الحياة الأميركية، من الرياضة، إلى العلامات التجارية للمنتجات الاستهلاكية التي يشتريها الأمريكيون، الحمر منهم والزُّرق على حد سواء. وتم استبدال الهوية المدنية التي افتخرت بها أميركا باعتبارها ديمقراطية متعددة الأعراق في حقبة ما بعد الحقوق المدنية بروايات متناحرة حول العام 1619 مقابل العام 1776؛ أي حول ما إذا كانت الدولة قائمة على العبودية أم على الكفاح من أجل الحرية. ويمتد هذا الصراع ليطال الحقائق المنفصلة التي يعتقد كل طرف أنه يراها؛ الحقائق التي كانت فيها انتخابات تشرين الثاني (نوفمبر) 2020 إما واحدة من أكثر الانتخابات عدلاً في التاريخ الأميركي، أو على العكس من ذلك، تزويرًا واسع النطاق أدى إلى رئاسة غير شرعية.

طوال فترة الحرب الباردة وحتى أوائل العقد الأول من القرن الحادي والعشرين، كان هناك إجماع قوي من النخبة في أميركا،

يفضل الحفاظ على موقع قيادي للبلد في السياسة العالمية. وأدت الحروب الطاحنة التي لا نهاية لها في أفغانستان والعراق إلى توتر العديد من الأميركيين وأثارت حفيظتهم، ليس بشأن التورط في الأماكن الصعبة مثل الشرق الأوسط، وإنما بشأن التدخل الدولي بشكل عام.

أثَّر الاستقطاب المحلي في السياسة الخارجية الأميركية بشكل مباشر. وخلال سنوات حكم أوباما، اتخذ الجمهوريون موقفًا متشددًا وهاجموا الديمقراطيين بسبب "إعادة ضبط" العلاقة مع روسيا وسذاجتهم المزعومة فيما يتعلق بالتعامل مع الرئيس بوتين. وقلب الرئيس السابق ترامب الموائد باحتضان بوتين علنًا، واليوم يعتقد نصف الجمهوريين تقريبًا بأن الديمقراطيين يشكلون تهديدًا لطريقة الحياة الأميركية أكثر من روسيا نفسها. وقد سافر مذيع أخبار تلفزيونية محافظ، تاكر كارلسون، إلى بودابست للاحتفال برئيس الوزراء المجري الاستبدادي فيكتور أوربان؛ وكان "إخضاع الليبراليين"، (أي، استعداء اليسار، وهو شعار يرفعه اليمين) أكثر أهمية بالنسبة له من الدفاع عن القيم الديمقراطية.

لكن هناك إجماعاً أكثر وضوحًا بشأن الصين، حيث يتفق كل من الجمهوريين والديمقراطيين على أنها تشكل تهديدًا للقيم الديمقراطية. لكن هذا فقط هو الذي يحمل أميركا حتى الآن. وستكون تايوان اختباراً أكبر بكثير للسياسة الخارجية الأميركية من أفغانستان، في حال تعرضت الأولى لهجوم صيني مباشر. هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة مستعدة للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل الحفاظ على استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ أو في الواقع، هل تخاطر الولايات المتحدة بخوض نزاع عسكري مع روسيا إذا قامت الأخيرة بغزو أوكرانيا؟ هذه أسئلة جادة وخطيرة ليست لها إجابات سهلة، لكنّ من المحتمل أن يتم إجراء نقاش عقلاني حول المصلحة الوطنية الأميركية في المقام الأول بالنظر من خلال عدسة كيفية تأثيرها في الصراع بين الحزبين.

لقد ألحق الاستقطاب مسبقاً ضرراً بليغاً بتأثير أميركا على المسرح العالمي، ناهيك عن الضرر الذي يمكن أن تلحقه الاختبارات المستقبلية من هذا النوع. وقد اعتمد ذلك التأثير على ما أطلق عليه جوزيف ناي، الباحث في السياسة الخارجية، وصف "القوة الناعمة"؛ أي جاذبية المؤسسات الأميركية والمجتمع الأميركي للناس في جميع أنحاء العالم. وقد تضاءل هذا القبول إلى حد كبير: من الصعب على أي شخص أن يقول إن المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأميركية كانت تعمل بشكل جيد في السنوات الأخيرة، أو أن أي دولة يجب أن تقلد القبَلية السياسية السائدة في أميركا واختلالها الوظيفي. ذلك أن السمة المميزة للديمقراطية الناضجة هي القدرة على إجراء عمليات نقل سلمية للسلطة بعد الانتخابات، وهو اختبار فشلت فيه البلاد بشكل مذهل في 6 كانون الثاني (يناير) من هذا العام.

كانت أكبر كارثة سياسية جلبتها إدارة الرئيس جو بايدن خلال الأشهر السبعة التي قضاها في منصبه هي فشلها في التخطيط

بشكل مناسب للانهيار السريع لأفغانستان. وبقدر ما كان ذلك غير لائق، فإنه لا يتحدث في نهاية المطاف عن حكمة القرار الأساسي بالانسحاب من أفغانستان، الذي قد يثبت في النهاية أنه القرار الصحيح. وقد اقترح الرئيس بايدن أن هذا الانسحاب كان ضروريًا من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات الأكبر القادمة من روسيا والصين في المستقبل. وآمل بأن يكون جادًا في هذا الصدد. في السابق، لم ينجح باراك أوباما أبدًا في إحداث "إعادة تمحور" نحو آسيا لأن أميركا ظلت تركز على مكافحة التمرد في الشرق الأوسط. وتحتاج الإدارة الحالية إلى إعادة توزيع كل من الموارد واهتمام صانعي السياسة من أماكن أخرى من أجل ردع المنافسين الجيوسياسيين والانخراط مع الحلفاء. من غير المرجح أن تستعيد الولايات المتحدة مكانتها المهيمنة السابقة، ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح إلى ذلك. ولعل ما يمكنها أن تأمل فيه هو الحفاظ، مع البلدان ذات التفكير المماثل، على نظام عالمي صديق للقيم الديمقراطية. أما إذا كان بإمكانها القيام بذلك فلا يعتمد على الإجراءات قصيرة المدى في كابول، وإنما على استعادة الشعور بالهوية الوطنية والهدف في الوطن.

Target text 4 (The Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies): Fukuyama: The future of American hegemony after the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

فوكوياما : مستقبل الهيمنة الأمريكية بعد الانسحاب من أفغانستان

كانت الصور المروعة للألفغان اليائسين الذين كانوا يحاولون الخروج من كابول هذا الأسبوع بعد انهيار الحكومة المدعومة من الولايات المتحدة بمثابة منعطف رئيسي في تاريخ العالم، حيث ابتعدت أمريكا عن العالم (و أدارت ظهرها له). وحقيقة الأمر أن نهاية العهد الامريكي جاءت قبل ذلك بكثير. ولكن الأسباب طويلة المدى للضعف والانحدارالامريكي هي في الحقيقة محلية أكثر منها دولية. وعلى الرغم من أن الولايات المتحدة ستبقى قوة عظمى لسنوات عديدة، الا أن مدى تأثيرها ونفوذها يعتمد على قدرتها على إصالح مشاكلها الداخلية، فضلا عن سياستها الخارجية .،

لقد استمرت فترة ذروة الهيمنة الأمريكية لاقل من عشرين عاما، وذلك منذ سقوط جداربرلين في عام 1989 وتقريبا حتى الأزمة المالية في 2007-2009 .حيث كانت الولايات المتحدة مهيمنة في العديد من مجالات القوة آنذاك - العسكرية والاقتصادية والسياسية والثقافية. وكانت ذروة الغطرسة الأمريكية هي غزوالعراق في عام 2003 ،عندما كانت تأمل في أن تكون قادرة على إعادة تشكيل ليس فقط أفغانستان (التي غزتها قبل عامين) والعراق، ولكن منطقة الشرق الأوسط بأكملها

.لقد بالغت الولايات المتحدة في تقدير فعالية القوة العسكرية في إحداث تغيير سياسي أساسي، حتى عندما قللت من تقدير تأثيرنموذجها في"اقتصادالسوق الحرة" على التمويل العاملي.وانتهى العقد بتورط قواتها في حربين ضد المتمردين عليها، وأزمة مالية دولية زادت من التفاوتات الهائلة التي أحدثتها العولمة التي تقودها الولايات المتحدة .

كانت درجة الأحادية القطبية في هذه الفترة نادرة نسبيا في التاريخ ، وكان العالم يعود إلى حالة من التعددية القطبية أكثر مما اعتاد عليه على مدى تاريخه، في ظل اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا ومراكز أخرى القوة مقارنة بأمريكا.ومن المرجح أن يكون التأثيرالنهائي لافغانستان على الجغرافيا السياسية ضئيلاً. فقد تجاوزت أمريكا هزيمة مذلة سابقاً عندما انسحبت من فيتنام في عام 1975 ، لكنها سرعان ما استعادت هيمنتها في غضون أكثرمن عقد بقليل، وهي تعمل اليوم مع فيتنام للحد من التوسع

الصيني. وفي نفس الوقت لاتزال أمريكا تتمتع بالعديد من المزايا الاقتصادية والثقافية التي لا يمكن لكثيرمن الدول الأخرى أن تضاهيها في ذلك .

إن التحدي الأكبر من ذلك بكثير بالنسبة لمكانة أمريكا العالمية هو محلي بامتياز: فالمجتمع الامريكي يسوده استقطاب حاد، ومن الصعوبة بمكان الوصول إلى إجماع على أي شيء تقريباً. وعلى الرغم من أن هذا الاستقطاب كان قد بدأ حول قضايا السياسة التقليدية مثل الضرائب و الإجهاض، إلا انه تحول منذ ذلك الحين إلى صراع مرير حول الهوية الثقافية. كانت المطالب بالاعتراف من جانب الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها قد تم تهميشها من قبل النخب شيئاً قد حددته قبل 30 عاماً على أنه نقطة الضعف في ا لديمقراطية الحديثة. في العادة، يجب أن يكون حدوث تهديد خارجي كبيرمثل تفشي جائحة عالمية، على سبيل المثال، بمثابة فرصة للمواطنين لاللتفاف حول مواجهة مشتركة لمثل هذا التهديد؛ لكن أزمة كوفيد-19 أدت في الحقيقة إلى تعميق الانقسامات في المجتمع الامريكي ، حول التباعد الاجتماعي ، وارتداء الأقنعة ؛ والان ينظر إلى التطعيمات ضد كورونا على أنها مؤشرات سياسيةأ كثرمن حقيقة كونها تدابير للصحة العامة .

وامتدت هذه الصراعات إلى جميع جوانب الحياة، من الرياضة إلى العلامات التجارية للمنتجات الاستهلاكية التي يشتريها الامريكيون. تم استبدال الهوية المدنية التي افتخرت بها أمريكا باعتبارها ديمقراطية متعددة االعراق في حقبة ما بعد الحقوق المدنية بروايات متناحرة حول عام (1619) مقابل عام (1776) ، أي ما إذا كانت الدولة قائمة على العبودية (1619) أم الكفاح من أجل الحرية (1776). ويمتد هذا الصراع إلى الحقائق التي يعتقد كل طرف على حدة أنه يراها، هذه الحقائق التي كانت بموجبها انتخابات نوفمبر 2020 الأخيرة إما واحدة من الانتخابات عدلا في التاريخ الامريكي أو تزويراً هائلاً أدى إلى رئاسة غير شرعية .

لقد كان هناك إجماع قوي من النخبة في أمريكا طوال الحرب الباردة حتى أوائل العقد الاول من القرن الحادي والعشرين على ضرورة الحفاظ على موقع قيادي في السياسةالعالمية . ولكن الحروب الطاحنة التي لا نهاية لها في أفغانستان والعراق أدت إلى تعكير صفو العديد من الأمريكيين ، ليس فقط في الاماكن الصعبة مثل الشرق الاوسط، ولكن في التدخل الدولي بشكل عام .

لقد أثر الاستقطاب على السياسة الخارجية بشكل مباشر. فخلال سنوات حكم أوباما، اتخذ الجمهوريون موقفاً متشدداً وهاجموا الديمقراطيين بسبب" إعادةضبط" روسيا وسذاجتهم المزعومة فيما يتعلق بالرئيس بوتين. لكن الرئيس السابق دونالد ترامب قلب الطاولة باحتضانه بوتين علناً، واليوم يعتقد نصف الجمهوريين تقريباً أن الديمقراطيين يشكلون تهديداً أكبر على طريقة الحياة

الأمريكية من روسيا. وفي هذا السياق، كان هدف "إزعاج الليبراليين" (أي، استعداء اليسار، كشعار يرفعه اليمين) أكثر أهمية من الدفاع عن القيم الديمقراطية، عندما سافر مذيع الاخبار التلفزيونية المحافظ تاكر كارلسون إلى بودابست لالحتفال برئيس الوزراء المجري الاستبدادي فيكتورأوربان.

وهناك إ جماع أكثروضوحاً حول الصين: حيث يتفق كل من الجمهوريين والديموقراطيين على أنها تشكل تهديداً للقيم الديمقراطية. وهذا فقط ما يبدو أنه يجمع الأمريكيين حتى الان، لكن الاختبار الأكبر بكثير من أفغانستان، في مجال السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية ، ستكون تايوان إذا تعرضت لهجوم صيني مباشر. هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ أو أكثر من ذلك في واقع الامر، هل تخاطر الولايات المتحدة بصراع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت الأخيرة أوكرانيا؟ هذه أسئلة جادة الإجابة عليها ليست أمراً سهلاً ،ولكن قد يتم إجراء نقاش منطقي حول المصلحة الوطنية الأمريكية ، لكنه سيكون من خلال منظوركيفية تأثيرها على الصراع الحزبي في المقام الاول

.لقد أضر الاستقطاب بالفعل بالتأثير العالمي لامريكا، وهو أقل بكثيرمن مثل هذه الاختبارات في المستقبل .وكان هذا التأثير قد اعتمد على ما أطلق عليه جوزيف ناي، الباحث في السياسة الخارجية، بـ "القوة الناعمة"، أي جاذبية المؤسسات الأمريكية والمجتمع الامريكي للناس في جميع أنحاء العالم. لقد تضاءلت هذه الجاذبية إلى حد كبير: حيث من الصعب على أي شخص أن يقول إن المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأمريكية كانت تعمل بشكل جيد في السنوات الأخيرة ، أو أنه يتوجب على أي دولة أن تقلد التحزبية السياسية السائدة في أمريكا والاحتلال الوظيفي. السمة المميزة للديمقراطية الناضجة هي القدرة على إجراء عمليات انتقال سلمي للسلطة بعد الانتخابات ، وهو اختبار فشلت فيه الولايات المتحدة بشكل كبير في السادس من يناير 2021

.كانت أكبر كارثة سياسية قامت بها إدارة الرئيس جو بايدن خلال الأشهر السبعة التي قضاها في منصبه هي فشل هذه الإدارة بشكل مناسب لمواجهة الانهيار السريع الذي وقع في أفغانستان. ومهما كان هذا التوصيف غير لائق ، الا أنه لا يتحدث عن حكمة القرار الأساسي بالانسحاب من أفغانستان، والذي قد يثبت في النهاية أنه القرارالصحيح. فالسيد بايدن يرى بأن الانسحاب كان ضرورياً من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات من روسيا و الصين في المستقبل. وآمل أن يكون جاداً ً في هذا الأمر. لم ينجح باراك أوباما أبداً ً في إنشاء "محور" آسيا لان أمريكا ظلت تركز على مكافحة ا لتمرد في الشرق الأوسط . لذا، فالادارة الحالية بحاجة إلى إعادة توزيع الموارد واهتمام صانعي السياسة من أجل ردع املنافسين الجيوسياسيين والانخراط بشكل أكبرمع الحلفاء .

في النهاية، ليس من المرجح أن تستعيد الولايات المتحدة مكانتها المهيمنة السابقة، ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح إلى ذلك .ولكن كل ما يمكن أن يؤمل تحقيقه ، جنباً إلى جنب مع الدول التي تشاطر الولايات المتحدة نفس التفكير، هو الحفاظ على نظام عاملي يكون صديقا للقيم الديمقراطية.ولا يعتمد مدى استطاعتها القيام بذلك على الإجراءات قصيرة المدى في كابول، بقدرما يعتمد على استعادة الشعوربالهوية والأهداف القومية على أرض الوطن

Target text 5 (Oman Newspaper): The Withdrawal from Afghanistan is not an Indicator of the End of the American Era.

الإنسحاب من أفغانستان ليس مؤشرا على نهاية الحقبة الأمريكية

26 أغسطس 2021

فرانسيس فوكوياما- الإيكونومست ترجمة قاسم مكي

الصور المفزعة للأفغان وهم يحاولون في استماتة الخروج من كابول بعد انهيار الحكومة التي تساندها الولايات المتحدة استثارت إحساسا بإحدى الإنعطافات الكبرى في تاريخ العالم مع ابتعاد أمريكا عن العالم.

في الحقيقة نهاية الحقبة الأمريكية حلَّت قبل الآن بوقت طويل. إلى ذلك، مصادر ضعف وانحدار نفوذ الولايات المتحدة في الأجل الطويل محلية أكثر منها عالمية. ستظل أمريكا قوة عظمى لسنوات عديدة. لكن حجم نفوذها سيعتمد على قدرتها على حل مشاكلها الداخلية وليس على سياستها الخارجية.

الذروة التي بلغتها الهيمنة الأمريكية استمرت لأقل من عشرين عاما، بداية من سقوط جدار برلين في 1989 وإلى حوالي فترة الأزمة المالية 2007- 2009.

وقتها كانت الولايات المتحدة مهيمنة في العديد من مجالات النفوذ العسكرية والإقتصادية والسياسية والثقافية. وبلغت العجرفة الأمريكية منتهاها في غزو العراق عام 2003 عندما كانت تأمل في أن تتمكن من إعادة تشكيل ليس فقط أفغانستان (التي غزتها قبل عامين من ذلك التاريخ) والعراق، لكن الشرق الأوسط بأجمعه.

بالغت الولايات المتحدة في تقدير فعالية القوة العسكرية في إحداث تغيير سياسي جوهري. وفي الأثناء قللت من تقدير أثر نموذجها الإقتصادي (حرية السوق) على التمويل الدولي. وانتهي العقد بانشغال جنودها في حرب ضد حركتي تمرد في بلدين وأزمة مالية عالمية عمّقت أوضاع اللامساواة الهائلة التي أوجدتها العولمة بقيادة الولايات المتحدة.

درجة الأحادية القطبية التي شهدتها هذه الفترة نادرة نسبيا في التاريخ. لكن العالم بعد ذلك عاد إلى التعددية القطبية الأكثر عادية مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا والمراكز الأخرى المزيد من النفوذ قياسا بأمريكا. وغالبا، سيكون أثر أفغانستان على الجغرافيا السياسية في نهاية المطاف محدودا.

لقد سبق لأمريكا التعافي من هزيمة مهينة عندما انسحبت من فيتنام قبل أكثر من عقد في عام 1975. لكنها استعادت بسرعة هيمنتها خلال ما يزيد قليلا عن عشرة أعوام. وهي اليوم تعمل مع فيتنام لكبح نزعة التوسع الصينية. وأمريكا لا تزال لديها العديد من الميزات الإقتصادية والثقافية التي لا يمكن أن تصارعها فيها سوى بلدان قليلة أخرى.

التحدي الأكبر لمكانة أمريكا الدولية محلي. فالمجتمع الأمريكي مستقطَب بشدة ويجد عنتا ومشقة في التوافق على أي شيء تقريبا. بدأ هذا الإستقطاب حول قضايا سياسات تقليدية مثل الضرائب والإجهاض. لكنه بعد ذلك تحول إلى صراع مرير حول الهوية الثقافية.

لقد سبق لي، قبل 30 عاما، أن تعرَّفت إلى مطالبة الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها هُمِّشَت من النخب "بالإعتراف بها " بوصفها "كعب أخيل" الديموقراطية الحديثة.

في العادة وجود تهديد كبير مثل الجائحة العالمية يلزم أن يكون مناسبة للمواطنين كي يحتشدوا حول استجابة مشتركة. لكن أزمة كوفيد 19 عمقت انقسامات أمريكا مع النظر إلى التباعد الإجتماعي وإرتداء الكمامات والآن عمليات التطعيم ليس كإجراءات تتعلق بالصحة العامة ولكن كمؤشرات سياسية.

تمددت هذه الصراعات إلى كل جوانب الحياة من الألعاب الرياضية إلى العلامات التجارية للمنتجات الإستهلاكية التي يشتريها الأمريكيون الحمر (الجمهوريون) والزرق (الديموقراطيون) على السواء.

والهوية الوطنية التي تفاخرت بأمريكا كبلد ديموقراطي متعدد الأعراق في حقبة ما بعد الحقوق المدنية حلت محلها سرديات متصارعة تدور حول عام 1619 في مقابل عام 1776. بمعنى هل نشأت أمريكا على الرّق أم على القتال من أجل الحرية؟ (الفكرة السائدة أن أمريكا تأسست في عام 1776 عندما كتب الآباء المؤسسون دستور الإستقلال. لكن مؤخرا تم تدشين مبادرة تهدف إلى إعادة تأريخ مولد أمريكا وردّه إلى 1619 عندما وصلت أول سفينة رقيق إلى السواحل الأمريكية- المترجم).

هذا الصراع يمتد إلى حقائق منفصلة، كل جانب يعتقد أنه يراها هي فقط. هذه الحقائق تبدو فيها إنتخابات نوفمبر 2020 إما الإنتخابات الأكثر نزاهة في التاريخ الأمريكي أو انتخابات مزورة على نطاق واسع أفضت إلى رئاسة غير شرعية.

طوال الحرب الباردة وحتى أوائل العشرية الأولى من هذا القرن كان هنالك إجماع قوي لدى النخبة في أمريكا يحبذ الحفاظ على موقع قيادي في السياسة الدولية.

لكن الحروب المضنية والتي تبدو بلا نهاية في أفغانستان والعراق شكلت لدى العديد من الأمريكيين مواقف سلبية ليس فقط تجاه المناطق الصعبة مثل الشرق الأوسط ولكن تجاه الإنخراط في شئون العالم عموما.

أثَّر الإستقطاب على السياسة الخارجية بطريقة مباشرة. ففي سنوات أوباما اتخذ الجمهوريون مواقف متشددة ووبخوا الديموقراطيين على "مراجعة السياسة الأمريكية " تجاه روسيا. وزعموا أن تعاملهم يتسم بالسذاجة فيما يخص الرئيس بوتين.

لكن الرئيس السابق ترامب قلب الطاولة بترحيبه العلني ببوتين. واليوم يعتقد حوالى نصف الجمهوريين تقريبا أن الديموقراطيين يشكلون مهددا أكبر لنمط الحياة الأمريكية من روسيا.

وسافر تاكر كارلسون مذيع الأخبارالتلفزيونية المحافظ إلى بودابست للإحتفاء برئيس وزراء المجر السلطوي فيكتور أوربان. فإغاظة اليسار (من جانب اليمين) كانت أهم من الوقوف إلى جانب القيم الديموقراطية.

وهنالك إجماع أكثر وضوحا تجاه الصين. فالجمهوريون والديموقراطيون على السواء يتفقون على أنها تهدد القيم الديموقراطية.

الإختبار الأكثر أهمية من أفغانستان للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية سيكون تايوان في حال تعرضت لهجوم صيني مباشر. فهل ستكون أمريكا حينها على استعداد للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ وهل حقا ستخاطر الولايات المتحدة بالدخول في صراع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت أوكرانيا؟.

هذه أسئلة جادة ليست لها إجابات يسيرة. لكن حوارا معقولا حول المصلحة الوطنية الأمريكية ربما يُدَار أساسا من منظور الكيفية التي يؤثر بها على الصراع الحزبي (بين الديموقراطيين والجمهوريين).

الإستقطاب أضر مسبقا بالنفوذ الدولي لأمريكا والذي يعتمد على ما أطلق عليه عالم السياسة الخارجية جوزيف ناي "القوة الناعمة". بمعنى جاذبية مؤسسات أمريكا ومجتمعها للشعوب حول العالم.

تلك الجاذبية تقلصت إلى حد كبير. فمن الصعب لأي أحد القول بأن أداء المؤسسات الديموقراطية الأمريكية جيد في السنوات الأخيرة أو أن بلدا ما يلزمه احتذاء القبلية السياسية (الولاءات الضيقة) وعطب السياسة في أمريكا.

السمة المميزة للديموقراطية الناضجة هي قدرتها على نقل السلطة سلميا بعد الإنتخابات. وهذا اختبار فشلت فيه الولايات المتحدة على نحو مثير في السادس من يناير (يشير الكاتب إلى الهجوم العنيف الذي شنه أنصار دونالد ترامب على مبنى الكونجرس في 6 يناير لعرقلة إعلان فوز بايدن بالإنتخابات الرئاسية- المترجم).

إخفاق إدارة بايدن في التخطيط الوافي لتلافي الإنهيار السريع في أفغانستان شكل أكبر فشل لها خلال الشهور السبعة التي انقضت من فترة رئاسته في مجال رسم السياسات. لكن ربما سيتضح في النهاية أن الإنسحاب هو القرار الصائب.

في الواقع، أشار بايدن إلى أن الإنسحاب ضروري من أجل التركيز على مقابلة التحديات الأكبر من روسيا والصين في مقبل الأيام. أتمنى أن يكون جادا في ذلك.

لم يكن أوباما ناجحا على الإطلاق في تطبيق سياسة " الإنعطاف" نحو آسيا لأن أمريكا ظلت مشغولة بمكافحة أوضاع التمرد في الشرق الأوسط. والإدارة الحالية بحاجة إلى تحويل الموارد وأيضا إهتمام واضعي السياسات من المناطق الأخرى لردع المنافسين الجيوسياسيين والعمل مع الحلفاء.

Target text 6 (the Hammurabi Center for Research and Strategic Studies): The end of American hegemony.

أثارت الصور المرعبة للأفغان اليائسين الذين يحاولون الخروج من كابول بعد انهيار الحكومة المدعومة من الولايات المتحدة منعطفًا رئيسيًا في تاريخ العالم ، حيث ابتعدت أمريكا عن العالم. و حقيقة الأمر أن نهاية العصر الأمريكي جاءت قبل ذلك بكثير. فالمصادر طويلة المدى للضعف والانحدار الأمريكي محلية أكثر منها دولية. و ستبقى البلاد قوة عظمى لسنوات عديدة ، لكن مدى تأثيرها يعتمد على قدرتها على إصلاح مشاكلها الداخلية ، بدلاً من سياستها الخارجية.

فقد استمرت فترة ذروة الهيمنة الأمريكية أقل من 20 عامًا ، من سقوط جدار برلين في عام 1989 إلى ما يقرب من الأزمة المالية في 2007-2009. و كانت البلاد مهيمنة في العديد من مجالات القوة آنذاك - العسكرية والاقتصادية والسياسية والثقافية. و كانت ذروة الغطرسة الأمريكية هي غزو العراق في عام 2003 ، عندما كانت تأمل في أن تكون قادرة على إعادة تشكيل ليس فقط أفغانستان (التي غزت قبل عامين) والعراق ، ولكن الشرق الأوسط بأكمله.

لقد بالغت الدولة في تقدير فعالية القوة العسكرية لإحداث تغيير سياسي أساسي ، حتى في الوقت الذي قللت فيه من تقدير تأثير نموذج اقتصاد السوق الحرة على التمويل العالمي. و انتهى العقد بتورط قواتها في حربين ضد التمرد ، وأزمة مالية دولية زادت من التفاوتات الهائلة التي أحدثتها العولمة التي تقودها الولايات المتحدة.

كانت درجة القطبية الأحادية في هذه الفترة نادرة نسبيًا في التاريخ ، وكان العالم يعود إلى حالة طبيعية أكثر من التعددية القطبية منذ ذلك الحين ، مع اكتساب الصين وروسيا والهند وأوروبا ومراكز أخرى القوة مقارنة بأمريكا. و من المرجح أن يكون التأثير النهائي لأفغانستان على الجغرافيا السياسية ضئيلاً. حيث نجت أمريكا من هزيمة مذلة سابقة عندما انسحبت من فيتنام في عام 1975 ، لكنها سرعان ما استعادت هيمنتها في غضون أكثر من عقد بقليل ، وهي تعمل اليوم مع فيتنام للحد من التوسع الصيني. و لا تزال أمريكا تتمتع بالعديد من المزايا الاقتصادية والثقافية التي يمكن أن تضاهيها دول أخرى قليلة.

و التحدي الأكبر بكثير لمكانة أمريكا العالمية هو محلي: المجتمع الأمريكي مستقطب بشدة ، ووجد صعوبة في إيجاد إجماع على أي شيء تقريبًا. و بدأ هذا الاستقطاب حول قضايا السياسة التقليدية مثل الضرائب والإجهاض ، لكنه تحول منذ ذلك الحين إلى صراع مرير حول الهوية الثقافية. و كان طلب الاعتراف من جانب الجماعات التي تشعر بأنها قد تم تهميشها من قبل النخب شيئًا حددته قبل 30 عامًا على أنه كعب أخيل للديمقراطية الحديثة. و عادة ، يجب أن يكون التهديد الخارجي الكبير مثل جائحة عالمي

هو المناسبة للمواطنين للالتفاف حول استجابة مشتركة ؛ أدت أزمة كوفيد -19 إلى تعميق الانقسامات الأمريكية ، مع التباعد الاجتماعي ، وارتداء الأقنعة ، والآن يُنظر إلى التطعيمات ليس على أنها تدابير للصحة العامة ولكن كعلامات سياسية.

و امتدت هذه الصراعات إلى جميع جوانب الحياة ، من الرياضة إلى العلامات التجارية للمنتجات الاستهلاكية التي يشتريها الأمريكيون الأحمر والأزرق. و تم استبدال الهوية المدنية التي افتخرت بها أمريكا باعتبارها ديمقراطية متعددة الأعراق في حقبة ما بعد الحقوق المدنية بروايات متناحرة على مدى عام 1619 مقابل 1776 ، أي ما إذا كانت الدولة قائمة على العبودية أم الكفاح من أجل الحرية. يمتد هذا الصراع إلى الحقائق المنفصلة التي يعتقد كل طرف أنه يراها ، و الحقائق التي كانت فيها انتخابات تشرين الثاني (نوفمبر) 2020 إما واحدة من أكثر الانتخابات عدلاً في التاريخ الأمريكي أو تزويرًا واسعًا أدى إلى رئاسة غير شرعية.

فطوال الحرب الباردة وحتى أوائل العقد الأول من القرن الحادي والعشرين ، كان هناك إجماع قوي من النخبة في أمريكا لصالح الحفاظ على موقع قيادي في السياسة العالمية. حيث أدت الحروب الطاحنة التي لا نهاية لها في أفغانستان والعراق إلى توتر العديد من الأمريكيين ، ليس فقط في الأماكن الصعبة مثل الشرق الأوسط ، ولكن التدخل الدولي بشكل عام.

لقد أثر الاستقطاب على السياسة الخارجية بشكل مباشر. و خلال سنوات حكم أوباما ، اتخذ الجمهوريون موقفًا متشددًا وهاجموا الديمقراطيين بسبب "إعادة ضبط" روسيا وسذاجتهم المزعومة فيما يتعلق بالرئيس بوتين. قلب الرئيس السابق ترامب الطاولة باحتضان بوتين علنًا ، واليوم يعتقد نصف الجمهوريين تقريبًا أن الديمقراطيين يشكلون تهديدًا أكبر على طريقة الحياة الأمريكية من روسيا. سافر مذيع الأخبار التلفزيونية المحافظ تاكر كارلسون إلى بودابست للاحتفال برئيس الوزراء المجري الاستبدادي فيكتور أوربان. كان "امتلاك الليب" (أي ، استعداء اليسار ، شعار اليمين) أكثر أهمية من الدفاع عن القيم الديمقراطية.

و هناك إجماع أكثر وضوحًا بشأن الصين: يتفق كل من الجمهوريين والديمقراطيين على أنها تشكل تهديدًا للقيم الديمقراطية. لكن هذا فقط يحمل أمريكا حتى الآن. ستكون تايوان اختباراً أعظم بكثير للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من أفغانستان ، إذا تعرضت لهجوم صيني مباشر. هل ستكون الولايات المتحدة مستعدة للتضحية بأبنائها وبناتها من أجل استقلال تلك الجزيرة؟ أو في الواقع ، هل تخاطر الولايات المتحدة بنزاع عسكري مع روسيا إذا غزت الأخيرة أوكرانيا؟ هذه أسئلة جادة ليس لها إجابات سهلة ، ولكن من المحتمل أن يتم إجراء نقاش منطقي حول المصلحة الوطنية الأمريكية في المقام الأول من خلال عدسة كيفية تأثيرها على الصراع الحزبي.

لقد أضر الاستقطاب بالفعل بتأثير أمريكا العالمي ، وهو أقل بكثير من الاختبارات المستقبلية مثل هذه. اعتمد هذا التأثير على ما أطلق عليه جوزيف ناي ، الباحث في السياسة الخارجية ، "القوة الناعمة" ، أي جاذبية المؤسسات الأمريكية والمجتمع الأمريكي للناس في جميع أنحاء العالم. لقد تضاءل هذا النداء إلى حد كبير: من الصعب على أي شخص أن يقول تلك المؤسسات الديمقراطية الأمريكية تعمل بشكل جيد في السنوات الأخيرة ، أو أن أي دولة يجب أن تقلد القبلية السياسية في أمريكا واختلال وظيفتها. السمة المميزة للديمقراطية الناضجة هي القدرة على إجراء عمليات نقل سلمية للسلطة بعد الانتخابات ، وهو اختبار فشلت فيه البلاد بشكل مذهل في 6 يناير.

وكانت أكبر كارثة سياسية من قبل إدارة الرئيس جو بايدن خلال الأشهر السبعة التي قضاها في منصبه هي فشلها في التخطيط بشكل مناسب للانهيار السريع لأفغانستان. ومهما كان ذلك غير لائق ، فإنه لا يتحدث عن الحكمة الكامنة وراء القرار الأساسي بالانسحاب من أفغانستان ، والذي قد يثبت في النهاية أنه القرار الصحيح. و اقترح السيد بايدن أن الانسحاب كان ضروريًا من أجل التركيز على مواجهة التحديات الأكبر من روسيا والصين في المستقبل. و آمل أن يكون جادًا في هذا الأمر. و لم ينجح باراك أوباما أبدًا في إحداث "محور" لآسيا لأن أمريكا ظلت تركز على مكافحة التمرد في الشرق الأوسط. تحتاج الإدارة الحالية إلى إعادة توزيع كل من الموارد واهتمام صانعي السياسة من أماكن أخرى من أجل ردع المنافسين الجيوسياسيين والانخراط مع الحلفاء.

و ليس من المرجح أن تستعيد الولايات المتحدة مكانتها المهيمنة السابقة ، ولا ينبغي لها أن تطمح إلى ذلك. و ما يمكن أن يأمل فيه هو الحفاظ ، مع البلدان ذات التفكير المماثل ، على نظام عالمي صديق للقيم الديمقراطية. ما إذا كان بإمكانها القيام بذلك لا يعتمد على الإجراءات قصيرة المدى في كابول ، ولكن على استعادة الشعور بالهوية الوطنية والهدف في الوطن.