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FOR MY PARENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The manipulation of translations in the era of communist rule in Poland has long been a topic of interest among translation theorists and linguists. Whenever texts of that period have been quoted and claimed to be based on foreign sources there has always been an accompanying question of how authentic the translated message is due to the omnipotent censorship authorities' power which controlled the contents of any message officially published in the years of the censorship organs' existence. A number of theoretical studies that have been released during the previous dozen or so years have only intensified curiosity in the issue and provoked scholars to explore the topic. A study based on a comparison of source and target texts could be a useful way to provide necessary data to support the theoretical claim of manipulation. That is the reason why a corpus of appropriate texts has been assembled to help this study, and the articles published in *Forum* magazine proved to be an ideal source to provide a basis to deliver more scientifically valid, reliable and accepted data.

1. The aims of the research

A fundamental goal in the present study will be to find cases of deliberate manipulation of source texts (STs) originating in the West concerning Polish matters in their translations into Polish based on a comparative study of source and target texts (TTs) constituting the analytical corpus – basically texts of originally British and American press articles translated for *Forum* magazine in the years 1965-1989.

The fidelity of Polish translations to the original versions of articles and their authors' concepts and ideas will be judged, and its lack will be shown whenever stated, by enumerating what has been removed, changed, added, etc. to create sometimes a totally different version of what was written by the original authors. It will also be important to show to what extent the translation techniques supporting manipulation were used, what the effect of their incorporation is, and whether they are incidental or riddle the texts with manipulative procedures.

It will also be essential to show what typical means of language were introduced by translators to make the translated texts, which is naturally

expected, more compliant with the preferred style of the communist era language – the so-called Newspeak (*nowomowa*). The features of Newspeak, where found, create a lineament that makes the translations even more politically correct and closer in form to typical speeches and writings of the communist propaganda.

It will be necessary to refer to the topics preferred by the communist rulers, as well as to those which were shunned. Much has been written about the uncomfortable topics in the interpretation of the communist authorities. Will they be consistently omitted or sometimes allowed by the censorship apparatus, and if allowed, in what way? Will there be a full message transported from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL) if the topics are allowed judging by the titles, or will the themes themselves just be a kind of deception misleading the readers by making them believe the translations are solid whereas in fact all risky information was meant to be hidden? All these questions will guide the pattern of analyses in Chapter 4 and the final conclusions.

The concluding chapter should leave the reader with a considerable amount of knowledge about whether the texts were manipulated or not, and in the case of a positive verification of this hypothesis, how much the communist powers were distorting the political and economic reality of their times. Was it within the manipulative techniques of translation rather or within the features of language too? How much do the choices of topics influence the whole image and prove what is generally thought of the writings in the communist times in Poland – all these questions are to be included in research procedures chosen and will condition the interpretation of findings.

2. Contemporary findings within the topic

The area of research addressed herein became a prime focus of scholars in the 2000s, although the first publications appeared as early as the 1990s. Initial interest was in the activity of the censorship apparatus and the effect the censors had on the texts published under the communist regime. There are numerous such publications by Polish academics. But interest concerning issues directly connected with Poland under the communist rule has also grown among foreign writers like John Bates, who takes up the problem in *Publishing in Poland, 1976-1989: Reflections of Preferences and Constraints* (2000), and in his article "From State Monopoly to a Free Market of Ideas? Censorship in Poland, 1976–1989" in *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*, edited by Beate Müller (2004).

Most numerous, as has already been mentioned, are naturally books and articles about censorship in Poland written by Poles. Naming just a few of the most important yields a long list of surnames and titles. What the scholars dealing with the problem analyse is generally the structures and dealings of the censorship organs with authors wanting to publish any writings, the constraints and pressures on them, and the kind of interventions in texts censors were responsible for. Among such scholars referring to the problems of the censors' responsibility for distortions that were made to the writings of the communist era in Poland Zbigniew Romek has to be mentioned with his *Cenzura w PRL. Relacje historyków* (2000) and *Cenzura a nauka historyczna w Polsce 1944-1970* (2010). There are also Kazimierz Bagiński, *Cenzura w Polsce* (1981), Zofia Radzikowska, *Z historii walki o wolność słowa w Polsce (cenzura w latach 1981-1987)* (1990), Aleksander Pawlicki, *Kompletna szarość. Cenzura w latach 1965-1972. Instytucja i ludzie* (2001), Igor Borkowski, *Świt wolnego słowa. Język propagandy politycznej 1981-1995* (2003), Maciej Łętowski, *Gdy lżyliśmy ustrój i godziliśmy w sojusze. Cenzura prasowa w PRL na przykładzie katolickiego tygodnika społecznego „Ład"* (2010), Ewa Skorupa, editor of *Przeskoczyć tę studnię strachu. Autor i dzieło a cenzura PRL* (2010) and Dorota Degen and Marcin Żynda, editors of *Nie po myśli władzy. Studia nad cenzurą i zakresem wolności słowa na ziemiach polskich od wieku XIX do czasów współczesnych* (2012).

It is also necessary to mention Jerzy Borejsza who, the son of a communist activist engaged in the censorship apparatus's constitution, gives an account of censors' proceedings in *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes in Europe: Legacies and Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, together with Klaus Ziemer and Magdalena Hułas (2006). A record of censoring practices is also made by Tomasz Strzyżewski, a Polish censorship official, in *Czarna księga cenzury PRL* (1977), translated by Aleksander Niczow as *Black book of Polish censorship* (1982), consisting of authentic materials smuggled abroad, showing the censorship organs' rules and actions.

What has been dealt with broadly is the idea of power in language. Following the assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in which discourse is seen in its social aspect of power relations, it can be expected that the features of language as used by the Polish society and translators under the communist rule conform to the norms imposed by the ruling authorities. Thanks to such authors as Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress and their *Language as Ideology* (1993), Norman Fairclough and his *Language and Power* (1996), Teun van Dijk, the famous author of *Ideology* (1998), and also Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler, editors of

Translation and Power (2002), Maria Calzada Pérez with *Apropos of Ideology* (2003), Wacław Osadnik and Piotr Fast, editors of *Language, Politics, Culture* (2004), Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, editors of *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century* (2005), and Adrian Blackledge with *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World* (2005), the features of totalitarian language can be connected with the system which produced it.

Furthermore, the description of the political discourse contributes to the image of the language type expected when talking of manipulation of press articles under the communist regime. Michael Geis's *The Language of Politics* (1987), Paul Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse. Theory and Practice* (2004), and Janina Fras, *Komunikacja polityczna. Wybrane zagadnienia gatunków i języka wypowiedzi* (2005) should be mentioned here.

The language created by communist propaganda is likewise analysed by Jerzy Bralczyk in his *O języku polskiej propagandy politycznej lat siedemdziesiątych* (2001), *O języku polskiej polityki lat osiemdziesiątych i dziewięćdziesiątych* (2003), and *O języku propagandy i polityki* (2007). He gives a systematic description of the features of Newspeak. Michał Głowiński also refers to the characteristics of propaganda language in communist Poland in *Nowomowa i ciągi dalsze; szkice dawne i nowe* (2009).

The key point of reference for us will be publications that concerned with manipulation in translation. An early source of knowledge on this topic is Theo Hermans's *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation* (1985). The editor's analysis concerns literature and is broadly conceived. Translation is at the same time a kind of manipulation is the point of scholars whose articles compose the book. A similar attitude is taken by André Lefevere in *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), due to the so-called patronage, and Janina Puzynina in *Język w świecie wartości* (1992).

Deliberate manipulation is a rather new issue, which has not yet been extensively dealt with. Van Dijk gives reference to the problem which is this book's fundamental concern in his *Ideology* (1985). In his view manipulation might be a kind of intention and an element of imposing power. Then others follow this concept in connection with some elements pushing writers or translators into distortions, e.g. totalitarian systems. Such sources as Saussure and Schulz's co-edited *Manipulation and ideologies in the twentieth century. Discourse, language, mind* (2005), Dariusz Galasiński's *The language of deception: A discourse analytical study* (2000), Aiga Dukate's *Manipulation as a specific phenomenon in*

translation and interpreting (2007) and the same author's *Translation, manipulation and interpreting* (2009), and Aiga Kramina's "Translation as manipulation: causes and consequences, opinions and attitudes" in *Studies about languages*, No. 6 (2004), include claims about manipulating as a way to deliberately hide information or change the source message, which is a method of writers and translators used for various reasons. The idea is pursued in Joanna Esquibel and Magdalena Kizeweter, editors of *Manipulation in translation. Theory and applications* (2011) and Jeremy Munday, *Evaluation in Translation. Critical Points of Translator Decision-Making* (2012).

It should be noted that most of the writers mentioned, especially the ones dealing with Polish writings under censorship influence, just refer theoretically to the historical facts concerning the years of the censorship apparatus's activity and methods used, based on the existing records, or concentrate merely on linguistic findings about Newspeak or political discourse. Little has been done on the subject of comparative texts in translation controlled by censorship. Here this study is intended to fill in the gap, and transpose the idea of deliberate manipulation made for political reasons into translation studies.

The research will look into the problem of how STs, which are articles from the British or American press that were published in *Forum* magazine in Polish, suffered or evaded the censorship apparatus's interventions. The texts are an interesting case due to the fact that the Polish translators tried to combine two opposed elements – the free thought of Western press from a capitalist bloc and the requirements of publications under the communist regime, subordinated to the censorship regulations. How much of the original texts they manage to preserve will be a question to elaborate on.

3. Hypotheses to be tested

Judging from the political situation in Poland after the Second World War, a reasonable suggestion concerning the character of writings is that no officially allowed sources of information concerning political and economic matters could have been free of propaganda and manipulation of some kind. Other types of texts, less directly connected with the rulers' convictions or desire for success, were also meant to create public opinion and generate people's interest in the direction that was preferred by the communist authorities. Even if they were translations, the texts published in the Polish press – no matter whether in the party's official *Trybuna Ludu* ("People's Tribune"), or freer titles like *Forum*, had to be doctrinal

due to the actions of the censorship apparatus. What will be tested then is
the thesis that all texts, dealing with political, economic, or even cultural
matters, must have been influenced by manipulation. If they functioned as
translations what can mainly be expected are some distortions caused by
the use of translation techniques. But it will also be appropriate to analyse
how much manipulation is the effect of using the language of political
propaganda.

The message conveyed by journalists of the communist powers was
presumably even more influential if based on sources that could have been
considered as not coming from the main stream of information in a
totalitarian country but from the West. In such a case the message and the
way to present it could seem more reliable to the majority of reasonably
thinking citizens, not necessarily party members. Still though, even if the
texts were foreign press translations and concerned neutral topics, like
culture, it can be claimed that they were under the influence of at least a
subconscious use of Newspeak elements, which will be a task to
investigate.

The recognized fact that in the era of communism rulers favoured some
specific topics over others led us to an assumption that also the choice of
topics in *Forum* articles was controlled. For sure, there were some obvious
constraints on matters that could be revealed, and the ones forbidden
likewise could not appear in the magazine. The range of topics corresponded
to the changing norms of the censorship organs' controls in the years 1965 –
1989. Going into detail in analyzing the reasons why the topics of articles
that were published were preferred over other topics is not of primary
importance, and it is enough to state that the choice was due to editorial
decisions to which there is no access now. It can only be suspected that
such decisions of the editorial meetings were not dictated by the awareness
of what were the hottest matters addressed by foreign press to which there
was access. It must be assumed that, if such meetings were held (for which
evidence is obtained from the current *Forum*'s secretary's office), the
editors' decisions were conditioned primarily by the threat of being
controlled by censors. It will be shown what topics were not allowed to be
published in *Forum* in 1965 - 1989.

All these hypotheses, if positively resolved, should contribute to
finding arguments for the substantial claim expressed in this study's title.

4. Characteristics of the research material
and methodology

To show the problems of manipulation based on translations in the totalitarian era in Poland it is necessary to refer to sources that were published under the communist regime. The problem is that the materials chosen for publications then were rather written in the communist bloc countries, not in the English-speaking part of the world.

4.1 The research material origin and time boundaries

A choice for the research material was *Forum* magazine, as it claimed to be based on worldwide press articles translated for publication in Polish to give a kind of review of the world's journalism output concerning interesting events, people and facts, among which there were those referring to Poland.

The magazine began publication in 1965. Translations printed until 1989 were included in the research as the year marks the official ending of the communist rule in Poland together with its institutions including *GUKPPiW - Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy Publikacji i Widowisk* (Main Office of Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances), the central organ responsible for censoring the intellectual activities of Polish writers, playwrights, directors, screenwriters, journalists, etc.

The small number of articles in *Forum* translated from English concerning Poland in the early years seemed a problem (1-5 articles a year), especially when the BBC or the Reuters Agency were given as sources. But with the year 1981 the situation in Poland generated more interest abroad, on the one hand, and on the other, the censorship apparatus transformed its control rules, which resulted in more numerous publications based on translations from English.

Finally, after collecting a considerable number of Polish translations it was the time to start searching for STs. A visit to the British Library, namely its Newspapers Branch in Colindale Avenue, London, yielded about two-thirds of the texts needed. All titles of the British press possessed by the Library were carefully searched, but unfortunately not all papers were accessible in any way – electronic, through microfilms or on paper. The rest of the STs used in the analysis were gathered via the Internet from official websites of American papers, chiefly the New York Times and the Washington Post.

All in all, a list of 50 source articles and the same number of their translations was compiled, comprising a corpus of 100 texts subject to the analysis (see Appendix A).

4.2 The methodology of research

With an analytic corpus such as ours, the research will obviously be based on a comparative study of STs and TTs. It will allow us to spot any cases of distortions through the use of translation techniques and, possibly, establish the use of manipulative strategy.

4.2.1 The research strategy

The theoretical account and the analyses to be carried out will be directed towards finding the answers to the questions mentioned among the initial hypotheses, the meaningfulness of which are going to be checked through the study.

Both theoretical assumptions and analyses of the corpus will concentrate on the ideas concerning layout, lexis, grammar and cohesion in the texts published in *Forum* in a perspective that will enable us to indicate any cases of the use of manipulative techniques and to establish the strategy of manipulation.

4.2.2 Research tools

The primary tool will be comparison. The contents of the original texts will be carefully matched with their Polish counterparts in analyses in which possibly manipulated parts will be noted and highlighted to show exactly what has been changed.

It will also be estimated to what extent the changes observed in all the analyses are deliberate – in the sense that they could be avoided, in order to make a division between manipulative and more neutral techniques.

Whenever the features of Newspeak occur, they will be classified according to the criteria pointed out by Borkowski (2003), Bralczyk (2007), and Głowiński (2009).

At the end a list of all changes made in the translation of each particular article will be provided, together with all cases of Newspeak observed, which will then be treated as bases for more systematic analyses of all the techniques and linguistic means used. They will be carried out based on the kinds of translation procedures and linguistic phenomena grouped according to the theoretical reference in Chapters 1 (translation

strategies) and 3 (Newspeak features). The findings will be presented in tables and diagrams to show the scope of manipulation and to refer to non-manipulative procedures incorporated into the translations.

4.2.3 Research problems

Finally, the interpretation of findings will be carried out according to the research problems undertaken. The hypotheses constituting the background interest in the topic are at the same time the problems to which answers should be found through reference to theoretical assumptions and practical analyses. Whether the texts of *Forum* magazine are manipulated rather than neutral, what makes them manipulated, how numerous are the manipulative techniques used, which ones are preferred over others, whether there are any consistent rules in use of the techniques observed, what they depend on – all these questions will comprise one side of the issue.

The other part will consist in analyzing the means of propaganda in the language of Polish translations. Are they frequent, easily recognizable, do they follow the common pattern used by communist authorities in the People's Republic of Poland? How much could they create opinions and influence the attitudes of readers? These will be fundamental questions raised in the analyses, which will be decisive in terms of making final conclusions about the findings.

Solid theoretical bases are needed for such analyses, within both the language of propaganda and politics and the situation of the translators in the time of their activity, translation strategies and procedures, translation constraints and psycholinguistic and even cognitive notions like intentions, models of perception etc., to be able to see the TTs in the perspective of linguistic product under the influence of translational, linguistic and political constraints that are decisive when it comes to the final message conveyed by the TTs.

5. The outline of issues

According to the goals described above, three general problems will be focused on comprising the theoretical frame of reference. They will introduce basic concepts concerning the research material and help develop the hypotheses formulated.

In Chapter 1 the linguistic and psycholinguistic model of communication will be presented. It will place translation within the norms of usual communication and show how similar are the rules it incorporates into its

methods to provide the message. Basic concepts in linguistic communication will be mentioned and the main linguistic theories concerning communication recalled (the theory of speech acts by Austin and Searle, the theory of Grice, the theory of Levinson, and Relevance Theory). The cognitive view of communication will be outlined and some discourse characteristics introduced to show that translation can be treated as a kind of dynamic exchange of message between the sender and the receiver prone to similar processes and constraints as direct communication.

Then strategies and techniques of translation will be defined and exemplified as an introduction to the analyses performed in Chapter 4. Finally, some remarks on intercultural communication through translation and its manipulative potential will be made before moving towards the description of the idea of manipulation in Chapter 2.

Manipulation first will be defined based on dictionary entries. Then linguistic and logical accounts will be given. It will be described how Relevance Theory views manipulation, how it is perceived among scholars of the Manipulation School, what exactly the idea of rewriting is, how it is connected with translational shifts, what appraisal theory states about manipulation and how to relate that notion to the concept of equivalence.

In Chapter 3, it will be shown that manipulation is not exclusively a side effect of lack of equivalence between languages in translation, but that some circumstances may form grounds for treating it as deliberate and welcome, as will be signalled already in Chapter 2. It will be argued that socio-cultural and political situations can make language a tool of rulers' power and in a great measure influence translations. Some descriptions of political discourse and media in the People's Republic of Poland, references to ideology and its influence on language will be introduced in Chapter 3, as will the idea of censorship in the Polish reality of the second half of the 20th century. Finally, the features of Newspeak in the totalitarian era in the People's Republic of Poland will be given as a point of reference in all the analyses in Chapter 4 that focus upon the three main issues mentioned before as hypotheses to be tested – 1) manipulating through the use of translation techniques, 2) manipulating the language with Newspeak, and 3) adjusting the topics to the targets of propaganda.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LINGUISTIC AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MODEL OF COMMUNICATION: LINGUISTIC MEANS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Introduction

In this chapter the intention is to introduce all necessary theories and concepts to explain the crucial rules of communication as seen by the linguistic approaches of theoreticians. On that ground, it will be essential to seek norms and their violation, especially as a source of possible manipulative effects. Such effects will be of interest to us in general terms, but much more importantly in connection with translation techniques that have an analogous potential to distort the intended meaning of an original text.

To be able to do this, first it must be explained how communication functions fundamentally. The most widely recognized theory is Jakobson's. His linguistic model of communication will be described as the basic point of reference when it comes to both the concept and the terminology used, to which there will be references all through the chapter and the rest of the study.

Based on Jakobson's concept of communication the theories of communicating messages, through linguistic and extralinguistic means will be presented.

The crucial point in the discussion on the topic of communication for us is Austin's background theory about how sentences should be perceived (1962):

> Austin's response to the logical positivists was that you can't reduce meaning to truth because many sentences both in the language of philosophy and in everyday language aren't intended to be true or false: approaching them from the perspective of truth is to misunderstand completely what they're doing. (Wharton 2012: 242)

Starting with Austin's ideas referring to the truth value of sentences, the significance of which was even earlier suggested by Jakobson (1960: 355), and proceeding to such issues as the character of speech acts (performatives) and the notions of locution, illocution and perlocution, developed by Searle, the description will move from theoretical grounds to pragmatic application of those introductory achievements in the field of communication. This pragmatic aspect will be referred to in the analyses of Grice's theory of intention-based communication, and especially in Sperber and Wilson's and cognitivists' theories, in which not only verbal means matter but ostensive elements of communication also play an important role, an observation already made by Jakobson (1960: 354 - 355) and closely related to his *emotive function of language*. What follows is an array of methods to manipulate a message addressee, both in regular communication and through translation.

When it comes to translation, it has to be analysed with comparable criteria as for communication in general. The model of communication through translation will be introduced based on Jakobson's idea originally, then references to translation in communication theories mentioned will be made, and finally, the translation privilege – message transfer from the SL to the TL based upon the ST but through the individual perspective of the translator with all pertinent interventions - will offer grounds for seeking theoretical concepts of manipulation in the theory of translation.

The concept of manipulation in translation in theoretical terms evolves from the Relevance Theory and has its roots in cognitivism, but the idea of strategies and techniques of translation offers plenty of opportunities for its occurrence and theoretical justification. It will then be essential to introduce the basic concepts of strategies and techniques in translation and explain differences between them according to different scholars. All techniques to which reference will be made in the analytical part of the study will be defined and some typical examples will be introduced to show their manipulative potential.

When it comes to communication through translation there must also be some reference to the idea of discourse as such and its relation to translation. Scholars who see translation as a type of discourse and their arguments for such a claim will be quoted.

What matters most in this chapter is to show how communication works through translation, which is a kind of discourse, and what means translators possess in order to convey the meaning of STs but also to manipulate it, especially when it might be for the aim of deception.

1. The theoretical framework of communication

The most important issue to consider while dealing with communication is to show the principles by which it is governed. The theoretical framework of communication offers better understanding of its potential with reference to both its participants and the accompanying phenomena. Quoting terms and explaining concepts can shed light on understanding the processes of encoding and decoding messages and possible factors that can influence their transfer.

1.1 Basic concepts in linguistic communication

The classical model of communication was proposed by Jakobson (1960). It incorporates a "message" itself, its "addresser" (sender) and "addressee" (receiver) in the process of communication. But the background of the process is the so-called "context" to which the communication is suited and a "code" understandable to both the addresser and the addressee, in which the former encodes the intended message and the latter tries to decode it. In linguistic communication this code must at least have a potential of being verbalized, or it is verbal customarily. The communication process existence is based on the "contact", which is defined by Jakobson as "a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication" (Jakobson 1960: 353). The model of communication as seen by Jakobson, with the components of a speech act associated with communicative functions, is represented by the following diagram:

CONTEXT
(referential function)

(emotive function)   (poetic function)   (conative function)
ADDRESSER (SENDER)   MESSAGE   ADDRESSEE
                                                          (RECEIVER)
CONTACT
(phatic function)

(metalinguistic function)
CODE
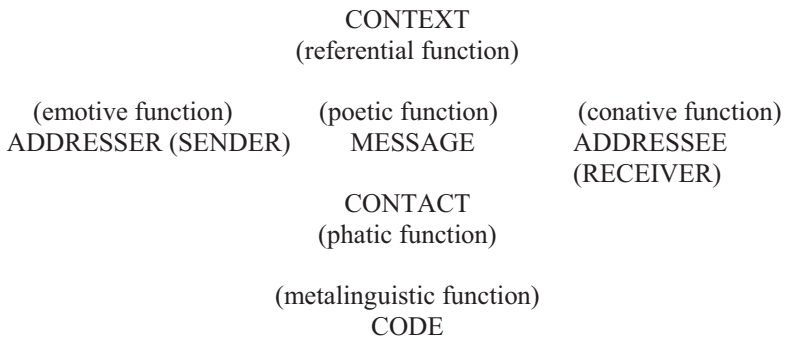
Fig. 1 Jakobson's model of communication

Simple as it is, Jakobson's model contains all key points in the construction of any message and reaching the targets of communication. It is purpose-oriented, as to each element of the model a corresponding function in communication is ascribed. The functions embody different goals of constructing messages. The author claims, though, that:

> […] we could, however, hardly find verbal messages that would fulfill only one function. The diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions. The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function. (Jakobson 1960: 353-354)

The function oriented towards the referent of the message, its context, is called "referential" (alternatively also "denotative" or "cognitive"). The "emotive" or "expressive" function is connected with the addresser, and in Jakobson's words "aims at a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about. It tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion, whether true or feigned" (Jakobson 1960: 354). The "conative" function is directed to the addressee and expressed by the use of a vocative or an imperative. The "contact" or "phatic" function concentrates on seeking attention and prolonging communication. There is also a "metalingual" function, based on checking if the same code is being used by the addresser and the addressee. The "poetic" function focuses on the message itself (Jakobson 1960: 354-356).

The model of communication and its functions proposed by Jakobson is later referred to by other scholars, including those dealing with translation. A broader version of a communication pattern is proposed by Hall in connection with television messages (1973). The elements comprising his theory are:

- sender (encoder)
- message
- receiver (decoder)
- contact (s)
- code 1
- code 2
- context (s)

Hall's model of communication could be represented by the following diagram:

```
        code1            CONTEXT(S)   code2
SENDER                   MESSAGE                  RECEIVER
(encoder)                CONTACT(S)               (decoder)
        ENCODING                     DECODING
```

Fig. 2 Hall's model of communication

According to Hall, images are first encoded (in the production process and in the placement within a cultural setting) then decoded by viewers (readers). According to Hall, there are three positions the viewers can adopt as decoders:

1) Dominant-hegemonic position (Hall 1973: 515) - they can identify with the hegemonic position and receive the dominant message of an image or text fully and in a direct manner;

2) Negotiated position (Hall 1973: 516) – which "contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements", in which viewers can negotiate an interpretation from the image and its suggested meanings;

3) Oppositional reading (Hall 1973: 517) – marked by taking an oppositional attitude, either by completely disagreeing with the ideological view encoded in an image or rejecting it (e.g. by ignoring it).

What is highlighted in Hall's theory is that according to it the meaning is not completely determined by the sender, the message is never transparent and the audience is not a passive recipient of meaning, which would mean that the more the sender wants the receiver to adopt his/her ideology the more effort must be made. That would justify propaganda.

Jakobson's model of communication was also adopted by Hymes (1974). According to this model discourse is viewed as a series of speech acts placed within a situational and cultural context. This model is useful for analyzing all kinds of discourse, including the one that is the focus of this study – developed in translations in the era of censorship in communist Poland.

Referring to communication through translation, the role speech acts and their functions play in it are compared by Blum-Kulka to "a functional view of languages", which "assumes that the use of language is an integral part of social interaction", to which translation undoubtedly belongs (Blum-Kulka 1981: 89). Blum-Kulka even claims that "the act of translation itself can be viewed as an attempt at the successful performance of speech acts" (Blum-Kulka 1981: 89).

In the context of the belief quoted, Jakobson's functions should be considered as translation aims, no matter which functions are actually included in a particular translation.

Newmark lists six functions in the context of their connection with translation (1988). In Newmark's interpretation, the expressive function of language and communication is understood as the one dependent on "the mind of the speaker, the writer, the originator of the utterance", used "to express his feelings irrespective of any response" (Newmark 1988: 39). The informative function is connected with "external situation, the facts of a topic, reality outside language, including reported ideas or theories" (Newmark 1988: 40). The vocative function is dedicated to the addressee. Newmark explains: "I use the term Vocative in the sense of 'calling upon' the readership to act, think or feel, in fact to 'react' in the way intended by the text (the vocative is the case used for addressing your reader in some inflected languages)" (Newmark 1988: 41). The author mentions other names used for this function: "conative", "instrumental", "operative" and "pragmatic" (in the sense of a certain effect produced on the reader). Newmark also lists the esthetic function, analogous to Jakobson's poetic function, characterized as "language designed to please the senses, firstly through its actual or imagined sound, and secondly through its metaphors. The rhythm, balance and contrasts of sentences, clauses and words also play their part" (Newmark 1988: 42). The phatic function is characterized very much in Jakobson's terms. Newmark claims that "the phatic function of language is used for maintaining friendly contact with the addressee rather than for imparting foreign information" (Newmark 1988: 43). The author further describes the metalingual function as the one which "indicates a language's ability to explain, name, and criticise its own features" (Newmark 1988: 43). All the functions named by Newmark are thus very much related to Jakobson's and can be regarded as fundamental to language and communication, and to translation understood as a particular model of communication. That is why Newmark analyses functions regarding translation. His intention is to make translators aware of the presence of diverse features in STs and the need to adjust translation strategies ("methods" in Newmark's terminology) to their character.

All the constituents in the process of communication mentioned are referred to functions and at the same time all are indispensable to fulfilling necessary requirements of communication. The most crucial from the perspective of the topic of this research study is the presence of the code in communication and the context. The code can be invented and forced on the addressee mostly through the emotive function, like in Newspeak, which will be discussed later in Chapter 3 in connection with principles of communication observed in communist times, which constituted the context, and in the analytical part of this study.

1.2 Communication according to the theory of speech acts (Austin, Searle)

The elements of a communication process mentioned above are interpreted in the context of their possible role in John L. Austin's speech acts (1962). What Austin is most concerned about is to find proper means to define his concept of speech acts. To approach his goal, he analyses the nature of sentences and considers whether we can apply the criterion of truth value used by former philosophers of language to reach a verdict on whether an utterance is a sentence or not. The author claims that "It was for too long the assumption of philosophers that the business of a 'statement' can only be to 'describe' some state of affairs, or to 'state some fact', which it must do either truly or falsely" (Austin 1962:1).

Austin argues that true and false sentences are not the only possible meaningful constructs of language. They are referred to by him as descriptives, or constatives (Austin 1962: 3), but he still proposes considering some other examples of sentences that lack truth value. They are the so-called "performative sentences" or "performatives", and defined as possessing the following characteristics: "verbs in the first person singular present indicative active. […] A. they do not 'describe' or 'report' or constate anything at all, are not 'true or false'; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as, or as 'just', saying something" (Austin 1962: 5). Such types of sentences suit Austin's explanation of what we do while performing the so-called "speech act".

Still, all potential sentences, whether constatives or performatives, have their place among the performances of speech acts. The author does not define a speech act separately, only the types of acts he enumerates. But in the description of the acts we can spot the idea of the concept, which would more or less be conveying some linguistic material, presumably meaningful, and at the same time performing some action. Austin claims that:

> To say something is in the full normal sense to do something – which includes the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of them with a certain 'meaning' in the favourite philosophical sense of that word, i.e. with a certain sense and with a certain reference. (Austin 1962: 94)

Austin differentiates three types of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. The first type is directed towards the construction of the message in the act, its sense and reference, and is then

dependent mostly on the addresser and elements of language that are at his disposal (a code), also the context through the referential function of the message. The definition of this type of speech act is best given by Austin: "The act of 'saying something' in this full normal sense I call, i.e. dub, the performance of a locutionary act, and the study of utterances thus far and in these respects the study of locutions, or of the full units of speech" (Austin 1962: 94). What matter in the construction of such an act are the "phonetic act", the "phatic act" and the "rhetic act". The first is connected with 'uttering certain noises", as Austin puts it, the second one with "uttering certain vocables or words"; the rhetic act, finally, consists in "using those vocables with a certain more-or-less definite sense and reference" (Austin 1962: 95).

The illocutionary act is more connected with the conventional types of messages, and it is thus oriented mostly to the message. Austin, characterizing it, refers to locutionary acts in the sense of building up a consistent definition, but he warns that we should avoid thinking that the illocutionary act is a consequence of the locutionary one (1962: 114). He writes:

> To perform a locutionary act is in general, we may say, also and *eo ipso* to perform an illocutionary act, as I propose to call it. Thus in performing a locutionary act we shall also be performing such an act as:
>   asking or answering a question,
>   giving some information or an assurance or a warning,
>   announcing a verdict or an intention,
>   pronouncing sentence,
>   making an appointment or an appeal or a criticism,
>   making an identification or giving a description,
>   and the numerous like. (Austin 1962: 98-99)

The perlocutionary act concentrates on the addressee and contact, because it is concerned with the effects that are made on the addressee. Austin claims that "Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons", and proposes calling this type of act a perlocutionary act (Austin 1962: 101). It refers to "what we bring about or achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, and even, say, surprising or misleading" (Austin 1962: 109).

The theoretical idea connected with speech acts is that they should submit to some prescriptive rules – in the case of Austin, the so-called

"felicity conditions". The set of rules fulfilling those conditions are as follows:

> (A. 1) There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect […],
>
> (A.2) the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked,
>
> (B.1) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and
>
> (B.2) completely.
>
> (I'.1). Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings […] then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those feelings and […],
>
> (I'.2) must actually so conduct themselves subsequently. (Austin 1962: 14-15)

"Infelicities" will be the cases in which an utterance is "unhappy" (rather than "false"), and something is or goes wrong in a performative act (Austin 1962: 14).

Based on prior achievements within the theory of communication, John Searle develops the crucial ideas in the research and explains his understanding of basic notions in more detail than before. First, he gives a very detailed definition and description of a speech act. By referring to utterances, not only to formally perceived elements of language, he moves from the theoretical approach of Austin to analyses of real speech productions. He considers a speech act a basic unit of communication, as opposed to Austin's reference to such units as being symbols, words, sentences, or the tokens of them. He concentrates on "the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act" (Searle 1969: 16). He finds a reason to analyse speech acts in the fact that, as he claims, "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" (Searle 1969: 16). His definition of a speech act incorporates this pragmatic attitude, as he claims that "The production or issuance of a sentence token under certain conditions is a speech act." (Searle 1969: 16). To define his attitude to the character of speech acts Searle even refers to the Saussurean notions of *langue* and *parole*, claiming that in some sense speech acts are also perceived as *langue*, but only if *langue* can possibly be realized as *parole* (Searle 1969: 17). Concluding the idea, he states that "the study of the meanings of sentences and the study of speech acts are not two independent studies but one study from two different points of view" (Searle 1969: 18), and moreover he writes that "They are related because for every possible speech act there is a possible sentence or set of sentences the literal utterance of which in a particular context would

constitute a performance of that speech act". He calls that rule "the principle of expressibility" (Searle 1969: 19), and defines it through the words: "whatever can be meant can be said" (Searle 1969: 17).

According to Searle, speech is governed by rules. He claims that "talking is performing acts according to rules" (Searle 1969: 22). He defines speech acts based on a similar logic to that of his predecessor Austin, claiming that "We thus detach the notions of referring and predicating from the notions of such complete speech acts as asserting, questioning, commanding, etc., and the justification for this separation lies in the fact that the same reference and predication can occur in the performance of different complete speech acts" (Searle 1969: 23). At the same time Searle stresses what Austin calls "illocutionary force" in connection with performing a real illocutionary act of saying something, rather than performing an act in saying something (Austin 1962: 100). This force of e.g. asserting, questioning, or commanding is conventional, determinate, and unlike the perlocutionary effects, which are subjective in nature, it guarantees obedience to objective rules of social interaction.

In uttering a sentence the author sees the performance of at least three kinds of acts on the part of the speaker: "(a) uttering of words (morphemes, sentences); (b) referring and predicating; (c) stating, questioning, commanding, promising etc." and he assigns the following names to these speech acts: (a) utterance acts – referred to uttering words (morphemes, sentences), (b) propositional acts – connected with referring and predicating, and (c) illocutionary acts – the realization of the act of stating questioning, commanding, promising etc. The first type is based on uttering string of words, the two other acts consist in "uttering words in sentences in certain contexts, under certain conditions and with certain intentions". As for the perlocutionary acts, in his definition Searle correlates them with the illocutionary acts, as Austin did, and claims that they are perceived as "the consequences or effects such acts have on the actions, thoughts, or beliefs, etc. of hearers" (Searle 1969: 23-25).

Another important notion Searle discusses is intention, especially in the context of Paul Grice's maxims and the Relevance Theory, developed later. Searle argues:

> In speaking I attempt to communicate certain things to my hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to communicate just those things. I achieve the intended effect on the hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to achieve that effect, and as soon as the hearer recognizes what it is my intention to achieve, it is in general achieved. He understands what I am saying as soon as he recognizes my intention in uttering what I utter as an intention to say that thing. (Searle 1969: 43)

Searle calls the recognition of the intention by the hearer expressed through the illocutionary act performed by the speaker an "illocutionary effect" (Searle 1969: 47). He also mentions a principle of "least effort" operating in a language, to which both Grice and the Relevance Theory authors also refer.

Disregarding the nomenclature, in both theories of speech acts the principal concern that matters to this study is the perlocutionary act or the effect on the hearer, produced through what is included in communication. It allows to reach the goal of communication, and under the communist rule, guarantee or facilitate the ideological influence on the hearer.

This conviction is confirmed by the opinions of numerous, including contemporary, authors dealing with communication. According to Stawnicka (2015: 142), in the process of communication the speaker has intentions, shows his/her attitude to the message through the pragmatic function of modality, shows emotions, acts in order to reach something, to which, we could say, an appropriate illocutionary act is adjusted. The aim, then, including the aim of manipulation, conditions the type of communication, making it greatly dependent on what the speaker wants to achieve, which is why it is sensible to speak of separate genres in communication (Mamet 2004: 185). The situational context, which will be e.g. persuasion (in the case of ideological manipulation, business negotiations, etc.), is what forms the genres. Such issues as context and intentions move the idea of communication still more towards its pragmatic function or perlocutionary effect, which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section, based on the theories of Grice and Levinson.

1.3 Pragmatics in communication theory (Grice, Levinson)

While the scholars discussed above dealing with the theory of communication reflect on such issues as the elements engaged in communication or its basic means, Grice turns towards real communication in discourse. He realizes that in communication the meaning does not exclusively arise from what is expressed by an utterance, but that there are some other elements that fundamentally decide about the meaning suggested by the speaker and perceived by the hearer due to their common intention to communicate.

Grice asserts that "The philosophical demand for an ideal language rests on certain assumptions that should not be conceded" (Grice 1975: 41). He believes that what is uttered in a conversation is not necessarily what is meant. To explain what the meaning really is and how

communication works he first introduces the term "implicature" (Grice 1975: 43-44). He states that "some implicatures are conventional", by which he understands some standard ways of behaviour of participants in communication, when both the speaker and the hearer know what the message really is, disregarding actual words used (Grice 1975: 44-45). The author also introduces the term "conversational implicature", which he characterizes as "a certain subclass of nonconventional implicatures […], being essentially connected with certain general features of discourse" (Grice 1975: 45). He eventually defines conversational implicature in the following way:

> A general pattern for the working out of a conversational implicature might be given as follows: 'He has said that *p*; there is no reason to suppose that he is not observing the maxims, or at least the CP; he could not be doing this unless he thought that *q*; he knows (and knows that I know that he knows) that I can see that the supposition that he thinks that *q* is required; he has done nothing to stop me thinking that *q*; he intends me to think, or is at least willing to allow me to think, that *q*; and so he has implicated that *q*. (Grice 1975: 50)

Grice sees communication through the perspective of cooperation between the speaker and the hearer. He believes that:

> Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction. (Grice 1975: 45)

He calls these efforts "the cooperative principle" (Grice 1975: 45) and proposes to consider "making your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs" by following some maxims, in which another idea for communicative patterns can be observed. The more these maxims are followed the better the communication between subjects.

Based on the idea of the cooperative principle in conversations, the author builds the rest of his theory as follows:

> On the assumption that some such general principle as this is acceptable, one may perhaps distinguish four categories under one or another of which will fall certain more specific maxims and submaxims, the following of which will, in general, yield results in accordance with the Cooperative Principle. Echoing Kant, I call these categories Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. (Grice 1975: 45)

He then discusses the categories distinguished, ascribing to the category of Quantity the following maxims: "1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange), 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required." (Grice 1975: 45).

Within the category of Quality, Grice places a supermaxim – "Try to make your contribution one that is true", and "two more specific maxims: 1. Do not say what you believe to be false. 2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (Grice 1975: 46). Under the category of Relation he gives one maxim: "Be relevant" (Grice 1975: 46). To characterize the category of Manner, which he understands "as relating not (like the previous categories) to what is said but, rather, to how what is said is to be said" (Grice 1975: 46), he proposes considering the supermaxim "Be perspicuous", and some other maxims such as "1. Avoid obscurity of expression, 2. Avoid ambiguity, 3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity), 4. Be orderly" (Grice 1975: 46).

As long as Grice's maxims are not violated, they represent a pattern of model conversation. They have also the potential of distorting a required message and deceiving, when they are violated, especially within the category of Quality and Manner. Quality directly refers to truthfulness, and Manner has plenty to do with the specific construction of texts so as to make the hearer (or reader) perceive the message in the way intended by the speaker (or translator), which will be broadly discussed in Chapter 3 and the analytical part of the study in the connection with Newspeak and translations under the communist rule in Poland.

Some of the issues introduced by Grice and relevant for this study are also discussed by Levinson. Levinson basically follows Grice's tradition of discourse perception in one crucial conviction – that the overall meaning of communication acts evolves from the meaning expressed not only by utterances but also by some means intended and revealed in between or accompanying the real linguistic contents, which can considerably change the information included in words. His pragmatic attitude to the meaning in a discourse is observed in his belief that:

> Speech acts can also be seen to be fundamentally context dependent. First, speech acts are dependent on, and contribute to, the context in which speech is taking place. One way of seeing this is to construe speech acts as operations on the context (conceived of as sets of propositions taken for granted): a statement adds a proposition to the context, a question requests that such a proposition is added, a denial removes one, and so on. (Levinson 2001: 7)

Levinson believes, as Grice does, that overt violation of maxims creates some implicit, indirect meaning. He shows the violation of the maxim of Quality in the example he quotes, "Thank God I didn't bother to bring my umbrella". This sentence uttered while it is raining shows intended irony by the speaker, which is perceived by the hearer in cooperation with the addresser (Levinson 2001: 9).

Levinson mentions that modern implicature theory has its own maxims but they still follow Grice's ideas. There are two main branches of this theory. One states that some background principles we are equipped with and use while producing inferences in our minds, allowing us to understand linguistic propositions in full, are "innate cognitive mechanisms of information processing". The other branch states that "these principles follow from rational design characteristics of communication". To apply the latter one we often choose to assert the weaker, less informative expression which will suggest that the stronger expression is inappropriate for some reasons, as in Levinson's example: "Some of the students are punctual", implicating that "not all of the students are punctual". Such a case of using a weaker implicit expression in a belief that a stronger explicit one will not be a good choice is referred to as the so-called "scalar implicature" (Levinson 2001: 10-11).

Discussing modern maxims, Levinson states that:

> Contemporary neo-Gricean theory recognizes two or three maxims, for example a maxim of Quantity (or Q-principle, giving us the scalar implicatures […]), a maxim that maximizes information from direct, unmarked expressions (an Informativeness or I-principle), and a maxim of Manner or markedness (or M-principle) that curtails those informative interpretations. (Levinson 2001: 11)

The idea of maxims, continued in theoretical assumptions of scholars dealing with communication, supports Grice's theory that we can intentionally violate the means aimed to communicate in a given way. It is important for seeking some theoretical background for the occurrence of manipulation in ideologically influenced texts.

All in all, taking into consideration all aspects of Levinson's theory, we can say that he does not question any of Grice's beliefs and the following sounds like his most crucial statement:

> Thus what is coded semantically and what is inferred pragmatically are often necessarily integrated in the extraction of propositional content. The implication is that there is a single level of representation to which quite different kinds of principles contribute – semantics and logical inference

on the one hand, and pragmatics and presumptive reasoning on the other. (Levinson 2001: 12)

This idea is concurrently stated by the assumptions of the Relevance Theory, which will be described in the next section, regarding its potential to explain communication influenced by intentions, whatever they might be.

1.4 Principles, norms and means of communication according to Relevance Theory

Sperber and Wilson's Theory of Relevance (1986) corresponds to Grice's conviction (1989: 49), shared with Levinson, that the essential feature of human communication is the expression and recognition of intentions (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 607). This gave rise to Sperber and Wilson's „inferential model of communication", according to which the speaker proves his intention to convey particular meanings based on which the hearer tries to recognize the meanings the speaker intended or, in other words, infers the communicator's intended meaning. Sperber and Wilson claim that "communicators – like human agents in general – form intentions over whose fulfillment they have some control: they may have some controllable effect on their audience's cognitive environment, much less on their audience's actual thoughts, and they form the intentions accordingly" (Sperber and Wilson 1995:58).

Relevance Theory states that the addresser gives a stimulus which enables the addressee to identify the intended meaning by recognizing the speaker's "informative intention" to convey it. This intention is defined as having an aim "to inform the audience of something" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 29), which requires showing that the speaker has such an intention. "To inform the audience of one's informative intention" is an additional type of intention - the so-called "communicative intention". This constituent plays an important part in communication and "is fulfilled once the first-order informative intention is recognized", as it consists in making it "mutually manifest to audience and communicator that the communicator has this informative intention" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 29, 61). Such communication is referred to by Sperber and Wilson as „ostensive inferential communication" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 63, 155) and requires the presence of the „ostensive stimulus" – a phenomenon helping to achieve the cognitive effect by attracting the hearer's attention and focusing it on the speaker's intention – a deliberate intention to produce some information on the part of the speaker and make particular assumptions "manifest or more manifest" (Sperber, Wilson

1986: 50-54, 58, 153-154). The ostensive-inferential communication is altogether described as the following process:

> The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions. (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 63, 155)

According to Sperber and Wilson the presence of the ostensive stimulus makes the receiver consider the information conveyed worth processing due to its recognized relevance. This presumption of Relevance Theory is referred to as the „Communicative Principle of Relevance". The stimulus is produced according to so-called "optimal relevance", communicated in "every act of ostensive communication", which is referred to as the "Principle of Relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 158).

Optimal relevance assumes:

(a) The set of assumptions {*I*} which the communicator intends to make manifest to the addressee is relevant enough to make it worth the addressee's while to process the ostensive stimulus.
(b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one the communicator could have used to communicate {*I*}. (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 164)

The speaker should then construct an utterance in such a way as to give the hearer the possibility to recognize the intended meaning as "the first optimally relevant" interpretation to occur to him, the one that satisfies his expectations, as more than one interpretation is undesirable (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 158, 164-169). Sperber and Wilson refer to this assumption as the "relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure".

In their Theory of Relevance Sperber and Wilson also refer to one of Grice's ideas, stating that utterances create some expectations which allow the hearer to recognize the meanings conveyed by the speaker (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 607). The basic principle of Relevance Theory is then the conviction that a stimulus (image, sound, utterance etc.), is crucial to the hearer, and due to the fact that seeking relevance is the basic feature of human cognition, the hearer can draw relevant conclusions, allowing him or her to answer a question, gain some knowledge, raise doubts, etc. This is only possible when the stimulus can lead to the so-called "positive cognitive effect", the one making a difference in the hearer's perception of the world, leading e.g. to a true conclusion. The more positive effects the hearer gains the bigger the relevance of the stimulus.

This happens due to the presence of an important element of the Theory of Relevance, the so-called "processing effort" in cognition – the amount of engagement needed in order to recognize the intended meaning. As a rule, "an assumption requiring a smaller processing effort is more relevant" and vice versa (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 125). To reduce the processing effort while seeking relevance is a natural feature of human communication.

According to Sperber and Wilson, the speaker uses "explicatures" and "implicatures" while communicating. Sperber and Wilson claim that "The explicit content of an utterance is a set of decoded assumptions, and the implicit content a set of inferred assumptions" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). Explicatures do not raise any doubts as for interpretation. According to Sperber and Wilson "An assumption communicated by an utterance U is explicit if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by U" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 182). The communication might also be conveyed through "strong implicatures", allowing the recognition of information as crucial for interpretation and satisfying the hearer's expectations for relevance. The "weak implicatures" allow the hearer to reach a relevant interpretation but are not essential, as the utterance suggests more than one possible implicature. The use of a few weak implicatures in an utterance instead of a single strong implicature in order to reach relevance is referred to as the "poetic effect" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 222-224).

In the light of Relevance Theory it can be assumed that communication is a matter of degree – when informative intention is made strongly manifest through strong implicatures, the assumption is strongly communicated, when the intention is weakly manifest, by way of weak implicatures, the assumption is weakly communicated. That will be a key point in constructing ideologically influenced utterances.

The rules of communication applied according to the Theory of Relevance are useful also in terms of translation – the level of the cognitive effect reached through the processing effort, via interpreting implicatures, explicatures, or ostensive stimuli depends on the translator's intention and abilities to render the meanings intended by the original communicator. This is the rule that, as can be taken for granted, applies to communication theories in a comparable degree as to translations.

1.5 Communication from the perspective of cognitivism and cognitive linguistics

As Relevance Theory assumes, our perception of the communicated message is not only dependent on how the message is communicated but is based on the mutual correspondence between the speaker producing the message and the hearer perceiving it. According to the presumptions of Relevance Theory, reaching the cognitive effect is a matter of the speaker's and hearer's cooperation in finding a way to communicate the message so as to give the hearer an opportunity to use the least processing effort by referring to ostensive stimuli, implicatures or explicatures.

Analysing the assumptions of cognitivism, we find that what underlies the process of communication is, in fact, the same principles ruling message construction and its perception.

The cognitivist view of language and the processes of its perception is roughly based on analogous presumptions to those of Relevance Theory. The most important issue when speaking of communicating meanings and reaching cognitive effects will be the characterization of the process of cognition, which also reflects the way human beings construct the messages they want to communicate and sometimes manipulate. It will also be crucial to refer to the main terms applied in cognitive linguistics, e.g. metaphor, to be able to refer to them in the analytical part of the study.

The general ideas of cognitivism, like the references to mental spaces – "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk for purposes of local understanding and action" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 40), conceptual thinking, conceptual blending or conceptual integration – mental operations, crucial to even the simplest kinds of thought, developing emergent structures absent from inputs, or mapping as basis for the existence of metaphors etc. – would only partly explain the way cognitivism matters in seeking the theoretical backgrounds to explain how manipulating meanings is possible in language (Fauconnier 1999: 95; Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 18, 42). Fauconnier and Turner claim that:

> Compression in blending networks operates on a surprisingly small set of relations rooted in fundamental human neurobiology and shared social experience. These vital relations, which include Cause-Effect, Change, Time, Identity, Intentionality, Representation, and Part-Whole, not only apply across mental spaces but also define essential topology within mental spaces. Blending, it turns out, is an instrument of compression par excellence. One of the overarching goals of compression through blending is to achieve "human scale" in the blended space, where a great deal of conscious manipulation takes place. (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: p.xiii)

Communicating and often manipulating meanings is not only possible through the purposeful use of some means, such as e.g. metaphorical suggestive constructions, but in general due to the universal way of thinking of all human beings which causes those constructions to occur and also be recognizable (in most cases at least).

Referring to the basic concepts in cognitivist linguistics, Fauconnier uses the term "backstage cognition", as he claims "echoing Erving Goffman", under which he mentions viewpoints, reference points, figure-ground/profile-base/landmark-trajector organization, metaphorical, analogical, and other mappings, idealized models, framing, construal, mental spaces, counterpart connections, roles, prototypes, metonymy, polysemy, conceptual blending, fictive motion and force dynamics (Fauconnier 1999: 96). Aware of the importance of all those elements in communication, the author still believes that:

> Language is only the tip of a spectacular cognitive iceberg, and when we engage in any language activity, be it mundane or artistically creative, we draw unconsciously on vast cognitive resources, call up innumerable models and frames, set up multiple connections, coordinate large arrays of information, and engage in creative mappings, transfers, and elaborations. This is what language is about and what language is for. (Fauconnier 1999: 96)

By means of some commonly applied and intuitively recognized patterns, people tend to follow the same models of meaning construction and recognition and it will be easy for a manipulator to refer to such typical schemas. These models are not simple patterns but very complicated and expanded structures. Fauconnier believes that:

> The linguistic distributions are just one of many sources of relevant data. Methods must extend to contextual aspects of language use and to non-linguistic cognition. This means studying full discourse, language in context, inferences actually drawn by participants in an exchange, applicable frames, implicit assumptions and construal, to name just a few. It means being on the look-out for manifestations of conceptual thought in everyday life, movies, literature, and science. (Fauconnier 1999: 97)

This means that whatever surrounds us has an influence on how we perceive information. It will then be possible to shape our perception according to the communicator's interests, or manipulate it. Everything that can have an impact on what we think and say is gathered from different sources of data that we normally collect unconsciously, or which can also be programmed for the needs of the intended message perception,

such as in the era of censorship in communist Poland. Fauconnier believes that in the cognitivist view:

> We need to go far beyond the usual focus on cross-domain mapping and inference transfer. We need to face squarely the far greater complexity of integrations that lie behind observable metaphorical conceptual systems. We need to take into account their cultural history, and we need to account explicitly for the emergent structures they produce, both over cultural time and over individual time. (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 64)

This model of thinking, common to message communicators and receivers, applies to all the components of communication, not just expressed within metaphorical expressions, but shared among all semantic and grammatical constituents. When it comes to cognitive grammar and semantics, the theory states that these models are also conceptual. According to Langacker:

> Cognitive grammar takes a nonstandard view of linguistic semantics and grammatical structure. Meaning is equated with conceptualization. Semantic structures are characterized relative to cognitive domains, and derive their value by construing the content of these domains in a specific fashion. Grammar is not a distinct level of linguistic representation, but reduces instead to the structuring and symbolization of conceptual content. All grammatical units are symbolic: Basic categories (e.g., noun and verb) are held to be notionally definable, and grammatical rules are analyzed as symbolic units that are both complex and schematic. (Langacker 1986: 1)

The same conviction is expressed by the same author in other words:

> Lexicon and grammar are fully describable as assemblies of symbolic structures, where a symbolic structure is simply the pairing between a semantic structure and a phonological structure (its semantic and phonological poles). This has several consequences. First, grammar is not distinct from semantics, but rather incorporates semantics as one of its two poles. Second, grammatical description does not rely on special, irreducible grammatical primitives, but only on symbolic structures, each reducible to a form-meaning pairing. Third, every construct validly posited in grammatical description has a semantic pole and is therefore meaningful (though the meanings are often quite schematic). (Langacker 2009: 1-2)

It turns out that the similar convictions of cognitivists concern not only the elements of grammar influencing semantics, but also lexis. It is, like other linguistic constructions, conceptual and symbolic. According to Langacker:

> Lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic units, divided only arbitrarily into separate 'components' – it is ultimately as pointless to analyze grammatical units without reference to their semantic value as to write a dictionary which omits the meanings of its lexical items. Cognitive grammar departs from most varieties of traditional and formal semantics […] by equating meaning with conceptualization (or cognitive processing). (Langacker 1986: 2)

The understanding of meaning according to the rules of cognitivism is based upon some common patterns, as has been stated before, ruling both message perception and production. It is suggested that the process is greatly influenced by all surrounding data available to the speaker and hearer at the same time. This is crucial in discussing the methods of influencing human perception – if the hearer is to perceive an appropriate type of information it is enough to expose him to the contents common to both the hearer and the speaker, a method essential in manipulation. Langacker claims that all possible kinds of information transfer can have an influence on perception. He believes that:

> Meaning is equated with conceptualization. Linguistic semantics must therefore attempt the structural analysis and explicit description of abstract entities like thoughts and concepts. The term conceptualization is interpreted quite broadly: it encompasses novel conceptions as well as fixed concepts; sensory, kinesthetic, and emotive experience; recognition of the immediate context (social, physical, and linguistic); and so on. Because conceptualization resides in cognitive processing, our ultimate objective must be to characterize the types of cognitive events whose occurrence constitutes a given mental experience. (Langacker 1986: 3)

It is evident that a common model of thinking, referred to in the above passages, is not only typical of the cases of understanding data on this narrower scale, such as the perception of encoded meanings in linguistics, but also to a much greater extent, between different fields of knowledge. As Fauconnier claims:

> Thinkers have always been fascinated by mental patterns that are commonly classified under labels such as analogy, category extension, metaphor, framing, counterfactuals, and grammatical constructions. Typically, they are considered parts of distinct disciplines: counterfactuals in philosophy and logic, metaphor in literature, analogy in psychology, framing in sociology and artificial intelligence, grammatical constructions in linguistics. We have recently discovered, however, that the mental principles behind all of these patterns are uniform. The patterns are all products of integration networks. (Fauconnier 2005: 523)

The idea of Conceptual Integration Networks (CIN) is characterized by Fauconnier in the following way:

> Blending is a widely applicable cognitive operation. It matches two input spaces through a partial cross-space mapping and projects selectively from both inputs into a third space, the blend, which gets elaborated dynamically. The cross-space mapping exploits shared schematic structure in the inputs or develops additional shared schematic structure. This common structure is contained and elaborated in a fourth space, the generic space. The four spaces (inputs, generic, and blend) are connected through the projective links and constitute a 'conceptual integration network'. (Fauconnier 1999: 105)

This potential of language which allows it to incorporate all types of data into an encoded message, gathered from around the speaker's existence, on the one hand, gives an opportunity to construct meanings incorporating whatever needed for effective communication, but on the other hand, it offers recognizable patterns for decoding the message contents in an appropriate way. Fauconnier refers to this idea, claiming that:

> A central feature of integration networks is their ability to compress diffuse conceptual structures into intelligible and manipulable human-scale situations in a blended space. These compressed blends are memorable and can be expanded flexibly to manage their integration networks. Compressions […] operate on a set of twenty or so vital conceptual relations, such as Cause-Effect, Analogy and Disanalogy, Time, Space, Change, Identity, Part-Whole and Representation. (Fauconnier 2005: 523-524)

The complexity of these relations means that the final product of linguistic information is never a simple relation of recognizable elements. Fauconnier thinks that:

> Conceptual products are never the result of a single mapping. What we have come to call "conceptual metaphors," like TIME IS MONEY or TIME IS SPACE, turn out to be mental constructions involving many spaces and many mappings in elaborate integration networks constructed by means of overarching general principles. These integration networks are far richer than the bundles of pairwise bindings considered in recent theories of metaphor. (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 53)

The theory of metaphor, as offered by cognitivists, helps us to perceive mental processes taking place when we refer to intangible or pictorial phenomena through the use of metaphor. As Lakoff claims, in the classical

theory, "The word 'metaphor' was defined as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express a 'similar' concept" (Lakoff 1993: 202). Lakoff, together with Johnson, states that most people perceive metaphor as extraordinary rather than ordinary language. It is also identified with language alone rather than thought (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3).

This assumption is not in line with Lakoff's convictions and he proposes a completely different view of what governs metaphor. He argues that the essence of the new way of viewing the metaphor is that it is not consistent in the use of language, but thought and reason. The conceptual mapping taking place in our mind is primary in the process of recognizing metaphorical phenomena, outpacing language (Lakoff 1993: 208). He claims that:

> The generalizations governing poetic metaphorical expressions are not in language, but in thought: they are general mappings across conceptual domains. Moreover, these general principles which take the forms of conceptual mappings, apply not just to novel poetic expressions, but to much of ordinary everyday language. (Lakoff 1993: 203)

This means that our mind works through matching concepts (cross-domain mappings) and these occur automatically when the mind recognizes any similarity of ideas, not exclusively for the use of figurative language, but in everyday situations. Lakoff and Johnson think that "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). They also suggest that "communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting", so based on language we can make conclusions about the processes taking place when we think (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3).

The process of conceptual mapping is organized according to the so-called Invariance Principle, which holds that the "image-schema structure inherent in the target domain cannot be violated, and that inherent target domain structure limits the possibilities for mappings automatically" (Lakoff 1993: 216). Lakoff claims that "The mapping is conventional, that is, it is a fixed part of our conceptual system" (Lakoff 1993: 208). We do not tend to apply cross-domain conceptual mappings in a different way than conventional, as this is an instinctive process. It becomes obvious when we consider that what we apply to the use of metaphor in literature does not differ in theory from what is true of using metaphors in everyday speech. The most crucial idea of metaphor is "understanding and

experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5).

According to this new attitude of theorists:

> The locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such cross-domain mappings. And in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation, and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical. (Lakoff 1993: 203)

A "metaphorical expression", according to Lakoff, will be a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of a cross-domain mapping (Lakoff 1993: 203). It is worth stressing that, as Lakoff states:

> It should be noted that contemporary metaphor theorists commonly use the term "metaphor" to refer to the conceptual mapping, and the term "metaphorical expression" to refer to an individual linguistic expression (like *dead-end street*) that is sanctioned by a mapping. (Lakoff 1993: 209)

A notion closely related to metaphor is metonymy, in which, as Lakoff and Johnson claim, "we are using one entity to refer to another that is related to it", e.g. when we say "He likes to read Marquis de Sade" we mean "the writings of the marquis" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35). Synecdoche, in which the part stands for the whole, as in the following example: "I've got a new set of wheels" (meaning I have a car, motorcycle, etc.), is a special case of metonymy. Here, according to Lakoff and Johnson, "one entity is being used to refer to another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35). Metaphor and metonymy are explained by Lakoff and Johnson in the following way:

> Metaphor and metonymy are different kinds of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another. But metonymy is not merely a referential device. It also serves the function of providing understanding. For example in the case of metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE there are many parts that can stand for the whole. Which part we pick out determines which aspect of the whole we are focusing on. When we say that we need some good heads on the project, we are using "good heads" to refer to "intelligent people". The point is not just to use a part (head) to stand for a whole (person) but rather to pick out a particular characteristic of the person,

namely, intelligence, which is associated with the head. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35)

Metonymy is also related to metaphor because "it is not just a poetic or rhetorical device. Nor is it just a matter of language" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 37). It is connected with our everyday way of thinking, acting and talking – all in all, our experience, which exists within a cultural background (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 57).

Of all the constitutive elements comprising the cognitivist view on language discussed above, the idea of Conceptual Integration Networks seems to be the most important in connection with the topic of this research study, as it shows the forces that influence our thinking and cognition and lead to manipulation. Together with the theory of metaphor it will feature in the corpus analysis.

2. Communication and discourse

So far communication in general terms has been referred to. Speech acts have been discussed, the same as maxims and principles governing communication, and the way communication process works – the way messages are encoded, sent and decoded. All these theoretical issues were intended to depict the background communicational event that underlies translation and conditions its effects. Even if language is analysed as the product of translation it has to be seen in the communicational context, presupposing some specific aims of participants in the act of communication. When a translator becomes the communicator the same principles govern his way to communicate messages to his audience and the same mechanisms work, preceded by his first being a receiver of the message that is to be translated. Hatim and Mason, not without reason, refer to translation as "communicative discourse" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 3). They claim:

> In creating a new act of communication out of a previously existing one, translators are inevitably acting under the pressure of their own social conditioning while at the same time trying to assist in the negotiation of meaning between the producer of the source-language text (ST) and the reader of the target language text (TT), both of whom exist within their own, different social frameworks. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 1)

This is why, even if the translation is written and concerns only the product, we have to be aware that such a product is the effect of all processes that had to take place in advance in the translator's mind and are

subsequently subject to the receivers' minds' cognitive processes. This is why translation of a written message can be seen as discourse.

2.1 Discourse characteristics and its relation to communication

The way we understand discourse is consistent with the definition of discourse given by Duszak, according to which:

> Discourse is a communicational event, so it comprises the whole act of communication, namely specific verbalization (text), and accompanying extralinguistic elements, such as context and participants.[1] (Duszak 1998: 19)

According to Dąmbska-Prokop, on the contrary, discourse has some distinctive features in comparison with text. „Text has its intended structure and sense, it is also a product of a process in which it is (or has been) created"[2], relatively independent of context (Dąmbska-Prokop 1999: 18).

Discourse, on the other hand, is described by Dąmbska-Prokop in its dynamic aspect as "the process of creating 'a text in context' and recognizing its contents in some specific situations, which is in particular pragmatic circumstances"[3], in which context counts (Dąmbska-Prokop 1999: 18). The author believes, unlike some other scholars (e.g. van Dijk) that discourse can only be associated with speech. It is conditioned by linguistic, typological, cultural, philosophical and ideological factors (Dąmbska-Prokop 1999: 18).

A similar distinction between text and discourse is made by Bell. He believes that the first term should be associated with a product constituted by a selection of grammatical options, having some semantic sense and the locutionary force of a speech act expressed through sentences bound by cohesion (Bell 1991: 149, 163). Discourse, on the other hand, is a communicational event using the potential of language and other systems of communication to generate the illocutionary force of speech acts expressed through coherent utterances (Bell 1991: 163).

If the "verbalization (text)", as Duszak puts it in her definition quoted above, is the notion that cannot be distinguished from discourse in its form (oral or written), it means that written translations like other types of

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[1] Translation – Edyta Źrałka

[2] Translation – Edyta Źrałka

[3] Translation – Edyta Źrałka

written texts can be treated as discourse, which is the attitude adopted herein and developed in the next section.

2.2 Translation as a special type of discourse

In analyzing translations of the corpus material treated as a product one has to be aware of the process preceding the product constitution, especially in the context of all factors marking essential influence on this product. This process is of dynamic character, shaped by all the cultural and institutional requirements, like censorship, propaganda, editorial claims, etc. Hatim and Mason view translation as "a communicative process which takes place within a social context" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 3). They state that:

> The translator's motivations are inextricably bound up with the socio-cultural context in which the act of translating takes place. Consequently, it is important to judge translating activity only within a social context. […] Moreover, the status of the source text as a social product, its intended readership, the socio-economic circumstances of its production, translation and reception by TL readers are all relevant factors in the study of the translation process. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 12-13)

What the authors claim is that there is still a kind of communication between the translator as the message sender and the readers of the product of translation as receivers of the message in this communication process. The situation can be compared with a discourse as both the translator and the readers of his specially-oriented product are in a state of cooperation. Hatim and Mason describe this process as being a kind of relay, stating that:

> If we accept that meaning is something that is negotiated between producers and receivers of texts, it follows that the translator, as a special kind of text user, intervenes in this process of negotiation to relay it across linguistic and cultural boundaries. […] The various domains of sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse linguistics are all areas of study which are germane to this process. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 33)

Hatim and Mason, referring to translation in terms of discourse, distinguish three different aspects characteristic for discourse, associated with register: field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse (Hatim and Mason 1990: 48). The first notion is characterized as the field of activity associated with the social function of the text. As they claim:

Field is not the same as subject matter. Firstly, it is often the case that we encounter fields that are characterized by a variety of subject matters (e.g. political discourse as a field may be about law and order, taxation or foreign policy). Secondly, in certain fields (e.g. a swimming lesson), use of language is ancillary. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 48)

Mode of discourse is associated with the medium of the language activity, Hatim and Mason claim, "It is the manifestation of the nature of the language code being used" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 49). Different variations of language use are possible here, first of all written or spoken, but also many sub-categories of those two basic distinctions. An important aspect of mode is channel, as communication is carried out through it. Tenor, Hatim and Mason claim, "relays the relationship between the addresser and the addressee" within the range of formal to informal dependencies (Hatim and Mason 1990: 50).

The identification of the field, tenor and mode is related to the context of communication. And when the context is ascribed to communication, the pragmatic aspect of language use is analysed, as Hatim and Mason write, its function "to do things with words" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 57). This pragmatic aspect constitutes, which is further suggested by Hatim and Mason, some semiotic value characteristic of the communication, which is then placed within the theory of signs. According to Hatim and Mason:

This interactive dimension of context is semiotic. It takes pragmatic reading a step further and helps the reader to locate a given message within an overall system of values appropriate to a given culture (the ideological stance of the writer as a scientist, arguing for a particular course of action). It is the perception of pragmatic and semiotic values such as these which enables translators to transfer the entirety of the message into their TL version. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 59)

This should matter for the analyses in Chapter 4, as they will all be seen in the pragmatic context of communication through the means of Newspeak.

As shown by the descriptions quoted, all these elements of discourse related to translation refer to similar phenomena as in the model of speech acts and rule-governed communication described in the previous sections of this chapter. This justifies the presupposition that translation is a kind of communication governed by the principles of discourse, for which reason we should have the right to treat translation, even if written, as discourse and refer to it in such terms.

3. Strategies and techniques in translation

As all the theoretical considerations in this research study point towards the analyses of the way in which the source information of foreign press articles was manipulated under the conditions of censored translation in communist Poland, before describing the pragmatic attitudes and solutions of the translators regarding the message, such tools as the strategies and techniques of translation need to be briefly discussed, bearing in mind that "the degree of the translator's interference in the translated text is dependent less on the technique used than on the translator"[4] (Garcarz 2004: 100), regardless of the political circumstances.

The systematic presentation of techniques typically incorporated in a translators' workshop will be preceded by the explanation of how techniques differ from strategies and what conditions may govern translators' choices, here in terms of general, not pragmatically oriented, conditions of translation. The pragmatic attitude will be commented on in the analytical part in Chapter 4.

3.1 Definitions of strategies and techniques in translation

In the pragmatic attitude to translation, an essential role is played by the intended choice of strategies and techniques on the part of the translator. As goals may differ considerably, strategies will be suited to the required aims of translations. To decide upon the aim and choose an appropriate strategy is normally the first stage of a translation process. Only then can translators reasonably choose techniques to render their targeted meanings.

Among numerous definitions of the two notions described above, those which seem appealing and convincing enough will be chosen to mark the essential difference and create a theoretical basis for further references.

The nomenclature concerning ways of dealing with individual and global textual problems of translation absorbs many theorists in the field.

Baker understands the notion of strategy in two ways, not only as the overall translator's idea applied to the whole text but also to some particular cases within the text. What matters to her with respect to translation is, on the one hand, as she claims, "taking such things as text-type and context as starting points for discussing translation problems and strategies", but on the other hand, she is preoccupied with the need "to identify potential sources of translation difficulties related to the linguistic

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area under discussion and possible strategies for resolving these difficulties." (Baker 1992: 6-7). She conceives translation strategies in a broad context of different kinds of equivalence, first on the level of words, then phrases and grammar structures applied to isolated words and sentences (number, gender, person, time, aspect, active and passive voice), and finally the equivalence of the logical textual construction. She incorporates in her theory all necessary levels of translators' considerations when communicating messages from the SL to the TL. This attitude will be an important observation from the perspective of the analyses that are going to be performed.

A fuller concept of what Baker proposes is represented by Gambier's view (2007), implying that strategies incorporate two levels of understanding:

- micro-level, perceived on the basis of local strategies, concerning the text and its cognitive aspects,
- macro-level, understood as global strategies comprising sociological and cultural aspects, objectively influencing translation.

But to understand the notions under discussion it is better to refer to detailed definitions, such as e.g. the ones given by Chesterman, Lörscher, Vinay and Darbelnet, and others.

Chesterman defines strategies in translation as some solutions within individual well-selected translational problems, and standard procedures aimed at solving difficulties and reaching an intended aim, of which a translator is aware (Chesterman 2000: 82).

In Lörscher's view, strategies have both local and global sense. On the one hand, they are seen as a tool to solve individual dilemmas, leading to optimal choices for particular problems, and on the other, strategies are referred to as some planned sequences of steps in translation, a global attitude. The first concept of the definition is referred to by the author as *procedures* (Lörscher 1991: 71, 77).

A similar attitude to defining the two notions is represented by Piotrowska. She claims that strategies have a global reference to a whole text, including its type and actions planned by the translator, while individual ideas how to solve particular problems when proceeding towards the TT are called *techniques* or *procedures* (Piotrowska 2002: 64-65). She adds that:

> The differentiating criteria between Strs (strategic decisions) and Tqs (decisions of detail) are time, scale and quantity. Strategic decisions precede decisions of detail and are superordinate to them as well as

preparatory in nature. They are text-oriented and are concerned more with general problems, and their value for the translated text is assessed from another perspective. They are taken at the first conceptual stage of translating, which is the decoding of the original. Decisions of detail are problem-oriented, unlike the former, which are focused on the whole text, and they refer to particular choices made by the T about specific points in a translated text. (Piotrowska 2002: 65)

Vinay and Darbelnet write that translation strategies are the translators' global approach to a given text, according to their intention; translation procedures, on the other hand, are used for sentences and smaller units of language within that text (1958: 46). This is also part of the essence of Delisle's definition of translation procedures (1999: 170), which states that "Translation procedures are methods applied by translators when they formulate an equivalence for the purpose of transferring elements of meaning from the Source Text (ST) to the Target Text (TT)."

The definitions of Piotrowska, Vinay and Darbelnet, and Delisle are the most orderly in fully differentiating the two notions and will be a point of reference for terminological choice. Global decisions will be called "strategies", and individual solutions "techniques" or "procedures".

When it comes to strategies, manipulation is assumed the prevailing attitude in the analytical corpus. To deal with literal translation as a global strategy applied in the translations. is generally not expected. What should be encountered is rather attempts to find free functional equivalents of STs whose aim is to distort the SL contents, and which will disclose manipulation on the level of the strategy choice. What is of real concern is then the methods through which this undertaking of message distortion might be realized, namely, analyzing the plentitude of translation manipulative techniques used in the corpus, which will be done in Chapter 4.

3.2 Techniques of translation as means of meaning conveyance in intercultural communication

A necessary step before carrying out analyses in Chapter 4 is to present definitions and examples of the most often used translation techniques. The richest source of them is found in Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), Newmark (1988), Malone (1988), Baker (1992), Delisle (1999) and Kwieciński (2001), to whom references will be given by repeating their definitions and examples. Even if examples of the use of any particular technique characterized here might not appear in the analysis, they need to be mentioned as a theoretical potential of translations.

Vinay and Darbelnet proposed seven *methods* or procedures for a start, although they suggest there could be more (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 46-57). The procedures are called: borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation. Vinay and Darbelnet divide translation into two types, *direct* and *oblique*, which correspond to the most general classification into literal and free translation. These two types of translation are also the initial decisions of a translator, applied in advance to the entire text, and thus should be considered strategies that are essential when some overall attitude to translation is adapted or assessed.

When it comes to procedures, they are applied whenever a phenomenon called by Vinay and Darbelnet *lacunae* (gaps) occurs in the TL – a problem with expressing the target meaning directly comes out, e.g. if there is a need to find an equivalent for a concept which does not exist in the TL, a name for a new technological process, etc. (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 10; 1958/1995: 129).

The authors define *borrowings* as words directly transferred from one language to another without, or with minor, changes and introduced into the TT in order to add „the flavour of the SL culture" (as in the case of "tequila", "tortillas"), or if in the TL an appropriate equivalent does not exist (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 129).

The authors write that in the case of older, well-established borrowings we no longer speak of borrowed words, but rather naturalisations, as they are so widely used in the TL lexicon, e.g. "menu", "déjà vu", "rendez-vous" etc.

A *calque*, also called *loan translation*, is a special kind of borrowing in which an SL expression is translated into TL literally, element by element, e.g. "fin de semaine" – "week-end". It might be applied to word phrases, names of organisations etc., and also sentences, e.g. "Le mariage est une association à cinquante-cinquante." – "Matrimony is a fifty-fifty relationship." Calques borrow structures and meanings of SL expressions, or idioms, whereas borrowings involve only the lexical layer (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 6; 1958/1995: 129).

Literal or *word-for-word translation* is a direct transfer of the SL text into the TL, according to its lexical and grammatical rules, as in this pair of sentences: "He works in the house now" and "Il travaille dans la maison maintenant" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 130). Literal, or *close translation*, may concern single words, phrases e.g. "un beau jardin" – "a beautiful garden", "faire un discours" – "make a speech", or a simple or complex sentence, such as "When that was done" – "Quand cela fut fait", or "The man was in the street" – "L'homme était dans la rue". Vinay and

Darbelnet remark that "It is most common when translating between two languages of the same family (e.g. between French and Italian), and even more so when they also share the same culture" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 130).

The three procedures described above – borrowing, calque, and literal translation – represent the category of direct translation. If the translator thinks there are no ways to render meanings by use of them, oblique methods are employed. The cases in which the translator must avoid using direct translation procedures and rely on oblique ones occur when the direct TL equivalents:

- give an inadequate meaning,
- have no meaning,
- are structurally impossible,
- do not exist,
- exist, but their register is different (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 131).

One such oblique procedure is *transposition.* This is a procedure in which the translator replaces one class of words with another, without changing the meaning of the whole message. It consists in a change of grammatical category (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 16), e.g. instead of translating "He announced that he would return" as "Il a annoncé qu'il reviendrait" the structure "Il a annoncé son retour" might be used, in which a verbal structure is changed into a nominal one. The first of the expressions will be referred to as the *base expression*, the second as the *transposed expression*. There are two different types of transposition:

-obligatory
-optional (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 132),

depending on the objectively existing linguistic conditions.

The next kind of oblique translation is the procedure called *modulation*. This is a variation of the SL form of the message obtained through a change of viewpoint, perspective, or category of thought, e.g. by changing a double negation into a positive sentence, an abstract concept into concrete one, cause into effect, etc. In this kind of procedure a literal translation may exist but it might look unsuitable, unidiomatic or awkward in the TL. Within this technique we distinguish between *free* and *optional modulations*, e.g. "It is not difficult to show" translated as "Il est facile de demontré", and those that are *fixed* or *obligatory*, an example of which is

the translation of "The time when" as "Le moment où" (Vinay, Darbelnet 1958: 11; 1958/1995: 133).

Equivalence, according to Vinay and Darbelnet, consists in construing two totally different texts in the source and target language to represent identical situations. The differences are of syntagmatic nature and affect all the information. As a result, most cases of equivalence involve idioms, clichés, proverbs, nominal or adjectival phrases, etc. Proverbs make good examples of equivalences, as in the case of e.g.: "Il pleut à seaux/des cordes" and the English version "It is raining cats and dogs", or "Like a bull in a china shop" translated into French as "Comme un chien dans un jeu de quills" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 134).

The last of the seven procedures introduced by Vinay and Darbelnet is *adaptation*. The authors refer to it as "an extreme limit of translation", applied when the situation described in the SL is unknown in the TL culture. In such cases the translator has to create a new situation within the translation which may be regarded as equivalent (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 4-5). Adaptation can be referred to as a special case of equivalence, a situational equivalence. Adaptation influences not only syntax but the way messages evolve. According to Vinay and Darbelnet, adaptations are typical procedures in the translation of book and film titles e.g.: "Trois hommes et un couffin" rendered as "Three men and a baby" (a film title), or "Le grand Meaulnes" titled in English "The Wanderer" (a book title) (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 135).

The authors claim that these seven procedures are applied to a different degree on three levels of expression: lexical, syntactic and a message plane (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/1995: 136).

There are also other techniques, elicited based on other scholars' classifications. The target of this research study, which is to demonstrate the existence of manipulative practices in translations in communist Poland due to the censorship apparatus, requires drawing up a list of defined procedures with examples for the aim of facilitating reference to them in Chapter 4. The intention is to include in the following list the most commonly used techniques, but with special attention to the ones incorporating elements of deliberate modification that may relate to the character of the analytical corpus gathered. The list of commonly utilized techniques, which are unavoidable in the majority of translations, should consist of (the procedures mentioned above also included):

-   WORD-FOR-WORD TRANSLATION (LITERAL TRANSLATION, CLOSE TRANSLATION) – characterized above;

- THROUGH-TRANSLATION (CALQUE, LOAN TRANSLATION), described above, or as Delisle puts it, the transfer of a SL word or expression into the TT using a literal translation of its component elements, e.g. "skyscraper" – "gratte-ciel" (Delisle 1999: 16), or "compliments de la saison" – "compliments of the season", "marriage de convenance" – "marriage of convenience" (Newmark 1988: 84);
- TRANSFERENCE (BORROWING) (loanword, transcription, transliteration), as mentioned above – transferring a SL word to a TL, either in the situation of the lack of a lexicalized correspondence, or for stylistic or rhetorical reasons, e.g. "noblesse oblige", proper names, names of people (except the Pope and royals), names of magazines and newspapers, e.g. "The Times", titles of untranslated literary works, films, names of companies and institutions with no recognised translations, street names, addresses, etc. (Newmark 1988: 81);
- NATURALISTATION (DIRECT TRANSFER), the adaptation of a SL word first to the normal pronunciation, then morphology of the TL, e.g. in French, "thatchérisme" (Newmark 1988: 82);
- NOMINALIZATION (DEVERBALIZATION), the use of verb-related information through verbal nouns;

Procedures giving a translator a greater opportunity to manipulate are:

- MODULATION, as indicated in connection with the Vinay and Darbelnet classification: variation through a change of viewpoint, perspective, and very often category of thought, e.g. "Il n'a pas hésité" – "He acted at once";
- EQUIVALENCE, as defined above: substitution of a TL statement for a SL statement which describes the same situation, even though there is no formal or semantic correspondence, but different from modulation in that it belongs to the semantic level, not to the lexical level; it is an extreme case of modulation, e.g. "the story so far" – "Résumé des chapitres précédents" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 8-9);
- ADAPTATION (CULTURAL EQUIVALENT) (Newmark 1988: 82-83), as characterized in the classification of Vinay and Darbelnet;
- DESCRIPTIVE EQUIVALENT (FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENT), aimed at neutralising or generalising a SL cultural word by using a

description, e.g. "Samurai" – "Japanese aristocracy from the eleventh to the nineteenth century" (Newmark 1988: 83-84);

- COMPENSATION, when some loss of meaning, sound-effect, metaphor or pragmatic effect in one part of a sentence is compensated for in another part (Newmark 1988: 90), e.g. the French use of the pronoun "tu" to express familiarity between two people (as opposed to the formal "vous") could correspond in English to the use of a first name or nickname;
- PARAPHRASE, the amplification or explanation of the meaning of a segment of the text by the one that has the equivalent sense (Newmark 1988: 90; Delisle 1999: 61);
- OMISSION, used to concentrate or suppress elements in the TT;
- EXPLICITATION, used to introduce precise details into the TT for clarification;
- IMPLICITATION, a translation procedure achieved by not explicitly stating information from the ST in the TT when it is evident from the context or the described situation and can be easily inferred by a speaker of the TL;
- NOTES (ADDITIONS, GLOSSES), supplying additional information in the form of footnotes, endnotes, or glossaries at the end of the text, or within the text, e.g. "Debrecen" – "the city of Debrecen, in western Hungary";
- TRANSLATION LABEL, defined as "a provisional translation, usually of a new institutional term, which should be made in inverted commas, which can later be discreetly withdrawn". This can be done through literal translation, thus: "'heritage language" – "Erbschaftssprache", "langue d'héritage"' (Newmark 1988: 90);
- SYNONYMY, the use of a near TL equivalent to an SL word in a context. This procedure is used with words that are not important (adjectives, adverbs of quality), when there is no clear one-to-one equivalent and literal translation is impossible, e.g. "Personne gentile" – "kind person", or "Conte piquant" – "racy story" (Newmark 1988: 84) ;
- TRANSPOSITION, SHIFT (Catford), RECATEGORIZATION (Delisle), a change in the grammar from SL to TL (singular to plural, position of an adjective, modification of the word class or part of speech), e.g. "Three ways to make life easier" – "Trois façons de se simplifier la vie" (SL infinitival clause – TL genitive case) (Delisle 1999: 65), or "d'une importance exceptionnelle" – "exceptionally large" (SL adjective + adjectival noun - TL adverb + adjective) (Newmark 1988: 85-86);

- ADDITION/DELETION, used for amplification and reduction, based on an increase or decrease of the semantic value, in contrast with explicitation/implicitation (diffusion/condensation), where a quantitative change is not accompanied by substantial semantic losses/gains (van Leuven-Zwart 1989: 168);
- RECRESCENCE (AMPLIFICATION VS. REDUCTION), in the case of amplification: a procedure based on anticipating gaps in the knowledge of the target audience "providing the target audience with extra explicit information not required by the source audience" (Malone 1988: 41). Glossing or compensatory amplification is a subclass of amplification. When reduction is made, the source information is partially omitted from the TL (Malone 1988: 17), also in order to facilitate the process of understanding (Malone 1988: 47), or is reduced to generalisations, e.g. using a superordinate;
- CONCENTRATION (REDUCTION), the reverse of amplification, e.g. "science linguistique" – "linguistics" (Newmark 1988: 90);
- DIFFUSION, which takes place when "instances of the smooth (covert) unpacking of the semantic traits of a semantically complex SL element into a longer TL phrase" occur (Kwieciński 2001: 138). It is a procedure which can "involve structural manipulation of approximately the same semantic material, but the fact of promoting an implicit semantic feature to word level certainly involves changes in the saliency of the item and therefore is not semantically indifferent" (Kwieciński 2001: 143);
- CONDENSATION, the opposite of diffusion, takes place when "a source element or construction corresponds to a tighter or more compact target counterpart" (Malone 1988: 59);
- RECASTING, modifying the order of the units in a ST to conform to the syntactic or idiomatic constraints of the TT;
- REORDERING, a procedure obtained when "one or more target elements appear in a position different from that of the source text" (Malone 1988: 65), which is often automatic at morphological level and lower syntactic level. For higher-level syntactic elements it might be used to create special translational effects, e.g. to optimize comprehension (Malone 1988: 66-67), or to manipulate;
- SUBSTITUTION, a procedure which "involves selection of a TL element differing from its source counterpart in some plerematic aspect, e.g. semantically or syntactically" (Malone 1988: 78);
- SUPERORDINATE, using a word which denotes a higher level class (Baker 1992: 26-28);

- ATTENUATION, characterized as "a replacement, on ideological grounds, of something 'too strong' or in any way unacceptable, by something 'softer', more adequate to target pole written tradition or to what could, in theory, be expected by readers." (Aixela 1996: 64);

The procedures described above are not aimed at exhausting the list of proposed translation techniques, but suffice for the reference to observable manipulative operations in the corpus. Even if no examples of these techniques will be found in the corpus analyses, they are listed here in order to cast light on the procedures at hand when it comes to manipulating the meaning in the special kind of communication that is translation.

4. The manipulative potential of communication and its influence on translation

Analyzing the way people communicate and referring to theories dealing with the topic, it can be observed that the opportunities that potentially exist within the construction of meanings for deliberate manipulation are countless. Even if theorists tried to invent norms for model communication they immediately had to refer to possible violation of the norms (Grice). What they did is broad research within the field of modelling communication, giving rules for its functioning and discovering the way our mind operates when structuring information, during its encoding, but also decoding (cognitivism, Relevance Theory). The ways in which all the norms and rules of communication could be used in a manipulative way to make the addressee decode a message that is far from being in accordance with the factual data at the addresser's disposal have been mentioned.

It has to be stated now that with translation the opportunity to distort real SL contents when rendered in the TL may be easy because there are plenty of techniques to change the source message. The translator, being directly responsible for the creation of the TL message based on the ST, may considerably change it, even if deliberate manipulation is not the target. If it is, the only difference seems to be that a message communicator does not even aim at rendering the information expressed in a translated text, and the degree to which manipulation can develop is unlimited. It might generate even a totally different text, regardless of its kind. Literary or non-literary genres do not have any impact on the level of manipulation in fact, even if the former type is more often associated with

free rather than literal translation and vice versa. The thing that matters is the strategy the translator chooses, and his or her intention.

The intention is sometimes not the translator's own. In a situation in which norms are imposed no translation will be truthful, as what must be followed is not the contents but the norms imposed on contents. This is especially true of ideological influence on communication, as in the era of communist rule.

Taking into account the fact that also due to the ST construction it is sometimes difficult to relay the equivalent meaning, the pressure imposed on the translator might make him go far from the source meaning, which will be observed in the analyses of the corpus. The range of closeness to the ST in the translations analyzed varies from being almost literal to the creation of a completely new text in which only the topic allows us to identify the SL message as the prototype of the translation.

Conclusions

In the theories presented in this chapter the intention was to present a model of communication, including A) psycholinguistic, based on the functions of brain in modelling communication and its patterns (encoding and decoding messages, information exchange in models of communication, mapping in cognitivism, correspondence of intentions and reaching cognitive effects in the Relevance Theory); B) linguistic aspects – types of messages human beings can produce and, at the same time, expect to perceive, like different acts of speech (especially illocutionary and perlocutionary), norms of communication (Grice's maxims); and C) strategies and techniques that can be used in translation to, on the one hand, render source text meanings, but on the other, manipulate the contents.

It has been done to show not only that functional oral and written communication abides by some pre-established rules that are followed by the members of each community and are acquired through social and linguistic education, but also that translation seeks similar rules to constitute a commonly accepted system, recognized by professionals, and taken up by a wide audience.

Tools to be used in the analytical section for dealing with the corpus chosen needed to be introduced. The tools, which are theories concerning communication, but mainly the procedures of translation, are so numerous that it was only possible to describe in detail a selection especially useful for showing how communication originates and how manipulative techniques are incorporated in translations and can be analyzed. This is

why the procedures classified within free translation are discussed. What is also needed is the description of cognitive models, as much of the terminology introduced in the corpus analyses will refer to notions employed by the theory (especially metaphor).

Summarizing the contents of the chapter it should be stated that where communication is concerned, no matter whether it refers to originally produced texts or to translations, there are similar norms ruling the message encoding and similar ways to decode it. This conviction should apply to the means (verbal constructions), rules of organization (linguistic patterns in particular languages), and functional aims (either being close to the reality depicted or distant). No matter then whether it is communication or intercultural communication in translation that is dealt with, similar norm can be applied to understand the models that govern the way people create and depict their surrounding reality.

The reality of communist ideology worked out its own systems – both in original texts and in translations. The means it used were applicable to a comparable extent in both message types – original and translated. It will not only be shown what procedures are preferred in manipulated translation but also how ideological means of Newspeak (*nowomowa*) are present in the translated texts.

These are the two aspects treated as key points of analyses, which will be performed in Chapter 4, after the description of manipulation and the features of ideological influence on language and its type in Chapters 2 and 3.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITIONS OF MANIPULATION
AND THE IDEA OF MANIPULATION
IN TRANSLATION

Introduction

The basic thing to consider while dealing with the problem of manipulation applied to translation is to define what the term itself denotes and, based on that, to see how it is understood when incorporated into translation.

Because so many definitions of the term and attitudes towards the idea of manipulation in translation exist, dating from the 1970s-1980s and still evolving since 2000, some methodological concerns to deal with the problem have to be considered.

The first is to make a logical organization of assumptions, as the conclusion how to perceive manipulation in translation has to be reached before analyzing the research material. In this case, the chronology of different attitudes is not of much use for us, although it still plays a certain role, as some theories are developed based on previously existing ones. What will be most important in defining the notion is dictionary definitions, individual theories and group attitudes of scholars.

Describing the notion of manipulation and its application in translation according to the criterion stated above is what has to be done in the following chapter.

1. Definitions of manipulation

Manipulation has been practised for longer than the existence of its definitions. The term was used abroad earlier than in Poland, as the Manipulation School attributed it to translation already in the 1970s, but the idea of manipulation in Polish thinking existed simultaneously, although it was referred to by different terms.

In western sources manipulation is characterised mainly in terms of discourse and ideology, whereas in the Polish tradition the etymology of the word and anthropology of the idea also play a considerable role.

According to Krzyżanowski and Nowak (2004), in Poland the term *manipulacja* first appeared as a translational equivalent in translations of West-European and American works on social communication of the 1970s, e.g. Herbert Schiller's *The Mind Managers*, 1972 (*Sternicy świadomości*, 1976).

The idea of manipulation was introduced in definitions of the term propaganda at the end of the 20th century (e.g. Kamińska-Szmaj 2004: 17). The notion of propaganda, defined e.g. as "organised action consisting in massive popularisation of some views, political doctrines and socio-political theories in order to shape opinions, attitudes and behaviours for the benefit of some social class or group" (Kuśmierski 1987: 195), acquired a negative connotation and often denoted the "manipulating" of big societies by authority elites or political groups (*Słownik polityki*, 1999). Originally, in Polish tradition what is now expressed by the term *manipulation* was speculatively referred to as persuasion (e.g. the definition of Barańczak 1975: 49), namely, being consistent in influencing someone in order to make him/her believe in something through inducing or explaining (Dunaj 1996), a phenomenon frequently attributed to political communication since the times of Aristotle's rhetoric (Kamińska-Szmaj 2004: 20; Łyda 2007: 11; Łyda and Warchał 2009: 104, and others). It was an attitude disregarding the basic difference between the terms based on the fact that persuasion is a pragmalinguistic phenomenon of overt intentions, aimed at communication *sensu stricto*, and not, as Barańczak implied, concealed and indirect. The two latter attributes should be given to manipulation which has a psychological nature, with some strategic aims hidden, and is covert (Krzyżanowski, Nowak 2004), and tendentious (Dunaj 1996).

Such terminological difference is advocated by Blass (after Taillard, 2000) through the opinion that "persuasion can be overt and covert […] the more it is covert the more persuasion becomes manipulative" (Blass 2005: 170).

A similar view is also expressed by Tokarz, who defines the overt persuasive act as one whose real aim is overtly shown to the receiver by the sender, and which is either included in the literal contents of the message expressed, or constitutes one of its implicatures (Tokarz 2006: 246). Tokarz mentions and characterises the direct and indirect persuasive act after Searle (1975). The indirect act is defined as "the one in which some meaning is expressed through an expression having – literally – a

different meaning". "In the case of the direct utterance the thesis which is a potential subject of future argumentation is expressed directly and constitutes an element of the literal meaning of the utterance" (Tokarz 2006: 246). The indirect persuasive acts are just as overt as the direct ones in the sense that their aim is not to hide the real message – it only does not belong to the literal contents of the message and has to be deduced by the hearer as one of the implicatures (Tokarz 2006: 246).

Tokarz (2006: 194-195) sees the meaning of persuasion as the intent to provoke some kind of change, e.g. a change of behaviour or attitudes and beliefs of a person. To support his idea, he quotes plenty of definitions given by different authors dealing with the problem, in which this change, either of behaviours, or of attitudes and beliefs, is the crucial point. Tokarz stresses the fact that the change of attitudes and behaviours in a particular communicational context (including time, place, channel, sender, receiver), with a clearly possessed intention, is typical of contemporary thought on the topic (2006: 195-196, 199, 220).

Tokarz mentions overt persuasion in his fuller definition of the term, in which he states that:

> We can say about a message β that it is overtly persuasive when – interpreted in accordance with the circumstances in which it has been produced – it constitutes a suggestion, request, instruction etc., aimed at making the receiver create some particular situation t, described in detail in the message. The situation t is then called the persuasive meaning of the message β. (Tokarz 2006: 206)

This means in practice that the technique of overt persuasion, which Tokarz mentions among other, related techniques of influencing a receiver, consists, as has already been stated, in a clear expression of the real persuasive aim of an utterance – in other words, the sender's aims are not hidden, but overtly expressed (Tokarz 2006: 246), which is the least expected characteristic of manipulation.

The argumentation of a covert nature, whose real thesis is concealed from the hearer on purpose, is normally associated with manipulation. But Tokarz additionally mentions that overt argumentation can also be of manipulative character (Tokarz 2006: 247).

Such communicative strategies, in which the stimuli used provoke some not fully conscious reactions (or totally unconscious ones), are referred to as manipulative (Tokarz 2006: 294). According to Tokarz (2006: 294), each act of persuasion has to some extent a manipulative character and that leads Tokarz to see manipulation as an equivalent phenomenon to covert persuasion.

This kind of stimulation of attitudes and beliefs through the commonality of language and environment (communicational context) among the communication participants with persuasive intentions possessed by communicators, but no choice on the part of the receivers, is also mentioned by Borkowski as the idea of persuasion (2003: 17-19).

Kudra and Kudra do not see the difference between persuasion and manipulation in terms of opposition but interpret manipulation as a negative kind of persuasion while they propose to call positive persuasion „stimulation" (2004: 93-95).

Borkowski somehow systemises the difference between the two notions, claiming that linguistic manipulation has two important qualities and aims to reach:

- persuading the hearer with linguistic means to do or believe in something,
- being against the hearer's intention but according to the speaker's will which means that it is always planned and hidden.

It is then negatively perceived, like lies, and persuasion can be distinguished from manipulation based on the assessment of the speaker's intentions (Borkowski 2003: 20-21).

Making the idea of manipulation more clear and going into more detail at the same time, let us refer to dictionary entries and linguists' theories concerning the notion. The word "manipulation" is derived from the Latin word *manipulus* ("armful", "bundle", "military company"), or *manus* – "arm" (Kopaliński). Doroszewski defines manipulation as: "1. Activity performed manually, especially a precise one, requiring skillfulness and capability; 2. The way of conducting some matters, dealing with them." (Doroszewski 1958/2011).

As Saussure defines the notion, based on the American Heritage Dictionary: "To manipulate is to use one's hands to instrumentalise an object (to operate or control by skilled use of the hands […] and sometimes to change the object's original shape." (Saussure 2005: 117).

In these definitions there is no reference to the covertly dishonest influencing of people's views. In Polish dictionaries this starts being mentioned in the 1990s. As Krzyżanowski and Nowak claim, after 1989, in numerous books in Poland, authors introduced the idea of manipulation analysed in the context of social activities, understood as the insincere shaping of human attitudes. Manipulation connected with the description of a language and the use of linguistic means for hidden and deceitful influencing people, referred to as linguistic manipulation and manipulation

through language, was also recognised and examined. It was held to be the common means used in media, advertising, politics and the economy (e.g. Puzynina 1992).

Puzynina defines manipulation as:

> [...] an attempt to affect the target in such a way that his behavior/action is an instrument of attaining the goals of the manipulator, who acts without using force but in such a way that the target does not know the goal of the manipulator's actions. (Puzynina 1992, translated by Blass, 2005: 170)

Puzynina adds more to the definition quoted above by introducing the word "lie" to the sense of the notion of manipulation. She claims that:

> Through manipulation we can understand actions by which a person tries to shape attitudes and behaviours of other people that are concerned dishonest. This dishonesty of the means used consists in either telling a clear lie, or hiding what the receiver should know. (Puzynina 1992: 180)

At the same time, however, she observes that the notion of a lie cannot be used to define the term manipulation, as it would have to be a very sophisticated type of a lie, with some unintended positive qualities – showing the skills and "artistic" efficiency of the manipulator (1992: 210).

To eliminate the notion of a lie from the definition of manipulation a further elaboration is needed. A very broad analyses of the term "lie" is made by Tokarz (2006), based on the classical sentence logic. The basic definition he starts with, rooted in logical value as the most important semantic feature of a sentence, establishes true sentences as the ones whose logical value is true, and false ones as those that have untrue value. Then he gives three definitions in logical terms, starting with the most basic one, in which sentence p is a lie when it equals non-p ($Lp:=\sim p$). This definition is inadequate, though, as there are false sentences which are not lies (e.g. *People are wolves.*). The author's conclusion is that the category of a lie cannot be attributed to an abstract product of language, such as an isolated sentence, but rather to sentences used in a context, which are not at once objectively false or true. So he chooses an utterance as the core of his more developed definition and builds up an additional element on its previous version. According to it, a sentence p is a lie when it equals non-p and it has been uttered with the intention of giving its literal meaning ($Lp:=\sim p \wedge Up$). But still what matters is the speaker's objective attitude to his utterance, namely what he believes when stating something. So the fullest definition would be $Lp:=Up \wedge B\sim p$, which means that the category of a lie is judged from the speaker's believing that what he states is not

true. This definition of a lie is often treated as adequate and full enough (Tokarz 2006: 268-271).

What still matters is a conscious intention to state something that the speaker does not think is true but wants to communicate, or the unconscious stating of something which might be true, though the speaker thinks it is not. St. Augustine believes that a lie is a verbal action whose conscious aim is to deceive someone, even if what the speaker says appears objectively true (Tokarz 2006: 273). In that respect, Saussure states that what manipulation is about is deceiving and that deceiving is slightly different from lying. Saussure also suggests that the manipulator sometimes believes in the propositions stated or is not aware that they do not comport with reality. Such cases would rather be ones of persuasion than manipulation proper, with no features of a lie being mentioned (Saussure 2005: 119, 122).

Puzynina's definition, with the aspect of deception, is close to definitions given by western scholars and dictionaries. Van Eemeren, for instance, quotes the Advanced Learner's Dictionary's definition, according to which "to manipulate" means: "(1) Operate, handle with skill, and (2) manage or control somebody or something skillfully or craftily, especially by using one's influence or unfair methods." (2005: x) Such manipulation is always intentional, covert and deceitful (Van Eemeren 2005: xi). It is also dependent on the manipulator's ability to successfully influence the receiver's attitude towards what is communicated.

As Chilton observes in his definition:

> […] forceful spreading of ideas, 'manipulation', depends largely on the ability of the propagator to control or dominate an intended receiver's mind by controlling the channel of communication or depriving the receiver of the potential to verify. (Chilton 2005: 17)

A similar idea on manipulation is expressed by Galasiński, who claims that it is a form of deception, namely "a communicative act that is intended to induce in the addressee a particular belief, by manipulating the truth and falsity of information" (Galasiński 2000, after Blass 2005: 170).

The violation of the receiver's rights in communication is included in van Dijk's opinion on manipulation and expressed in the conviction that manipulated "people will act as desired out of their free will" (van Dijk 1998: 274), which is in the interest of those in power. Van Dijk believes that manipulation is a form of mental control "of which recipients are not barely aware, or of which they cannot easily control the consequences" (van Dijk 1998: 275).

Manipulation is also seen in the sense of power by Tokarz, who claims that:

> By means of words we can steer the judgments of a receiver and his beliefs, and in that way influence his decisions. Messages sent by us are then able to change reality and the course of actions. Language is then not just a means of communication but also a means of power. (Tokarz 2006: 23)

The fullest version of the subjective definition could be quoted after Saussure and Schulz. Although related exclusively to discourse, it summarizes all the important points mentioned so far:

> Manipulative discourse implies an asymmetrical relation between the speaker and the hearer, where the manipulator has in particular the properties of (i) having at least some power over the addressee, (ii) is to some extent *insincere*, and (iii) leads the manipulated to believe *false* propositions (keeping in mind that *falsity* is a very complex problem). Conversely, the manipulated is (i) *confident*, (ii) has a presumption of the *sincerity* (or cooperation), of the *relevance* (more or less in the sense of the theory of that name) and of the *truthfulness* of the speaker (who is assumed to know the truth better than the addressee). (Saussure and Schulz 2005: 6-7)

He further develops the idea of truthfulness, claiming that:

> Manipulative discourse is *truth-conditionally/truth-functionally defective, doubtful* (when the propositions conveyed are about a state of affairs), or *unacceptable within a given culture* (when the propositions conveyed are about moral issues). (Saussure 2005: 113)

The idea of manipulation as seen through the perspective of communication rules in Relevance Theory will be elaborated on in a separate section below.

2. Manipulation through the perspective of Relevance Theory

Speaking in terms of Relevance Theory related to a manipulative discourse, Saussure claims that it is a type of usage of natural language in which the speaker's aim is to make a certain number of assumptions manifest to the hearer and have him consent to them, provided that they would be rejected by him under normal conditions (Saussure, 2005: 118).

According to Saussure "[…] one of the core problems of manipulation in language resides in the identification by the hearer of the manipulative intention through formal and non-formal features; when this detection fails, manipulation is effective." (Saussure, 2005: 118).

According to Blass (2005:176, after Taillard, 2000: 169), two levels of speaker's intention – an informative intention, making certain assumptions manifest to the audience, and a communicative intention, involving only the recognition of the informative intention, distinguished by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995), should be extended by the presence of the "persuasive intention", which constitutes the essence of manipulation when the manipulative intention is covert and not part of the communicative intention.

Applying the Relevance Principle in any kind of communication (including translation), it should be stated, as formerly quoted, that communicative intention consists in making it mutually manifest to an audience and a communicator (e.g. translator) that the communicator has this particular informative intention. No matter what kind of intention it may be -- objective or manipulated, realized through an explicit content of a message, with a set of decoded assumptions, or an implicit communication content, with inferred assumptions -- the communicator's primacy (if he happens to be a translator also of the original author) in the process of manifesting the intentions and creating a desired cognitive effect on the receiver is paramount.

Tokarz strengthens this idea by claiming that in real human communication a pure informative function of a message, which does not influence attitudes or actions of a hearer, cannot occur, and conversely, it is not possible to persuade the hearer to do anything without giving him a satisfactory amount of information (Tokarz 2006: 24). As he claims, the communication is not about the semantic analysis of literal contents of the message, but its speaker's intention (Tokarz 2006: 58, 248).

Saussure sees the following basis for manipulation to reach its effectiveness and also notes an important obstacle, which can be judged based on the following assumption:

> Thus to manipulate a human being may be about using a person, i.e. have that person adopt specific behaviours to fulfill the needs and interests of the manipulator, regardless of the ones of the manipulated. But an individual, contrarily to an object, has a cognition that enables him to pursue his own interests; therefore, our first step is to admit that a manipulation first of all manipulates some aspects of human cognition, notably reasoning, checking for likeliness, emotions, etc. (Saussure 2005: 117)

Quite a common claim of scholars dealing with manipulation is that constraints are applied of which the manipulated is not aware. Saussure believes that they are built up with hidden strategies and aim at misleading the hearer, whose commitment to the propositions conveyed is sincere (Saussure. 2005: 117).

There are certain conditions that facilitate manipulation, e.g. the socio-political situation in a country, not to mention the factors that have an individual influence on people in interpersonal relationships. According to Saussure:

> Totalitarian ideological manipulative discourse is most efficient in societies where some conditions are met, especially a state of crisis. For example, economic recession, war, and post-war situations are factors that favour less stable moral judgement for individuals and open the way for a change in moral values. (Saussure 2005: 124)

This will serve us as a good basis for judging the level of sincerity and constructiveness in the information flow from the independent West to Poland during the times of communist rule in the country and the fight for freedom. What has to be considered is manipulation not as such, but as an idea incorporated in translation. The necessary step now is to see manipulation from that perspective.

3. Definitions and types of manipulation in translation

Defining the notion of manipulation in translation requires a multi-dimensional approach. One of the common opinions on the subject is that there are as many views on translational manipulation as there are scholars dealing with the problem. Dukate (2009), states that nobody has explicitly conceptualised and defined translational manipulation. According to him, scholars and practitioners speak and write about this phenomenon but do not provide a concrete definition; instead, they rely on a vague common understanding of it. Dukate attempts to systematize the existing attitudes and clarify the views. It is then good to start by describing the idea using her definitions.

She claims that there are generally two types of understanding in the case of translational manipulation:

- manipulation as handling (comprising normal translational strategies, which do not involve major changes, only ones resulting from the linguistic differences of the languages in contact, and which are neither positive nor negative),

-   manipulation as change, taking a positive, adaptive character e.g. in localization, or a negative one, e.g. in distortive ideological translation, which in practical terms means processing a text according to someone's intention or cultural requirements and involves major changes (Dukate 2009, 84-85).

Dukate proposes a definition in which manipulation is considered to be the translator's handling of a text which results in the adaptation of it for the Target Audience, considering differences -- cultural, ideological, linguistic and literary -- between the engaged cultures, which takes place in a particular cultural setting and is carried out by a human agent, the consequence of which is a possible influence upon the individual, or psychology-related factors upon the end product (Dukate 2009, 11-12, 84).

She states that there are two major types of manipulation: text-external manipulation and text-internal manipulation. Under each of the major two types three further types can be differentiated: manipulation as improvement, manipulation as handling, and manipulation as distortion, which can be either conscious or unconscious (Dukate 2009: 113-115). Conscious manipulation is intentional and can be of two kinds: ideological and linguo-cultural, aimed at, respectively, following someone's ideology and overcoming linguistic or cultural differences. Unconscious manipulation is unintentional and exists as a result of human mental functioning, which manifests itself in normalization, explicitation, or digression, and likewise as errors which are an effect of ignorance (Dukate 2009: 87).

Other scholars dealing with manipulation also mention two types: conscious and unconscious, e.g. Zauberga (2004: 67), Kramina (2004). According to Kramina's definition:

> Manipulation arising due to ideological, economic, and cultural considerations proceeds consciously, and thus might be termed conscious manipulation. Manipulation ascribed to the features of human psychology and manipulation due to ignorance (lack of language or world knowledge) might be termed unconscious manipulation. (Kramina 2004)

As Dukate claims (2007) manipulation as handling is used in the sense of a change, which cannot be labelled "improvement" or "distortion". Distortion is the conventional connotation of the word manipulation. Traditionally only manipulation as distortion has qualified as manipulation proper. Distortive manipulation is defined by Dukate as changes which misrepresent reality and are perceived as misrepresentations by the Target Culture. All types of changes, positive and negative, that have taken place as a result of distortive translation are instances of manipulation.

The kinds of translational manipulation enumerated by Dukate are all accompanied by definitions. The definitions of the distortive type of manipulation are of crucial importance for us. According to them, text-external manipulation as conscious distortion is a policy leading to the translation of carefully selected authors and texts only, thus misrepresenting the Source Culture. Text-external manipulation as unconscious distortion is automatic processes leading to a distorted perception of the culture involved or the consequences of lack of knowledge on the part of the text handler (Dukate 2007; 2009: 101-102). Text-internal manipulation as conscious distortion is a type of manipulation which usually is due to a particular political ideology, and may take the form of omissions, additions, substitutions, and attenuations. Text-internal manipulation as unconscious distortion takes place due to the translator's lack of professionalism and is manifested as errors, that seriously alter the original text meaning and mislead the reader (Dukate 2007).

In the discussion of the cases of manipulation observed in the corpus only text-external manipulation as conscious distortion will be taken into consideration in order to indicate the benevolent reduction in western provenance publications, and text-internal manipulation as conscious distortion, to show techniques that produce the effect of planned misinterpretations.

3.1 Manipulation as rewriting – the Manipulation School

Dukate's idea of translational manipulation is largely based on the achievements of an international group of scholars, "loosely-knit" as Hermans puts it (1985: 10), and "not constituting a school", but still described in such terms, most active during the 1970s and 1980s. Their crucial thesis is Hermans' conviction that "from the point of view of the target literature all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the ST for a certain purpose" (1985: 11), which has also become known as the manipulation hypothesis (Dukate 2009: 15). According to the Manipulation School's views, any translation might be characterised as manipulated because of the factors and processes involved in three translational stages: the pre-production, production and post-production stage. The first stage relates to the selection of a text for translation. In the production stage the translator receives certain guidelines, indications, and hints about the way a text should be translated. Various objective (e.g. language-related) and subjective (e.g. ideological and psychological) factors also come into play. The post-production stage is related to the way the text is presented and reflected in metatexts and discourse. All these

activities, which should be termed manipulation, are due mostly to cultural, political and ideological factors.

The manipulation hypothesis was repeated and developed by other representatives of Hermans's circle, e.g. Lefevere, who claims that "translation, like other forms of rewriting, plays an analyzable part in the manipulation of words and concepts which, among other things, constitute power in a culture" (Lefevere 1985: 241). In the collection of articles *Translation, History, Culture*, edited by Bassnett and Lefevere (1992), as in Lefevere's *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), translation is studied in a broader political and cultural context, where it is said to be characterized by power and manipulation, and influenced by institutional and ideological factors.

As observed in the above remarks, the representatives of the Manipulation School perceive translation as the rewriting of texts for a specific target audience. According to Lefevere (1992: vii), translation is always a rewriting of an original text. Lefevere's thesis is that rewriting is manipulation, as it serves a given society and is matched to their ideology, dictating the basic strategy the translator tends to use and the solutions to problems (Lefevere 1992: 41), the same as an application of a certain poetics, e.g. the selection of themes, motifs, genres (Lefevere 1992:26). The critic claims that:

> […] rewriters adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time. Again, this may be most obvious in totalitarian societies […]. (Lefevere 1992: 8)

Lefevere perceives rewriting as an element in the theory of *system*. The theory defines culture as a "system of systems", "a differentiated and dynamic 'conglomerate of systems' characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts" (Hermans 1985: 11), composed of different subsystems such as literature, science, and technology, all functioning in an interplay. In such a system, applied to literature by the Russian Formalists (Jacobson, Tynianov et al.), literature – a literature – is conditioned by both texts (objects) and human agents, who read, write and rewrite them (Lefevere 1992: 12). In this system poetics, ideology and so-called "patronage" (persons, institutions, including religious bodies, political parties, social classes, a royal court, publishers, the media, etc.) are decisive factors which can promote or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literary and by analogy any other kind of texts. As Lefevere writes:

> Patrons try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together make up a society, a culture. As a rule they operate by means of institutions set up to regulate, if not the writing of literature, at least its distribution: academies, censorship bureaus, critical journals, and, by far the most important, the educational establishment. (Lefevere 1992: 15)

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that manipulation includes various constraints. The constraints are grouped by Lefevere under five different headings:

- patronage,
- poetics,
- "universe of discourse", defined as "the knowledge, the learning, but also the objects the customs of a certain time, to which writers are free to allude in their work",
- the natural language in which the work is composed,
- the original work itself, in which "ideology, poetics, universe of discourse and language come together, mingle and clash" (Lefevere, 1985: 232-233).

Three basic factors at least underlie the translator's choices, according to Lefevere, some of them being of a personal nature, some of ideological, and some belonging to the sphere of patronage (Lefevere 1992: 61).

Van Dijk also sees the point in the power of patronage, claiming that dominant groups can, to a certain extent, succeed in persuading other people – the "dominated groups" – to adopt an ideology that does not sustain their own interests but those of the dominant ones (van Dijk 1998: 258). In this view, manipulation could be defined as Rigotti does it, according to which:

> A message is manipulative if it twists the vision of the world (physical as well as social - or human – actual as well as virtual) in the mind of the addressee, so that he/she is prevented from having a healthy attitude towards decision (i.e., an attitude responding to his/her very interest), and pursues the manipulator's goal in the illusion of pursuing her/his own goal. (Rigotti 2005: 68)

An interesting situation, stressed by Rigotti, is "when an already manipulated person aims at convincing another" (Rigotti 2005: 69), which was the case with translators of the communist era. Rigotti claims that "Anecdotal evidence and the personal testimony of people who survived totalitarian regimes suggest that the effect of a manipulative device is

heavily strengthened if it is applied by somebody who has himself been manipulated" (Rigotti 2005: 69).

There is still another point worth mentioning here – it is the norms. Whether considered in connection with culture in a broad sense or specifically with one area of its manifestation as e.g. within translation, according to Kenny:

> Norms serve as the backdrop against which behavior is evaluated and positively or negatively sanctioned. They thus exert a kind of regulatory force on translators' activities, but they are also reinforced by translators, or other agents in the translation process by virtue of their tendency to conform to prevailing norms. It is possible to deviate from norms, but there is often a price to pay if one does so, and not everyone is equally well placed to do so. (Kenny 2001: 51)

This sounds like a kind of unwritten charter for translators of the totalitarian epoch in Poland and explains their reasons for using manipulative strategies in translations – simply in order to conform to imposed norms.

Still more emphatic a reason for their following the norms of the totalitarian system is one expressed in detail by Kenny:

> Normalisation may, however, be more easily explained in terms of socio-cultural, or even economic constraints. In cultures where the initial norm that seems to inform most translation decisions biases translation towards target language and culture acceptability, translated texts that deviate from such target acceptability may run the risk of being ignored, criticized, or ultimately rejected by their intended audiences, and so involve higher financial risks for publishers. (Kenny 2001:67)

These observations of the Manipulation School and its followers, concerning the idea of manipulation in literature and its translation, could be attributed to other text types, not only literary ones, and also to the general sociological functioning of communities.

3.2 Manipulation as translational shifts

The attitude of the Manipulation School, repeated by its followers, e.g. Dukate (2009: 49), is that in the text manipulation manifests itself in the form of shifts – changes in translations as compared to the originals. The term "shifts" is adopted from Catford (1965), who defines shifts as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Catford 1965: 73). He enumerates two main types of translation shifts, namely *level shifts* and *category shifts*. The idea of level shifts is that "a SL item at one linguistic level has a TL translation

equivalent at a different level". Translation between the levels of phonology and graphology and the levels of grammar and lexis is impossible – only shifts from grammar to lexis and vice versa can occur in translation (Catford 1965: 73). There are four types of category shifts:

- structure – shifts that consist in a grammatical change between the structure of the ST and the TT,
- class – shifts that occur when a grammatical class is changed in the TL as compared with the SL (Catford 1965: 78),
- unit – shifts "in which the translation equivalent of a unit at one rank in the SL is a unit at different rank in the TL" (Catford 1965: 79)
- intra-system – shifts that take place when "SL and TL possess systems which approximately correspond formally as to their constitution, but when translation involves section of a non-corresponding term in the TL system" (Catford 1965: 80).

These four types are differentiated based on the "fundamental categories of linguistic meaning" enumerated by the author (Catford 1965: 5), of which *the unit* is "a stretch of language activity which is the carrier of a pattern of a particular kind" (e.g. a syllable, or a sentence, clause and group, the lowest rank of them being a group, as clauses consist of several groups, just as sentences comprise more than one clause, and still lower in rank than groups being words and morphemes) (Catford 1965: 5-6, 8). *The structure* is an arrangement of elements – e.g. the elements of structure of the English unit "clause" are predicator, subject, complement, and adjunct (Catford 1965: 6). *The class* is a grouping of members of a unit in terms of the way in which they operate in the structure, e.g. the elements of structure of a unit "clause" are subject, predicator, complement, and adjunct (Catford 1965: 7). *The system* is a finite set of alternatives among which it is necessary to make a choice (Catford 1965: 7).

Shifts may occur for various reasons, the most common of them being linguistic, cultural, psychological or ideological. Shifts may also result from ignorance. They can be realized in the form of different strategies, for example, omissions, additions, substitutions, attenuations or replacements, which are typical of ideological or culture-induced manipulation (Dukate 2009: 82). According to Dukate:

Grammar-related shifts could hardly be considered manipulative in the conventional sense of the word. Shifts, which are due to cultural or ideological considerations, could be labeled instances of conventional

manipulation. However, the labels in this case depend on one's perception and understanding of manipulation. (Dukate 2009: 55)

Dukate further claims that manipulation can take the form of translation strategy or method. It may be voluntary or mandatory. Voluntary manipulation refers to cases where the translator might have not introduced a shift in the output but nevertheless has done so. Mandatory manipulation usually results from the fact that the translatorship plays a social role within a cultural context and certain existing standards of translation, expressed in the form of rules, norms and conventions, are observed.

The idea of norms is repeatedly stressed here, because it is an important value of not only the productive aspect of translation but also of analyses. This gives further evidence that distortions might be of a different character, but if motivated only by deliberate manipulation they are elements of imposing power on the receiver by the message sender, who can also be influenced by external circumstances that cause him/her to manipulate.

3.3 Manipulation through the perspective of appraisal theory

The basic understanding of the idea of changes in the TT through translation of the ST, as described above, is developed in the work of Munday (2012) who seeks analogies between translation or interpretation and the appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005).

This theory is found in the Systemic Functional Linguistic paradigm (e.g. Halliday 1994/2004), which points out the importance of lexicogrammatical choices and analyses their functions, identifying three simultaneous modes of meaning – the textual, ideational and interpersonal (Martin and White 2005:1, 7). As Martin and White state:

> Ideational resources are concerned with construing experience: what's going on, including who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another. Interpersonal resources are concerned with negotiating social relations: how people are interacting, including the feelings they try to share. Textual resources are concerned with information flow: the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are distributed in waves of semiosis, including interconnections among waves and between language and attendant modalities (action, image, music etc.). These highly generalized kinds of meaning are referred to as metafunctions. (Martin and White 2005: 7)

Munday, based on Martin and White, refers to various elements of a speaker's *attitude* (incorporating affect, judgment/ethics or appreciation as the constituents of evaluation), the strength of that attitude called *graduation*, and how the speaker aligns himself or herself with the sources of that attitude, or the receiver – namely to his or her *engagement* (Munday 2012).

According to Munday, evaluation is typical of all the choices people make in communication – of words, syntax, intonation etc. It is subjective in nature and matched with the values of the wider social and ideological context. Discourse, in which the speaker or translator are engaged, can be characterized by two factors – ideological, relating to ideas and beliefs (the speaker's or translator's perspective), and axiological, incorporating values and negotiating solidarity or community among the participants of the discourse (Munday 2012: 11-12, 16).

This attitude is typical of the translator or interpreter, who actively takes part in a communication process, evaluates and is not transparent in the rendering of ST meanings, but is directed by some extratextual factors (commissioner, brief, purpose, audience expectation, TT function, and his or her own sociocultural and educational background, ideological preferences etc.), and thus the attitude embodies the so-called interpersonal function of language, mentioned so far, that deals with the relationship between the writer and the reader, a relationship in the case of this study mediated by the translator. His or her intervention in the ST is judged based on the evaluation according to the appraisal theory (Munday 2012: 2, 9). In the process of translation the translator/interpreter has to refer to the choices of the writer/speaker and elaborate his/her own choices based on the ST, including his/her assumptions, beliefs etc., sometimes making the evaluation invoked (the one that "would cover not only the context-dependent instances […] but also other, culturally sensitive triggers, the association of which may pass unnoticed by some sectors of the audience" (Munday 2012: 64)). The so-called *counter-expectancy indicators* (Martin and White 2005: 67) also fall among the means of evoking the attitude of the translator – e.g. discourse markers like "however", modal particles ("only", "surely"), attitudinal adverbials ("indeed", "really", "even"), which "provoke attitude and represent points in the text where the writer is adding in a value judgement, either by contradicting what has gone before (e.g. "however", "on the other hand") or by underlining a value that counters a potential challenge (e.g. "only", "really")." (Munday 2012: 66).

A similar function of performing interpersonal relations of the translator/interpreter and the writer/speaker in the translation/interpretation process may be attributed to the concept of Chilton (2004: 56) that he calls

deictic positioning, comprising space, time and modality (moral values), crucial in the analyses and renderings of political discourse. As Munday states:

> [It] conceptualizes the relationship of speaker to hearer as well as various situational features including physical location, point in the speech and development of the discourse. It is closely related to the appraisal resource of engagement […]. Deixis is the most evident form of positioning working in tandem with the other forms of evaluation […]. (Munday 2012: 68)

Munday suggests that such opportunities offer "the potential for translation to create ideological distortion of a ST discourse" and through them "the axiological and ideological message of the text may be truncated and manipulated by censorship or recontextualization of various forms." (Munday 2012: 16-17, 79).

To House (2008: 16), such an intervention on the part of the translator is "a manipulation of the source text beyond what is linguistically necessary". Munday supports this view (which refers to Billiani (2007)), and writes:

> When a new version of a text is produced for a new cultural context, when a translator or an interpreter intervenes, the basis of evaluation also shifts. In extreme cases, when the cross-linguistic or cross-cultural differences are major, or where the purpose or function of the translation is very different from the ST, this may affect many points in a text. Modification of the ideational, 'factual' information in a text, or the story level in narrative, could take us into the realm of adaptation, which may be more frequent and even acceptable for target-oriented versions of fairy tales but it may also occur in contexts of heavy cultural manipulation or political censorship. (Munday 2012: 40)

Munday concludes his theoretical point with the observation that:

> In parallel, my interest is in the identification of those points and lexical features in a text that in translation are most susceptible to value manipulation; those points that most frequently show a shift in translation, and those that generate the most interpretative and evaluative potential; those that may be most revealing of the translator's values. I term these points 'value-rich' and, where there exists the possibility that they will affect the reception of the text, 'sensitive' or 'critical'. (Munday 2012: 41)

This treatment will be the clue for evaluation of the research material in Chapter 4, and an interpretative tip for us, because interpretation directed towards the imposed norms of the censorship and the objective

fact of translating within some time frame, causing trouble with, e.g., deixis will make translators manipulate, with or without their deliberate intention. Such a constraint as translating deictic elements into "TL place, time and social space" naturally results in the fact that "The translator faces then the task of reestablishing deixis in terms which would be comprehensible to the new readership, i.e. relative to the point of reference rooted in TL language and society" (Berezowski 1997: 40), in order to convey the source message in the most equivalent way. Such a way may be easily excused if Evans' (2004: 750) "ego-based model" of time perception is favoured over the "time-based model" (Łyda 2005: 75-76), but still, equivalent rendering of time in translation is a "sensitive" element, to use Munday's term, as it constitutes one of the most common culture-specific issues, difficult to overcome when different cultures meet (Arabski and Wojtaszek 2011: 3).

The concept of equivalence as seen through the perspective of manipulation will be the topic of the next section.

3.4 Manipulation through the concept of equivalence

One of the crucial concepts in the context of what has been said so far about manipulation is equivalence in translation.

Referring to the idea of translation strategies, the representatives of the Manipulation School made some interesting claims about equivalence and its kinds in connection with translational manipulation. In their views, they either refer to the ideas of other scholars or work out their own understanding of equivalence along with their own terminology.

"Translational relationships may be defined as either formal or functional", Toury claims (1985: 35). This dual opposition of literal and free translation, the theoretical elaboration of which was started by Nida (1964), has a long tradition in translatology, and, as has been mentioned, it constitutes one of the basic concepts of manipulation. That is why some more concrete concerns are worth mentioning here.

Nida claims that there are two orientations in translation, which he refers to in terms of equivalence, of which he differentiates two types – *formal* and *dynamic*. According to his definition:

> Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation one is concerned with such correspondences as […] sentence to sentence, and concept to concept. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the

message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message
in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness.
(Nida 1964: 159)

Nida calls translation according to such rules a "gloss translation" and
characterises it as attempting to reproduce as literally as possible the form
and content of the original (Nida 1964: 159). He claims that "a gloss
translation of this type is designed to permit the reader to identify himself
as fully as possible with a person in the source language context, and to
understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and
means of expression" (Nida 1964: 159).

In the other type – the dynamic equivalence translation, according to
Nida: "[…] one is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language
message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic
relationship, that the relationship between the receptor and the message
should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original
receptors and the message." (Nida 1964: 159).

According to a more complete definition:

A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of
expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant
within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand
the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend
the message. (Nida 1964: 159)

Quite a similar view on the kinds of translation was presented by
Newmark (1982). He also differentiates two types of translation,
communicative and *semantic*, and characterizes the opposing attitudes in
the following way:

Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as
close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original. Semantic
translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic
structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of
the original. (Newmark 1982: 39)

It can then be observed that, although the names differ, the
argumentation of both theorists is similar. When it comes to the role of the
target audience, there is again the argument of the reader's comfort in
following the contents where the communicative translation is concerned,
and some trouble to follow the meanings of the text translated according to
the rules of semantic translation. According to Newmark:

> Communicative translation addresses itself solely to the second reader, who does not anticipate difficulties or obscurities, and would expect a generous transfer of foreign elements into his own culture as well as his language where necessary. […] Semantic translation remains within the original culture and assists the reader only in its connotations if they constitute the essential human (non-ethnic) message of the text. (1982: 39)

There are still more theories rooted in this traditional opposition of the translator's attitude towards the source text – e.g. *covert* and *overt translation* by House (1981), and Venuti's *foreignisation* and *domestication* (1995). What is more important for us though, when referring to manipulation, is the turning point represented by the functionalists' approach towards translation. *Functionalism* by Reiss (1971, 1984) and Nord (1997) and Vermeer's *Skopos Theory* (1989) changed the orientation in translation from concentration on the ST towards the TT. Nord writes:

> Translation cannot be considered a one-to-one transfer between languages. […] A translation theory cannot draw on a linguistic theory alone […]. What is needed is a theory of culture to explain the specificity of communicative situations and the relationship between verbalized and non-verbalized situational elements. (Nord 2007: 11)

Translation, according to Vermeer (1987, 1989), is not just a process of seeking an equivalent within traditional linguistic tools, but realising a specific translational aim. This orientation towards some aim of translation led to the creation of the Skopos Theory, which is described by Vermeer as follows: "The word skopos, then, is a technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation." (Vermeer 1989: 173f). Vermeer's theory of purposeful action, as Nord refers to it (Nord 1997:12), establishes, as has been said, the intended receiver of the target text as the main factor conditioning the actual translation. The translation characteristics depend on the audience's expectations, cultural requirements and communicative needs. The natural consequence is that the role of the ST is diminished and translators can take advantage of that, creating more subjective versions of translated texts.

Other scholars connected with the Manipulation School also refer to the traditional dual opposition within kinds of translation, e.g. Tymoczko advocates the use of formal equivalence as defined by Nida (1964) over the dynamic equivalence for the reason that the texts translated according to its rules are "obvious, […] logically direct or logically simple, and that they are somehow more objective than dynamic-equivalence translations" (Tymoczko 1985: 63).

Lambert and van Gorp (1985: 45-46), while proposing a scheme for translation in the context of the polysystem hypotheses (including relations between the ST and texts originating from the same language, culture and tradition, between the source and target systems, between the TT and its readers, between the TT and various translations of the same ST etc.), take into consideration two possible ways of treating the source material in the TT. The translation might be target-oriented, referred to as "acceptable" – a created text will conform to the norms of the target system (van den Broeck 1985: 57, also Toury 1995: 56-57) -- or source-oriented, called "adequate". This Adequate Translation, written in capital letters, also referred to as "tertium comparationis" by Toury (1980: 112-121, 1985: 32) is even described as "not an actual text, but a hypothetical reconstruction of the textual relations and functions of the ST" (Toury 1980: 122, after van den Broek).

What comes out of this attitude is Hermans' opinion that "the ultimate goal of 'total' translation, which would reproduce the ST faithfully and completely in all its aspects across the language barrier, is unattainable" (Hermans 1985: 103). This recalls Hermans' manipulation hypothesis, for it posits that in such a case the TT will never realize all source language text aspects adequately. It also opens a new perspective for treating translation – the one developed by Descriptive Translation Studies.

Through the interest of DTS scholars in the description of real translations with all the observed literary, historical and cultural backgrounds within them, the TT orientation in translation arose and started expanding. The starting point for this type of thinking was the polysystem theory, with Even-Zohar's conviction about the TT not treated as imitative automatically, whose value is judged from the overall condition of the polysystem in some particular culture, and Toury's belief that what matters in translation is its target textual tradition only, and that the best way to research translations is from the perspective of the target culture treated as a whole (Kenny 2001: 49). This should also be considered as the starting point for the translator's subjectivity, creativity, and what follows from that – the opportunity for manipulation.

Conclusions

Based on all the definitions quoted and considerations taken into account, the conclusion can be drawn that manipulation has a lot in common with persuasion, which is why it has been used for propaganda purposes, but should not be connected with a lie, which is a far more complicated and sophisticated phenomenon. Lies will tend to be absent

from translators' ideas for best equivalents, though this is not always obvious in relation to communist propaganda texts where they may be observable (Borkowski 2003: 107). Manipulation often does not display an intention to tell a real lie but may rather circle around certain truths, leaving the interpretation to the hearer.

When it comes to the incorporation of manipulative strategies in translation, as has been observed, authors tend to overuse the idea of manipulation in their belief that each rewriting activates manipulation. Shifts can be realized through different strategies – the ones that keep the target text closer to the source, and those used to reach the aim of producing "dynamic equivalence", "accepted translation", or any other kind of free translation. This is basically what for the Manipulation School justifies the claim that "all translation implies a degree of manipulation".

But what really needs to be stressed for the purpose of this research study is that there is a crucial difference between the use of strategies when a translator wants simply to render the ST in the best possible way in the TL, and when he or she wants to hide something in the TL version. These two cases have to be distinguished in the conclusions. The production of any free translation, whatever name it may be given and according to whomsoever's theory, will not be considered manipulative, but the necessary product of either cultural or linguistic differences between the SL and the TL, until another condition is met – namely the existence of purposeful hiding of ST elements, or changing of the contents of the TT without a reason other than to distort the information.

In other words, the idea of purposeful distortion as the criterion for manipulation will be of the first importance for us in all theoretical assumptions and the analyses covered in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF COMMUNICATION: THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND MEDIA IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Introduction

The main concern of this chapter will be the socio-cultural perspective of language in the communist era in Poland. Social aspects of language use (persuasion, seeking agreement or dominance, freedom of expressing attitudes, etc.), and their influence on the linguistic shape of communication are issues to consider in this case, not detached from any particular context, as in the previous chapters, but based on the real political situation in post-war Poland.

The analysed texts are mostly of a political nature, which in practice means that some references to the features of political language have to be made, taking for granted that the type of contents – in this case a political topic – is a sufficient component to decide about the classification of texts within the autonomous group of political texts (Fras 2005: 67), including some specific features of language. In this chapter, though, no arguments for language typologies and their applicability will be made. Scholars normally classify types of language based on how many self-existing features can be ascribed to a particular type of language to differentiate it from the general type within lexis (terminology, phraseology), and grammar, possibly also phonology. It is a decisive element to allow the use of the notion of e.g. a political language in its specialized literal sense. Some typological elements have already been attributed to political language by different scholars and a few are mentioned here:

- its use in texts produced by politicians and their advisors, spokesmen, assisting specialists, journalists specializing in politics, etc.
- the fact of being addressed to the users of general language,
- connection with the political scene,
- dominance of the persuasive function (Borkowski 2003: 22).

Still, though, the typological characteristics are insufficient to establish the distinctness of this language from other types in a way to be able to classify it as a separate category.

But disregarding firm classifications and subject matter, as the analysed texts are also concerned with economic or even cultural issues, what really matters is not the objectively recognized typology of the texts taken into consideration but rather the characterization of the language used in them, created for propaganda and purposes in that period. And, as a matter of fact, what most researchers are concerned with is descriptions of this language in terms of functional features and its dynamic development rather than formal classifications (Bralczyk 2003: 68). This will also be the chief concern in this chapter.

Disregarding the nomenclature, as the language of political topics is referred to as either political language, or by other names (the language of politics, propaganda language, the language of political propaganda, the language of state ideology, the language of political texts, the style of political propaganda, the style of texts including political topics, Newspeak), two levels of meaning can be distinguished among the terms cited – a more neutral one, embracing the mere idea of the topic (politics), and a narrower understanding including the sense of propaganda (Borkowski 2003: 16). Both senses must be incorporated into the understanding of the term *political language* for the use of this research study.

Głowiński solves this nomenclature dilemma in the following way:

> What are we to call this language? Propaganda language, considering the aim it serves? The party or official language, bearing in mind its institutional references? The communist language, due to its ideological relations? The drawback to all the names is the fact that each of them concentrates only on one side of the phenomenon. I will therefore reach for a rather neutral name and borrow the term *Newpeak* from George Orwell, as it shows the new character of this language compared with classical speech.[5] (Głowiński 2009: 11)

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[5] Translation – Edyta Źrałka.

Newspeak, a word taken from George Orwell's novel "Nineteen Eighty-Four", and propaganda language are the two names most frequently used for the linguistic phenomena ascribed to the way of communication practiced by the communist powers. Consequently, they will also most frequently be the terms employed here.

This language of the communist authorities was popularized by mass media as it was by political institutions, group communicators and also powerful creators of political atmosphere, under the censorship regime in particular (Fras 2005: 36, 48). Because this applies to the corpus chosen for analysis and description in this research study (texts translated from British and American papers and published in *Forum* magazine during the years of communist rule), the conditions of public communication imposed by the media and censorship in that period will have to be described in connection with the claims of Jaworski, Coupland, and Galasiński, who see language as an element creating ideology (2004). According to this idea, censors imposing on authors the rules of propaganda language use in the form of comments and requirements to follow were at the same time responsible for spreading their view of language through the society by means of media and publishing houses. They state that:

> Metalinguistic representations may enter public consciousness and come to constitute structured understandings, perhaps even 'common sense' understandings – of how language works, what it is usually like, what certain ways of speaking connote and imply, what they *ought* to be like. That is, metalanguage can work at an ideological level, and influence people's actions and priorities in a wide range of ways, some clearly visible and others much less so. (Jaworski, Coupland, Galasiński 2004: 3)

The language of communist propaganda is, in fact, commonly perceived as ideologically influenced; the notion of ideology and its presence in the political language must therefore be examined. Ideological aspects should be treated as basic means to unite a community, as in the opinion of van Dijk: "Whatever else ideologies are, they have always been associated with socially shared ideas" (van Dijk 1998: 15). Those ideas are often religious or political ones and will be basic constituents of the political discourse. Then, the view expressed by Bralczyk, that "language is one of the tools of making politics and the means of its description" (Bralczyk 2003: 67), and of Borkowski, that "Language of politics exists in fact through political activities and for their communicative support" (Borkowski 2003:10), also applies to the creation and description of political ideas constituting specific ideologies – e.g. a communist ideology. Such language will also develop social relations of power of the

authorities over the ones subject to their rule, making the latter follow the predominant ideology, but also the preferred patterns of discourse, which is what CDA followers (Fairclough, Hodge, van Dijk, or Hatim and Mason) advocate.

The language of politics has recently been a popular subject of descriptions. They are encountered in political commentaries in the media, but most importantly, for academic reasons, in theoretical approaches of researchers, on which the subsequent description will be based.

This language is a constituent of a social activity lately discussed by some scholars (e.g. Fras 2005), namely *political communication*, a subdiscipline of communication, which consists in the presence of a political message, intention to take part in a communicational interaction, and its processing character. It includes political institutions, political culture and activity, and the relation of mass media and politics (Fras 2005: 17, 32). Its character, when based on the dominance of one group over another (propaganda), performed between the rulers and those being ruled (Fras 2005: 36), typical of the totalitarian rule in the People's Republic of Poland, will exemplify a tendency of language use in most texts concerning political issues of communist era, also the ones subject to analyses in Chapter 4. This tendency can be characterized as fictional interaction, without any cooperation between the communication actors (rulers and the ruled), or with only seeming cooperation (Fras 2005: 23), which will be shown in Section 4 of this chapter.

The general aim of the chapter will be then to describe how language expresses political or politically correct ideas, or beliefs, as van Dijk prefers to refer to them (van Dijk 1998: 18), and what factors shape or influence it, in other words – what the language of political reality of the communist era in Polish discourse and media is like in theoretical terms.

1. Ideology in society and its influence on language

One common belief about the political language, as has already been stated in the introduction to this chapter, is that it is very much influenced by ideology. This is expressly stated by van Dijk who describes three different aspects informing his understanding of ideology, which he puts as follows:

> […] my approach to ideology may be summarized by the triangle formed by the concepts Cognition, Society and Discourse. That is, first, the status, internal organization and mental functions of ideologies need to be studied in terms of social cognition. Second, the cognition and functions of ideologies are obviously not only cognitive but also social, political,

cultural and historical. And third, ideologies are formed, changed and reproduced largely through socially situated discourse and communication. (van Dijk 1998: vii)

This shows that the notion of ideology is quite hard to define. Referring to the definition of the term *ideology*, Gumul states that:

> Expounded and analysed in terms of a political doctrine or a philosophical stance, frequently used in contexts in which it is imbued with negative connotations denoting overt manipulation and deception, the term ideology is also assigned a more neutral meaning. (Gumul 2011: 11)

By neutral meaning, the author understands sets of shared beliefs and values among societies. This is an idea suggested by van Dijk when defining the notion, which is frequently quoted.

Ideologies are defined by van Dijk as "clusters of beliefs in our minds" (van Dijk 1998: 26), but:

> […] beliefs are not only personal, nor do they always spontaneously 'emerge' as products of the individual mind. Rather, many of them are socially acquired, constructed and changed – for example, through social practices and interaction in general, and through discourse and communication in particular. This means that besides their mental dimensions, they have social dimensions, neither of which can and should be reduced to the other. (van Dijk 1998: 26)

A similar attitude towards the concept of ideology, joining a society, its consciousness and language, is expressed by Hodge and Kress in their definition, in which they state that "Language, typically, is immersed in the ongoing life of a society, as the practical consciousness of that society." (Hodge and Kress 1993: 6). In their view:

> This consciousness is inevitably a partial and false consciousness. We can call it Ideology, defining 'ideology' as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view. Ideology is thus a subsuming category which includes sciences and metaphysics, as well as political ideologies of various kinds, without implying anything about their status and reliability as guides to reality. (Hodge and Kress 1993: 6)

The basic condition of an ideology, as pointed out by van Dijk, is that "a group 'has' an ideology if at least some (or most, depending on the group) members share at least some core (or most) ideological propositions" (van Dijk 1998: 150). The state of being shared is an important feature of ideologies.

Van Dijk describes the notion of ideology from a broad, historical perspective, pointing to the fact that it has not always been connected with the negative sense that was attributed to it by Marx. He stresses the fact that:

> The vast majority of studies of ideology (whether Marxist or non-Marxist) are rooted in the social sciences and pay extensive attention to ideologies in relation to class, dominant groups, social movements, power, the political economy. (van Dijk 1998: viii)

What van Dijk states is of fundamental value for this study, as not only does it emphasize the unquestionable influence of the communist ideology on social dependencies, attitudes and actions, but it also gives a reason for seeking ideological thought in the language of the analysed translations, because for van Dijk discourse, which he mentions as the tool of ideology formation and reproduction, is both text and talk (van Dijk 1998: ix). The author claims that "Ideologies are not merely learned and changed because of personal experiences, but may also be constructed, at least partially, directly from ideological statements in discourse." (van Dijk 1998: 87).

An important factor in van Dijk's definition of "ideology" is his references to the notion of "belief", used instead of the term "ideology". This term is used because of his broad understanding of the notion, including elements traditionally associated with social practices of ritual character. He claims that:

> Ideologies are not merely systems of beliefs, but also feature such phenomena as symbols, rituals and discourse. It may be readily agreed that such phenomena are often part of ideological systems and practices in a broader sense. However, it is theoretically more useful to distinguish between ideologies as such, that is, socially shared beliefs of a specific type, on the one hand, and their expression or enactment in symbols, rituals, discourse or other social and cultural practices, on the other hand. (van Dijk 1998: 26)f

As this quotation suggests, the mental aspect of ideologies is not the only one that matters in the understanding of the phenomenon. The other one is social, based on sharing not just beliefs but their consequences demonstrated in people's actions. Van Dijk claims that:

> Ideologies are not 'above' or 'between' people, groups or society, but part of the minds of its members. Again, this does not mean that they are therefore individual or only mental. On the contrary, just like languages, ideologies are as much social as they are mental. (van Dijk 1998: 48)

One important feature of ideologies, decisive for the functioning of societies, is that:

> […] ideologies are often assumed to tell groups and their members what is good or bad, wrong or right. That is, ideologies feature evaluative beliefs or opinions. More specifically, since ideologies by definition are social and shared, they feature the social opinions of a group. […] The social opinions that constitute an ideology are so general and abstract that they organize clusters of domain-specific social opinions of a group, namely, attitudes. (van Dijk 1998: 33)

However, as van Dijk points out:

> If all members of a culture believe, for example, in the existence of God, then such a religious belief is no longer ideological, but simply shared knowledge, within that culture. That is, there are no groups within that culture that disagree, contest or otherwise provide an alternative view of society in that respect. (van Dijk 1998: 51)

This suggests that ideologies are socially shared but also have an important normative component. Van Dijk claims that "[…] ideologies have normative dimension, and summarize what group members should do or not do: for example resist oppression." (van Dijk 1998: 68). He states that "ideologies are typically used as foundations for domination and resistance; that is they represent social struggle." (van Dijk 1998: 68). Existing models of social division can be seen as a natural product of such a human attitude. As Fairclough states:

> Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted. (Fairclough 1996: 2)

There are obvious consequences of such an assumption. As van Dijk puts it:

> The very general polarization schema defined by the opposition between Us and Them suggests that groups and group conflicts are involved, and that groups build an ideological image of themselves and others, in such a way that (generally) We are represented positively, and They come out negatively. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies. (van Dijk 1998: 69)

Such "social conflict, struggle", as referred to by van Dijk (1998: 145), is at the same time considered a possibly decisive criterion for the definition of the social group basis of ideologies. The author believes that such a basis "is traditionally the case for classes and class struggle, and in Marxism, obviously, ideologies were primarily related to groups such as workers and 'capitalists'" (van Dijk 1998: 145).

There are special requirements for the establishment of groups and their ideologies. First of all, as van Dijk puts it, "Whatever the 'objective' socio-economic base of a collectivity of people, they can only constitute a group if they share social representations that give collective meaning to these social circumstances" (van Dijk 1998: 143). Apart from the consciousness of being group representatives, there are some complementary factors of what van Dijk calls "belongingness", which he describes as follows:

> Groups are also constituted by their members, as well as members of other groups, by feelings of belongingness, shared memories of collective experiences, and more generally by social representations, or precisely by the fact that others do not share these representations or challenge them. (van Dijk 1998: 143).

There are also some other conditions for this belongingness. In van Dijk's view:

> If we define ideologies in terms of their social functions […], then sharing beliefs, the co-ordination of social action and interaction, proving identification, common goals, organization and in general defending group interests, are major conditions for the constitution of ideological groups. Collectivities of people as defined by one or more properties (such as age, profession, goals, income level, political orientation, etc.) thus will tend to be more like ideological groups if these ideological functions apply to them. (van Dijk 1998: 146)

Belongingness is strictly connected with awareness of group particularity. When it comes to a group constitution in the context of its members' realised identity and feeling of power over others, there must be some rules how to perceive an individual group as a declared and purposeful construct. According to van Dijk, "social power" can be treated as "a specific type of social relation between groups" (van Dijk 1998: 162). Such a "relation", especially based on the notion of "control", suggested by van Dijk (1998: 162), can be perceived as a criterion of group identification. This is what Fairclough includes in his reference to the idea of society seen as "no mosaic of individual existences looked in some stratified structure but a dynamic formation of relationships and

practices constituted in large measure by struggles for power" (Fairclough 1996: vi). This collective identification is then naturally followed by the idea of power resulting from seeking a dominant position in a group.

Van Dijk claims that:

> A group A has or exercises power over another group B when the members of A are usually able to control the members of B. This may typically involve the control of the actions of the other group and its members, in the sense that the others are not only not (or less) free to do what they want, but may be brought to act in accordance with the wishes or the interests of the more powerful group, and against their own best interests (and usually also against their will). (van Dijk 1998: 162)

Conflict, competition, and dominance are thus considered to be typical of social structures (van Dijk 1998: 179). Van Dijk mentions common examples of exercising power in relation to age, class, gender, race, ethnicity, origin, social position or profession. A natural consequence of such tendency is that, as he puts it:

> The possession and exercise of (more) power of one group usually implies the loss or limitation of freedom for the other group. Ideological claims for freedom, as in freedom of the press, and freedom of the market, are thus usually claims for power. The same is true, though from a different perspective, for the claims for freedom – as empowerment – by dominated groups. (van Dijk 1998: 162)

These are background factors of the relationship between ruling authorities and dependent people in the communist system. Bralczyk states that the ideology of the ruling authorities in the People's Republic of Poland was based on firstly, propaganda of the need to act (to work for the benefit of homeland), secondly, having an approving attitude towards the leading power and its political programme. This programme was aimed to influence the awareness of people's individual needs and interests. This was done through persuasive texts creating a positive vision of the communist system (Bralczyk 2007: 85-86). The ritual function of such texts, greatly influenced by the communist ideology, was conveyed by means of indisputable words and expressions, such as progress (*postęp*), development (*rozwój*), socialism (*socjalizm*), working class interests (*interes klasy robotniczej*), collectiveness (*ujednolicenie*), completeness (*pełność*) (Bralczyk 2007: 118, 142, 209). This substantiates the opinion of some scholars that language can greatly develop groups' ideologies. The idea is mentioned also by Fairclough. He claims that "there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is a part of society; linguistic

phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena." (Fairclough 1996: 23). He adopts, as he calls it, *critical language study,* or *CLS* for short (analogous to *CDA* previously mentioned), to the analysis of language (discourse) in connection with power relations, and explains that "*Critical* is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology." (Fairclough 1996: 5). According to Fairclough:

> *CLS* analyses social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements, and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships; as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system. (Fairclough 1996: 5)

All in all, "*CLS* would place a broad conception of the social study of language at the core of language study (Fairclough 1996: 13). His approach, which is later referred to as *Critical Discourse Analyses* (*CDA*), has been followed by such scholars as van Dijk, Chilton Wodak, and others (Blackledge 2005).

The element of dominance and its consequences for language is mentioned by Hodge and Kress. They believe that:

> Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication. Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. In this way hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed. Language is ideological in another, more political, sense of that word: it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest. (Hodge and Kress 1993: 6)

As the ideologies of dominating groups are naturally imposed on the dominated ones, even if interiorized and at least partly accepted (van Dijk 1998: 180), they eventually provoke resistance and struggle. The process may also imply another consequence, of linguistic provenience too, such as "falsehood, deceit and manipulation" on the part of dominant groups, as van Dijk puts it (1998: 168). This is achieved through typical practices by dominating powers, those that e.g. "tone down the obviously inconsistent parts of the ideology and emphasize those parts that may be more attractive" (van Dijk 1998: 183).

This aspect of power resulting in manipulation is also stressed by Calzada Pérez in reference to Marxist views of ideology. She, like van Dijk, claims that "This is, of course, the legacy of a Marxist (and neo-Marxist) tradition which saw ideology as tantamount to political

domination, in the form of covert manipulation, and always related to the concepts of power and hegemony" (Calzada Pérez 2003: 3-4).

When it comes to ways of influencing people there are some further factors resulting from domination. One is to seek some ideas opposite to the existing ones that would be widely accepted. Van Dijk claims that:

> Whereas it may be in the interests of a dominant group to conceal their power abuse and to hide the forms of quality that are its consequences, dissidents and opponents may be specifically interested in uncovering and exposing domination and inequality, and to manifest and legitimate as 'just' their own, counter, ideologies, Indeed, that was the point of the communist 'manifesto', as it was for many other manifestos and declarations. (van Dijk 1998: 168)

The next factor to seek a way to dominate a group ideologically is finding a way to expose ideologies. This might be achieved through appointing influential leaders. Van Dijk claims that "patterns of power and domination and their underlying ideologies also apply within the group itself, namely, between elites and the rest, between the leaders and the led, between the thinkers and the doers." (van Dijk 1998: 168).

Group leaders normally dominate their followers ideologically by using their access to propaganda tools, so that would be another condition under which to communicate ideas, including contradictory ones. Van Dijk states that:

> Explicit ideological practices as well as ideological discourses are systematically related to ideologies, which mutually may facilitate each other. Leaders, intellectuals and other 'ideologues' of a group typically may be expected to play such roles, especially because of their privileged access to public discourse, and because of their tasks to lead a group, co-ordinate its actions, and make sure that its goals are realized and its interests protected. (van Dijk 1998: 172)

The access to discourse is normally the best of all opportunities to propagate group ideologies. There are some other ways to communicate ideas, but they do not immediately guarantee group power. Van Dijk writes that:

> For some social movements, such discourse may literally begin with shouted slogans in the streets. But, in general, groups and social movements historically have their basis in the writings of smaller elite groups of philosophers, writers, academics, politicians, union leaders and other elites who have at least some access to books or the mass media. These writings may be based on critical social analysis, values and other

ethical principles, as well as on personal experiences shared with other members of the group. (van Dijk 1998: 173)

However, a commonly known fact about propagating ideologies is that "the ideologies that are most prominent in the media are largely those of the elites, and not of any dominated or oppositional groups." (van Dijk 1998: 180). The elites, having access to media, determine the amount and character of information passed on. Van Dijk claims that:

If elite ideologies are largely inconsistent with relatively strong and known ideologies of dominated groups, the elites have the special means of media access and control, and discursive strategies of manipulation of knowledge and opinions, for example by emphasizing the ideological implications that are less inconsistent with the interests of dominated groups, or de-emphasizing those that are inconsistent with these interests, for example nationalism, militarism, and especially neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. (van Dijk 1998: 185)

A consequence of this is a tendency to follow the leaders' ideologies. Shared attitudes and group pressure evolving from access to publicly stated beliefs is a common reason why people form their opinions largely based on all the surrounding sources of information, and are sometimes incapable of reflexive thought. Van Dijk's conviction is that "For all situations where social members have fewer, biased or incomplete personal experiences (models), it will be much easier to manufacture ideologies that have no 'grounding', but which members acquire as a result of propaganda by elites who control the means of public discourse" (van Dijk 1998: 88). This leads to people's tendency to accept ideas which either suit their needs or at least do not evidently contradict them at once. There is, however, a risk of being deceived or used by those who, through public trust, try to attain individual goals. And this is the idea of manipulation. Van Dijk says that ideas "may be expressed by the person who has them, conveyed to others, shared by others and a whole group; they may be further developed, influenced and manipulated" (van Dijk 1998: 16). It is then what should be expected from the system of propaganda in the communist era in Poland and the texts written under control of the censorship apparatus. Such influence is executed by universal means as expressed by van Dijk:

Propaganda precisely has the function of directly affecting the attitudes and ideologies of social members, even when 'examples' or 'illustrations' may be given as persuasive 'evidence' for the validity of general beliefs. This possibility of a direct link between discourse and ideology also

explains the familiar strategies of manipulation, as well as the classical notion of false consciousness. (van Dijk 1998: 87)

That goes along with the prevention of possible competing attitudes through the means of control. Such is, for instance, censorship – an example of totalitarian authorities' power abuse, whose principles will be described in the subsequent sections.

2. The political system and its institutional influence on language and beliefs

The idea of group domination and power, namely the conviction mentioned above that "ideologies are developed and applied as legitimation for the abuse of power (domination) and its resulting social inequality" (van Dijk 1998: 163), which was the case in the social system of the communist rule in Poland, led to the control over all social actions on the part of the communist authorities, realized through oppression in the authorities-people relationships and censorship in discourse.

Van Dijk enumerates criteria of adopting dominating groups' ideologies and assumes that "The elites (and especially media editors) prevent or limit the access to public discourse of leaders of non-dominant groups […] or will marginalize or discredit them among the population at large or even among their own groups" (van Dijk 1998: 184). In such a situation only leading powers can have a decisive influence on social awareness, as has already been stated. Such a preponderance is carefully organized, including by creating institutions which serve the authorities' purposes. Van Dijk points out that "in order to organize ideological practices, we may assume that ideological institutions are needed. In other words, ideological institutions are created that (also) have as their task the 'realization' of a shared ideology'." (van Dijk 1998: 187). Special knowledge and practices are normally used in judging or creating the essentiality of topics. Van Dijk states that "these practices are governed by professional expertise and attitudes and ideologies about what is true or false (fact or opinion), interesting or uninteresting, newsworthy or not, relevant or irrelevant, and so on" (van Dijk 1998: 187). That activity can be ascribed to the institution of censorship in the People's Republic of Poland, which needs to be discussed in more detail here.

2.1 Censorship in Polish discourse under the communist rule

It was due to censorship in the People's Republic of Poland, supported and exercised by special institutions, that Western capitalist beliefs were blocked from access to the political consciousness of Polish citizens because they conflicted with the authorities' interests. Scholars had to accept the Marxist worldview and methodology to a certain extent at least up to Edward Gierek's tenure in the 1970s (Romek 2010: 10), which in practice meant the careful suppression of any contradicting views (Romek 2000: 13, 26). Propaganda was very uniform. What was also hidden from a wider audience by censors, aware of real authorities' intentions (Romek 2000: 38), were the methods of ruling and exercising power the rulers used. As Spokiene writes about a quite analogous situation in Lithuania, "The main idea behind this censorship was not only to control over words and ideas, but also to negate the reality of every day experience in the Soviet system" (Spokiene 2004: 63).

To create the desired impact of information passed by the communist authorities on Polish citizens, whatever was publicized was carefully controlled according to the idea of preventive censorship, i.e. controlling and blocking banned contents before printing, rather than the technique of repressive censorship, as had been practised in the Second Polish Republic, which was based upon the idea of confiscating unwanted materials after their publication (Romek 2010: 32, 38). As Romek states in connection with the communist censorship, "In those days crowds of specialists took care of working out a falsified vision of reality, and intentionally and capably disturbed the process of cognition"[6] (Romek 2000: 11). This applied to both the media and publishing materials, and also cultural events.

The existence of the censorship apparatus was a mystery itself, forbidden to be revealed in any published materials (Romek 2010: 57).

2.1.1 The constitution of organs controlling the information flow

In the People's Republic of Poland the control of media and other means of linguistic communication was supervised by an official entity – *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy Publikacji i Widowisk* (Main Office of Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances[7]), which had

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[6] Translation – Edyta Źrałka.
[7] English version of the name according to John Bates, "Publishing in Poland, 1976-1989; Reflections of Preferences and Constraints",

offices across the whole country, subject to *Wydział Nauki i Oświaty KC PZPR* (Department of Science and Education of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party[8]). Its origins go back to the year 1944, when on the 19th of September, within the organization called *Resort Propagandy i Informacji PKWN* (Propaganda and Information Office of the Polish Committee of National Liberation[9]), with agencies throughout the country, responsible for the distribution of paper and press in post-war Poland, and control over other media and the contents of texts before their distribution, *Wydział Prasowo-Informacyjny* (Press and Information Department[10]) was started, under the leadership of Jerzy Borejsza. *Wydział Prasowo-Informacyjny* was replaced by *Centralne Biuro Kontroli Prasy* (Central Bureau for the Control of the Press[11]) as the result of a visit by Piotr Gładin and Kazimierz Jarmuż (*GlavLit*[12] representatives), who recommended subjecting the censorship authorities to *Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego* (Ministry of Public Security[13]), which was constituted on the 19th of January 1945. Gładin and Jarmuż dictated their instructions and regulations concerning the functioning of the censorship apparatus in Poland, whose system of control became similar to that in the Soviet Union (Bagiński 1981: 2, 21); they also chose and trained censors. Finally, on the 15th of November 1945, by a governmental resolution, the Office was transformed into *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy Publikacji i Widowisk,* legally approved by a decree of 5th of July 1946 (Łętowski 2010: 26-27; Pawlicki 2001: 30). The office functioned until its liquidation on June 6th 1990, ceasing existence by enforcement of the Act concerning the press law passed on the 11th of April of that year (Łętowski 2010: 62).

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www.arts.gla.ac.uk/Slavonic/PublishingPoland.htm [accessed on 15 February 2014]

[8] English version of the name according to Andrzej Friszke, *The March 1968 Protest Movement in Light of Ministry of Interior Reports to the Party Leadership*, ece.columbia.edu/files/ece/images/friszke.html [accessed on 15 February 2014]

[9] Translation – Edyta Źrałka.

[10] Translation – Edyta Źrałka.

[11] English version of the name according to Jerzy W. Borejsza, Klaus Ziemer, Magdalena Hułas (Eds). 2006.: *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes in Europe Legacies and Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. New York/Oxford. The Bates' version of translation is "The Central Office of Press Control" (Bates 2004: 142).

[12] The Main Directorate for Literary and Publishing Affairs, a state agency responsible for the censorship of printed materials in the Soviet Union (Gale Encyclopedia of Russian History www.answers.com/topic/glavlit ; accessed on 15 February 2014)

[13] English version of the name according to www.desertwar.net/ministry-of-public-security.html [accessed on 15 February 2014]

Censorship and the activities of *GUKPPiW* underwent transformations adjusted to the changing circumstances of the totalitarian ruling system, and the conditions for publishing and organizing events evolved according to the political climate, moods, and level of communist indoctrination. Even if there were some differences among the three periods of existence of the People's Republic of Poland mentioned by historians, with different levels of influence of the communist regime on the freedom of thought, the censorship authorities continuously performed their functions and there was no period of free access to information. The organization and methods of functioning of the censorship apparatus, and the procedures and techniques of dealing with control, were in fact very consistent (Romek 2010: 37). The period of Stalin's dictatorship (1945 to 1956), was characterized by ideology and communist system crystallization and publishing market restraints. The years 1956-1981 were an era of continuing ideologization of publications, thinking and religious attitudes, also marked by the emergence of "second circulation" publishing, which according to Bates was initiated in 1976 (Bates 2004: 141). The time 1981-1989 is known for a more liberal attitude to second circulation publishing, as Bates calls it: "the partial dismantling of official censorship", but on the other hand, attempts to preserve the system were maintained (Skorupa 2010: 8; Bates 2004: 141).

2.1.2 The censorship apparatus's activities

All materials, "from television programmes to information on noticeboards in workplaces" (Pawlicki 2001: 40), were carefully checked and corrected by thoroughly and regularly instructed censors in accordance with the requirements of the ruling powers in the form of party instructions and guidelines of appropriate *KC* secretaries. There were also the so-called "normal" rules governing censors' decisions, unwritten and obvious, referred to as "remaining censorship criteria" but serving as leading rules of censors' conduct (Romek 2010: 8, 37; Strzyżewski 1977). Normally, a censor's duty was to read a given text and prepare its review after making corrections, which was subsequently controlled and evaluated by a principle of a local office (if such a function existed, as it was rather typical of big offices), and finally the director signed the text after the prior corrections had been reviewed. If the head was in doubt, he ordered a double check – he simply assigned another contents control to a different censor. Sometimes group checks took place or the materials were sent to be read at *GUKPPiW* (Pawlicki 2001: 106). As Pawlicki states: "Censors acted against 'words that provoke something' (namely the so-

called performative utterances according to the concept of Austin)" (Pawlicki 2001: 14). In most cases the corrections concerned suppression of undesirable contents (facts, names) and changes made to the original authors' ideas – sometimes of single words, or larger parts of texts, or even the general views presented in the materials to be published. This concerned not only political texts *sensu stricto,* though supposedly a large majority of the corrected texts were about politics. At the same time, censorship affected any contemporary materials, whatever their nature, literary or scientific or any other type. And the real thing to control was not only the issues discussed, but also chosen topics, sources for publication and methodology. Censors cared about the way of presenting views and type of language as well: the most accepted, specially constituted and indoctrinated language (the so-called "Newspeak"), created by the political system, was to be acquired by authors through their experience with censorship.

Censoring practices, apart from written materials, also affected spoken works, like theatrical plays and films. In the translation of films, if they had originally been made in a capitalist bloc country, the preferred form of conveying the translation was the so-called *voice-over,* which according to Garcarz (2009: 571-572), allowed the contents to be manipulated in a number of ways according to the requirements of decision-makers in the Soviet Politburo, and which surprisingly remains the preferred method of film translation in Poland:.

> Ordinary viewers were fed with not only 'an appropriately cut film material', the contents of which promoted the only historical truth, but also with a narrative description 'bombarding' them with ideological slogans.[14] (Garcarz 2009: 571)

The main principles applied by censors in the procedure of text control consisted in suppressing contents which: 1) threatened the ruling system; 2) revealed a state secret; 3) contravened international agreements; 4) contravened a right to dignity; or 5) misled public opinion by giving untrue information (Romek 2010: 57). As these restraints were very vague, every text could be judged inadequate and censors could exceed their authority.

As a result of this interference, some scholars claim, censors became co-authors participating in all aspects of text creation – the choice of topics, sources, general contents, wording and even punctuation (Pawlicki 2001: 24).

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[14] Translation – Edyta Źrałka

This system of control was not the only method used to prevent the spread of banned information. Very soon self-censorship began to play an important initial role in authors' decisions about what to write and what to try to hide by allusion, grotesquerie, parable, and metaphor, or simply what to avoid writing (Skorupa 2010: 8). They also learnt how to write according to censors' requirements (Hass, 2000: 95). Publishing houses and editorial offices, or individual publishers and editors, also persuaded authors to give up risky ideas in books or articles (Romek 2000: 40-41; Bogucka, 2000: 45; Kaczyńska, 2000: 109; Kersten. 2000:121). The last case was dictated by financial conditions – as the whole edition could be postponed or cancelled, the better solution for a publisher was to prevent such undesired effects by taking precautions. It was frequently a publisher or an editor who decided first what general attitude (a politically correct one) the author should represent in his or her publication (Bogucka, 2000: 49). According to the description of *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk* activities mentioned by Bates, it appears that:

> Focusing on the operations of this body […] should not obscure the fact that it was not the only censorship agency: publishing houses, editorial boards, newspaper and journal editors, the Army, ministries, the Press Agency[15] and libraries, to mention but a few, were all to varying degrees actively involved in limiting access to information. (Bates)

Censorship authorities' decisions were binding and normally irrevocable, and were not controlled judicially, at least until the introduction of the act of 31st July 1981 (*Ustawa o Kontroli Publikacji i Widowisk* - Act of Controlling Publications and Public Performances[16]), which reduced the censorship apparatus's practices also by excluding some types of texts from obligatory control (e.g. academic, clerical, trade union texts distributed among members, deputies' speeches). According to the act the censorship was to uphold the state's interests – the state's classified and economic secrets, the country's security, independence and territorial integrity, international agreements, and the protection of religious freedom, most of which were already covered by the rules followed by censors according to the decree constituting *GUKPPiW* of 5th July 1946,

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[15] The Press Agency received a monopoly for information choice and distribution in 1948, the consequence of which was filtering or criticizing any anti-communist contents from the Western press and favouring the news from the USSR and the socialist bloc (Łętowski 2010: 29). The USA and German Federal Republic in particular, but also Great Britain, France and Israel were considered enemies of the socialist system by its proponents in Poland (Borkowski 2003: 89, 91).

[16] Translation – Edyta Żrałka.

together with the main rule of, as they said, preventing the spread of untrue information and banning texts opposing the political system of the country (Romek 2000:32). Acknowledging the censors' interference by marking corrections in texts was an additional rule propounded in the act of 31st July 1981 (Radzikowska 1990: 5-6). However, the right to question censors' decisions, given by the act, was mostly disregarded by the authors and publishers, who forsook an opportunity to go to court, specified as *Naczelny Sąd Administracyjny* (the Supreme Administrative Court) in order to avoid persecution. What is more, in its initial form, the act's guidelines were in effect for only 72 days because of the introduction of martial law by the Decree 12 December 1981 (Romek 2000: 29, 33). After the lifting of martial law, the modified act concerning censorship, passed on 28 July 1983, again gave more latitude to censors (Radzikowska 1990: 8, 31).

A similar procedure of control and prevention also applied to materials coming across the Western border – most officially banned though sometimes still obtainable (Haas, 2000: 80; Kula, 2000: 128) – and among them articles for *Forum.* If there were any forbidden topics or ideas expressed in them, they would surely be rejected by censors. That is why omissions constitute the foremost translation technique observed in the corpus discussed in the analytical part of this study.

2.2 Linguistic and factual reality

The basic obligation of the censorship apparatus was to follow the ideology of the communist authorities. Communists believed that reliability of media should be measured not only according to the criterion of truth but also support in their interests. As a result, the truth *sensu stricto* in the era of communism in Poland was to be the ruling powers' truth (Pawlicki 2001: 51-52).

This truth was expressed according to some principles indicated by Pawlicki (2001: 52-61). The first, called "the principle of information factuality", dictated compliance with the current policy of the *PZPR,* and especially publicizing the idea that in socialism there is no conflict of interest between individuals and the society, acting according to some common beliefs enforced by the political system. Based on this idea, another principle of "information criticism" arose. It consisted in the prohibition of any resistance towards the political system as such, embraced engagement in public issues and sought to confirm the people's democracy, but in fact banned seeking the source of failures where they really originated, allowing only critical remarks concerning some inessential

missteps of the ruling powers, not criticism of the *PZPR* as such. The uppermost idea was that "The ruling party and its members were always to be presented as heroes with positive qualities and in fact there was no possibility to present any contradicting opinion in all publicized sources."[17] (Romek 2010: 52).

There were two kinds of opposition criticism from the point of view of the party and censorship apparatus. In the 1950s they were called "constructive" and "harmful" criticism and in the 1960s referred to as "constructive" and "nihilist" criticism. The idea of both pairs was that the first category accepted the socialist order and authorities and the second intended to ruin the socialist system and introduce either the pre-war order or capitalist principles of economy. Obviously, only the first attitude could be accepted by the communist authorities, as it expressed the desire to strengthen the existing system by searching for its shortcomings and improve them and the second only served to ridicule socialist ideas and was unacceptable. It was a censor's decision which kind of criticism was included in controlled texts. To forestall harmful criticism censors used the manipulation technique of the so-called "fragmentation" of reality which consisted in making described phenomena incidental, without a broader context reference. It was enough to add the word "sometimes" to a text to follow the rule. The Marxist concept of the world was presented as the only reasonable choice for the ruling powers and the socialist system as scientifically proven to be the best one (Romek 2010: 53-56, 61).

The "principle of topicality", so natural in media, turned to be the most common reason to suppress any unwanted publication. Current information requirements were obviously the ones that conformed to the political vision of the communist authorities. This was connected with another principle of "information and formation unity", stating that each publically released announcement should educate the society. Such education, whatever its aim, was meant to give objective scientific information and prevent media from pursuing latest news – the information does not have to be very current, according to the next principle of "learnedness", but scientifically interpreted. The information passed on should vary based on the needs of different social groups. According to the "principle of differentiation of information needs" the authorities believed that it was best to restrict the publication of some materials to social environments resistant to any undesirable influence, or already aware of the real situation. Such a principle went against the

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[17] Translation – Edyta Źrałka

"principle of social integration through information", aimed at hiding social differences within society and promoting its uniform character.

All the rules mentioned, followed by censors at least in principle, distorted the reality of the communist era and the written account of the times was often far from the real truth. But this is what propaganda is apt to do.

The language of politics and media should now be characterized in general terms before showing its features in the era of communist rule in Poland.

3. Political language – definitions and characteristics

Political language, as serving the purposes of politics, is dependent on the ideas and needs of current political trends in a particular country and its political system. It is meant to fulfill the authorities' aims and satisfy the citizens' expectations, or on the other hand, it may subvert the bases of systems and lead to riots if the systems are to be abolished.

Both ideas of political language functions are adjusted to two distinct understandings of politics and two meanings of the notion. According to Chilton:

> On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. […] On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty and the like. (Chilton 2004: 3)

These two contrasting orientations do not only contradict each other on the level of political institutions of the state, parties and professional politicians and other social formations, something that is referred to by Chilton as the "macro-level" in politics (2004: 3-4), but there is also the "micro-level", comprising conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and attempts to co-operate by individuals and social groups with all the techniques that are used to gain dominance or some other aims – through persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, manipulation etc. The micro-level elements are something that can be in fact defined as linguistic action – namely political discourse.

The linguistic effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus etc. are intrinsic to politics (Chilton 2004: 4). To show some particular uses of political language and its typical strategies will be the aim of the next chapter.

3.1 Typical features of political language

Any political activity, if it includes verbal actions, is based on the use of language. Language performs numerous functions in social behaviours, those of political background without exception. According to Geis (1987: 2-7), who bases his view upon Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the attitude of the so-called Orwellians (scholars following Orwell's view), political language might also unconsciously influence political thought, as:

> Political language commonly conveys information on two levels. The first is the linguistic meaning of what is said. The second is the body of political beliefs that specific instances of political language presuppose and evoke when used. (Geis 1987: 7)

The quotation explains the close connection between politics and propaganda and the relatedness of languages they use. This concept is observable in Chilton's conviction that typical features of the political discourse are: choosing a particular ideology and words associated with it, providing evidence, and finally, imbuing utterances with authority and truth to suppress the expectation of untruthfulness on the part of the audience (Chilton 2004: 23). As Chilton writes:

> People often demand or negotiate particular types of evidence, or refer to institutionalized norms […] the social arrangements of natural tendencies – variable ethical norms applied on top of some underlying, fundamental expectation of cooperative truthfulness. (Chilton 2004: 34)

Using reporting structures in political language is a way to show authority, and how something is quoted, directly influences people's reaction to the quotation (Geis 1987: 78-97, 98-107). As Geis writes:

> In reporting the speech of politicians and other members of government, the reporter has a number of choices. He or she may choose to identify the speaker […] or not […], may choose to identify the hearer or not, may choose among a wide range of verbs of reported speech (*say, muttered, declared,* etc.), may put these verbs in the past tense (*said*) or generic present tense (*says*), may or may not employ a manner adverbial or other construction that describes how what was said was said (*said dolefully*), and may choose to quote the speaker directly (with quote marks) or indirectly. (Geis 1987: 13)

Another feature of political discourse is its wide use of implicatures, which enables the speaker to convey more than is actually said. In political

discourse some words that "presuppose a theory", as Geis puts it, appear and profile a speaker's or writer's attitude to things (Geis 1987: 15, 16). Rhetorical questions can also be mentioned as implied messages (Geis 1987: 117). Implied communication will include not only verbal information, but also non-verbal, such as e.g. intonation in someone's speech, or some pragmatic effects of the typeface used, the organization of text on a page, images etc. (Saussure, Schulz 2005: 128). But inferences can only arise as the effect of adopting a particular ideology or attitudes and values by the hearer (Chilton 2004: 37). They may also be an effect of human conceptualization, as cognitivists believe, based on innate or acquired mapping expressed through metaphors. That way it is possible to draw inferences that cannot be drawn on the basis of direct evidence or experience (Chilton 2004: 203). The use of metaphors is thus another important feature of political language, used especially when the sender wants to arouse emotions among the hearers (Saussure, Schulz 2005: 226), e.g. leadership and political action is often conceptualized by movement or journey metaphors, like "coming to a crossroads", "moving ahead towards a better future", or "overcoming obstacles on the way" (Chilton 2004: 51-52).

The same effect – of semantic intensifying, as Saussure puts it (Saussure, Schulz 2005: 253) – is ascribed to hyperbolic exaggerations (Saussure, Schulz 2005: 226), which are also mentioned by Borkowski (2003:71). This is connected with another feature of political language – avoidance of bare nouns and verbs and rather the use of them with appropriate modifiers. They work as intensifiers of some semantic component of the head noun or verb, as in e.g. "historically unique success", unchangeable decisions", "total dedication", "ruthless fight" etc. There is also a tendency to use grammatical or lexical comparatives in such cases, as in e.g. "even more impressive results", "still higher goals", increasing figures" etc. (Saussure, Schulz 2005: 253).

Deictic functions are also observable, e.g. first person plural pronouns introduce identity, show coalitions, classify actors as insiders or outsiders. Such a symptomatic use of the first person plural inclusive pronoun ("we" in English, *my* in Polish), shows power relations, not just personal distance. The same spatial and temporal indexicals, such as "here" and "now", can also refer to a neutral physical location, or some other conventional understanding (Chilton 2004: 56).

Apart from acts of solidarity and exclusion, the political discourse uses euphemizing strategies, verbal forms of evasion and denial (avoiding references to threatening referents, Chilton 2004: 40), devices of politeness, and various kinds of omissions. Chilton claims that: "Euphemism has the

cognitive effect of conceptually 'blurring' or 'defocusing' unwanted referents […]. Implicit meanings of various types also constitute a means of diverting attention from troublesome referents" (2004: 46). What often follows such acts of directing people's attention is "setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk" (Chilton 2004: 45).

The political discourse is thus greatly based on means of persuasion. An important characteristic of it is modality "attached to concepts such as: social obligation-compulsion, certainty-doubt, evidence with credible-incredible source" (Chilton 2004: 202). Borkowski claims that persuasion is the nature of some modal expressions used a lot in political language, as in the case of elements strengthening claims, such as *na pewno* ("for sure", "surely"), *z całą pewnością* ("with absolute certainty"), or weakening them, like *podobno, ponoć* ("supposedly"), *rzekomo* ("allegedly"), and also expressions presenting volitional attitude, like *wierzymy, że* ("we believe that"), *jesteśmy przekonani o* ("we are certain that"). Persuasion can also be observed in expressive vocabulary with clear linguistic or cultural connotations, euphemisms and linguistic labels (Borkowski 2003: 19-20).

The devices mentioned can often create information, as Chilton puts it, "inadequate for the needs or interests of hearers", or even "simply lying, in its most extreme manifestation" (2004: 46).

Chilton concludes that:

Power can also be exercised through controlling others' use of language – that is, through various kinds and degrees of censorship and access control. The latter include the structure and control of public media, the arena in which much political communication takes place. (Chilton 2004: 46)

What the political discourse looked like in the times of the communist rule in Poland will be the concern of the next chapter.

4. The language of media and politics in the totalitarian era in the People's Republic of Poland

A basic feature of both political discourse and the language of media in a democratic society is the dependence of the message sender on the receiver (Bralczyk 2003: 7). In totalitarian communities the situation is

reversed. The receiver is treated almost as a fictional entity referred to impersonally as a necessary factor in communication.

The language of national-communist party propaganda, as Bralczyk refers to it (2007: 14), is analysed in terms of the construct belonging to a linguistically homogenous text type, differentiated from other text types. He labels this type "official political propaganda texts", or for short, "propaganda texts" with the remark that by "propaganda" he understands political propaganda (2007: 19). The basic categorical features of such texts, consistent with what was said in the Introduction to this chapter, according to Borkowski (2003: 22), are the following:

- their subject is politics,
- their main aim is persuasion (stimulation of attitudes) or directivity (encouraging active behaviour),
- they are characterised by the evident peculiarity of the message sender category (exemplified by a politician, the General Secretary of *PZPR – Polish United Workers' Party,* political commentators), and of the receiver category (listeners, readers), their organized function, and intuitively recognized autonomy of their formal features,
- they are also officially referred to as propaganda texts by media, and even self-referred as such. That is why such texts are not defined as manipulative (Bralczyk 2007: 19, 78).

The language of politics in the 1970s in Poland is well-developed and firmly shaped – referred to by Bralczyk as a firm and stable model of linguistic propaganda used in political speeches and media (2003: 11, 2007: 24). This is due to the strong political system, allowing for a single political language – desired by the communist leaders, also as the proof of established power.

The political language in Poland started to diversify after the liberation movement of *Solidarność* and declaration of martial law, which was combined with the communist system transformation mentioned before. The same political power, however, controlled the system of official communication and determined its criteria throughout the country. The communist government's interests (as in all oppressive systems) were:

- legitimization of its existence and the search for social acceptance,
- creating a relation with the society of a decisive character on the part of the government which usurps the right to speak on behalf of its people,

- proclaiming the alliance between the government and the society,
- manifestation of power in order to subordinate the nation,
- channel disturbance to prevent the flow of undesired information (through the censorship apparatus broadly described in Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 of this chapter),
- encouraging social activity, e.g. through "the propaganda of success", especially in the 1980s (Bralczyk 2003: 12-13, 21).

This propaganda ideology was propagated through linguistic strategies, typical of all the years of communist rule, even if some new contents occurred over time. The following extralinguistic features can be ascribed to this language of official propaganda, referred to very often as Newspeak ("nowomowa"), by Fras considered a sub-category of a language in political hegemonic communication under the communist rule (2005: 83), and by Głowiński perceived mostly as "a written style", typical of all propaganda texts, written and oral, as they were customarily prepared in a written form (Głowiński 2009: 40):

- manifestation of a particular identity of a language, which serves as the means of communicating the government's power, the only one possible to use, arbitrariness of the language and its manipulative character (Głowiński 2009: 14),
- stability and paternalism of the language as its main values, anti-communication of interactions, with the priority of one-direction pattern without any dialogue between rulers and ruled,
- presence of ritual and declarative functions of the language (observed in texts full of repeated patterns and constructional rules, terminologically rich, syntactically complicated, often difficult to follow, which serve to manifest the competence of the government to the receiver (unreal), through a phatic function rather than referential, aimed at creating people's views, without even the need for the receiver's response and often interest),
- magical belief in postulates identified with reality (what is expressed functions as reality and makes people trust in words as if they constituted objective facts), e.g. slogans like *Młodzież zawsze z partią* ("The young forever with the party"); (Głowiński 2009: 13, 63),
- pathos of patterned formulas (coined phrases and presupposed evaluative names-labels, mutually recognized by the sender and hearer, idiomaticity),

- manipulative function of text templates introduced by leaders in their speeches, the aim of which is to form a model to be copied (Głowiński 2009: 101),
- evaluative and directive character (opposition of positive values ascribed to the communist system and negative ones, absent from the system according to propaganda), evaluative dichotomy that does not evolve from isolated words but is recognized from schematic formulas and coined phrases (Głowiński 2009: 12-13, 34-35),
- dominance of ideology over sense,
- ignoring the rules of lexis and phraseology in the composition of patterned formulas,
- introducing a new concept of language, which changes together with the modification of the authorities' attitude towards ruling the country (typical of the 1980s), dominated by the metalinguistic, declarative and phatic functions (Bralczyk 2003: 13-14, 68, 2007: 53-55, 57, 63-64, Fras 2005: 83, Borkowski 2003:27-28, Głowiński 2009: 11-15).

Fras enumerates the typical persuasive features of political language, referred to as "the opportunities to 'create' a political reality through the political language". They are as follows, in many cases comparable with the ones mentioned by Bralczyk in the context of extralinguistic features of propaganda language:

- the opportunity to polarize, bipolar reference to reality (we-they, ours-foreign, follower-enemy, friend-opponent, black-white),
- emotionality (evoking positive feelings towards accepted ideas and negative towards unaccepted ones),
- ritualization,
- magical function of slogans, or language formulas, which are often vague and general,
- selection of topics according to an evaluative attitude,
- arbitrariness in definitions,
- idiomaticity
- impreciseness (Fras 2005: 85-86).

To this list of features, partly redundant (within such characteristics as arbitrariness, ritualization, generality and impreciseness of expressions, inclusive pronouns *we, our* etc., slogans and phraseological constructions,

dichotomy of evaluations, few emotionally-neutral expressions, linguistic templates) Borkowski adds:

- imperativeness reached by the imperative mood, infinitives, conditionals, intonation etc.,
- a frequent use of military language,
- conventional references to names of countries, governments, people dealing with politics, e.g. *administracja Reagana* ("Reagan's administration"), *Kreml* ("the Kremlin"), *Żelazna Dama* ("the Iron Lady"), *komuchy* ("commies"),
- a metonymical way of using the names of capitals for countries, e.g. *manewry Moskwy* ("Moscow's maneuvers"). Metonymy is common in references to some place instead of an institution, as in *Biały Dom milczy* ("the White House remains silent") for "the US President remains silent", or in substituting a part for a whole, e.g. *rządy czystych rąk* ("clean hands governments") (Borkowski 2003: 23-24, Fras 2005: 156).

This metalinguistic function of modified propaganda language is exemplified in phrases rejecting the old language – e.g. the slogans *jedność moralno-polityczna* ("moral-political unity") or *Polak potrafi* ("Poles can"), advertising new notions, positive, such as "democracy", or "pluralism", and negative, like "crisis", "poverty", "passivity", "bitterness", "anxiety", and "dissatisfaction", or used to refer to former political formations, e.g. "Stalinism". Within the same metalinguistic function the reference to the old features of the propaganda language should be placed – using notions such as "dignity" in new unspoilt meanings. It will also include the strategy of addressing opponents with names that used to refer to the communist authorities' representatives and their actions, such as "nomenclature", "prominent", "dispositive", or "manipulation" (Bralczyk 2003: 14-15, 20).

The need for a common language, the so-called "dialogue" of the old and new powers in the 1980s, became evident. One of the examples of this idea was replacing the old "moral-political unity" by the term "national alliance" (*porozumienie narodowe*) (Bralczyk 2003: 15-16). Also the real receiver of information started to be taken into account instead of the previous fictional hearer, who admired the authorities' power and deals, but the receiver was still addressed with the first person plural inclusive "we", comprising both the message receiver and sender (Bralczyk 2003: 69, 2007: 55). The so-called "megaphone syndrome" started to be gradually replaced by the "stage syndrome", in which the sender speaks to

the audience not to communicate uncritically perceived information, but in order to gain their acceptance (Bralczyk 2003: 69). This was often done through populism and imitating the audience's language – aggressive, humorous, and colloquial, including vulgarisms (Bralczyk 2003: 74).

The features of communist propaganda language enumerated above show the general tendencies of authorities-people communication in the 1970s and 1980s, regulated by pragmatically distinguished entities – its disposer and controller (inventor of norms, responsible for phatic function of communication), the exponent – the representative putting the norms into effect (normally a journalist, competent to follow and create the ritual and declarative language code) and on the other side, the receiver (a citizen, the addressee of the norms, and also the direct addressee of the exponent, with whom he must somehow identify) (Bralczyk 2007: 25-26, 55). The specific detailed characteristics of this language, mostly propaganda, but at the same time having an informative function, observed in slogans and political commentaries (editorials and political leaders' or activists' speeches), will be presented below.

The typical lexical features of *nowomowa*, which although modified a little in different periods are symptomatic, will be:

1. Using so-called "generalizing expressions":
    -   informing of imposed limitations on the sender, based on words *pewne* ("certain"), *określone* ("specific", "given"), *wiadome* ("known") – as in *pewne trudności* ("certain difficulties"), *określone zjawiska* ("specific situations") (Bralczyk 2007: 39),
    -   creating an alliance between the sender and receiver, who both know, or should know, the same thing, observed in the index expressions: *pewne kręgi*, *określone koła* ("certain circles"); in this group there are also expressions like *wydarzenia marcowe* ("March Events"), *wydarzenia radomskie* ("Radom Events"), *wydarzenia w Ursusie* ("Ursus Events") (Bralczyk 2007: 39-40),
    -   adding generalizing attributes to nouns (e.g. *sytuacja* – „situation", *warunki* – „conditions", *okoliczności* – "circumstances" etc.), that suggest negative phenomena, like: *złożona sytuacja* ("complex situation"), *skomplikowane okoliczności* ("complicated circumstances") (Bralczyk 2007: 42).
2. Using the so-called "minority quantifiers", minimalizing expressions, generally imposing negative connotations (Bralczyk 2007: 42):
    -   words such as *niektórzy, niektóre* ("some"), or *ci, którzy…*, *tacy, co…* („those who"), which often anticipate negative information

and a critical attitude of the message sender, as in: *niektórzy uważają, że…* ("some (people) think that") (Bralczyk 2007: 42),

- words denoting the peripheral character of negative phenomena in terms of time, place and quantity, such as: *niekiedy*, *czasem* ("sometimes"), *tu i ówdzie*, *gdzieniegdzie* ("here and there"), or while positively qualified phenomena are denoted – *nie zawsze* ("not always"), *nie wszędzie* ("not everywhere"), e.g. *nie zawsze najlepsze* ("not always the best"), *nie wszyscy uświadamiają sobie* ("not all (people) realize"), also verbs like *zdarzać się* ("happen"), *pojawiać się* ("occur"), *występować* ("take place") should be classified here, and nouns like *margines* ("margin") – e.g. *margines zjawisk* ("margin of situations"), *marginesowy charakter* ("marginal character") (Bralczyk 2007: 43-44);

3. Using markers of universality and commonality connoting positive values (Kuźniak 2011: 28), with majority quantifiers, like *każdy* ("everybody"), *wszystek* ("all"), *cały, całkowity* ("whole, complete"), *pełny* ("full"), *powszechny* ("common"), *miliony* ("millions"), *masy* ("masses"), *wszechstronny, uniwersalny* ("universal"), or archaic and pathetic *po wsze czasy* ("for all times"), *ze wszech miar* ("by all means") (Bralczyk 2007: 42);

4. Using existential sentences, with verbs like *być* ("be") or *istnieć* ("exist"), sometimes stating truthfulness, sometimes used as insightful statements, e.g. *istnieje przekonanie* ("There is a conviction"), or *Są u nas tacy, co…*, ("There are some here who…"), suggesting an opposing attitude of the message sender (Bralczyk 2007: 42-43);

5. Using euphemism for negative situations, referred to by nouns such as *trudności* ("difficulties"), *kłopoty* ("problems"), *komplikacje* ("complications"), *braki* ("deficits"), *niedociągnięcia* ("shortcomings"), *zaniedbania* ("negligence"), *zapóźnienia* ("delays"), *nieprawidłowości* ("irregularities")*, napięcia* ("tensions") etc. and still accompanied by adjectives like: *obiektywne* ("objective"), *pewne* ("certain"), *przejściowe* ("passing") (Bralczyk 2007: 45, Borkowski 2003: 108);

6. Using semi-negative expressions for negative information, such as *trzeba przyznać* („We must admit"), *trzeba stwierdzić* („We must state"), *musimy sobie otwarcie powiedzieć* („We must openly say"), *musimy pamiętać* („We must remember"), *musimy zdać sobie sprawę* ("We must realize"), etc. (Bralczyk 2007: 46);

7. Using contrastive pairs denoting positive ideas before something negative can be stated, with contrastive conjunctions like *chociaż* ("though"), *ale* ("but"), *jednak* ("yet"), *mimo* ("despite"), *mimo to* ("nevertheless"), or using presuppositions instead of openly stated

facts, e.g. *Istnieje jednak potrzeba jednolitego działania* ("Yet there is a need for uniform action"), as the first sentence in a paragraph with no motivation for using *jednak*, or stating something positive in general for a start and only then introducing mildly negative information with sentences like *Generalnie rzecz biorąc sytuacja jest dobra.* ("The situation in general is good."), and *Przy tak wysokiej generalnej ocenie.* ("With such positive overall opinions.") (Bralczyk 2007: 47);

8. Introducing negative facts through the agency of modality, e.g. *musimy* ("We must"), *powinniśmy* ("We should"), *chcemy* ("We want"), or gradation – *musimy lepiej* ("We must…better") (Bralczyk 2007: 49);

9. Stressing importance via such expressions as: jest *bardzo ważne, żeby* … ("It is very important to"), *wielkie znaczenie ma* ("This is of great importance") etc. (Bralczyk 2007: 49), or through hyperbolic expressions denoting e.g. *PZPR*'s challenges overstated by adjectives, like *bezprecedensowy* ("unprecedented"), *nadzwyczajny* ("extraordinary"), *dziejowy* ("historic"), value-emphasising adjectives, like *autentyczny* ("authentic"), *prawdziwy* ("true"), *realny* ("real") in phrases such as *autentyczna odnowa* ("authentic renewal"), *realne przemiany* ("real changes") (Głowiński 2009: 135-136) or positive connotation nouns derived from verbs, like *ocalenie* ("salvage"), *odrodzenie* ("revival") joined with negative nouns referring to traumatic phenomena, like *katastrofy* ("catastrophes"), *zapaści* ("collapses") (Borkowski 2003: 71);

10. Using emotionally qualified expressions of absolute character, showing the ultimate importance of situations etc., e.g. *Najważniejszym problemem dnia dzisiejszego jest* („The fundamental problem of these days is"), *Pierwszym i podstawowym zadaniem jest* („The first and fundamental task is"), using military metaphors, which were typical of communist propaganda language, as were those referring to a road (Borkowski 2003: 121, 160), e.g. *strategia* („strategy")*, mobilizacja* („mobilization"), *manewr* ("manoeuvre"), *natarcie* ("attack"), *kampania* ("campaign"), *ofensywa* ("offensive") etc., and using solemn expressions of determinative character like *Liczy się każdy dzień i każda godzina* ("Each day and hour counts"), *Innej drogi nie ma* ("There is no other way/road"), *Nikt nas w tym nie zastąpi* ("No one will replace us there") (Bralczyk 2007: 49-50);

11. Communicating negative allusions through positive words like *rezerwy* ("reserves"), *możliwości* ("opportunities"), *kapitał* ("capital"), e.g. in the sentence *Istnieją ogromne rezerwy…* ("There are huge reserves…") often breaking semantic connection rules in such expressions, e.g. *rezerwa poprawy efektywności gospodarowania*

("The reserve of economy effectiveness improvement") (Bralczyk 2007: 50);

12. Using established expressions for propaganda reasons:
    - classical Marxist phrases, connected with communist ideology, used in ideological rather than political texts, like *klasa robotnicza* ("working class"), *lud pracujący* ("workpeople"), *dyktatura proletariatu* ("dictatorship of the proletariat"), *walka klasowa* ("class struggle"), *podziały klasowe* ("class divisions"), *ruch komunistyczny* ("communist movement"), *kapitał międzynarodowy* ("international capital"), *bratnie partie* ("fraternal parties"), or those which are not ideologically influenced, connected with romantic national independence movements, e.g. *wola ludu* (people's will), *sumienie narodu* ("nation's conscience"), *sól ziemi* ("the salt of the earth"), *miłość Ojczyzny* ("love of the homeland"), *dzieło ojców* ("fathers' deed");

13. Contemporary phrases – ideologically native, of positive character, e.g. *dalszy postęp* ("further progress"), *nierozerwalny sojusz* ("inseparable alliance"), *siła przewodnia* ("leading power"), and of negative connotations, e.g. *podżegacze wojenni* ("incitors of war"), *siewcy nienawiści* ("propagators of hatred"), or ideologically foreign, originally positive – like *wolny świat* ("free world"), *kultura Zachodu* ("western culture"), *wolność jednostki* ("freedom of the individual"), *wolność duchowa* ("spiritual freedom"), *niezawisłość myślenia* ("independence of thought"), *prawa człowieka* (human rights) (changed by Polish propaganda in the 1970s into *prawo człowieka do życia w pokoju* – "human right to live in peace"), *swobody demokratyczne* ("democratic liberties"), *demokracja zachodnia* ("western democracy") etc., or objective and rather ideologically unmarked, used in all political systems, but mainly by western propaganda against communism, or originally negative, e.g. *czerwone niebezpieczeństwo* ("red menace"), *komunistyczne zagrożenie* ("communist threat") (Bralczyk 2007: 60-6);

14. Using pleonasms of a propaganda nature, e.g. *realna szansa* („real chance"), *aktywny udział* („active participation"), *skuteczna realizacja* („effective realisation"), *wzajemne współdziałanie* („mutual cooperation"), *konkretne posunięcie* („concrete action"), *wysoka dynamika* ("high dynamics"), *powszechne poparcie całego narodu* ("common support of the whole nation") (Bralczyk 2007: 64), and lexical redundancies (Borkowski 2003: 77);

15. Using one-word names-labels, by which we should understand those consisting of a noun and no attribute in order to simplify them

(Bralczyk 2007: 72), which create stereotypes and usually serve to depreciate and evoke negative connotations, e.g., *Wschód* ("the East"), *Zachód* ("the West")*, marksizm* ("Marxism"), *leninizm* ("Leninism")*, lewica* ("the Left"), *centrum* ("the Centre"), *prawica* ("the Right"), and their derivatives – *lewicowiec* ("left-winger")*, prawicowiec* ("right-winger")*, centrysta* ("centrist"), or multi-word names, or terms, with at least one attribute, which in fact describe objects, denote them and their features, through an official or even scientific language. They are normally more objective and lack evaluative elements, e.g. *rozwinięte społeczeństwo socjalistyczne* („developed socialist society"), *socjalistyczna jakość życia* („socialist quality of life"), *budownictwo socjalistyczne* („socialist construction industry"), *polityka nowych perspektyw* („new prospects policy"), *elastyczna polityka cen* ("flexible policy of prices"), *manewr gospodarczy* ("economic manoeuvre")*, przodująca siła narodu* ("leading power of the nation"). The next type, proper names, can be both one- and multi-word, connected with fulfilling ritual functions by using titles, e.g. *I Sekretarz KC PZPR* ("First Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party"), or including the element of evaluation – even by quoting full names of *Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa* ("Polish People's Republic"), or *Związek Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich* ("Union of Soviet Socialist Republics") with respect (Bralczyk 2007: 70-77). An interesting case, already mentioned, is a situation in which instead of the name of a country its capital is used, as the seat of its government, e.g. *Kair* ("Cairo") instead of Egypt. This metonymic function depreciates the government's position as being unrepresentative of the country (Bralczyk 2007: 105);

16. Using non-rhematic informative structures of nominal character, e.g. *twórcze źródła socjalizmu* ("creative sources of socialism"), *społeczna aktywność* ("social activity"), *dorobek czterdziestolecia* („the forty years' output") (Borkowski 2003: 74);

17. Using prefixes *pro-* and *anti-* for evaluations, as in *anti-Polish* (Bralczyk 2007: 106);

18. Using metaphorical structures, like *Program Partii pomostem w XXI wiek* ("The party programme is the bridge into the 21st century") (Bralczyk 2007: 112). Metaphorical language, which is quite symptomatic in political texts and has been discussed so far several times (while describing the metaphors of a journey and war, used in totalitarian propaganda, not to mention politically popular references to a play, sport, network, wave, space, sphere, life or organism (Fras 2005: 157), or theatre, illness, or love (Borkowski 2003: 12)), uses

different types of metaphors, either an analogy between two unconnected but similar objects of reality, or a metonymy, a connection between two objects related in some way, but separate, or between an object and its part, all mentioned above (Fras 2005: 156);

19. Using periphrases that convey some vision of reality to the hearer, creating labels that should be immediately evoked together with a name mentioned, e.g. *wódz postępowej ludzkości* ("leader of innovative mankind") for Stalin, or *przestoje*, *przerwy w pracy* ("work stoppages"), *zakłócenia normalnego rytmu pracy* ("disturbances in normal work-rhythm") for *strajk* ("strike"), replaced with direct references with time (the same was true of such words as *kryzys* ("crisis"), *bieda* ("poverty"), *korupcja* ("corruption"), *inflacja* ("inflation"), and *cenzura* ("censorship")); using periphrases demonstrates language institutionalization, because they are normally ascribed to names once and do not change (Głowiński 2009: 45-47, 137);

20. Using absolute adjectives like *podstawowy* ("basic"), *główny* ("main"), *zasadniczy* ("essential") etc., or even pleonasms such as *najgłówniejszy* ("the most major") (Bralczyk 2007: 117).

Among grammatical features of *nowomowa* over the years of its use, disregarding minor modifications, the following ones should be mentioned:

1. Quite frequently observed post-position of an attribute in names, by which they gain a more official, terminological status, e.g. *znaczenie decydujące* ("the decisive meaning"), *czynnik główny* ("the primary factor") - the structure which in English is only possible if followed by a prepositional phrase (Bralczyk 2007: 72, 140);

2. Apart from an attribute inversion there are also pronouns moved from the position before to after the noun, e.g. *partia nasza* ("our party"), *okres ten* ("this period"), *prawda ta* ("this truth"), *możliwości te* ("these opportunities"), an order impossible in English (Bralczyk 2007: 140);

3. There are also inversions of subject-predicate in statements, e.g. *Był okres ten* ("This period was"), *Działo się to wszystko* ("It all happened"), *Wyraża to hasło* ("It is expressed by a slogan"), which places a rheme in the typically thematic position that is prominent and more exposed (Bralczyk 2007: 140);

4. Imperatives in persuasive structures, rarely with the second person, but predominantly by the use of the first person plural "we" (the sender and the receiver as a unity), e.g. *żądamy*, *wymagamy*, ("we require"), *domagamy się* ("we demand"), *postanawiamy* ("we decide"), or by the third person singular with such verbs as *wytyczać*, *nakreślać* ("to lay") etc., e.g. in the structures: *ta chwila żąda od nas* ("this moment requires from us"), *sytuacja wymaga* ("the situation requires"), with "we"/"us" treated as objects (Bralczyk 2007: 78-79);

5. With the pronoun "we" typical surrounding elements are also used to make phrases, like *my sami* ("we ourselves"), *my wszyscy* ("we all"), *my razem* ("we together") (Bralczyk 2007: 150);

6. This "we" is also used in anaphoric constructions, e.g. *My nie mamy powodów do frustracji. My nie musimy uciekać się do narkotycznych wizji złudnego szczęścia.*(3rd Session of *KC PZPR*) ("We do not have reasons for frustration. We do not have to refer to narcotic visions of illusive happiness") (Bralczyk 2007: 155);

7. There is also the commonly used pronoun *nasz* ("our"), e.g. *nasz wspólny* ("our common"), *nasza ojczyzna* ("our homeland"), *nasza partia* ("our party"), *nasze zadania* ("our tasks"), *nasze cele* ("our aims"), *nasze dobro* ("our good"), referring to the idea of this inclusive "we" (Bralczyk 2007: 150);

8. Using infinitival verbs such as *trzeba* ("need"), *należy* ("should"), *musieć* ("must") in the first person plural, as *musimy* ("we must"), *powinniśmy* ("we should"), or with the pronoun *każdy* ("each"), as in *każdy, kto…, powinien* ("everyone who…should") (Bralczyk 2007: 80);

9. Using declarative expressions with negated verbs as indicators of modality, e.g. *nie będzie* ("it will not be"), *nie zgodzimy się* ("we will not agree"), *nie cofniemy się* ("we will not retreat"), in Polish often strengthened by the adverb *never* (Borkowski 2003: 72);

10. Using the future tense in the first person "we", not to announce a declaration, but an obligation to obey the message sender, e.g. *Uchwały VII Zjazdu w pełni wykonamy* ("We will fully realise the Resolutions of the 7th Convention"), *wszyscy staniemy* ("we will all stand") (Bralczyk 2007: 82-83);

11. Using indicative present tense forms of verbs in the third person singular, sounding like a decree, e.g. *partia jest siłą przewodnią* ("the party is a leading power"), *partia sprawuje kontrolę* ("the party keeps control") (Bralczyk 2007: 83);

12. Neutralization of tense oppositions by grouping two or three different tenses of the same verb (verbs) next to each other in the same sentence, e.g. *był, jest i będzie* ("(it) has been, is and will always be"), *był i pozostanie* ("(it) has been and will remain"), used in order to show stability (Bralczyk 2007: 205);

13. Nominalisation, to show an analytical attitude in official and media texts, but also typical of scientific texts. This consists in changing verbal structures into nominal ones, but also using semantically unmarked nouns, such as *fact*, *problem*, *issue* etc., in expressions like *fakt przybycia* ("the fact of arrival"), instead of *przybycie* ("arrival"), introduced to organize the text in an orderly way (Bralczyk 2007: 205-206);

14. Stylistically marked forms of numbers – with plural forms marking a negative attitude, excluding unity and suggesting a multitude of phenomena, e.g. *zamiary* ("intentions"), *próby* ("endeavours") (Bralczyk 2007: 206); there are also negative references suggested by plural nouns *koła* ("circles"), *siły* ("powers"), *nastroje* ("moods") combined with adjectives in some ritual phrases, e.g *nastroje antysocjalistyczne* ("anti-socialist moods") (Głowiński 2009: 19);

15. A similar case of using a stylistically marked plural form occurs with the surnames of some public people who are to be depreciated (Głowiński 2009: 96);

16. Using accusative forms for postulates in slogans, outside sentences, e.g. *o poprawę* ("for improvement"), *o dalszy rozwój* ("for further development"), which is referred to by Głowiński as "postulative accusative case" and constitutes the most characteristic feature of *nowomowa* not found in general language use (Bralczyk 2007: 84, Głowiński 2009: 39);

17. Using the vocative form in speeches, e.g. *żołnierze* ("Soldiers"), *towarzysze* ("Comrades"), *bracia górnicy* ("Brother Miners"), which is also a rare reason for using the second person form of verbs (Bralczyk 2007: 152);

18. Using negations instead of superlatives, e.g. *Nie ma dla nas sprawy ważniejszej niż Polska Ludowa* („There is not a more important matter for us than the People's Republic of Poland"), or using the structure "no X without Y", e.g. *Nie ma pomyślności obywatela bez pomyślności państwa* ("There is no success for a citizen without success for the country") (Bralczyk 2007: 113);

19. Using superlatives for propaganda (Bralczyk 2007: 117, Borkowski 2003: 79);

20. Anticipating positive superlatives by negations instead of using negative adjectives, e.g. instead of *zły* ("bad") – *nie najlepszy* ("not the best") as in the clause *Nasza sytuacja gospodarcza jest nie najlepsza* ("Our economic situation is not the best possible"), in the course of time replaced by non-euphemistic adjectives referring to the economic situation, like *trudny* ("difficult"), *ciężki* ("hard"), *zły* ("bad"), *skomplikowany* ("complicated"), *dramatyczny* ("dramatic"), or even *fatalny* ("disastrous"), lub *tragiczny* ("tragic") (Głowiński 2009: 137).

It was not only lexis and grammar which were used for propaganda purposes. A very suggestive role was given to punctuation, e.g. inverted commas. It was obvious that while used in propaganda contexts they denoted an ironic attitude on the past of the text creator and were aimed to depreciate the contents – often the names of political opponents (Borkowski 2003: 96). A very provocative function was assigned to rhetorical questions (Borkowski 2003: 102).

Among extralinguistic elements of propaganda there are graphic means, like bolding parts of written texts for ritual-declarative function (Bralczyk 2007: 141). There are also metatexts establishing a text hierarchy, introduced through phrases like *istota rzeczy*, *sedno sprawy* ("the essence of the matter") (Bralczyk 2007: 140).

The base for this reality created by language, observed in texts, is a specific ideology, imposed by communists and their government, so to conclude, it seems quite natural that very often the language of politics, or political propaganda, is characterized by its most ideology-influenced aspects (Bralczyk 2007: 29).

5. The ideological perspective of translations in the People's Republic of Poland

On the subject of translation in the era of communist rule in Poland, one has to realize that only texts originating in the communist bloc were welcome to be printed. Those coming from the Western bloc were marginalized in every possible way. Restricted access to foreign materials from the capitalist West was a barrier to be overcome in academic work and translation activity. Such texts were officially banned from libraries (Górniak and Saletra, 2012: 264-266) and people travelling abroad (e.g. scholars) were not allowed to bring them into Poland. To use materials that came from the Western capitalist countries in libraries, scholars had to possess special permission. As Górniak and Saletra write:

Strict control was applied to the following aspects of library resource collecting: purchase, exchange, donated resources, especially these from abroad, and their retrieval. Many politically incorrect publications were confiscated by customs at the border. The so-called 'forbidden collection' was created as ordered and it could only be accessed in exceptional situations, after submitting a written application and getting permission from the director of the library. Librarians' work was subject to ideological control.[18] (Górniak and Saletra, 2012: 279)

If there was a need to use Western-origin books or articles, a common habit was to exchange texts coming from unofficial private sources. The same applied to Western press texts used as source texts for translations.

Translated texts had to undergo the process of censorship, like texts written in Polish, and, as Calzada Pérez has written, "Original (ST) and translated (TT) documents contributed to forging ideological stereotypes" (Calzada Pérez 2003: 1), which was the case in the People's Republic of Poland.

According to Calzada Pérez, "Translation is an operation carried out on language use. This undoubtedly means that translation itself is always a site of ideological encounters" (Calzada Pérez 2003: 2). It gives a translator an opportunity to change the original attitude according to his or her own ideological preferences. When, as in the communist period in Poland, translators treated this opportunity as an obligation in the face of censorship, the practice became even more prevalent. The author's conclusion that "Translators translate according to ideological settings in which they learn and perform their tasks" (Calzada Pérez 2003: 7) describes the real state of affairs.

No doubt then that the political circumstances in the era of communist rule in Poland had a crucial influence on the shape of texts translated from Western press to be published in the *Forum* magazine.

Bearing in mind all the facts stated about the preferred ideas and language in the texts dominated by the totalitarian rule in Poland it must be concluded that translations of foreign, especially independent texts, are linguistically inscribed in the ideological perspective of communism. Due to the censorship requirements, foreign texts came to resemble the ones originally produced by Polish authors, as no or few forbidden contents were allowed by censors and translators used the language of propaganda in as many aspects as possible to satisfy the censorship apparatus.

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[18] Translation – Edyta Źrałka.

Conclusions

After the theoretical framework of this chapter has been presented the natural conclusion is that the influence of power exercised through language on its form is indisputable. The way language looks must be seen as not the random product of habitual behavior of those having power, but as the result of carefully designed and controlled patterns and actions, the only expected verbal representations of the political system and its bases, in extreme cases executed by specially constituted organs, as in the People's Republic of Poland through the censorship apparatus. As has been mentioned in the chapter above, this type of language should be seen as a firm and stable model of linguistic propaganda used in political speeches and media (Bralczyk 2003: 11, 2007: 24, quoted above).

Apart from pointing out the ideological background of the Polish political language of the totalitarian era, observable in the use of some specific range of vocabulary, linguistic structures and strategies of propaganda provenance, it must be stated that the linguistic shape and, in some way, contents of political language are common to the languages of different nations and systems. The features of the political language as such, enumerated in this chapter, can also be easily spotted in the language of politics in Poland in the era of communism and are not restricted to that period. Much has been said about the presence of such linguistic features of political texts as syntactic complexity of expressions, using the special choice of appealing vocabulary, exaggerations introduced e.g. by gradation of adjectives or pleonasms, introducing metaphorical language, using modal structures, the inclusive pronoun "we" and its varieties of possession, etc. An illustrative factor for both Polish political texts of the communist era and political texts in general is also the presence of graphic elements aimed at catching people's attention.

What is noteworthy about the political language in the People's Republic of Poland is the fact that its specific constitution was applied to realizing propaganda and manipulation purposes within all topics undertaken by press, media, or publishing houses – it was simply a model created for imposing the ideology of those in power through all possible means, under the control of specially appointed officials of the censorship apparatus.

All in all, the strategies, shapes, and meanings included in the language of political discourse and media of the times of communist rule in Poland classify it as a special form of use, if not a separate type, but as has already been stated, it is aimless to seek and establish the criteria for a typology of this language here. What has to be done instead is to pragmatically show

its characteristics provoked by the socio-cultural background that influenced it to such a considerable extent and exemplify its specificity in translations of press articles in the analytical chapter of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

CORPUS ANALYSIS AND THE INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The present chapter will focus on the corpus analytic study, the description of its goals and presentation of findings together with their interpretation in connection with the topic and basic undertaking of the research study – the discovery and description of manipulative techniques in the analysed research material.

The research methodology will be described, including the choice of analytical criteria, together with the method: a comparative study of STs and TTs, and the process of analyses.

The research material analyses will be presented according to the main issues discussed in the previous chapters, namely the elements comprising the nature of communication through translation, translation techniques, especially those aimed at manipulation compared with neutral ones, and finally, the presence of Newspeak features in the translated texts will be mentioned.

Attention will be given to critical and systematic estimation of technique objectives and strategy choice. This should provide the reader with a clear answer to the question of not only the scope of manipulation but also detailed rules of how texts were manipulated by *Forum* translators. Tendencies appearing in the analyses will help us to systematize conclusions. These will concentrate on the problem of stating how much manipulation was incorporated into translation influenced by the censorship apparatus interventions and what elements were banned or expanded on due to propaganda activity. It will also help answer the question of how the tendencies spotted correspond to those referred to in theoretical investigations through the previous chapters.

The analyses of the translation techniques and features of Newspeak will embrace the texts' overall structure, lexis, and grammar.

The chapter will be composed of four general areas of research and the research tools – comparisons between the STs and the TTs – will concentrate on the problems of:

- the correspondence between the layout of STs and TTs,
- translation techniques used to render the ST meanings,
- the incorporation of Newspeak features into translation,
- and finally, the topics and limitations imposed on them.

The enumerated areas constitute the essence of the analyses, because designing the layout, seeking the means to express the required contents and ways to form a language appealing to the audience are the most crucial stages of article writing and editing process in general, and in the era of Communism and censorship activity as well. Those four areas – the perception elements evoked by the verbal and non-verbal means of communication and the types of biased influence on perception, were also the concern of previous theoretical chapters.

1. The description of research areas and findings

Based on the analyses it appeared that three areas of research should be taken into consideration in studying of the way Polish translators rendered STs and realised the task of translation. As has been stated in the Introduction above, necessary components include the elements of layout, with such features influencing the message decoding as headings, subheadings, pictures with captions, editorial comments, and also indications of places or dates of issue. All those components influence the receiver's perception, as they either carry ostensive data or imply the contents through the most essential details of the articles.

A crucial point of the research was to investigate translation techniques and the way their choice and use could manipulate ST contents. Irrespective of the strategy chosen, either close translation or free delivery, the techniques used can considerably distort the ST message, which has been observed with often manipulative techniques such as omissions, additions, substitutions, attenuations, etc.

There were also techniques used as neutral translators' tools, with no trace of manipulation of the source information, causing modifications to the TL. These techniques will be presented separately, in order to juxtapose different means at translators' disposal.

The next area of research described in detail will be the cases of Newspeak incorporated into the Polish translations, in both the lexis and

grammar, with all examples spotted in the analyses, according to the classification made in Chapter 3 Section 4.

Finally, some comments on the topics will be made, as due to the censorship standards, some contents of the STs were bound to be suppressed or changed. They will be presented as a kind of conclusion derived from both the directives dictated by the canons of Newspeak and those forced by adjusting the use of translation techniques to the censorship requirements.

1.1 Editorial features of STs and their treatment in TTs

The general convention in *Forum* publications for translated articles was to place them in what was usually a 2-page column called "Echa polskie" ("Polish Echoes"), which usually contained a couple of translations from different newspapers or magazines in Russian, German, French or English, indicated by the original paper title and date of issue. In this way the Polish translations were deprived of most individual traits imparted by article headings and subheadings, but also such features as comments, captions etc. Consequently, almost all the Polish translations look alike, and apart from the interest in the topics as such, orbiting around Polish politics, the economic situation of Poland in the communist era, and sometimes cultural or social issues, there is nothing to catch the reader's attention. There are only a few exceptions to this pattern – articles published at an early stage of *Forum*'s existence, no later than 1980, and those comprising some non-political topics, in the case of which blocking the source information did not make sense. In such a form Polish articles seem bare and carry no non-verbal message to influence the process of decoding. No matter what reasons might be found for such a layout concept, the fact is that many layout features of the original texts were omitted by the Polish publisher.

➢ To explore this finding, ostensive elements should be looked at first, especially those that are the most powerfully appealing, but which also can be vague in terms of interpretation, namely pictures.

In as many as 22 source articles pictures constitute an important element of the original authors' concept of message encoding. They are frequently removed in the publication of Polish translations for *Forum.* In some cases (e.g. articles 4 and 42) pictures are not omitted, but those originally used are replaced in the Polish magazine with other ones. Added pictures in the Polish versions, when original papers do not have them, are

rare. It can be observed in articles which raise really important issues, where pictures constitute a suggestive source of information for the reader. Altogether, in nine Polish translations, sketches or photos are substituted or added (articles 4, 5, 20, 26, 27, 39, 41, 42, 50).

The omission of pictures is an important example of eliminating ostensive elements, influencing the message decoding considerably. No matter whose responsibility it was to decide upon the layout of Polish articles, whether the publisher's, or any other person's, and what suppressed the reprints – technical, legal, or any other causes, the fact is that without pictures the reader receives less input than was originally provided by the British or American editors. The case with articles 4 and 42 shows the idea that even if the original pictures could not be reprinted, there still was an option to incorporate other pictures, at least with a number of articles concerning topics frequently referred to: Solidarity, strikes, Lech Walesa's leadership, etc.

> While the omission of pictures can be considered elimination of ostensive data subject to individual visions and interpretations, the presence or omission of captions can far more substantially influence readers' attitude to what they decode. Because they are composed of words and refer not only to the pictures but the real contents of articles, captions profile the receiver's perception, making it more conscious. The meaning of words is subject to the processes of sense seeking. Implicatures normally provoke further interest and encourage a potential reader to decode the whole message.

Such important elements are not included in the Polish publications 14 times, in articles 7 ("Traditional priests are increasingly separated from the new order – Picture by Neil Libbert"), 14 and 19 ("Soviet leader Mr Leonid Brezhnev and Poland's General Wojciech Jaruzelski: for the moment, the military authorities' strategy is simple survival – the economy's and their own, for they are wound up together"), 22 ("Gdansk rioting, Aug.", together with a concluding comment below the pictures: "Polish Army contains rioting – but for how long"), 29 ("Wojciech Jaruzelski…seeks public backing for moves"), 30 ("Poles with dollars don't have to wait in endless lines for scarce goods"), 31 ("The end…workers at the Lenin shipyard led by Lech Walesa and a cross after voluntarily ending their strike"), 33 ("Man with a revolutionary message: 'Within the framework of our democracy we must remove all the shrouds of secrecy which don't really exist'"), 34 ("Solidarity strikers march

through hall at Lenin shipyard bearing Polish flag as the action got under way on Monday"), 39 ("Photo of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with Lech Walesa, the Polish trade union leader, last November as Mrs. Thatcher visited Poland"), 42 ("Members of a newly legal union: NSZ students in Warsaw" – in this case the picture and the caption are replaced in the Polish translation with a photo of Lech Wałęsa with the caption: "Ostateczna decyzja co do nominacji 250 kandydatów, jakich wystawi opozycja, należeć będzie do Lecha Wałęsy i najwyższego kierownictwa związku"), 44 ("Lech Walesa addresses workers at an election rally this week"), 45 ("A flower-seller is overshadowed by two of the thousands posters put up in Warsaw"), and 47 (caption 1 – "A bouquet of barbed wire for Solidarity leader Lech Walesa", caption 2 – "W samo południe 4 czerwca 1989").

All in all, the message coming from pictures and captions is reduced in Polish versions of British and American articles to the extent seen in the following amount of omissions or transformations (numbers referring to the articles as they are listed in the Introduction to this study):

4.
Picture of Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki replaced by a different one (instead of a portrait, shaking hands), map omitted;
5.
Sketch added in the Polish version;
6.
Picture connected with World War II omitted;
7.
Picture (of a priest) with the caption: "Traditional priests are increasingly separated from the new order. Picture by Neil Libbert" omitted;

9.
Picture omitted;
14.
3 pictures with captions – picture of a Silesian miner, picture from a strike, picture of Lech Wałęsa and the seal of state omitted;
17.
Picture (satirical) omitted;
19.
Picture (Gen. Jaruzelski and L. Brezhnev), with the caption: "Soviet leader Mr Leonid Brezhnev and Poland's General Wojciech Jaruzelski:

for the moment, the military authorities' strategy is simple survival –
the economy's and their own, for they are wound up together" omitted;
20.
Original article's sketches replaced by other sketches and the artist's
photo;
22.
Pictures (Solidarity symbol and Polish flag), the caption: "Gdansk
rioting, Aug.", the concluding comment below the pictures: "Polish
Army contains rioting – but for how long" omitted;
26.
Pictures replaced by similar ones (medical view of the human body);
27.
Pictures replaced by similar ones (medical view of the human body);
29.
Picture (photo of Gen. Jaruzelski) and the caption: "Wojciech
Jaruzelski…seeks public backing for moves" omitted;
30.
Picture (people queuing) with the caption ("Poles with dollars don't
have to wait in endless lines for scarce goods" omitted;
31.
Picture (strikers' march) and the caption: "The end…workers at the
Lenin shipyard led by Lech Walesa and a cross after voluntarily ending
their strike" omitted;
32.
Picture (photo of Lech Wałęsa) omitted;
33.
Picture (party conference) with the caption: "Man with a revolutionary
message: 'Within the framework of our democracy we must remove all
the shrouds of secrecy which don't really exist'" omitted;
34.
Picture with the caption: "Solidarity strikers march through hall at
Lenin shipyard bearing Polish flag as the action got under way on
Monday" omitted;
39.
Picture ("Photo of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with Lech
Walesa, the Polish trade union leader, last November as Mrs. Thatcher
visited Poland") replaced with the sketch of an orchestra conductor
added to the Polish translation;
40.
Picture (photo of Lech Wałęsa) omitted.

41.

Picture (photo of Lech Wałęsa) replaced by a sketch added to the Polish translation showing Lech Wałęsa, Cardinal Glemp, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Czesław Kiszczak sitting at a round table, reprinted from "Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt";

42.

Picture (photo of a demonstration of NSZ students), with the caption: "Members of a newly legal union: NSZ students in Warsaw" replaced in the Polish translation with a photo of Lech Wałęsa with the caption: "Ostateczna decyzja co do nominacji 250 kandydatów, jakich wystawi opozycja, należeć będzie do Lecha Wałęsy i najwyższego kierownictwa związku");

44.

Picture (photo of Lech Wałęsa), with the caption: "Lech Walesa addresses workers at an election rally this week" omitted;

45.

Picture with the caption: "A flower-seller is overshadowed by two of the thousands posters put up in Warsaw" omitted;

47.

Pictures (Lech Wałęsa and the Solidarity symbol) with captions ("A bouquet of barbed wire for Solidarity leader Lech Walesa" and "W samo południe 4 czerwca 1989") omitted;

48.

Picture and sketch omitted;

50.

Sketch with Poland's borders added to the Polish translation.

➢ The decision to deprive Polish translations of British and American press articles in *Forum* magazine of pictures and captions is not an isolated strategy used to spare the receivers stimuli influencing their perception of the message given. A similar tactic is to avoid translating original headings and subheadings, which bear a large amount of information announcing the contents of articles they stand for. Headings are meant to include as much of the contents as possible in few words. In the case of *Forum* translations a usual thing is to omit headings and subheadings specific for STs.

A case in which a translator renders the information expressed by the original author's headings is found in article 6, "September 1939", in which the original heading is reprinted with some of its original contents in English. In articles 7, 20 and 39 translators try to at least signal the

theme ("Jan Paweł II we Francji" instead of „Mission Impossible – Uniting the French Church", "Topolski to Topolski" for „Topolski and his times" and "Nowa mapa pogody – prognoza z Warszawy, moskiewski barometr" for "The Great Debate"). The translated headings are shallow but carry information about the whole message included in the articles.

The remaining headings are either fully omitted in articles which only bear the common title "Echa polskie", or a more individual title is invented for the column. Such specific column titles are given to articles dating from the second period of the censorship activity (1956-1980), and the early stage of *Forum* publication (started in 1965). The titles are not individually matched with ST headings but given to a column consisting of articles translated from various foreign papers. This is the case with articles 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (1. "Wizyta Premiera Józefa Cyrankiewicza we Francji", replacing „Polish visit to France", 2. "Echa listów biskupich" - instead of „Polish RC Church criticised", 3. "Po konferencji Układu Warszawskiego" instead of „Something for all in Bucarest talks", 4. "Minister Rapacki w Londynie" instead of „Will Britain help to disarm the giants?" and "Dlaczego pauza w dialogu" instead of "Polish Talks Are Delayed").

Starting with the year 1981, marking the beginning of the third period of communist censorship, all the translations were published under the previously mentioned column title "Echa polskie", without any addition. Only in the case of articles 26 „U.S. Doctors in Soviet Face a 'Battlefield'" and 27 "U.S. Doctor in Moscow Predicts Higher Death Toll" are headings changed to "Czernobyl z bliska" (the reason possibly being that the problem discussed does not directly concern Poland), and also article 25: "Jaruzelski will 'expose facts' of rebel priest's murder", in the case of which the column title is broadened into "Echa polskie – Jabłonna V" – ciąg dalszy". This idea of adding a heading to the column title is found in articles 31 "Gdansk strikers unbowed despite return to work" and 32 „In Poland, No Winners; As Strikes End, Solidarity Finds Its Power Is Limited, but So Too Is the Government's", in the case of which the title of the column is: "Echa polskie – po strajkach", and article 39, in which instead of the ST heading: "Poles look to capitalist path to lure Western aid", the title for the whole column is: "Echa polskie – Diagnozy".

For issues which did not exclusively concern Poland a new column heading was used "Echa – nie tylko polskie" in the late 1980s. Under this heading is placed article 39: "Along The East – West Fault Line, Signs of Stress as Ideology Erodes", with the additional comment: "Echa – nie tylko polskie. Politycznie: Jednak Jałta. Ekonomicznie: Otwarcie?"

Subheadings have an equally important impact on the message decoding as headings. Unfortunately, the common habit with *Forum* is to omit them also. This happens with as many as 15 articles (3, 6, 9, 10, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40 and 41), in one of which the subheadings are reduced partly (article 6).

The matter of heading and subheading treatment in the *Forum* translations in more detail is as follows:

1.
- Omission of the heading / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Wizyta Premiera Józefa Cyrankiewicza we Francji", instead of the individual article's heading „Polish visit to France";

2.
- Omission of the heading / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa listów biskupich", instead of this individual article's title: „Polish RC Church criticised";

3.
- Omission of the heading / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Po konferencji Układu Warszawskiego", instead of the individual article's title: „Something for all in Bucarest talks";
- Omission of the subheading ("Vietnam volunteers");

4.
- Omission of the heading / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of two articles: "Minister Rapacki w Londynie"*,* instead of the individual article's title: „Will Britain help to disarm the giants?";
- Omission of paragraph headings ("Quality of courage", Unspoken fear", Vietnam hopes");

5.
- Omission of the heading / (TT) the whole column title: "Dlaczego pauza w dialogu" instead of the individual article's title: "Polish Talks Are Delayed";

6.
- In the initial part the reprint of the original article with the heading: „September 1939" and the introductory subheading: "The Manchester Guardian 2-4 września 1939" retained;
- Omission of some original subheadings of the paragraphs or parts of them (in that case new subheadings added) / (TT) Polish

subheadings: "Jak Londyn wkraczał w wojnę", "Wojna", "W stanie wojny", "Trwają naloty na polskie miasta", "Zamknięcie kin i teatrów", "Ograniczenie dostaw mleka", instead of the English ones: "Britain's Ultimatum", "Premier's Call to the Nation", "Shortened Meeting: A Declaration Against Aggression", "War", "No Cinemas or Theatres", "Public Assemblies Discouraged", "Air Attacks on Polish Towns Continue", "German Invasion on Several Fronts", "London's Milk Supply";

7.
- (TT) Substitution of the title: „Jan Paweł II we Francji" for the original title: „Mission Impossible – Uniting the French Church";

8.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland's Indebtedness" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of various articles "Echa polskie";

9.
- Omission of the heading: „Crisis Sets Off Chain Reaction. Events in Poland Disturbing Other Soviet Bloc Economies"/ (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading ("Polish Events Spark Reaction in East Bloc's Interlocked Economies");

10.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland's grim forecast of savage drop in standard of living" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading: "Unemployment will be inevitable";

11.
- Omission of the heading: „Qualified support from Mr Suslov gives Poles time for reform" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

12.
- Omission of the heading: „There is nothing like democracy, Polish style" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

13.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland gives system its worst fright. Crisis nations" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the paragraph headings ("Endorsed", "Improvement");

14.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland: the second wave" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

15.
- Omission of the heading: „Poles pay now for 'errors in 1970s'" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

16.
- Omission of the heading: „Comecon speeds up preparations for economic summit meeting" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

17.
- Omission of the heading: „Polish party hits out at diehards" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

18.
- Omission of the heading: „Ursus workers plough lonely furrow" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

19.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland's Economy. The army's bleak legacy" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

20.
- (TT) The original heading: „Topolski and his times" replaced with: „Topolski to Topolski";

21.
- Omission of the heading: „Poles want new terms on debts" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

22.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland's Army breaks up Solidarity's second birthday party" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

23.
- Omission of the heading: „Pressure to lift Polish sanctions" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

24.
- Omission of the heading: „Jaruzelski: No 'Concessions' but Pole seeks better ties with U.S." / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading: "Pole rejects concessions to aid ties with U.S.";

25.
- Omission of the heading: „Jaruzelski will 'expose facts' of rebel priest's murder" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie – "Jabłonna V" – ciąg dalszy";

26.
- Omission of the heading: „U.S. doctors in Soviet face a 'Battlefield'" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Czernobyl z bliska";
- Omission of a range of subheadings: "Higher Figure Reported", "Soviet Doctors Unavailable", "Lists of Potential Donors", "Lack of Israel Ties Disregarded", "Matched with Sibling Donors", "Western Lists Checks", "Final Decisions by Russians";

27.
- Omission of the heading: „U.S. Doctor in Moscow predicts higher death toll" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Czernobyl z bliska";
- Omission of the subheading: "Doctor says Chernobyl toll will rise";

28.
- Omission of the heading: „East bloc seeks to fight its way out of economic corner" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

29.
- Omission of the heading: „Polish Government approves major reorganization plan. Referendums set on economy, politics" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading: "Poland approves plan to revamp Government";

30.
- Omissions of the heading: „Eating well on a dollar a day" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

31.
- Omission of the heading: "Gdansk strikers unbowed despite return to work" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie – po strajkach";

32.
- Omission of the heading: „In Poland, no winners: as Strikes end, Solidarity finds its power is limited, but so too is the Government's" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie – po strajkach";
- Omission of a whole range of subheadings: "New Powers for Economic Czar", "Sense of Hopelessness", "They're Afraid of Our Shadows", "Heady Days of '80 Are Over", "History Sometimes Repeats";

33.
- Omission of the heading: „The great debate" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: „Nowa mapa pogody – prognoza z Warszawy, moskiewski barometr";
- Omission of the subheadings: "The attack on Stalinism", "The demand to know more", "Ministerial mafia", "Advice to Gorbachov", "The Party's right to rule", "Ligachov V. Yeltsin";

34.
- Omission of the heading: „This time at Gdansk, Solidarity turns fractious" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheadings: "Solidarity's followers turn fractious", "News analyses";

35.
- Omission of the heading: „Workers in Gdansk vote to end strike" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

36.
- Omission of the heading: „Tough talks expected for Poland, Solidarity" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

37.
- Omission of the heading: „Solidarity's crucial round table" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

38.
- Omission of the heading: „Polish talks to begin amid aura of crisis" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading: "Polish 'Round-Table' talks set to begin amid fears of social, economic chaos";

39.
- Omission of the heading; „Along The East-West fault line, signs of stress as ideology erodes" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of more articles: "Echa – nie tylko polskie. Politycznie: Jednak Jałta. Ekonomicznie: Otwarcie?";
- Omission of a whole range of subheadings: "Decay of an Empire", "Most Extensive Crisis Zone", "Germany: 'The Big Question'", "Bonn Spins Its Web", "Upsetting a Continental Balance", "Britain's High Profile", "U.S. Clashes With Bonn Foreseen";

40.
- Omission of the heading: „Solidarity will be legalized today" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of the subheading: "Walesa emphasizes economic aspects of agreement";

41.
- Omission of the heading: „The struggle in Poland. A specter of severe economic ills haunts the promise of striking political changes" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";
- Omission of a whole range of subheadings: "Questions for the Future", "Question of Alternatives", "Discretion on Communism", "The Communist Share";

42.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland's free vote" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

43.
- Omission of the heading: „Edward Ochab; Obituaries" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

44.
- Omission of the heading: „Abortion time-bomb ticks away in Poland" / (TT) the title for the whole 1-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

45.
- Omission of the heading: „Solidarity senses a vacuum as Poland prepares to vote" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

46.
- Omission of the heading: „Cooperation, not coalition, in Poland" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

47.
- Omission of the heading: „Victor in a duel without bullets" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie";

48.
- Omission of the heading: „Poland: danger ahead" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie";

49.
- Omission of the heading: "Poles look to capitalist path to lure Western aid" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of various articles: "Echa polskie – Diagnozy";

50.
- Omission of the heading: „Foreign affairs; good/bad news" / (TT) the title for the whole 2-page column comprising translations of different articles: "Echa polskie".

➢ Headings are normally what catches a reader's attention most. Headings specific to particular articles are sometimes grouped under a more general heading – namely a column title. In such a case the reader receives an additional piece of data to process. Such a message is really helpful for quick data processing as column titles are usually short and concise.

In the Polish translations for *Forum* the original column titles get omitted. It happens in the following cases:

3.
Omission of the general topic/column title: "Warsaw Pact";
4.
Omission of the general topic/column title: "Poland";
13.
Omission of the column title: "Crisis Nations";

19.
Omission of the column title: "Poland's Economy";
33.
Omission of the column title: "Perestroika",
47.
Omission of the column title: "The world".

➢ What attracts the reader most in choosing an article to read is not
  only its heading, subheadings, column titles and pictures or
  captions. The presence of all kinds of exposed texts – introductory
  and concluding comments, quotations, glosses – every element
  which is distinguished from the whole text in a recognizable way
  has a powerful effect on people's data processing. Such elements
  are what make the reader concerned, catch attention and provoke
  further thinking, and cause him to decide whether to read the text or
  not.

Such elements also serve as a kind of summary of necessary features,
which is aimed at appealing to the reader. The following examples show
how much can be lost when a layout is deprived of summarising elements
and becomes as bare as with the articles in *Forum* magazine.

6.
- Omission of the introductory note explaining that the article is a
  reprint from 1939 / (TT) a different introductory note explaining
  the character of the article;
7.
- Omissions of the comment to the heading: "Walter Schwarz in
  Paris looks at the bitter divisions among Catholics in France on the
  eve of the Pope's visit" / (TT) a comment concerning the Pope's
  visit added in a box, based on *Le Monde*;
14.
- Omission of the introductory comment: "The hardliners have lost,
  and Solidarity has embarked on an uneasy marriage of convenience
  with the Government. Who will be the dominant partner? Jonathan
  Steele reports in the first of three articles from Warsaw";
15.
- Omission of the introductory comment: "W. German study clears
  union of blame for economic crisis";

18.
- Omission of the introductory note: "Polish tractor-maker struggles with post-Solidarity production";
- Omission of the summary note: "Following of imposition of Western sanctions and problems over licensing agreements with Massey-Ferguson, Ursus is struggling to keep up tractor production. Exports produce $30m-$40m in desperately-needed hard currency each year, and the company is anxious not to let political development ruin its technological base.";

19.
- Omission of the exposed quotation: "The basic aim is…indicative planning as practiced in Hungary and even France, rather than Soviet-styled direction";

20.
- Omission of the introductory note;

26.
- Omission of the note on the issue: "Special to the New York Times";

28.
- Omission of the authors' names with the comment: "Polish viewpoint by Piotr Aleksandrowicz and Wlodzimierz Kicinski";

30.
- Omission of the introductory comment: "Poland: In effect, Poland has two economies – one with zlotys and one with dollars. Those Poles who can earn dollars abroad or get them from relatives in America can afford everything from pleasant dinners to new cars";

31.
- Omission of the summary comment: "Government voted new powers as Solidarity shipyard action collapses";

32.
- Omission of the note on the issue: "Special to the New York Times";

33.
- Omission of the quotation: "'Nothing of the kind has occurred in this country for nearly six decades' – Gorbachov, 1 July 1988";
- Omission of the summary comment: "'The barriers of caution were broken at last week's Party conference in Moscow. Guided and encouraged by Gorbachov, delegates conducted an astonishing exercise in open discussion.' Mark Frankland picks out the highlights";

35.
- Omission of the introductory comment: "Poles march out singing but without guarantees";

37.
- Omission of the introductory comment: "Christopher Bobinski analyses talks that start in Poland today";
- Omission of the summary comment: "Polish police broke up a Congress in Warsaw on Saturday of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, a key opposition party set up in 1979 and claiming 1,600 active members, writes Christopher Bobinski in Warsaw. The party's immediate goal is free elections. It is led by Mr Leszek Moczulski, who was jailed from 1980 to 1985. The police action came in advance of today's talks between the authorities and the Solidarity trade union, which may leave the latter's radical wing unreconciled and ready to throw its support behind groups such as the confederation.";

39.
- Omission of the note on the issue: "Special to the New York Times";

41.
- Omission of the note on the issue: "Special to the New York Times";

42.
- Omission of the editorial comment: "Christopher Bobinski in Warsaw on the new political landscape";

43.
- Omission of the abbreviated biographical note on Edward Ochab: "Edward Ochab, politician and statesman, born Krakow Poland 16 August 1906, married Rachela Silbiger (four daughters), died Warsaw 2 May 1989.";

44.
- Omission of the editorial comment: "Christopher Bobinski reports on what is becoming a key election campaign issue";

45.
- Omission of the introductory note: "Too many disappointments and an economic crisis have limited Polish enthusiasm for Sunday's elections, as Steve Crawshaw found in Warsaw";

47.
- Omission of the editorial introductory comment: "Solidarity's dramatic election success has shattered the complacency of the communists but brings it no closer to real power", and a summary

comment: "Mark Frankland in Warsaw reports on the people's vote for democracy";

48.

- Omission of the note on the author: "The writer has written extensively on Soviet and East European affairs".

➢ A feature of editorial consistency of Polish translations for *Forum* is also to reduce original datelines.

With dates, the habit is to quote the original dates of issue, sometimes incorrectly (change of date e.g. in article 30.: „Echa polskie – The Christian Science Monitor – 1. XII" instead of 6 XII), while the places are never included. Reduction of such data pertaining to the topics, is a way to deprive the reader of important clues to identify described problems.

The places where articles were written are often combined with authors' names. In Polish translations the original authors' names are not always included and if they are, it is always at the very end, not, as in the original texts, at the beginning. Original authors' names are given in the Polish translation of articles 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 with the comment "Eric Bourne, specjalny korespondent w Warszawie", 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50. Sometimes also the authors' affiliation is given in ST and omitted in TT, such as in articles 4, 24, 27, 29, 30, 34, 36 and 38.

The whole situation with omissions concerning dates, places, and authors is as follows:

1.
Omission of the place and date ("Paris, Sept.3"), and the information source ("From our own correspondent");
2.
Omission of the place and date ("Warsaw, December 10");
3.
Omission of the place and date ("Bucarest, July 9"), and the author ("From Neal Ascherson");
4.
Omission of the place and date ("Warsaw, 18 February") and the indication of the author ("From Neal Ascherson");
5.
Omission of the place and date ("Bonn, Sept. 8");
10.
Omission of the place and date ("Brussels, April 15");

11.
Omission of the place and date ("Warsaw, April 24");
17.
Omission of the place, date and author ("From Dessa Trevisan, Warsaw, June 3");
22.
Omission of the place and author ("By Eric Bourne, Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, Warsaw");
23.
Omission of the place and author ("From Hella Pick in Bonn");
24.
Omission of the author's affiliation ("Washington Post Foreign Service");
25.
Omission of the place and author ("From Hella Pick in Warsaw");
26.
Omission of the date;
27.
Omission of the author together with her affiliation ("By Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service");
28.
Omission of the authors with the comment: "Polish viewpoint by Piotr Aleksandrowicz and Wlodzimierz Kicinski";
29.
Omission of the author together with his affiliation ("By Jackson Diehl, Washington Post Foreign Service");
30.
Omission of the author and his affiliation ("by William Echikson – writer of 'The Christian Science Monitor'"), omission of place ("Warsaw");
31.
Omission of the place and author ("Michael Simmons in Gdansk");
32.
Omission of the date and author ("By John Tagliabue, Special to the New York Times; Published: May 12, 1988");
33.
Omission of the author;
34.
Omission of the author's affiliation ("Washington Post Foreign Service");
35.

Omission of the author;
36.
Omission of the author's affiliation ("Washington Post Foreign Service");
38.
Omission of the place, date and author together with his affiliation ("By Jackson Diehl, Washington Post Foreign Service; Warsaw, Feb. 5");
39.
Omission of the place ("Published: February 26, 1989 - Bonn, Feb. 25") / (TT) ("The New York Times, 27.II");
40.
Omission of the author and place ("Ian Traynor in Warsaw");
41.
Omission of the place and date ("Published: April 7, 1989 - Warsaw, April 6");
49.
Omission of the places of correspondents' activity ("By Edward Mortimer in Warsaw, John Lloyd in London and Peter Riddell, Lionel Barber in Washington");
50.
Omission of the place and date ("Published: October 11, 1989. Warsaw").

Due to the omissions of pictures, original headings and subheadings, column titles, comments, and exposed quotations, etc., the final effect is the impression that the TTs are bare, concerning some unidentified issues about Poland suggested by the common heading "Echa polskie", or the matters implied by different column titles. The perception of such data from the cognitive point of view is left to careful analyses of the whole texts as no or few mental pictures can occur to ease understanding based on editorial features that serve such a goal in principle.

The layouts of translations, on the other hand, lack superficial propaganda instruments, and might possibly be editorial requirements used for practical reasons connected with *Forum* edition.

1.2 Translation strategies and techniques applied by translators

In the era of the communist rule and censorship activity in Poland there was an obvious practice of applying manipulative strategies in translation of Western press articles, claimed to be free. Some topics and details were

bound to elude the public eye. Even if translators took risks to smuggle through any banned piece of information the preventive censorship spotted them in a two-level process of censorship.

We must be aware that in over four decades of communist rule in Poland there were different measures of censorship pressure on authors and translators, which is why the attitude of censors to the information allowed and rejected might differ, but generally we have to expect that even in the late communist period there are contents that might be hidden from the reader, even if we think that the texts are reliable and truthful.

Among the techniques having the greatest impact on the ST contents are omissions, substitutions, and additions, but there are also modulations, transpositions and others, which can surely be found in *Forum* magazine. The most numerous techniques used in the analysed translations are the ones mentioned, but we have to bear in mind that they do not always concern the cases in which manipulation was intended. There are linguistic reasons for the use of some translation techniques when two languages meet, which is why the translation procedures selected below, based on the corpus analysis, have been divided into manipulative and neutral ones.

1.2.1 Manipulative techniques

The manipulative techniques applied in the texts analysed, grouped based on the frequency of their occurrence, and then by alphabetical order, constitute: omissions of editorial features of the articles – 191 (19 pictures, 14 captions, 48 headings, 42 subheadings, 6 column titles, 27 notes and comments, 19 indications of places and dates referring to ST issues, 13 authors' names and 3 cases of their affiliation), omissions (of units smaller than a paragraph) – 210, omissions of whole passages (counted by paragraphs) – 195, core similarity of contents in the passages resulting from omissions (for short – similarity of contents) – 33, additions – 70, attenuations – 12, modulations – 47, reductions – 17, simplifications – 1, substitutions – 96, transpositions – 21.

There are also context-dependent techniques – neither manipulative nor neutral by definition, the interpretation of which is often left to individual assessment, such as reorderings, and glosses. They might be perceived both as affecting the ST message and as leaving it unchanged, so in the detailed analyses only the most interesting examples from the perspective of manipulation (12 reorderings and 7 glosses) will be presented.

Among the omissions dictated by propaganda, concerning messages forbidden by the censorship authorities, different groups can be identified,

with examples sharing some common features, marked as Group I – VIII omissions.

Table 1. Groups of omissions and number of cases found

Text No.	Omissions – Group I	Omissions – Group II	Omissions – Group III	Omissions – Group IV	Omissions – Group V	Omissions – Group VI	Omissions – Group VII	Omissions – Group VIII
1.							3	
2.							2	
3.							4	3
4.			1		2		3	2
5.					1			
6.				2	2		3	
7.	1						4	
8.							2	1
9.	2		1			1		5
10.							2	
11.	1	1	1		1			1
12.								2
13.							3	1
14.				1	1	1	8	
15.								
16.								
17.								
18.						1		4
19.	5	1		1			2	2
20.							1	6
21.	1					2		2
22.	5						3	
23.	1						1	1
24.	1	1		2			10	6
25.	2				1		7	
26.	4						22	8
27.	1				2		15	2
28.						2	5	1
29.	3	1		2	5	1	4	3

30.							1	
31.							7	
32.	5				2	3	9	4
33.								
34.	3	1			1		5	1
35.							2	
36.	1				2		5	3
37.	1				1		1	3
38.	8		1		1	2	11	1
39.						1	8	8
40.							17	
41.	5	3	1		1		16	1
42.						1		3
43.				1			1	1
44.	3				1		1	4
45.								
46.					1		1	1
47.					1			4
48.	2	1		2		1	3	
49.						1	3	1
50.		1		1				
Total	55	10	5	12	26	17	✕	85
							195 (counted as a separate group)	210 (without Group VII)

The following cases of omissions can be enumerated (omitted parts are in bold):

> ➢ I. Messages disallowed by the censorship apparatus, expressing negative views of the Polish authorities' reputation and harmful to the safe existence of the nation, expressed in STs:

7.
- a) negative message concerning the description of events of May 1968 in France: "and the **even more traumatic** events of May 1968 "→ „oraz wydarzeń z maja 1968 r.";

9.
- a) negative message concerning the crisis in Poland: "increased East European aid to Poland **to keep it afloat**" → "Europa Wschodnia będzie musiała udzielić Polsce większej pomocy";
- b) negative message concerning a possible military action in Poland: "ominous pronouncements of ranking Czechoslovak officials drawing parallels between Czechoslovakia before the 1968 **invasion** and today's Poland and by senior East Germans **who reportedly were urging military action**." → "groźne ostrzeżenia płynące od wysokich funkcjonariuszy czechosłowackich, którzy porównywali Czechosłowację sprzed 1968 do dzisiejszej Polski, oraz od wysokich funkcjonariuszy NRD";

11.
- a) negative message concerning a possible military action in Poland: „No one here has any doubts that the Russians will not shrink from invading Poland if they felt that the party was disintegrating and the leadership was in danger of losing control." [omission signaled by "…" in the TT];

19.
- a) negative message concerning political imprisonment of Poles: „Nearly 4,000 people are still held **as political prisoners without trial.**" → "Przetrzymuje się nadal prawie 4 tysiące ludzi.";
- b) negative message concerning deaths among strikers: „The turnaround comes despite the Solidarity loyalties of the miners **(who bore seven of the 10 officially admitted deaths in the disturbances following December 13**)";
- c) propaganda message: "**General Jaruzelski's** Poland today" → "dzisiejsza Polska";
- d) negative message concerning the imposed leadership of the Soviet Union on Poland: „at the very time it is drawing, **or being pushed**, closer for help towards the biggest centrally planned economy of them all, the Soviet Union." → "a w tym samym czasie, zwracając się o pomoc, zacieśnia współpracę z największą, centralnie planowaną gospodarką, Związkiem Radzieckim";
- e) negative message concerning the imposed leadership of the Soviet Union: "to reduce central planning to setting strategic goals - indicative planning as practiced in Hungary and even France,

rather than Soviet style direction.” → „ograniczenie roli centralnego planowania do wytyczania celów strategicznych, a więc stworzenie planowania indykatywnego, jakie stosuje się na Węgrzech, a nawet we Francji”;

21.
- a) negative message on the Polish debt: “and bankers believe there could be serious consequences if payments on the rescheduled amounts are not met”;

22.
- a) negative message on shooting protesters: “When this was answered with more missiles, police apparently fired **into the crowd**” → “Kiedy w odpowiedzi na te strzały rzucano nadal, policja najwidoczniej otworzyła ogień.”;
- b) negative message about army actions against people: “The massive deployment of police **and a special army unit** kept the violence to a relatively small scale.” → „W efekcie zmasowania milicji zajścia tylko na względnie ograniczoną skalę miały charakter gwałtowny.”;
- c) additional negative message concerning the number of protesters: “Here in Warsaw, at the places where the main outbursts occurred, the crowds – **the majority of which were bystanders, not protesters** – always looked evenly matched. **If not outmatched,** by the “law-and-order” forces.” → „W Warszawie, wszędzie tam, gdzie doszło do silnych wybuchów niezadowolenia, odnosiło się wrażenie, że siły porządku i prawa dorównywały liczebnie tłumowi.”;
- d) negative message on the government’s policy of security: „than the government might have anticipated **in view of its saturation security**.” → „niż mógł oczekiwać rząd”;
- e) negative message on lacking prospects in Poland: „not necessarily unemployed, **but lacking prospects**” → “ludzie niekoniecznie bezrobotni”;

23.
- a) negative message on the lack of liberalization in Poland: “There is little evidence of any liberalisation in Poland”;

24.
- a) negative message concerning prior questions submission to General Jaruzelski: “He first read answers to about 40 questions submitted in advance.”;

25.

- a) negative message concerning the trial in the case of the Popieluszko murder: "**Who inspired it? We don't know, we don't know them.** The murder prompted General Jaruzelski earlier this month to assume personal supervision over the Interior Ministry, which controls the security police. General Jaruzelski said: **"The majority of priests behave in such a way that they carry out their duties without colliding with the state. But I must admit that there are priests who do not respect these principles, the provisions of the constitution, the requirements of our state**. **He said that the Government had held talks with church leaders on the subject of rebel leaders."** → „Generał odpowiedział na wiele pytań dotyczących m.in. morderstwa Popiełuszki. Zapowiedział, że proces trzech funkcjonariuszy służby bezpieczeństwa oskarżonych o to morderstwo zacznie się w grudniu.";

- b) propaganda message concerning the role of the Warsaw Pact: "**It expires next May but is certain to be extended. General Jaruzelski said that a Warsaw Pact summit would be held before the expiry of the present treaty to determine its future duration.** He said that the treaty was "a major force for peace" → "Generał […] podkreślił sojusz Polski ze Związkiem Radzieckim i jej uczestnictwo w Układzie Warszawskim jako istotny warunek pokoju i stabilizacji Europy.";

26.

- a) negative message concerning the explosion in the Chernobyl power station: "The scope of the disaster, **the worst in the history of nuclear power,** presented the doctors with unique problems, the American physicians and the Israeli specialist said **in interviews**." → „Rozmiary katastrofy postawiły lekarzy przed wyjątkowo trudnymi problemami – powiedzieli lekarze amerykańscy i specjalista izraelski.";

- b) negative message concerning the radiation and its results: „as well as stomach and intestinal decay **produced by radiation exposure, complicated treatment**" → "a także uszkodzeń tkanki żołądka i jelit";

- c) negative message concerning the huge measure of the catastrophe and its casualties: "'This is the first event of this kind,' he said. **'It's unprecedented to have this many transplants going on simultaneously**.'" → 'Jest to pierwsze wydarzenie tego rodzaju – powiedział dr Gale.'";

- d) negative message on the increasing number of casualties: "the severest cases, **which grew in number from 18 to 35 within days of Dr. Gale's arrival**, had absorbed the full blast of radiation" → "najcięższe przypadki dotyczyły osób, które zetknęły się bezpośrednio z pełnym strumieniem radiacji";

27.
- a) negative message concerning the number of radiation casualties: „A total of 299 are in hospitals here and in other cities **being treated for lesser degrees of radiation**" → "Łącznie w szpitalach Moskwy i innych miast przebywa 299 osób.";

29.
- a) negative message concerning the forecasted degree of inflation: "To stabilize Poland's shortage-wracked domestic market, it foresees drastic cuts in government subsidies **that could raise inflation as high as 57 percent next year, according to official calculations**." → "Aby ustabilizować cierpiący na zasadnicze braki rynek polski, rząd musi podjąć drastyczne kroki redukcji subsydiowania produkcji.";
- b) negative message concerning control over the police and the government: "It also foresees 'the removal of restrictions on association,' **a revision of the legal system increasing checks on police and government actions**,";
- c) some details and negative message concerning concession and bureaucratic interests: "However, **they pointed out** that the reorganization preserved extensive centralized control of two **key** industries – coal mining and energy production – **in a major concession to bureaucratic interests**." → "Jednakże dwie dziedziny: górnictwo i energetyka będą nadal w gestii władz centralnych.";

32.
- a) negative message concerning the lack of Solidarity's legalization: "Solidarity, **whose key demand for legalization was not met**, was free to continue its pressure on the authorities" → "'Solidarność' może kontynuować presję na władzę.";
- b) negative message concerning the strikes: "The strikes in more than a dozen factories, **including the main ones in Nowa Huta and at the shipyard here in Gdansk,** were the work of" → "Zorganizowane w kilkunastu fabrykach strajki były dziełem";
- c) negative message concerning Solidarity's power to mobilize workers: "that the heady days of 1980, **when the union could**

mobilize millions of workers, are not about to come again." → "że przeminęły wielkie dni 1980 roku";

- d) negative message concerning police intervention against the strike: "who were facing the likelihood of a police **assault to end their strike**" → "stojących wobec akcji milicyjnej";
- e) some details concerning the strike: "When workers at the Lenin shipyard **here linked arms** Tuesday and marched **grimly** from the yard **to end their nine-day strike**, **there were those who** felt" → "Gdy robotnicy opuścili we wtorek Stocznię im. Lenina, czuli, że";

34.
- a) negative message about the strike: „few people have seemed actively involved **in the strike**." → „niewielu ludzi zdawało się aktywnie zaangażowanych";
- b) negative message concerning the birth of Solidarity: "Such statements would have sounded heretical in August 1980, **when shipyard workers gave up a promised pay rise to press for free unions. Solidarity was born out of the idea that Polish workers had a duty to defend each other against government repression.**" → "Tego rodzaju doświadczenia w sierpniu 1980 r. byłyby herezją.";
- c) negative message concerning the strike: "said one middle-aged worker **this morning when pressed to join the protest**." → „powiedział pewien robotnik w średnim wieku";

36.
- a) negative message concerning the strike, some detail: "Walesa has said that Solidarity would be willing to negotiate an "anticrisis pact" with authorities, including "legal guarantees" against excessive work disruptions, **and some of his advisers in the past have suggested the union could accept a strike moratorium under certain conditions.**" → "Wałęsa mówi, że «Solidarność» gotowa jest rozmawiać z władzami na temat «paktu antykryzysowego», obejmującego m.in. «gwarancje prawne» przeciwko nadmiernym zakłóceniom pracy."**;**

37.
- a) negative message concerning the principle of free choice: "while leaving the principle and practice of free choice to the opposition";

38.
- a) negative message concerning the collaboration of the government and Solidarity in introducing an economic program: „Solidarity and the government will attempt **to collaborate in**

implementing an economic program" → "rząd i 'Solidarność' będą dążyć do wprowadzenia w życie programu ekonomicznego";
- b) negative message concerning the communist rule in Poland's neighbouring countries: "Poland's **communist-ruled** neighbors" → „Sąsiedzi Polski";
- c) negative message concerning the revolutionary character of political movements of 1980: „has not been characterized by the violence of 1956 and 1970 **or the revolutionary euphoria of 1980**." → "nie będzie charakteryzował się wstrząsami podobnymi do tych z lat pięćdziesiątych i siedemdziesiątych";
- d) negative message concerning the centralized control of the country: "the process here lacks the meticulous planning and control **from above**" → "Proces zmian w Polsce […] charakteryzuje brak dokładnego planowania i szczegółowej kontroli.";
- e) negative message concerning the divided structure of the party in Poland: „the Polish party is badly divided, **and factions of both the far right and far left** are ready to attack" → "Polska partia jest podzielona, są w niej grupy gotowe zaatakować";
- f) negative message concerning the enforcement to implement reforms: „it could become the occasion for a hard-line faction putsch **against the leadership unless far-reaching reforms have already been implemented. 'They have to present the rank and file with a *fait accompli,* or face opening the whole policy to a debate they might not be able to control,' said a participant in preliminary talks on the agenda and timing of the round-table discussions.**" → "że mogą stać się obiektem zamachu stanu ze strony reprezentantów twardej linii";
- g) negative message concerning the postponement of the elections with time reference: „for parliamentary elections, **which would be moved up from September to May or June.**" → „do wyborów parlamentarnych";
- h) negative message concerning tough conditions of economic reforms: "and back the government on a series **of tough economic** restructuring measures." → "poprzeć serię rządowych propozycji reform dotyczących restrukturyzacji gospodarki.";

41.
- a) negative message concerning the ideological division in Poland: "Many economists **on both sides of the ideological divide** contend that the plan will produce little and compound the problem." → „co

zdaniem wielu ekonomistów niewiele da, a najwyżej uruchomi
klasyczną spiralę inflacji";
- b) negative message concerning the risks for communist leaders:
  „**But beyond economic considerations**, the risks for Poland's
  already **hard-pressed Communist leaders** are striking." →
  „Ryzyko stojące przed Polską jest jednak znacznie większe.";
- c) negative message concerning the opposition of Wałęsa to
  communist leaders: " Lech Walesa, **the Solidarity leader**, **who
  until now has been no friend of the communist authorities**, **in
  addressing a gathering at Warsaw University today took the
  unusual step of** offering to travel to Moscow." → „Lech Wałęsa
  oświadczył w czwartek (6 kwietnia) publicznie, że gotów jest udać
  się do Moskwy.";
- d) negative message concerning the compromise of Solidarity with
  the ruling authorities: "But for others – **and it was for their sake
  that Solidarity was willing to entertain difficult compromise** –
  there is a conviction that the problem is not just in Poland"→ "Inni
  jednak doszli do przekonania, że cały problem dotyczy nie tylko
  Polski";
- e) some negative detail concerning the kind of decline: „the
  disastrous **economic** decline" → **"**katastrofalnego – jak się wydaje
  – pogarszania się sytuacji";
44.
- a) negative message concerning the power of Solidarity and the
  Church: „in which Solidarity, backed by the Church, faces the
  authorities **in an uneasy balance**" → "w ramach którego
  "Solidarność", ciesząca się poparciem Kościoła, stanowi
  przeciwwagę władz państwowych";
- b) negative message concerning the arguments for the liberal
  abortion law: "which heard a government representative say that
  abortion is an evil but at times a necessary one, **and did not find
  grounds for repealing the present liberal law**" → "Obecny na tej
  komisji przedstawiciel rządu powiedział, że przerwanie ciąży jest
  złem, lecz niekiedy złem koniecznym.";
- c) hidden message concerning demonstrating students and others:
  "**Like Saturday's demonstration, it was a motley crowd**,
  comprising a handful of far left-wingers, some fractions unofficial
  Socialist party members, **university students**, and plain liberal
  free-thinkers" → "Była wśród nich garstka lewicowców – m.in.
  członkowie nieoficjalnej partii socjalistycznej – oraz zwyczajni
  liberalni wolnomyśliciele";

48.
- a) negative message concerning the loss of allies to the communist party: "The party-dominated coalition will still control **the majority of the seats in** the lower house **(Sejm), but hardly any of its candidates won a majority of votes**. **Hence the runoff elections and the risk that some party stalwarts will be defeated by their no longer servile allies (above all members of the Peasant and Democratic parties)**." → "Wprawdzie zdominowana przez partię koalicja rządząca wciąż będzie kontrolowała niższą izbę parlamentu";
- b) negative message concerning power in Poland: "The emphasis, on both sides, was on a political solution – **that is, on the question of power**." → „Obie strony kładły nacisk na rozwiązanie polityczne";

➢ II. Cases of avoiding self-identification by the Polish authorities, exemplified by omissions of the attribute "communist", interestingly enough – in all cases capitalised in STs, both as part of a proper name and as an ordinary attribute:

11.
- a) "in the **Polish Communist** Party." → „wewnątrz partii";
19.
- a) „It comes not only from **Communist Party** conservatives" → "Występuje ona nie tylko ze strony konserwatystów";
24.
- a) „where **Communist** leaders do not as a rule meet with the press" → "gdzie przywódcy z reguły nie spotykają się z prasą";
29.
- a) "in a press conference **tonight**, a **senior Communist** Party official, Politburo member **Kazimierz** Barcikowski said that" → "Podczas konferencji prasowej przedstawiciel PZPR, Barcikowski, oświadczył, że";
34.
- a) "Even **Communist** Party members joined the strike." → „Do strajku przyłączyli się nawet członkowie partii.";
41.
- a) "agreed to by Poland's **Communist** authorities" → "na które zgodziły się władze Polski";

- b) "each country within the East bloc is able to use its own discretion in choosing a path **to Communism**." → "każdy z krajów bloku wschodniego ma swobodę wyboru własnej drogi.";
- c) "the risks for Poland's **already hard-pressed Communist leaders** are striking." → „Ryzyko stojące przed Polską jest jednak znacznie większe.";

48.
- a) "The ruling **Communist** party" → „partię rządzącą";

50.
- a) "role of the **Communist** Party" → "roli partii";

➢ III. Examples of the hiding of the Polish government's subordination to the USSR and the interest in Russian matters:

4.
- a) prognosis: „The unspoken fear still is of premature German reunification, **and even of a Soviet deal with West Germany in the new situation**." → "Skryte obawy dotyczą wciąż przedwczesnego zjednoczenia Niemiec";

9.
- a) propaganda message: "at Rzeszów **in southern Poland. It would be just another instrument in Moscow's successful drive to achieve greater integration of East European economies**." → "w Rzeszowie";

11.
- a) message revealing organizational problems and proving Polish-Russian political cooperation: „It means that the Polish leaders can now go ahead with the Central Committee Plenum which was deliberately put off until next Wednesday in order to clear it with Mr Suslov.";

38.
- a) details concerning the party's leading role in the USSR: „the strong **party** leadership of **Michail Gorbachev** in the Soviet Union" → „silnego kierownictwa, jakie ma ZSRR";

41.
- a) message concerning the tasks of Gorbachev: "Until now, the Soviet leadership **around Mr. Gorbachev has been at pains** to stress that" → "Dotąd kierownictwo radzieckie podkreślało, że".

The second type of omissions in the translations analysed are cases in which translators or censors reject information which does not belong to

the category of details needing to be hidden, concerns neutral topics and does not seem to be fundamental to the communist propaganda. However, the deletion of such information changes the message and affects the meaning of TTs.

Among such omissions there are the following:

> IV. Negative messages presumably unwanted by the censorship due to some unpopular ideas:

6.
- a) „he will kindly guarantee the existence of the British Empire **against all comers**!" → "to zagwarantowałby łaskawie istnienie Wielkiej Brytanii";
- b) "His method is to buy off **by fair words**" → "Jego metoda polega na wkupywaniu się w łaski";

14.
- a) negative message: „There must be honest and open discussion **and criticism** in the press and Parliament." → „Dyskusje w Sejmie i na łamach prasy muszą być szczere i otwarte." (in this case the word „criticism" could have been seen as having a negative meaning by the censorship organs or translator);

19.
- a) negative message: "Colonels sit, **irrelevantly**, in on sociological institutes" → "W instytutach socjologii zasiadają pułkownicy";

24.
- a) negative message concerning the demand for concessions: "but was not going to 'pay for this with concessions' **they demand**" → "ale, że nie będzie za to 'płacić jakimiś koncesjami'";
- b) negative word: "He **fiercely** attacked France as 'our traditional ally.'" → "Zaatakował on Francję, 'naszego tradycyjnego sojusznika'";

29.
- a) message treated as negative: "they also established the framework for **what officials say will be an intensive effort** to win public tolerance" → "działania te ustanowią ramy dla pozyskania publicznej aprobaty" (manipulation of the ST referring to a rather neutral action);
- b) message treated as negative with time reference: "However, the official questions **approved today**" → "Niemniej jednak pytania referendum" ((manipulation of the ST referring to a rather neutral action));

43.
- a) negative message: "this was for him a blessing **in disguise**" → "było to dla niego swojego rodzaju błogosławieństwo";

48.
- a) negative message: "for women who undergo them **is a dire case in point**" → "dla kobiet, które łamałyby tą ustawę";
- b) negative message: "were denounced as **outright** 'murderers'" → "piętnowano jako 'morderców'";

50.
- a) negative message: "it accepted **uneasily**" → "uczyniła to jednak";

➢ V. Time references and other deictic elements possibly omitted because *Forum* translations were published some time later than STs:

4.
- a) time reference: "goes to London **next week**" → "przybywa do Londynu";
- b) time reference: "will begin to discuss **the Soviet-American** draft treaty **on Tuesday**" → "rozpocznie dyskusje nad projektem układu";

5.
- a) deictic element – place: "had been expected to begin **here**" → "miała się rozpocząć";

6.
- a) time reference: "Some 1,500 people were killed or injured in German air bombardments of **open** Polish towns and villages **on Friday and Saturday**." → "W wyniku niemieckich nalotów na polskie miasta i wsie zginęło i odniosło rany około 1500 osób.";
- b) deictic element - place: „Certainly things become hard **in this area**." → „Zdarzają się rzecz jasna trudności";

11.
- a) deictic element – place (change of sense): "No one **here** denies that" → "Nikt nie przeczy";
- b) time reference: "at the end of the talks today" → „na zakończenie rozmów";

14.
- a) deictic element – place: „The whole system of pay and prices **here** is" → "cały system cen i płac jest"

25.
- a) time reference: „in an extensive press conference **yesterday**" → „międzynarodowej konferencji prasowej w pełnej skali.";

27.
- a) time reference: "said Gale **today"** → "powiedział dr Gale";
- b) time reference: "Voroblev said **today**" → „Dr. Woroblow powiedział";

29.
- a) time reference: „it approved **plans for** a referendum **next month**" → "zaaprobował przeprowadzenie referendum";
- b) some detail with time reference: "major economic and political revisions **announced earlier this month**" → "wielkich ekonomicznych i politycznych zmian";
- c) some defining detail with time reference: "an annex attached **today** to the referendum questions **that is intended to inform voters** does not detail" → "Aneks dołączony do pytań referendum nie wyjaśnia wyborcom";
- d) time reference: "The Polish parliament **today** enacted a major government reorganization" → "Polski parlament zatwierdził wielki plan reorganizacji rządu";
- e) deictic element – place: "Economists **here** said" → "Ekonomiści utrzymują";

32.
- a) time reference: "In Warsaw **today**," → "W Warszawie";
- b) deictic element – place: "When workers at the Lenin shipyard **here** linked arms Tuesday" → "Gdy robotnicy opuścili we wtorek Stocznię im. Lenina";

34.
- a) deictic elements – place, time: "as they marched through the Lenin shipyard **here yesterday**" → "maszerując przez teren gdańskiej Stoczni im. Lenina";

36.
- a) time reference: "The party Central Committee voted **early this morning** to accept" → "Komitet Centralny […] uchwalił";
- b) time reference: "declared Rakowski in a speech to the Central Committee **yesterday**" → "Premier Mieczysław Rakowski oświadczył podczas obrad KC";

37.
- a) time reference: "The opening session **today**";

38.
- a) time reference: „A party conference is scheduled **for later this year**" → "planowana jest konferencja partyjna";

41.
- a) time reference partly: „**last** August" → „które w sierpniu";

44.
- a) time reference: „to reach **last month's** round table accord" → „w osiągnięciu porozumienia przy okrągłym stole";

46.
- a) time reference: „based on the roundtable agreements **in April**" → "odwołując się do porozumienia przy okrągłym stole";

47.
- a) time reference: "**last Sunday's** elections" → "wybory".

Very often manipulation by omission involves the deletion of just one word (Group VI omissions). It was a practice suggested to censors to be as meticulous as that. Such omissions of negative or unpopular messages conveyed by just one word were found in the corpus many times, e.g.:

9.
- a) unpopular detail: "For example, under **Comecon's** specialization arrangements Poland produces components for the Soviet aircraft industry." → „Poza tym, w ramach specjalizacji produkcji, Polska wytwarza części dla radzieckiego przemysłu samolotowego.";

14.
- a) negative message concerning the level of subsidies on food: „food prices, which are **heavily** subsidized by the Government" → "za podwyżką cen subsydiowanej przez rząd żywności";

18.
- a) some negative detail: "and Western government **credit** sanctions" → "oraz sankcje wprowadzone przez rządy zachodnie";

21.
- a) negative word concerning devastated Polish economy: „whether new credit was available so that Poland could buy spare parts and raw materials **to restore** its economy." → „uzyskania nowych kredytów na zakup części zamiennych i surowców, niezbędnych dla gospodarki narodowej";
- b) some negative detail: „Mr Krolak said Poland's ability to repay **part of** the interest would depend on" → „Radca Królak stwierdził,

że polskie możliwości spłaty w bieżącym roku odsetek będą zależeć od";

28.
- a) negative word: "**The problem** is that reducing the number of ministries" → "Redukowanie jednak liczby ministerstw";
- b) negative word: „**I**deological conservatives and bureaucrats" → "biurokraci i konserwatyści";

29.
- a) negative word: "curtailing the **central** bureaucracy" → "zmniejszający radykalnie biurokrację";

32.
- a) negative word: "that the **outlawed** Solidarity" → "że 'Solidarność'";
- b) some detail/hidden message: "to follow through **on commitments** to economic change" → "w kierunku zmian gospodarczych";
- c) some unwanted details: "Though it won a **partial** victory **over determinedly peaceful strikers**" → "Wprawdzie udało mu się zwyciężyć, ale" (here one-word meaningful omission is followed by the omission of an additional detail);

38.
- a) some detail: "After years of **political** stalemate" → "Po latach impasu";
- b) some detail: „even **senior** party officials seem to have only a murky conception" → "przedstawiciele partii mają tylko bardzo ogólną koncepcję";

39.
- a) some unwanted detail: „the **gripping** Polish upheaval of 1980-81" → „polskich wstrząsów z lat 1980-1981";

42.
- a) a negative word: "As the **secret** policeman's behavior indicates, it is already changing the psychological atmosphere" → "Jak wynika z opisanego powyżej zachowania oficera policji, już teraz reformy te zmieniają atmosferę psychologiczną.";

48.
- a) some detail: "in the name of purity of [**national**] customs" → "w imię czystości obyczajów";

49.
- a) some detail: "over the next **three** years" → "w ciągu najbliższych lat".

In cases in which whole passages are omitted (omissions of Group VII, those constituting a paragraph, but also bigger and smaller units concerning a single problem) the reason is very often a forbidden topic. Among such topics are:

- Solidarity actions and the union's performance: 23 (1 paragraph), 24 (1 paragraph), 29 (1 paragraph), 31 (1 paragraph), 32 (6 paragraphs), 34 (1 paragraph), 36 (2 paragraphs), 37 (1 paragraph), 38 (6 paragraphs), 41 (3 paragraphs), 46 (1 paragraph), 48 (1 paragraph),
- strikes: 22 (2 paragraphs), 31 (2 paragraphs), 32 (4 paragraphs), 34 (4 paragraphs), 35 (1 paragraph), 36 (1 paragraph), 38 (1 paragraph),
- the economic situation in Poland: 10 (1 paragraph), 19 (1 paragraph), 24 (7 paragraphs), 28 (3 paragraphs), 29 (2 paragraphs), 38 (3 paragraphs), 41 (1 paragraph), 48 (1 paragraph), 49 (1 paragraph),
- Soviet influence on Poland and the Eastern Bloc countries: 8 (2 paragraphs), 19 (1 paragraph), 39 (1 paragraphs), 41 (2 paragraphs), 48 (1 paragraph),
- Polish debt: 10 (1 paragraph), 13 (1 paragraph), 31 (1 paragraph), 39 (1 paragraph), 49 (1 paragraph),
- the use of violence against protesters and the threat of invasion: 8 (1 paragraph), 22 (1 paragraph),
- the person and actions of the Pope: 7 (3 paragraphs),
- facts connected with actions after the Chernobyl catastrophe in article 26 (22 paragraphs) and 27 (15 paragraphs) (for more details see Appendix D).

The other omissions modifying STs' message due to deliberate translation decisions do not constitute a fully homogenous group but are generally based on a similar idea of omitting different types of details – descriptive redundancies, glosses, comments, prognoses. They are therefore classified together as omissions of Group VIII (miscellaneous), the last group of the classification proposed (see Appendix C).

The most telling cases of manipulation concern texts in which there are parts showing little similarity of contents between the ST and the TT and when no formal equivalence is observed. There are 33 passages of this kind altogether, in texts 2, 17, 25, 30, 31, 33, 35, 40 and 45. In such cases sometimes only a suitable date of Polish publication together with a topic, or quoting the ST issue date, possibly with its author, shows the

connection between the STs and the TTs. Apart from loose content relations in the functionally equivalent parts, there might also be closer correspondence of the ST and TT messages in the other parts of some of the articles mentioned.

There are articles in which either the time reference changes together with the attitude to the events described (pre- and post-factum), as in articles 1 and 45, or the form of transfer is modified from direct quotations to the translator's review (article 33), or as in articles 17, 25, 30, 31, 35, and 40, simply the translator has his or her own view of the topic, most probably conditioned by the censorship apparatus's requirements, which makes him or her either present as individual perspective or, in some cases, rather write a new text than translate (for more details see Appendix B).

Among additions, as in the case of omissions, different groups can be formed, marked as Group I – III additions.

Table 2. Groups of additions and number of cases found

Text No.	Additions – Group I	Additions – Group II	Additions – Group III
1.		2	
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.	1		
7.			1
8.		1	
9.			
10.	2		
11.		1	
12.			
13.	2		
14.		1	
15.	1		
16.			
17.			
18.	1		
19.	1		
20.	3		

21.			
22.			1
23.			
24.	1		1
25.			11
26.			
27.			2
28.			
29.			
30.			1
31.		5	
32.			
33.			
34.	1		2
35.			
36.	2	1	
37.			
38.			
39.		1	
40.		2	2
41.	4	1	3
42.			1
43.			
44.			
45.			
46.	1		
47.	3		
48.	2		1
49.			3
50.	1		
Total	26	15	29
			70

> ➤ There are plenty of cases when a single word or expression is added to modify the meaning, which sometimes has a propaganda goal (Group I additions):

6.
- a) deictic element – time: "that for three years has hung over the world has been brought down on us." → „która przez trzy lata wisiała nad światem, spadła na nas **teraz**";

10.
- a) single word creating a pleonasm "It gives warning that despite plans for a rigorous austerity programme" → "Raport zawiera też prognozę, że mimo realizacji program surowych środków oszczędnościowych **i wyrzeczeń**";
- b) single manipulative expression: "The report is a graphic condemnation of the centralized planning and management system which 'was kept unchanged in spite of the fact that it was no longer adequate' for the size and structure of the national economy." → "Raport stanowi wyraźne potępienie systemu scentralizowanego planowania i zarządzania 'którego nie zmieniano mimo faktu, że **od dawna** był on już nieodpowiedni' dla rozmiarów i struktury gospodarki narodowej.";

13.
- a) additional message: "is owed to banks" → "należne jest bankom **handlowym**"
- b) additional message: „as banks and the general public usually assume that an **IMF programme** will be successful in restoring equilibrium to the balance of payments" → "gdyż banki a także szeroka publiczność zazwyczaj zakładają, że **realizacja aprobowanego i popieranego przez MFW programu** przyniesie sukces w postaci przywrócenia równowagi bilansu płatniczego";

15.
- a) additional message: "coal contracts" → „kontrakty **eksportowe** na węgiel";

18.
- a) single word and explanatory expression: „its role in food production" → „w związku ze znaczeniem **produkcji ciągników dla rolnictwa** i gospodarki żywnościowej";

19.
- a) single explanatory word: "and thus the impact of sanctions" → "stąd też skutki sankcji **zachodnich**";

20.
- a) additional message: "and hope he'll go away" → "mieć nadzieję, że pójdzie sobie **i zostawi nas w spokoju**";
- b) additional message: „he has seen and depicted" → "malował **wszystko i wszędzie**";

- c) additional message: "the monthly magazine" → "miesięcznika **literackiego**";

24.

- a) unimportant detail: "Poland has overcome the crisis" → "Polska przezwyciężyła kryzys **w rozumieniu tradycyjnym**";

34.

- a) some details: "the terms of debate" → „warunki debaty **między komunistycznym kierownictwem a społeczeństwem";**

36.

- a) additional message: "unacceptable to Solidarity leaders" → "nie do przyjęcia dla **Lecha Wałęsy i innych wieloletnich** przywódców 'Solidarności'";
- b) unimportant detail: „for compromise" → „do **prowadzenia rozmów** kompromisu";

41.

- a) explanatory element: "Austerity will be needed to reverse the disastrous economic decline" → **"Rząd oczekuje od 'Solidarności' poparcia** dla nieuniknionego program zaciskania pasa oraz odwrócenia katastrofalnego – **jak się wydaje** – pogarszania się sytuacji.";
- b) explanatory element/some detail: „without a recurrence of the kind of labor unrest that dragged the sides to the negotiating table last August." → „**Władze komunistyczne nie chcą** nawrotu tego rodzaju protestów robotniczych, które w sierpniu, **po raz pierwszy od 7 lat,** skłoniły obie strony do podjęcia rokowań.";
- c) some detail: "Of the many accords agreed to" → "**Mimo to**, spośród licznych porozumień podpisanych **w wyniku ośmiu tygodni rozmów**";
- d) some detail: „the economic measures seem to be the weakest link in the plan for reviving Poland." → „pociągnięcia gospodarcze są bodaj najsłabszym punktem spośród **nielicznych szczegółów** planu odnowy";

46.

- a) an important detail: „The Eastern Bloc's first elected parliamentary opposition party" → "w pierwszą w bloku wschodnim **legalnie** wybraną partię opozycyjną";

47.

- a) "to avoid a democratic result" → "uniknięcie **w pełni** demokratycznego wyniku";
- b) some detail: „wearing a Solidarity badge" → „z odznaką 'Solidarności' **na piersi**";

- c) some detail: „Solidarity's newly-elected deputies" → „nowo wybranej **frakcji** posłów 'Solidarności'";

48.

- a) some detail: „Understandably, Solidarity is riding a crest of euphoria" → "jednak Solidarność – co jest zrozumiałe – przeżywa euforię **po wyborach**";
- b) some introductory detail: „industrial unrest may again erupt, with Solidarity finding it impossible to resist workers' demands" → "w zakładach pracy znów mogą wybuchnąć protesty. **Tym razem** 'Solidarność' może uznać za niemożliwe opieranie się robotniczym żądaniom";

50.

- a) some detail: „not necessarily large-scale aid" → "chociaż niekoniecznie masowej pomocy **zagranicznej**".

➢ But the most of the manipulative power may be attributed to longer additions (Group II). They are the translators' or censors' concepts how to summarize the text in order to have an influence on the reader:

➢

1.

- a) paragraph on de Gaulle's support for Poland concerning the Odra-Nysa border: "To, że premier Cyrankiewicz […] nawiązał do poparcia udzielonego 6 lat temu na rzecz trwałości zachodnich granic Polski przez gospodarza przyjęcia - zostało źle odebrane w Zachodnich Niemczech. Chociaż to nawiązanie nie było zaskoczeniem, podziałało tam, jak zimny dreszcz, tym bardziej, że działo się to pod koniec kampanii wyborczej i w chwili, kiedy na przyjaźń francusko-niemiecką spadły już liczne inne ciosy.";
- b) paragraph on de Gaulle's support for Poland concerning the Odra-Nysa border: „Wymienił to, co wydawałoby się i wydaje się obecnie zasadniczym elementem wszelkiego porozumienia z krajami wschodniej Europy.";

8.

- a) prognosis: "nie zda również egzaminu odprężenia w Europie, i to na daleką, dającą się przewidzieć przyszłość";

11.

- a) propaganda message as the concluding paragraph: „Rozmowy – dodaje się w komunikacie – potwierdziły solidarność Komunistycznej Partii Związku Radzieckiego z wysiłkami Polskiej Zjednoczonej

Partii Robotniczej. Pomaga to ustabilizować sytuację w Polsce i przyczynia się do obrony 'podstawowych wartości socjalizmu'.";

14.

- a) introductory comment on the contents of the whole column;

31.

Manipulative comments:

- a) "Nie można pozbyć się obawy, że być może wolny związek zawodowy, podejmując swą akcję nie w porę, zranił się śmiertelnie.";
- b) „Jednakże na łamy prasy powróciły dobrze znane nazwy, łącznie ze stalownią w Nowej Hucie, fabryką traktorów w Ursusie, a nade wszystko stocznią Lenina w Gdańsku, gdzie narodziła się „Solidarność", a gdzie tym razem się poddała i wymaszerowała bez honorów wojskowych, zachowując niewiele więcej ponad swą godność.";
- c) "Lech Wałęsa […] przybył – zbyt późno – by nalegać na zachowanie ostrożności, mówiąc, że akcja protestacyjna mogłaby być rzeczą roztropniejszą niż strajk, któremu nie chciał przewodzić, wiedział bowiem, że nie było masowego poparcia.";
- d) „Demonstracja nie pociągnęłaby za sobą ryzyka niepowodzenia czy też pokazania, że wpływy „Solidarności" są szczątkowe.";
- e) „Strajki w symbolicznych zakładach w całym kraju wyraźnie stanowiły próbę ponownego rozniecenia hubki, która tak spektakularnie rozpaliła się w roku 1980.";

36.

- a) „Jerzy Wiatr, politolog i działacz partii powiedział: 'Jeżeli „Solidarność" nie zgodzi się na przejście przez wszystkie etapy kontrolowanego procesu likwidacji i będzie się upierać przy natychmiastowym skoku do systemu pełnego pluralizmu, rezultaty będą fatalne. „Solidarność" musi ustalić listę priorytetów dotyczących jej celów. Jeżeli bowiem będzie chciała od razu uzyskać wszystko, to najprawdopodobniej nie uzyska niczego.'";

39.

- a) introductory comment: "Pragniemy zwrócić uwagę wymagających Czytelników, że nasze pismo podejmuje próbę wypełnienia luki, jaką stanowi okoliczność, iż w niewystarczającym stopniu prasa nasza zajmuje się problemami krajów socjalistycznych, choć odbywają się tam procesy o znaczeniu nie tylko wewnętrznym lecz również światowym. Będziemy zwłaszcza, w miarę możliwości, prezentować materiały dotyczące przemian, reform, konkretnych rozwiązań oraz

inicjatyw, by ułatwić lepsze poznanie sytuacji i kierunku działania, motorów i hamulców rozwoju tych krajów. Ta rubryka obejmie przede wszystkim kraje Europy Wschodniej, ale tematyka ZSRR będzie referowana na dotychczasowej zasadzie. Ten nowy, utrzymany w stylu „ECH POLSKICH" dział posiadać będzie roboczą nazwę „ECHA NIE TYLKO POLSKIE" i powinien okazać się pewnego rodzaju PODNOSZENIEM KURTYNY, jaka częściowo przesłania scenę, na której toczy się działalność państw socjalistycznych.";

40.
- a) introduction: "Wieści z Warszawy mogłyby być zdumiewające, gdyby nie to, że zdumiewające zaczęliśmy uważać za oczywiste";
- b) summary in bold: „**Ostatecznie jest to w końcu historyczny kompromis, a nie zwycięstwo. Dopóki nie przywróci się powszechnego zaufania, zarówno Wałęsa jak i Jaruzelski będą generałami bez armii**.";

41.
- a) comment: "not to agitate or irritate, but to seek understanding for the Polish reforms" → „'nie po to, by agitować czy irytować, lecz by szukać zrozumienia dla polskich reform', **tak, jak gdyby osiągnięte porozumienie wykraczało poza to, że Michaił Gorbaczow zechce lub będzie mógł przełknąć".**

➢ There are also some additions pasted into the texts that are meant to "educate" the society (Group III
additions). These include:

7.
- a) quotation from *Le Monde* on the political talks between the Pope and the French President: "Według prezydenta Republiki Francuskiej jego rozmowa z papieżem dotyczyła między innymi problemów Bliskiego Wschodu, kontynentu afrykańskiego, stosunków Wschód-Zachód i kwestii nierówności. Papież - oświadczył prezydent Giscard d' Estaing - wykazał również zrozumienie dla niedawnej wizyty w Warszawie i wyraził aprobatę dla jej ducha. Zdaniem prezydenta, Jan Paweł II zgadza się z analizą szefa państwa francuskiego dotyczącą napięć w świecie i konieczności uczynienia wszystkiego, co możliwe, aby zapewnić pokój." (Le Monde 1-2 VI);

22.
- a) additional message: "as an independent trade union may be as alive as ever in most people's minds" → "idee niezależnego

związku zawodowego, **które legły u jej podstaw** są wciąż żywe w umysłach ludzi";

24.

- a) additional message: "a conference sponsored by" →
  „konferencji **dziennikarskiej odbywającej się z udziałem
  przedstawicieli 26 krajów**";

25.

Comments and details, of propaganda nature, not included in the ST:

- a) „Generał Jaruzelski podjął krok historyczny decydując się na";
- b) "Ubrany w mundur z dziesięcioma rzędami baretek, odegrał swą
  rolę z wiarą w siebie i niemal bezbłędnie. Subtelnie radził sobie z
  wieloma trudnymi pytaniami i ostrożnie sterował między troską o
  obecnych na sali dziennikarzy socjalistycznych a troską o
  dziennikarzy zachodnich.";
- c) „Nałożywszy zamiast zwykle noszonych ciemnych okularów
  szkła przejrzyste";
- d) „i zaakcentował, iż jest tak «nie dlatego, że ktoś za granicą życzy
  sobie takiego trybu postępowania, lecz dlatego, że…odpowiada to
  naszym kanonom moralnym i prawnym i…że wymaga tego interes
  i potrzeba naszego państwa».";
- e) „Realizm jest ulubionym słowem generała, który jawi nam się
  jako pragmatyk, którego główną troską jest ochrona interesów
  narodowych Polski. Generał wspomniał o polskiej partii
  komunistycznej, ale podkreślił sojusz Polski ze Związkiem
  Radzieckim i jej uczestnictwo w Układzie Warszawskim jako
  istotny warunek pokoju i stabilizacji Europy. Stale powracał do
  tezy, że Polska z racji swojego położenia geograficznego i swej
  historii ma do odegrania w Europie kluczową rolę. Bez Polski i jej
  «tradycyjnej roli» - powiedział generał – poprawa stosunków
  Wschód – Zachód jest niemożliwa.";
- f) „W tym wspaniałym wnętrzu rozsadzono dziennikarzy wzdłuż
  czterech długich stołów. Za stołem ustawionym przy jednej ze
  ścian widniała niewielka sylwetka generała.";
- g) „Po godzinie odpowiedzi z przygotowanych notatek na pytania
  złożone wcześniej na piśmie, generał zdecydował się zwrócić o
  pytania z Sali. Czy popełnił jakiś błąd w pełnych zamętu trzech
  latach sprawowania władzy? Tak. «Błędów i potknięć nie
  zamierzamy ukrywać». Otwarcie je omawiamy i wyciągamy z nich
  naukę. Ale strategia – podkreślił generał – była słuszna, «natomiast
  faktycznie wiele…rozwiązań mogło być bardziej udanych». Czy
  uważa, że zachodnioniemieckie dążenia odwetowe stanowią istotne

zagrożenie pokoju? Pytanie postawił jeden z dziennikarzy radzieckich. Naturalnie «żaden Polak nie może być obojętny wobec wysuwanych przez pewne koła w Niemczech wezwań do rewizji europejskiego *status quo*». ”;

- h) „Rzucił też bezpośrednie wyzwanie Zachodowi: «jest kwestią politycznego wyboru czy…Polskę, jej rząd uważa się za tymczasowy, przejściowy», wtedy nie ma o czym mówić, czy też uważa się go «za jedynego możliwego partnera» - wtedy jesteśmy gotowi do konstruktywnych rozmów. Sprawa polska, podobnie jak sprawa niemiecka, jest już załatwiona. Dał on do zrozumienia, że systemu socjalistycznego nie uda się podważyć. Wypowiedzi generała były też pomyślane jako wskazówka dla przyszłych wizyt ministrów państw Zachodu. Nie powinni się oni spotykać i rozmawiać «z panem X» czy też «panem Y» - generał starannie unikał wymieniania nazwisk. Niektóre grupy – powiedział – odnoszą się wrogo do politycznego kształtu Europy, z nimi «porozumienia nie szukamy». Goście z zagranicy nie powinni zakładać, że grupy te mają cokolwiek wspólnego z polską rzeczywistością. Zapytany ile czasu będzie wymagać osiągnięcie narodowego porozumienia, odpowiedział: nie wiem ”;

- i) „Zwrócił też uwagę na działanie nowych związków zawodowych.”;

- j) „Generał Jaruzelski przyznał, że Polacy produkują mniej i żyją gorzej niż w 1979 r., ale dodał, że kryzys gospodarczy uruchomił dążenie do reformy gospodarczej i do starań o przekształcenie słabości kraju w jego siłę. Jednakże «nie …możemy zrozumieć krajów wierzycielskich (…), że zamiast rozwijać …stosunki gospodarcze, pozwalające nam szybciej długi te spłacić, postępują tak, jak gdyby spłaty miały nastąpić nie wiadomo kiedy».”;

- k) „Przedstawił on pogląd, że sankcje zastosowane przez Zachód pomogą Polsce właściwie ocenić siłę jej sojuszu ze Związkiem Radzieckim i pozostałymi krajami obozu socjalistycznego. «Są to partnerzy solidni…którzy szanują nasze suwerenne prawo, byśmy…rozwiązywali nasze polskie problemy. Daje nam to oparcie …(i) poczucie pewności». Odnosiło się wrażenie, że niektórzy dziennikarze radzieccy, obecni w Jabłonnie, uważają, że spotkanie Reagan – Czernienko staje się realną możliwością. Generał Jaruzelski podkreślił, że «jesteśmy oczywiście szczerze zainteresowani powodzeniem rokowań amerykańsko-radzieckich. Wiemy jak wiele dla pokoju świata zależy od ich wyniku».”;

27.

- a) "Gale said today." → "**Dr Gale został przyjęty 15 maja przez radzieckiego przywódcę Michaiła Gorbaczowa**. Dr Gale powiedział";
- b) „when an explosion occured at 1:23 a.m." → „kiedy to o godz. 1.23 w nocy nastąpiła eksplozja. **Według radzieckich środków przekazu do akcji tuż po awarii przystąpiło ponad 50 strażaków**.";

30.
- a) the information on the national referendum leading to the reforms and prices rise (the target information is equivalent to the contents of the original article in one sentence only);

34.
- a) some factual knowledge: "that toppled communist party leaders Wladyslaw Gomulka and Edward Gierek" → "które doprowadziło do obalenia dwu przywódców partii komunistycznej – Władysława Gomułki **w 1970 r**. i Edwarda Gierka **w 1980 roku**";
- b) some factual knowledge: „pictures of the Polish-born pope and the Black Madonna, Poland's most venerated religious icon" → "oraz portrety papieża-Polaka **Jana Pawła II** i **kopie obrazu** Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej, najbardziej czczonej w Polsce";

40.
- a) „The Sejm is to amend the law" → „Obecnie podpisano pakiet porozumień […], **przywrócenie do pracy tych, których zwolniono za działalność związkową po 1981 r., licencjonowany dziennik opozycyjny o nakładzie pół miliona egzemplarzy – oraz okienko w telewizji - i wspólne podejście do kryzysu gospodarczego. I nie jest to kompletna lista. Jedyny głos niezadowolenia rozległ się ze strony oficjalnych związków (OPZZ), które czują się zawiedzione**.";
- b) whole paragraph on Gomułka's alliance with Khrushchev to keep his power: „Telewizja moskiewska dodała pewien historyczny - i na czasie – kontekst, oznajmiając tego samego dnia o publikacji tajnego przemówienia Chruszczowa z 1956 r. (na XX zjeździe KPZR – przyp. FORUM). Przemówienie to było sygnałem wielkich, lecz fałszywych nadziei na nowy początek w Europie Wschodniej, jak fatalnie zakończony dla Węgrów i niemal tak samo dla Polaków. Gomułka wykorzystał strajkujących robotników, by powrócić do władzy, po czym ułożył się z Chruszczowem i wołanie o nowy system polityczny skierował w reformistyczne kształty. Bojowość robotnicza odżyła w 1970 r., gdy polscy robotnicy z Gdańska doprowadzili do upadku Gomułki.

W pewnym stopniu oddano sprawiedliwość męczennikom poznańskim z czerwca 1956 r.";

41.
- a) some detail: „The key impetus to all this change was certainly the decaying economy, which Mr.
- Walesa described on Feb. 6 as 'ruined'" → "Kluczowym bodźcem wszystkich przemian była rozpadająca się gospodarka, którą **w swym wystąpieniu po otwarciu obrad okrągłego stołu** (6 lutego) Wałęsa przedstawił jako 'zrujnowaną'.";
- b) some detail: "But the most tentative question is just how Moscow will react." → "Najbardziej dręczącą jednak kwestią jest to jak **w miarę nasilania się żądań o poszerzenie demokracji** będzie reagowała Moskwa.";
- c) descriptive detail: "It is not clear what effect the sweeping steps in Poland will have" → "Nikt nie wie, jaki efekt w krajach bloku wschodniego będą miały zakrojone na szeroką skalę przedsięwzięcia **uzgodnione w kraju, który jest największym sojusznikiem Moskwy.**";

42.
- a) some detail: „He was speaking to leaders of the NSZ students union" → "Powiedział **to podczas spotkania z** przywódcami studenckiej organizacji NSZ";

48.
- a) negative message concerning the refusal to vote for communist candidates: "and in the new Senate, 92 out of the 100 seats will be held by men and women elected on the Solidarity ticket." → „w których kandydaci opozycji zagarnęli prawie wszystkie miejsca w Senacie **i w których wyborcy odrzucili 33 kandydatury wyższych osobistości komunistycznych i rządowych, ubiegających się o wybór do Sejmu bez konkurentów**.";

49.
- a) some detail: „[stworzono by fundusze powiernicze zajmujące się obsługą zadłużenia kraju] – ich szefów – mających prawo decyzji o odsprzedaży tych akcji – mianowaliby wierzyciele";
- b) some detail: „[oraz związanie złotego z Europejską Jednostką Walutową] po realistycznym kursie";
- c) time reference: „in mid-July" → "w połowie lipca **bieżącego roku**".

One of the most common techniques of manipulation is to make substitutions. In the corpus analysed in many cases substitutions seem

deliberately meant to distort the original meaning. It is most evident when "regime" becomes *ustrój*, a neutral equivalent for the word though it is stated about Jaruzelski's regime, "warning" is translated as *prognoza* ("prognosis") or is changed to the verb *przewidywać* ("forecast"), "labour strike" is referred to as *zaburzenie społeczne* ("social disorder"), and matters concerning the explosion in Chernobyl nuclear power station are described in such a way as not to reveal too many indications of nuclear disaster and lack of response on the part of the Soviet officials.

The most influential cases of substitutions are those having an intentional distortive effect on the target message, like:

3.
- a) "agonised reluctance" → "wyraźne wahania";

5.
- a) "and the two sides have **quietly agreed** to postpone the talks" → "obie strony podjęły **zgodną decyzję**, aby przesunąć negocjacje";

6.
- a) "at the inexpressible and **wanton** folly of it."→ „będąc świadom tego, iż jest ona rezultatem **bezmyślności** i szaleństwa, które trudno wyrazić słowami";

10.
- substitutions for the word "warning" (3 cases):
- a) "It **gives warning** that despite plans for a rigorous austerity programme" → "Raport **zawiera też prognozę**, że mimo realizacji program surowych środków oszczędnościowych i wyrzeczeń";
- b) "It projects […] and **gives a warning** that the import […] will be eliminated altogether"→ "W dokumencie powyższym **przewiduje się [**…] a także całkowite wstrzymanie importu";
- c) "authorities **give warning** that only families with lowest incomes can expect full compensations" → "to jednak **przewiduje się**, że pełną rekompensatę otrzymają jedynie rodziny o najniższych dochodach.";

14.
- a) "Poland deserves more than […] **erratic sympathy**" → „Polska zasługuje na coś więcej niż […] **przelotną sympatię**";

19.
- a) „but the second half of the battle **ahead of the Jaruzelski regime** will be far tougher" → "jednakże druga część batalii będzie **dla rządu Jaruzelskiego** znacznie trudniejsza";

22.
- a) "an impression of **more force than necessary**" → "użyła **siły na większą skalę**";

24.
- a) „Polish authorities were vigorously investigating '**the hideous crime**,' which he said had done a lot of damage to us." → „władze prowadzą energiczne śledztwo w sprawie tego '**haniebnego czynu'**, który – jak powiedział – 'wyrządził nam ogromne szkody'";

26.
- a) „the Chernobyl **nuclear disaster**" → „katastrofy w czernobylskiej **elektrowni**"
- b) „one of **the most life-threatening** consequences of exposure to intense radiation" → "jedną **z najgroźniejszych** konsekwencji intensywnego napromieniowania";
- c) „**Without any preparation**, Soviet doctors" → "**Szybkie połączenie** zespołu radzieckich lekarzy";
- d) „not only an **unlikely** alliance but also" → "nie tylko **nietypowy** sojusz, lecz";
- e) "was the rapid **deterioration** of blood" → "wystąpienie nagłych **zmian** krwi";

34.
- a) "breaking **the most serious outbreak of labor strike** here" → "opanowania **najpoważniejszych zaburzeń społecznych** w Polsce";

43.
- a) "the **disgraced** Gomulka" → "Zrehabilitował **pognębionego** Gomułkę" (for more examples – see Appendix B).

There are also cases worth mentioning of the use of attenuations (12 cases classified). They have a specific power to sooth meanings which might be undesirable, e.g.:

19.
- a) "that **Poland's farmers distrust them so much** that they have been hoarding grain" → "że **władze wojskowe w Polsce są nieprzyjemnie zaskoczone postawą chłopów**, którzy chomikują zboże";
- b) „the economy **continues to sink**" → "sytuacja gospodarcza **będzie się w dalszym ciągu pogarszać";**

46.
- a) "from **the regime** as well" → "ze strony **rządu**";

47.

-   a) "to comment on **the regime**" → "wypowiedzenia się na temat **ustroju**".

The remaining cases of manipulation through the use of different techniques, less interesting from the perspective of ST distortion and not mentioned by theorists as being among the most manipulative ways to deliberately change ST meaning, can be found in detail in Appendix B.

The number and proportion among the manipulative techniques (excluding omissions of editorial features) can be observed in the following diagram.
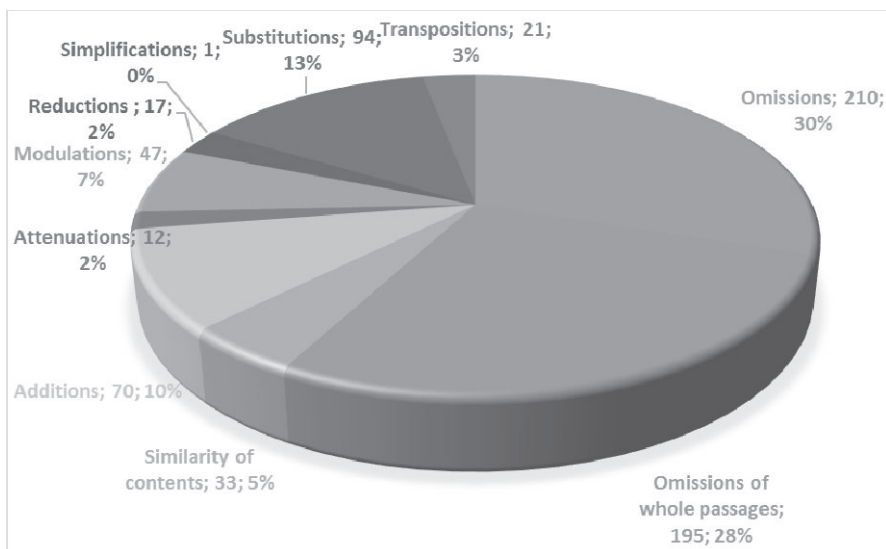

Fig. 3. Manipulative techniques

1.2.2. Neutral techniques

The most characteristic neutral techniques selected in the analyses are stylistic and functional omissions – 42, stylistic and functional additions – 37, adaptations – 2, amplifications – 1, archaisms – 1, diffusions – 1, explicitations - 68, hypernyms (superordinates) – 6, naturalisations – 3, and paraphrases – 5.

They are interesting for their kind and number, and also in comparison with the manipulative techniques, but do not constitute the main concern

of the research study, so they will not be further analysed. The number and proportion of the neutral techniques are exemplified by the diagram below.
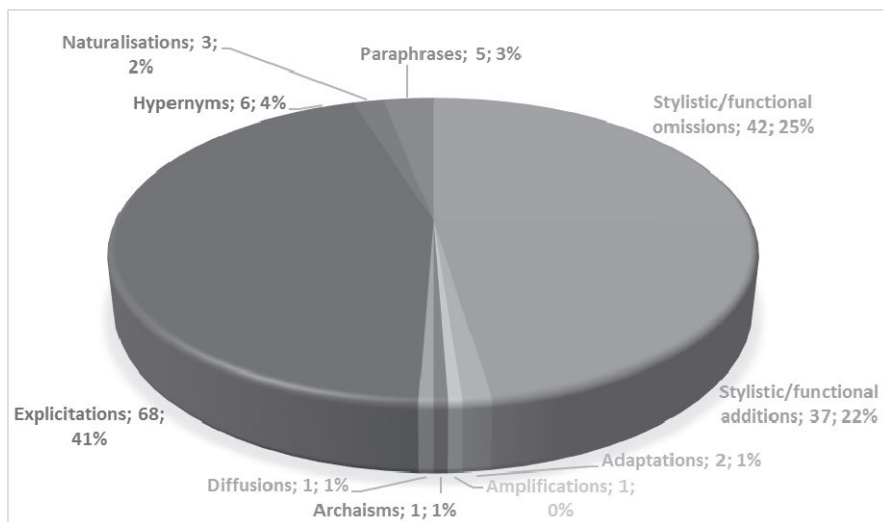

Fig.4. Neutral techniques

The numerous explicitations are an interesting case, worth a more detailed reference. They are said to be a natural tendency of translators, and also of interpreters – both as a conscious strategy and as a by-product (Gumul 2006: 175-177), and in the connection with the corpus study they might be evidence that explicit references for informative or merely linguistic reasons are a naturally applied type of written message transfer and a neutral technique, used especially if it concerns difficult political and economic topics that have to be dealt with in an instructive way (for more details see Appendix B).

1.3 Linguistic means used to render ideological contents

The techniques used to manipulate translations of original western press articles described in the preceding sections do not constitute the whole image of ideological influence on the reader planned by the censors and forced on translators. Some attention must be paid to propaganda tools executed within the language itself, not due to the use of translation techniques but accompanying them and expressed through the means of Newspeak. The use of some linguistic features developed by the

communist propaganda contributes to the way TTs are perceived by the reader.

First and foremost, it must be borne in mind that after choosing a particular technique applied to some part of the ST other than those eliminating its contents, translators were not free of language features that were of propagandic nature, either forced on them or simply acquired unconsciously due to the overwhelming influence of the language style in that epoch. This style had to infiltrate the language of translators even if it had not been imposed by censors. That is why so many cases of Newspeak occur in the analysed texts even in the last period of censorship organs' activity, when their power was weakened compared with the years of censorship flourishing.

How these features shape the language of *Forum* articles and how powerful the language is will be the concern of this section. It will also be reasonable to try to locate the language in the periods of censorship activity to judge if there are any observable differences between the texts in different periods of publication.

As has already been stated in Chapter 3, three periods of the People's Republic of Poland have been enumerated, conditioned by different kinds of influence of the communist regime on freedom of thought and styles of propaganda language:

- 1945-1956 – Stalin's dictatorship, ideology and communist system crystallization and publishing market restraints,
- 1956–1981 – ideologization of publications, thinking, and religious attitudes, emergence of the "second circulation" publishing (since 1976 – Bates 2004: 141),
- 1981-1989 – more liberal attitude to second circulation publishing, but also attempts to preserve the communist system.

As the publication of *Forum* began in 1965 only two of these periods can be considered here in regard to influence on language. To be precise, the two periods and the articles published in them should be analysed separately and some analogies or contrasts should be pointed out. But in fact, there are not many traits showing reasons for such a differentiation and it seems most practical to discuss the Newspeak elements in *Forum* translations without respect to this periodicity.

No such rule as the prevailing measure of propaganda features in language was observed in the 2nd period group, to which only 7 articles can be ascribed (see the list of articles in Introduction). On the contrary – more Newspeak features can be spotted in the articles published in the 3rd

period, which may be also due to their extended length. The fact that the number of translations from the western press in the 2nd period is few and the translations are shorter can possibly be connected with the activity of the censorship apparatus. All in all, as is shown below, the number of Newspeak features in the translated articles is comparable in all periods, or even grows in number with period 3. There are 135 observed cases of Newspeak features found in the analysed Polish texts. Their number in particular articles and represented types are as follows:

Article 4. (number of Newspeak attributes: 1)
    Names-labels (1)
    5. (4)
    Names-labels (4)
    7. (3)
    Nominalizations (1)
    Names-labels (2)
    8. (3)
    One-word names-labels (2)
    Subject-predicate inversions (1)
    9. (1)
    Names-labels (1)
    10. (1)
    Markers of universality (1)
    11. (4)
    Names-labels (2)
    Subject-predicate inversions (1)
    Majority quantifiers (1)
    12. (4)
    Names-labels (1)
    Military metaphors (1)
    Metaphors (1)
    Post-position of attributes (1)
    13. (2)
    Military metaphors (2)
    14. (7)
    Names-labels (3)
    Nominalizations (4)
    15. (3)
    Post-position of attributes in names (2)
    Nominalizations (1)

17. (7)
Names-labels (6)
Military metaphors (1)
18. (1)
Names-labels (1)
19. (4)
Names-labels (2)
Military metaphors (1)
Metaphors (1)
20. (1)
Names-labels (1)
22. (4)
Subject-predicate inversion (1)
Names-labels (2)
23. (1)
Names-labels (1)
24. (5)
Names-labels (2)
Inversion of an attribute (1)
Nominalizations (2)
25. (7)
Names-labels (5)
Post-position of verbal structure in the connection with an object (1)
Possessive adjective – 1st person plural *nasz* (1)
28. (3)
Names-labels (1)
Nominalizations (2)
29. (1)
Nominalizations (1)
31. (4)
Military metaphors (1)
One-word names-labels (1)
Periphrases – labels (2)
32. (2)
Military metaphors (1)
Inversive structures (1)
34. (1)
Periphrases (1)
35. (3)
Military metaphors (2)
Names-labels (1)

37. (3)
Metaphors (of a wave) (1)
Markers of universality (1)
Stylistically marked plurals (1)
38. (3)
Pleonasms of propaganda nature (1)
Military metaphors (1)
Nominalizations (1)
39. (4)
Names-labels (3)
Markers of universality (1)
40. (2)
Military metaphor (1)
Names-labels (1)
41. (1)
Names-labels (1)
42. (7)
Military metaphors (1)
Metaphors (2)
Names-labels (2)
Nominalizations (2)
43. (3)
Names-labels (2)
Nominalizations (1)
45. (13)
Inversions (2)
Post-position of an attribute (1)
Metaphorical structures (military metaphors, road metaphors) (5)
Names-labels (3)
Inclusive "we" (2)
46. (1)
Names-labels (1)
47. (5)
Names-labels (2)
Metaphors (3)
48. (4)
Names-labels (1)
Nominalizations (1)
Metaphors (2)
49. (7)
Inversions (1)

Post position of an adjective (3)
Military metaphors (1)
Nominalizations (2)
50. (5)
Names-labels (2)
Metaphors (1)
Nominalizations (2)

The most often found Newspeak features are names-labels (56), metaphors, mainly of a war, road, and wave (29), and nominalizations (20). There are also 17 cases of different types of inversions, 4 cases of inclusive 1ˢᵗ person plural pronouns and apart from the enumerated Newspeak features, there can be also markers of universality (3), periphrases – labels (3), majority quantifiers (1), pleonasms of propaganda nature (1), and stylistically marked plurals (1).

Even if some features of *nowomowa* are not numerous, their presence shows tendencies in the language and reflects around half of all the types of features of grammar and lexis typical of propaganda language described in Chapter 3.

Obviously, the most characteristic and attention-getting examples have been elicited in the analyses, but they show not only that the language of translations is rooted in communist language habits, but also that the rules of Newspeak are applied in a consistent way.

The whole collection of Newspeak elements consists of:

➢ Names-labels/established phrases (56):

4.
-   „but to help **bring East and West together**" → „lecz by dopomóc **w zbliżeniu między Wschodem a Zachodem**";
5.
-   "West Germany" → "NRF" (3x);
-   "**informed sources** here" → "**dobrze poinformowane źródła** bońskie";
7.
-   "kwestii nierówności";
-   „dotyczącą napięć w świecie";
8.
-   „Zachód", „Zachodu";
9.
-   "best-case scenarios" → "scenariusza sukcesu";

11.
- „the Russians" → „strona radziecka";
- „the Government" – „władze";

12.
- „is a problem **for the future**" → "jest problemem **na jutro**";

14.
- "elements of political pluralism" → „elementów **pluralizmu politycznego**";
- „party officials" → „funkcjonariuszy partyjnych";
- „by hardliners in the party" → „przez partyjną konserwę";

17.
- "Twardogłowych";
- "grupę nacisku";
- funkcjonariusze partyjni, stara gwardia: "w samej partii nie będzie miejsca dla zasiedziałych **funkcjonariuszy partyjnych starej gwardii**";
- twarda linia: „Po stronie zwolenników twardej linii";
- „załamanie prawa i ładu publicznego";

18.
- „the 16,000-strong labour force **in the huge complex**" →"16-tysięczna załoga **tego olbrzymiego kombinatu przemysłowego**";

19.
- „as officials like to say"→ "jak lubią to określać **czynniki oficjalne**";
- „of economic pluralism" → „pluralizmu ekonomicznego";

20.
- "art establishment" → "establishment świata sztuki";

22.
- "the "law-and-order" forces" → „siły porządku i prawa";
- „that the authorities have the means to contain these youth" → "że **władze rozporządzają środkami pohamowania** takiej młodzieży";

23.
- „the Polish regime senior sources here believe" → "w kołach półoficjalnych panuje przekonanie";

24.
- "other western countries" → "innymi **krajami Zachodu**";
- „speaking about East-West relations" → "Mówiąc o **stosunkach Wschód-Zachód**";

25.
- „krok historyczny";

- „zagrożenie pokoju";
- „pewne koła";
- „porozumienie";
- „Zachód";

28.
- "and abolition of the *nomenklatura*" → "o likwidacji nomenklatury";

31.
- "nomenklatura",

35.
- „marnotrawstwem i **brakiem wydajności**";

39.
- "motorów i hamulców rozwoju";
- „alarmed **officials**" → „zaniepokojone **koła oficjalne**";
- „clashes with Bonn" → „**starć na linii** Bonn-Waszyngton";

40.
- "pakiet porozumień";

41.
- "hard-line allies" → "twardolinijnych sojuszników";

42.
- „explained the costs to the election committee" → "przedstawił komitetowi wyborczemu (opozycji) **wielkość kosztów";**
- "well-known establishment names" → "dobrze znanym postaciom establishmentu";

43.
- "a farm labourer" → "robotnica rolna";
- "Communist colleagues" → "towarzyszami partyjnymi";

45.
- „możliwość «całkowitego **pluralizmu politycznego**»";
- „Jedyną możliwością jest **dialog i kompromis**";
- „Mamy zdecydowaną wolę przeprowadzenia **dalekosiężnych reform**";

46.
- "from its own a**pparatchiks**" → "ze strony swoich własnych **aparatczyków**";

47.
- "a pillar of the establishment" → "filarem establishment" (naturalisation);
- "a **hardline** counterthrust" → "kontruderzenia **zwolenników twardej linii**";

48.
- "to the defection of **party hard-liners**" → "do dezercji **zwolenników twardej linii**";

50.
- "bureaucracy" → "apparat biurokratyczny";
- "the nomenklatura" → "nomenklatura".

➢ Metaphors (18 + 11):

• Military:

12.
- „organizacji lokalnych, które uparcie bronią interesów partyzanckich";

13.
- "that a similar exercise will be necessary" → "że podobna **operacja** będzie niezbędna";
- "if the Soviet Union were **to invade** Poland the chances of such an agreement would be suddenly reduced to zero." → "gdyby Związek Radziecki miał **interweniować**, to szanse tego porozumienia spadłyby natychmiast do zera.";

17.
- „W efekcie przyniósł raczej zwarcie szeregów partii niż ich rozbicie.";

19.
- „but the **second half of the battle ahead of the Jaruzelski regime** will be far tougher" → "jednakże **druga część batalii** będzie **dla rządu Jaruzelskiego** znacznie trudniejsza";

31.
- "Nie można pozbyć się obawy, że być może wolny związek zawodowy, podejmując swą akcję nie w porę, **zranił się śmiertelnie**.";

32.
- "poniedziałkowy **apel** '**Soliarności**'";

35.
- "bo w przeciwnym razie, jak to ujął Wałęsa i półgłosem powtórzyło wielu przedstawicieli władzy, będzie '**krwawa rewolucja**'";
- "Rozmowy na temat **pojednania** muszą zakończyć się s**ukcesem**";

38.
- "and made it both **a chronic trouble spot and testing point** of the Soviet Bloc" → "zarówno **miejscem wstrząsów jak i poligonem** w bloku radzieckim";

40.
- „zarówno Wałęsa jak i Jaruzelski będą generałami bez armii";

42.
- "in providing **the campaign's infantry**" → "w zapewnianiu (opozycyjnej **kampanii) wyborczej niezbędnej 'piechoty'**";

45.
- „Nie jest to **eksplozja miłości** do opozycji";
- „pomimo **rewolucji wyborczej** z 4 czerwca";
- „Nie można rozwiązać problemu bez udziału wszystkich **sił społecznych i politycznych.**";

47.
- "was more a pistol duel with dummy bullets **than the High Noon**" → „były tu raczej pojedynkiem na ślepe naboje, **a nie na ostre**";
- "they **stuck to their guns**"→ "**nie odstąpili od swego stanowiska**";

49.
- „**wybuchowych politycznie** wyrzeczeń".
- Other metaphors (of a wave, road and others):

12.
- "to break the hold of their bigger brothers" → "by podzielić się władzą ze swymi silniejszymi braćmi";

19.
- "this is even before western trade sanctions had time to bite" → "zanim jeszcze zachodnie sankcje ekonomiczne zaczęły naprawdę doskwierać";

37.
- "to deal with a spate of strikes" → "za środek rozładowania **fali strajków**";

42.
- „Have acted as Lech Walesa's advisory committee agreed **to front** the election campaign for Solidarity" → "działająca dotąd jako komitet doradczy Lecha Wałęsy, zgodziła się **dać swój szyld** kampanii wyborczej";
- „for the **man in the street**" → "dla **szarego człowieka**";

45.
- „W swoim pierwszym wywiadzie, a zarazem pierwszym komentarzu po wyborach generał Jaruzelski powiedział: «Jesteśmy

zdecydowani **iść dalej tą drogą** wspierając się na szerokiej umowie na rzecz reform»";
- „ponieważ podkreśla słuszność **naszej drogi reform**";

47.
- "Michnik […] replies in kind" → "Michnik […] odpowiada pięknym za nadobne";

48.
- "how to combine economic progress **with a heavy dose of austerity.**" → „jak połączyć postęp w gospodarce **z zaciskaniem pasa**";
- „unwilling to be seen **as pulling the party's chestnuts out of the fire**" → "nie chcąc widzieć się **w roli ratownika partii**";

50.
- "trying to pick up the pieces" → "perspektywa zbierania później rozbitych skorup".

➢ Nominalizations (20):

7.
- „**teaching** children the new style catechism" → „którzy ochoczo **prowadzą** z dziećmi **lekcje** katechizmu";

14.
- "It deserves **to be admired**" → „Zasługuje ona na **podziw**";
- "It **is attempting to graft**" → "oznacza to **próbę zaszczepienia**";
- „that **sacrifices** and work" → „że **obowiązek poświęceń** i pracy";
- „began **to collaborate**" → „zaczęły **współpracę**";

15.
- "This was the main reason why exports to the West **had dropped**" → "że jest to główna przyczyna **spadku** eksportu polskiego na Zachód";

24.
- "his country **wanted to repair** its relations with the United States and other western countries" → "że jego kraj **chce poprawy** stosunków ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi i innymi krajami Zachodu";
- „in which the economy **was 'decomposing'**" → "katastrofalną sytuację, którą charakteryzował '**rozkład gospodarczy**'";

28.
- "**less** central planning and management" → "**zmniejszenie roli** centralnego planowania i zarządzania";

- „**does not necessarily guarantee** that the economy will become proportionately more efficient" → "wcale nie daje **gwarancji** proporcjonalnego wzrostu wydajności gospodarki";

29.
- "the reorganization should **curtail** some of the detailed management of state industries by ministry officials in Warsaw" → „iż **ograniczenie uprawnień centrum w sprawach dotyczących gospodarki**";

38.
- "the process here l**acks** the meticulous planning and control from above" → "Proces zmian w Polsce […] **charakteryzuje brak** dokładnego planowania i szczegółowej kontroli.";

42.
- „once denounced as **dangerous radicals**" → „potępianymi niegdyś za **niebezpieczny radykalizm**";
- "among the established parties **led by communists**" → "między już istniejące partie **na czele z komunistyczną**";

43.
- "Ochab tried to improve wage levels, **democratized** the Party" → "Ochab próbował poprawić warunki płacowe, **dokonał demokratyzacji** w partii";

48.
- "signals may **help navigate**" → „przyszłość kryje niebezpieczeństwa, toteż **nawigatorzy Polski** muszą wiedzieć na czym one polegają";

49.
- "when they meet in Paris" → "na spotkaniu paryskim";
- "Solidarity's senior adviser who was in London yesterday to meet Mrs Thatcher" → "jeden z głównych doradców «Solidarności» który złożył w Londynie wizytę Premierowi Wielkiej Brytanii Margaret Thatcher";

50.
- "**conciliate** the population" → "aby **zajął pojednawczą postawę** względem ludności";
- „to make Poland **self-sufficient** in food" → "doprowadzić do **samowystarczalności** Polski w dziedzinie żywności".

➢ Inversions (17):

- Subject-predicate inversions:

8.
- „jest to możliwe";

11.
- „jest rzeczą znamienną";

45.
- „Jest logiczne, że";
- „byłoby rzeczą przedwczesną";

49.
- „by mógł go przyjąć rząd polski".

- Inversion of an attribute (post-position of an attribute):

12.
- „Working out Polish democracy" → "Wypracowanie demokracji polskiej";

15.
- „next year" → „w roku przyszłym";
- "last year" → "roku ubiegłego";

22.
- „charakter gwałtowny"

24.
- "Our society" → „społeczeństwo nasze";

49.
- „wybuchowych politycznie wyrzeczeń".

- Post-position of verbal structure in the connection with an object:

25.
- „porozumienia nie szukamy";

45.
- „którzy lata spędzili w więzieniu".

- Other inversions:

22.
- „zajścia tylko na względnie ograniczoną skalę miały charakter gwałtowny";

32.
- "Gdy Wałęsa we wtorek wieczorem po opuszczeniu powiedział";

49.
- "złożył w Londynie wizytę Premierowi";
- „a zasiłki socjalne za pomocą systemu indeksacji związane byłyby z poziomem kosztów utrzymania".

➢ Inclusive 1ˢᵗ person plural pronouns (4):

25.
- "naszym kanonom";

24.
- "our society" → „społeczeństwo nasze";
45.
- „«Ludzie szli do urn z różnych powodów, nie zawsze dlatego, **że nas popierali**»";
- „ponieważ podkreśla słuszność **naszej drogi reform**".

➢ Markers of universality (3):

10.
- „a radical increase in the credits" → "radykalne zwiększenie **masy kredytów** dla rolników";
37.
- "threatened the return of mass industrial unrest "→ "może spowodować wybuch **masowych strajków**";
39.
- „a series of visits" → „**całą** serię wizyt".

➢ Periphrases – labels (3):

31.
- „niepokoje robotnicze";
- „wielka rewolta";
34.
- "breaking the most serious outbreak of **labor strike** here" → "opanowania najpoważniejszych **zaburzeń społecznych** w Polsce".

➢ Majority quantifiers (1):

11.
- „z całym Biurem Politycznym".

➢ Pleonasms of propaganda nature (1):

38.
- "the process here lacks the **meticulous planning** and **control** from above" → "Proces zmian w Polsce…charakteryzuje brak **dokładnego planowania** i **szczegółowej kontroli**."

➢ Stylistically marked plurals (1):

37.
- "how to tackle **the problem** of a national economy" → "w sprawie sposobu rozwiązywania **problemów**".

As is shown in the quotations, no matter what the topics, there are only a few articles in which neutral language prevails, and in which no Newspeak features have been found (articles 1, 2, 3, 6, 16, 21, 26, 30, 33, 36, 44). The features of *nowomowa* spotted are numerous and make the language of the analysed texts typical of the communist era.

All in all, the balance of translation techniques shown in the table below demonstrates the thesis that the translators' interventions in the STs were intended to adjust them to the circumstances in which the TTs were to be published.

Table 3: Balance of translation techniques used in the analytical corpus

Translation techniques used in the corpus	Manipulative techniques	Neutral techniques	Context dependent techniques	Percentage within the whole range of techniques enumerated (835 + 185 = 1020)
Omissions	210	42		24,70%
Omissions of whole passages	195			19,12%
Similarity of contents	33			3,23%
Additions	70	37		10,50%

Attenuations	12			1,18%
Modulations	47			4,60%
Reductions	17			1,67%
Simplifications	1			0,10%
Substitutions	94			9,21%
Transpositions	21			2,05%
Adaptations		2		0,20%
Amplifications		1		0,10%
Archaisms		1		0,10%
Diffusions		1		0,10%
Explicitations		68		6,67%
Hypernyms		6		0,59%
Naturalisations		3		0,29%
Paraphrases		5		0,49%
Glosses			7	0,69%
Reorderings			12	1,18%
Newspeak	135			13,23%
Total	835	166	19	
	81,86%	16,27%	1,86%	

It can be stated that propaganda and censorship left their mark on the language and contents of translated texts, even if the authors, or editors, claimed to give the Polish audience an objective view of the issues raised by foreign authors.

1.4 Topics and problems chosen and rejected

When all the analyses have been presented, it is much easier to refer to the themes discussed in the analysed *Forum* articles to show the foreign press interest in Polish matters.

Clearly, as most articles belong to the period immediately anticipating the system transformation in 1989, the prevailing topic is Solidarity and its fight for a free Poland. There are plenty of references to the Polish economic and political situation, and there are also articles on Polish connections with foreign countries, not only of the Eastern Bloc. Some historical moments are commemorated, like the outbreak of the Second World War on the territory of Poland, and some politicians (Edward Ochab), and cultural figures (Jan Topolski) are presented. Political, economic, and cultural matters are not the only ones addressed. Some articles are about current events such as the Pope's visit to France or the Chernobyl disaster. There are also references to the topic of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko's murder.

There must be kept in mind that there was also evidence of rejection of some information and topics, which were classified among omissions mentioned in the previous section, namely:

-   Soviet influence on Poland and the Eastern Bloc countries,
-   Polish debt,
-   the use of violence against protesters and strikers and the threat of the Soviet invasion,
-   the person and actions of the Pope,
-   some facts connected with the Chernobyl catastrophe.

All those topics have been mentioned as ones considered forbidden in the sources quoted in Chapter 3, which means that this study's findings confirm the theoreticians' concepts.

Conclusions

As observed in the analyses carried out in this chapter, the manipulation of contents of STs is a frequent action performed by different means of communication – image, word, in an implicit and explicit way, through the agency of language and alternative means of communication (iconography).

As the analysed texts are press articles, both kinds of means of manipulation, verbal and non-verbal, have equal importance. They both

create the intended effect on the reader. This is why so much attention was given to the editorial features of the translated articles. A striking feature of Polish publications in *Forum* is the almost complete lack of text-specific attributes – individual headings, subheadings, and pictures. The authors of STs are either unnamed or credited at the very end of the translated articles, while in the original versions authors' names appear with the dateline at the head of the article.

All Polish translations look alike – there is the common heading "Echa polskie" in most cases, identifying the date and source magazine or newspaper title at the beginning. It would be difficult to distinguish between most of the Polish translations if not for those two characteristics.

While these characteristics could result from the editorial requirements of the Polish magazine, this could also be a way of hiding some surface features in order not to influence the reader in a way similar to that of the original texts.

There are rare cases in which pictures are included, some of which could be considered of propaganda provenience, and some articles have individual titles, not just the title of the column "Polish Echoes". Such articles, however, are exceptions and do not follow the typical editorial layout.

When translation techniques are taken into consideration, the amount of manipulative procedures, including omissions, whole passage omissions, substitutions, additions and others, revealed through a detailed comparative study, leaves no doubt that the prevailing stance of the translators was to be subject to the censorship apparatus and its requirements, as there was simply no other option if anyone wanted a text to be published in the censored press.

There are few articles in the corpus in which manipulation by way of translation techniques is not a prevailing strategy. These texts either belong to a freer period of the censorship organs' activity or, their translators use the Newspeak features to manipulate the reader instead of translation procedures. The use of Newspeak confirms the strategy of manipulation and makes these texts similar to the rest of written sources in communist Poland.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The aim of this study was to find the cases of manipulation in the translations of foreign press articles originally written in English into Polish in the totalitarian era of 1945-1989, and show deliberate distortion of the STs. Based on a study of existent theoretical sources and analysis of the corpus of texts chosen, it has been discovered that standards of communist rule in Poland led, first, to the creation of institutional structures responsible for supporting the system of power (*GUKPPiW*) and second, to control of the society and their actions, especially those having a potential to ruin the ideological bases of communist beliefs promoted among the society.

The findings constitute the theoretical background which can explain the political situation and the existence of communist propaganda in post-war Poland and, at the same time, they show the ways in which the communist ideology embodied itself in different kinds of writings – including translated materials, based on propaganda texts from the communist bloc but also those originally written in the West.

The conclusions will be grouped under the two categories mentioned, the theoretical norms and empirical proofs.

It is undisputed that the research represents only a small sample to draw firm conclusions on the topic, but the findings are convincing enough to form consistent theses and provoke further research. It could be enriched with the idea of evaluation in judging the source data, discovering the criteria of translators' choices of procedures, seeking consistency between the censors' norms and translators' compliance, comparing the scope of manipulation in texts concerning Polish matters and other international issues, etc. The possible research areas are numerous and the topic is receptive to further ideas.

1. Theoretical assumptions

In referring to the theoretical sources quoted, it has been established that the political mechanisms responsible for creating a society influenced by the communist ideology were widely incorporated in Poland. In simple terms, there was a more or less integrated society of comparable economic status, with a predominant and privileged working class, under the influence of a one-party system, controlled by the authorities and their institutions – party leaders, party members at workplaces, censors, officials, militia forces and other organizations of public order. And what is of crucial importance, this society was exposed to communist propaganda, which had to have an impact on the citizens' beliefs, values, and models of thinking and acting.

Such a template, an ideologically integrated society, with the conviction of the "belongingness", at least in principle as the authorities aimed, could have been easily indoctrinated through the political communication based on the allowed topics, praising the system and rulers (a kind of patronage or power institutions), together with all their partners and decisions, either political, or economic, or of any other kind.

The communication was one-directional – it was the rulers that communicated and the society was only to approve. There was no objection to the political organization of the country, and no voice of dissatisfaction was allowed due to the model of preventive censorship introduced after the Second World War. Due to the actions of the censorship organs in translations, TTs could become non-equivalent as a rule, and they were considerably influenced by censorship interventions, as the analyses showed. In cases in which a censor considered a message harmful to the communist system, it normally underwent corrections or elimination. Such a rule worked on many levels, as has been mentioned in Chapter 3 – starting with the choice of texts and topics (text-external manipulation), and continuing with interventions within the texts.

The manipulation and propaganda were built on the models of cognitive perception, thanks to which the information promoted by the authorities reached a bigger impact because it was subconsciously acquired and accepted. There were also methods breaking the rules of communication (the principle of cooperation) intended to make people believe in some visions that were in fact far from the real situation.

Also the language imposed on writers of the communist era (Newspeak) was aimed at creating the myth of one single power – the communist system controlling all the people being united and cooperating in order to build a socialist society.

After some time of the censorship activity, there was less and less need to force authors to use the language of communist propaganda, as it was acquired by both message senders and receivers, accustomed to obtaining messages of a predictable sort. People started using that language commonly, as they were exposed to it all the time listening to oral messages on the radio, at public meetings, watching TV, reading newspapers, books (fiction and scientific materials), and looking at slogans painted even on facades of buildings. There was no other option, as this model of language was the only one, purposely promoted.

In these conditions, censors could become gradually less oriented towards correcting the way authors or translators wrote, and more towards the category of information they could accept or ban. The rule was simply not to allow anything that was considered improper according to the supervisors linked with *KC PZPR*.

2. Empirical findings

The interventions of the censorship apparatus are demonstrated by the substantial use of translation techniques discussed in the analytical part of the study. They are distortive in large measure, intended to manipulate the contents of the STs and deceive the message receivers.

The prevailing use of techniques influencing the ST message, such as omissions (405 cases of different types), substitutions (94 examples), and additions (70 cases), are meaningful proof of censors' interventions. There are numerous cases of eliminating some parts of texts, from single words up to whole passages, that include some unwanted information. At the same time, deleting some text was an opportunity to incorporate the rulers' concepts through additions of messages absent from STs. There were plenty of seemingly minor substitutions of a word or expression that could have a powerful effect of distortion. Many such examples have been enumerated demonstrating that the censorship apparatus worked according to their imposed instructions, among which two rules, "cross out" or "replace" (normally with a milder version of the original message), commonly functioned. That analytical observation supports the claim quoted in the theoretical part of this study, classifying omissions, additions, substitutions, and attenuations as the most manipulative techniques of translation.

In the case of omissions, the mostly eliminated issues were those of negative effect on the authorities' reputation, or threatening the established political order, or even the country's independence, e.g.:

- messages potentially having a bad influence on the socialist system and the attempts to strengthen it (I. 19 d), I. 24 a), I. 25 a), b), I. 29 b), c), I. 38 a), d), e), f), g), h), I. 41 b), I. 44 a), c) I. 48 a), b));
- data including prognoses of rebuilding the political system (concerning Solidarity and its actions, and the negative effects of strikes, including imprisonments and deaths (I 19 b), I 32 a), b), c), e), I 34 a), b), c), I 36 a), I 38 c), I 41 c), d), VII 22 a), b) c), VII 23 a), VII 24 b), VII 31 b), VII 32 d), f), VII 34 a), b), c), d), e), VII 35 a), b), VII 36 b), c), d), VII 38 a), d), e), VII 41 a), d), VII 46 a));
- information discrediting the government (using power against their own people – I 7 a), I 22 a), b), c), I 32 d), VII 8 a), VII 36 d), and causing the political crisis – VII 24 d), VII 31 f), g), VII 32 a), b), c), VII 36 a), e), VII 38 b), c), VII 49 a));
- messages referring to the economic crisis, the national debt, the declining level of wealth among Polish citizens and their rising discontent (I 9 a), I 21 a), I 22 e), 29 a), I 41 e), VII 10 a), b), VII 13 a), VII 19 a), b), VII 30 a), VII 39 f), VII 41 b), VII 48 b), VII 49 b), c), with proposals of economic reforms – VII 28 a), b), c), VII 29 a), d), VII 31 a), c));
- statements predicting military intervention in Poland (I 11 a), VII 8 a));
- critical remarks concerning the policy of the USSR towards the communist bloc countries (VII 8 b)), and suggesting the decline of Russian communist power (VII 39 a), VII 41 f), VII 48 a));
- messages concerning events or actions with negative influence on people or those potentially provoking common discussion (regarding the explosion in the Chernobyl power station I 26 a), b), c), d), I 27 a), VII 26 a), f), VII 27 a), b), i), referring to the abortion law – I 44 b), VII 44 a)).

The remarks concerning Poland's deteriorating role in the world under communist rule, the amount of Polish debt and the risk of loss of independence, introduced in Western press, were banned by the censorship most consistently. There are hardly any cases in which even a sentence referring to a possible military action in Poland could occur. Passages speaking openly of such issues were cut from beginning to end, as e.g.:

- I 11 a): „No one here has any doubts that the Russians will not shrink from invading Poland if they felt that the party was disintegrating and the leadership was in danger of losing control.",

- VII 8 a): „This means that besides the danger of spontaneous outbreaks of discontent there is a still greater danger that hardliners inside the apparatus, perhaps with Soviet support, will engineer provocative incidents in the hope of driving the Government into using force against its own people, thereby provoking civil war and Soviet intervention.",
- VII 49 b): "The World Bank is likely to agree two loans in September - $250 m (£161 m) for industrial exports and $50m for farm exports – both modest in the face of Poland's needs and its $39 bn of debt. The International Monetary Fund sent a team to Poland recently, but there was no outstanding IMF credit nor is there likely to be".

The other topics and issues unwelcomed by the communist powers in Poland, which are quite consistently avoided in *Forum* translations, are:

- the person of the Pope, his mission and supporting the law of the Roman Catholic church (Group VII omissions 7 a), b), c), d)),
- the role of the Polish Church in reviving the country (VII 41 c),
- changing the political order in Eastern Europe (VII 39 b), c), g)), which is again consistent with the theoretical claims mentioned in the previous chapters of this study.

There were also omissions of Group II, in which censors eliminated words identifying the political system in Poland as "communist", which some circles might have opposed because it would suggest subordination to the USSR, and omissions of Group III – which hid powerful Russian leaders' influence on Polish political, economic and social life.

Omissions of Group IV and V (concerning information of nonpropaganda character and deixis) are examples of translation techniques used without an intention to manipulate.

Omissions are of various length – very often whole paragraphs constituting a considerable amount of original texts are cut out, as the ones just reminded. There are also omissions which are based on operations within one word or phrase (e.g. Group VI omissions), but have a noticeable impact on the target message, like:

- I 32 d): "who were facing the likelihood of **a police assault to end their strike**." → "stojących wobec **akcji milicyjnej**",
- I 41 e): „the disastrous **economic** decline" → "katastrofalnego – jak się wydaje – pogarszania się sytuacji.",

- VI 21 a): „whether new credit was available so that Poland could buy spare parts and raw materials **to restore** its economy." → „uzyskania nowych kredytów na zakup części zamiennych i surowców, niezbędnych dla gospodarki narodowej.",
- VIII 11 a): "**In fact**, while Mr Suslov **was closeted** with the entire Polish Politburo yesterday" → "Kiedy Suslovc prowadził rozmowy z całym Biurem Politycznym",
- VIII 28 a): "debate on **new solutions for its economy often called** the second stage of economic reform" → "debatą nad tzw. drugim etapem reformy gospodarczej",
- VIII 32 a): "Poland was free of labor disruptions, **sit-ins or other strife**" → "Polska jest wolna od strajków." (an interesting case of using a euphemism in ST and a direct equivalent *strajki* in TT, presumably for stylistic reasons, as in VIII 32 b) the term "strike" is used),
- VIII 41 a): "**the striking political** changes" → "zmiany",
- VIII 46 a): "Poland's **stone-faced** Communists" → "komuniści".

Propaganda and manipulative power was also exercised through additions. In the case of this technique even a single-word addition could introduce a considerable change in the message meaning expressed by the original author. Still, with additions, when translators usurp the right to give final shape to the translated text, the longer the texts added, the greater the potential for manipulation. This has been observed with the comments of a propaganda nature added to STs, as in addition II 11 a):

- „Rozmowy – dodaje się w komunikacie – potwierdziły solidarność Komunistycznej Partii Związku Radzieckiego z wysiłkami Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej. Pomaga to ustabilizować sytuację w Polsce i przyczynia się do obrony 'podstawowych wartości socjalizmu.'", or III 25 k):
- „Przedstawił on pogląd, że sankcje zastosowane przez Zachód pomogą Polsce właściwie ocenić siłę jej sojuszu ze Związkiem Radzieckim i pozostałymi krajami obozu socjalistycznego. «Są to partnerzy solidni … którzy szanują nasze suwerenne prawo, byśmy … rozwiązywali nasze polskie problemy. Daje nam to oparcie … (i) poczucie pewności», the same as III 41 c):
- "It is not clear what effect the sweeping steps **in Poland** will have" → "Nikt nie wie, jaki efekt w krajach bloku wschodniego będą miały zakrojone na szeroką skalę przedsięwzięcia **uzgodnione w**

> **kraju, który jest największym sojusznikiem Moskwy.**", also II
> 31 a), b), c), d), e), and III 25 e).

In the late period of the censorship apparatus's activity there were cases in which such commentary additions did not serve propaganda and revealed some banned messages by the communist system, like in III 40 a) and III 48 a). But these are definitely rare examples.

Deliberate distortions of the source information are often the results of substitutions. Such cases as changes of single words, like "regime" becoming a neutral *ustrój* ("political system"), although it is stated about Jaruzelski's regime, "warning" being *prognoza* ("prognosis"), "warn" substituted with *przewidywać* ("forecast"), and "deterioration" being rendered as *zmiana* ("change"), or distortive substituting phrases like "labour strike" referred to as *zaburzenie społeczne* ("social disorder"), "the hideous crime" being *haniebny czyn* ("shameful act"), "the most life-threatening" altered into *najgroźniejszy* ("the most dangerous"), and many others, have been pointed out in Chapter 4 and most probably prove the elaborate work of censors in the interest of the communist authorities to give them an accepted image and prevent revealing the events they wanted to hide.

The manipulation within linguistic contents of messages incorporated into translations constitutes an interesting example of censors' or translators' creativity with manipulation and requires a more fluent attitude on the part of a manipulator than simply rejecting some topic, paragraph, sentence or word, adding them, or changing their order for a milder version.

The fact that Newspeak features are often represented by names-labels/established phrases, metaphors (of a war, road, wave), nominalizations, inversions, and less frequently used markers of universality, periphrases, majority quantifiers, pleonasms of propaganda nature and stylistically marked plurals, shows the discipline of censors and translators conforming to the linguistic patterns of propaganda style. The most characteristic names-labels are *władze* for „the Government", *funkcjonariusze partyjni* for „party officials", *koła oficlane* or *czynniki oficjalne* for "officials", *towarzysze partyjni* for "Communist colleagues", *zwolennicy twardej linii* for "party hard-liners", *nomenklatura, establishment* and many others that constitute flagship vocabulary of communist era. The overuse of military language in metaphors adds up earnestness to propaganda statements. The metaphors with the motif of a way are something common when development and reforms are taken into account – the crucial ideas of communist ruling. Inclusive 1st person plural pronouns have a real

potential of integrating communities, the same as markers of universality and majority quantifiers, and were used for propaganda reasons. Nominalizations and inversions, also frequent in the analysed texts, are the linguistic features typical of Newspeak, placing the language of the translations analysed among other communist writings.

Manipulation was thus effected on many levels – from the choice of acceptable issues and topics, through the layout allowed (lack or reduction of iconographic elements), most commonly used manipulative techniques (omissions, additions, substitutions), up to the preferred language style and effective distortions of text organization. As a result of such methods of manipulation as substitutions of core paragraphs, or even the formal modifications of original authors' concepts (e.g. direct quotations changed into the translator's review as in article 33), the correspondence between the parallel texts is sometimes so loose that it makes the identification of translations really troublesome. Such texts lack features that establish any equivalence apart from the external proofs, like issue dates and original authors' names added to the translations. Sometimes the similarity of topic is the only way to recognize the censors' or translators' attempt to express the original message, because of the prevalence of manipulative procedures, or rather strategies of free or functional translation aimed at manipulation in cases like these (articles 17, 25, 30, 31, 35, and 40).

It can be concluded that the initial hypotheses focusing on the expectation of manipulation in the translations of Western press articles in the era of communism in Poland appears well-founded and the study achieved the goal to demonstrate this fact. Translations of that period were not free of the censorship apparatus's interventions, which is a matter of fact, and manipulation, taking into consideration all the analytically confirmed proofs for its effecting, was a case with *Forum* translations too. The magazine was no exception in the indoctrination procedure of the communist era, regardless of the claim expressed at the inauguration of its publication, which was itself not free of propaganda by the way:

> By reprinting various articles, documents and opinions, we want to show the international situation in its progress. We want our readers to become broadly acquainted especially with those materials which might be of much interest from our Polish perspective. We realize that our endeavours make only a limited contribution to the realization of such an important task which is undertaken by the whole Polish press. We will try to do it with full accuracy. *Forum* Editorial Board.[19]

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[19] Translation – Edyta Źrałka (the whole text in its original version – Appendix E)

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SOURCE ARTICLES AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS

Period 1956-1981:
1. The Times – September 09, 1965, p. 9 – „Polish visit to France";
   Forum No. 24, September 19, 1965, p. 3 – „Wizyta premiera Józefa Cyrankiewicza we Francji; the Times";
2. The Guardian – December 11, 1965, p. 9 – „Polish RC Church criticised";
   Forum No. 37-38, December 19-26, 1965, p. 27 – „Echa Listów biskupich – The Guardian";
3. The Observer – July 10, 1966, p. 4 – „Something for all in Bucarest talks" by Neal Ascherson;
   Forum No. 29 (67), July 17, 1966, p. 4-5 – „Po konferencji Układu Warszawskiego";
4. The Observer – February 19, 1967, p. 4 – „Will Britain help to disarm the giants?" by Neal Ascherson;
   Forum No. 9 (99), February 26, 1967, p. 2 – „Minister Rapacki w Londynie – The Observer";
5. The Washington Post – September 9, 1970, p. 21 – „W.German-Polish Talks Are Delayed" by John M. Goshko;
   Forum No. 38 (285), September 17, 1970, p. 4-5 – „Dlaczego pauza w dialogu – The Washington Post - 9 IX; John Goshko";
6. The Guardian – September 1, 1979, p. 7 – „September 1939" [reprint of articles of September 2 and 4, 1939]";
   Forum No. 38 (753), September 20, 1979, p. 22 – „September 1939";
7. The Guardian – May 30, 1980, p. 13 – „Mission Impossible – Uniting the French Church" by Walter Schwartz;
   Forum No. 24 (793), 12 June, 1980, p. 9 – „Jan Paweł II we Francji; the Guardian - 30 maja; Walter Schwartz";

Period 1981-1989:

8. The Times – April 02, 1981, p. 15 – „Poland's Indebtedness";
   Forum No.15 (836), April 09, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; the Times – 2. IV";

9. The Washington Post – April 12, 1981, p. A1 – „Crisis Sets Off Chain Reaction. Events in Poland Disturbing Other Soviet Bloc Economies" by Dusko Doder;
   Forum No.20 (841), May 14, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; the Washington Post; Dusko Doder";

10. The Times – April 16, 1981, p. 1 – „Poland's grim forecast of savage drop in standard of living" by Peter Norman;
    Forum No. 15 (836), April 09, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; the Times – 16. IV; Peter Norman";

11. The Times – Apr. 24, 1981, p. 4 – „Qualified support from Mr Suslov gives Poles time for reform" by Dessa Trevisan;
    Forum No. 10 (839), Apr. 30, 1981, p. 4 – „Echa polskie; The Times - 25. IV; Dessa Trevisan";

12. The Observer – May 10, 1981, p. 10 – „There is nothing like democracy, Polish style" by Mark Frankland;
    Forum No. 21 (842), May 21, 1981, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie; the Observer – 10. V; Mark Frankland";

13. Financial Times – May 11, 1981 p. 2 – „Poland gives system its worst fright. Crisis nations" by Peter Montagnon;
    Forum No. 21 (842), May 21, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 11. V; Peter Montagnon";

14. The Guardian – May 25, 1981, p. 9 – „Poland: the second wave" by Jonathan Steele;
    Forum No. 23 (844), June 04, 1981, p .4 – „Echa polskie; The Guardian – 25. V; Jonathan Steele";

15. Financial Times – May 27, 1981, p. 3 – „Poles pay now for 'errors in 1970s'" by Leslie Colitt;
    Forum No. 24 (845), June 11, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 27. V; Leslie Colitt";

16. Financial Times – May 27, 1981 p. 3 – „Comecon speeds up preparations for economic summit meeting" by Paul Lendvai;
    Forum No. 24 (845), June 11, 1981, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 27. V; Paul Lendvai";

17. The Times – June 03, 1981, p. 5 – „Polish party hits out at diehards", by Dessa Trevisan;
    Forum No. 24 (845), June 11, 1981, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie; The Times – 4. VI";

18. Financial Times – March 16, 1982, p. 2 – „Ursus workers plough lonely furrow" by David Buchan;
Forum No. 3 (874), April 15, 1982, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 16. III; David Buchan";

19. Financial Times – March 16, 1982, p. 18 – „Poland's Economy. The army's bleak legacy" by David Buchan and Christopher Bobinski;
Forum No. 2 (873), April 08, 1982, pp. 5-6 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 16. III; David Buchan, Christopher Bobinski";

20. The Guardian – April 17, 1982, p. 11 – „Topolski and his times" by Richard Boston;
Forum No. 19 (890), August 05, 1982, pp. 18-19 – „Topolski to Topolski; The Guardian; Richard Boston";

21. The Times – April 23, 1982, p. 21 – „Poles want new terms on debts" by Peter Wilson-Smith;
Forum No. 6 (877), May 06, 1982, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; the Times – 23. IV; Peter Wilson-Smith";

22. The Christian Science Monitor – September 06, 1982, p. 3 – „Poland's Army breaks up Solidarity's second birthday party" by Eric Bourne;
Forum No. 25 (896), September 16, 1982, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie; The Christian Science Monitor – 6. IX; Eric Bourne";

23. The Guardian – March 12, 1983, p. 5 – „Pressure to lift Polish sanctions" by Hella Pick;
Forum No. 14 (925), April 7, 1983, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; The Guardian – 12. III; Hella Pick";

24. The Washington Post - November 29, 1984, p. A1 – „Jaruzelski: No 'Concessions' But Pole seeks Better Ties with U.S. " by Dusko Doder;
Forum No. 51/52 (1014/1015), December 20-27, 1984, pp. 8-9 – „Echa polskie; 'Jabłonna V' – ciąg dalszy; The Washington Post – 30. XI; Dusko Doder";

25. The Guardian – November 29, 1984, p. 6 – „Jaruzelski will 'expose facts' of rebel priest's murder" by Hella Pick;
Forum No. 51/52 (1014/1015), December 20-27, 1984, p. 8 – „Echa polskie; "Jabłonna V" – ciąg dalszy; The Guardian – 30. XI; Hella Pick";

26. The New York Times – May 15, 1986, p. A56 – „U.S. Doctors in Soviet Face a 'Battlefield'" by Philip Taubman;
Forum No. 22 (1089), May 29, 1986, pp. 4-5 – „Czernobyl z bliska; The New York Times – 16. V; Philip Taubman";

27. The Washington Post – May 16, 1986, p. A1 – "U.S. Doctor in Moscow Predicts Higher Death Toll" by Celestine Bohlen;

Forum No. 22 (1089), May 29, 1986, p. 5 – „Czernobyl z bliska; The Washington Post – 16.V";

28. Financial Times – October 15, 1987, p. 2 – „East bloc seeks to fight its way out of economic corner" by Piotr Aleksandrowicz and Wlodzimierz Kicinski;
Forum No. 43 (1162), October 22, 1987, p. 8 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 15. X";

29. The Washington Post – October 24, 1987, p. A23 – „Polish Government Approves Major Reorganization Plan. Referendums Set on Economy, Politics" by Jackson Diehl;
Forum No. 45 (1164), November 09, 1987, p. 4 – „Echa polskie; The Washington Post – 24. X";

30. The Christian Science Monitor, November 30 – December 6, 1987, p. 5 – „Eating well on a dollar a day" by William Echikson;
Forum No. 53 (1172), December 30, 1987, p. 5 – „Echa polskie - The Christian Science Monitor – 1. XII";

31. The Guardian – May 12, 1988, p. 8 – "Gdansk strikers unbowed despite return to work" by Michael Simmons;
Forum No. 20 (1191) – May 19, 1988, p. 4 – "Echa polskie – po strajkach; The Guardian -12. V";

32. The New York Times – May 12, 1988, p. A12 – „In Poland, No Winners; As Strikes End, Solidarity Finds Its Power Is Limited, but So Too Is the Government's" by John Tagliabue;
Forum No. 20 (1191), May 19, 1988, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie – po strajkach; The New York Times – 12. V";

33. The Observer – July 3, 1988, p. 27 – „The Great Debate" by Mark Frankland;
Forum No. 29 (1100), July 21, 1988, p. 5 – „Nowa mapa pogody – prognoza z Warszawy, moskiewski barometr – 3. VII";

34. The Washington Post – August 24, 1988, p. A1 – „This Time at Gdansk, Solidarity Turns Fractious" by Michael Dobbs;
Forum No. 35 (1206), September 1, 1988, p. 7 – „Echa polskie; The Washington Post – 25. VIII; Michael Dobbs";

35. The Guardian – September 02, 1988, p. 20 – „Workers in Gdansk vote to end strike" by Michael Simmons;
Forum No. 37 (1208), September 15, 1988, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; The Guardian – 2. IX";

36. The Washington Post – January 19, 1989, p. A38 – „Tough Talks Expected for Poland, Solidarity" by Jackson Diehl;
Forum No. 4 (1227), January 29, 1989, p. 6 – „Echa polskie; The Washington Post – 19. I; Jackson Diehl";

37. Financial Times – February 06, 1989, p. 2 – „Solidarity's crucial round table" by Christopher Bobinski;
Forum No. 6 (1229), February 12, 1989, p. 8 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 6. II; Christopher Bobinski";
38. The Washington Post – February 6, 1989, p. A13 – „Polish Talks To Begin Amid Aura of Crisis" by Jackson Diehl;
Forum No. 6 (1229), February 12, 1989, p. 8 – „Echa polskie; The Washington Post – 6. II";
39. The New York Times – February 26, 1989, p. 14 – „Along The East-West Fault Line, Signs of Stress as Ideology Erodes" by James M. Markham;
Forum No. 11 (1234), March 19, 1989, pp. 6-7 – „Echa – nie tylko polskie. Politycznie: Jednak Jałta? Ekonomicznie: Otwarcie?; The New York Times – 27 II; James Markham";
40. The Guardian – Apr. 7, 1989, p. 10 – „Solidarity will be legalized today" by Ian Traynor;
Forum No. 16 (1239), Apr. 23, 1989, p. 4 – „Echa polskie; The Guardian – 7. IV";
41. The New York Times – April 7, 1989, p. A6 – „The Struggle in Poland. A Specter of Severe Economic Ills Haunts the Promise of Striking Political Changes." by John Tagliabue;
Forum No. 16 (1239), April 23, 1989, p. 5 – „Echa polskie; The New York Times – 7. IV; John Tagliabue";
42. Financial Times – April 13, 1989, p. 26 – „Poland's free vote" by Christopher Bobinski;
Forum No. 17 (1240), April 30, 1989, p. 6 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 13. IV; Christopher Bobinski";
43. The Independent – May 9, 1989, p. 18 – „Edward Ochab; Obituaries" by Jan Ciechanowski;
Forum No. 21 (1244), May 28, 1989, p. 13 – „Echa polskie; The Independent – 9. V; Jan Ciechanowski";
44. Financial Times – May 11, 1989, p. 2 – „Abortion time-bomb ticks away in Poland" by Christopher Bobinski;
Forum No. 21 (1244), May 28, 1989, p. 13 – „Echa polskie; Financial Times – 11. V; Christopher Bobinski";
45. The Independent – June 2, 1989, p. 9 – „Solidarity senses a vacuum as Poland prepares to vote" by Steve Crawshaw;
Forum No. 25 (1248), June 25, 1989, p. 6 – „Echa polskie; The Independent – 8. VI; Steve Crawshaw";
46. The New York Times – June 7, 1989 – „Cooperation, Not Coalition, in Poland";

Forum No. 25 (1248), June 25, 1989, p. 6 – „Echa polskie; The New York Times – 8. VI";

47. The Observer – June 11, 1989, p. 25 – „Victor in a duel without bullets" by Mark Frankland;
Forum No. 25 (1248), June 25, 1989, pp. 6-7 – „Echa polskie; The Observer – 11. VI; Mark Frankland";

48. The Washington Post – June 14, 1989, p. A23 – „Poland: Danger Ahead" by Abraham Brumberg;
Forum No. 26 (1249), July 2, 1989, pp. 4-5 – „Echa polskie; The Washington Post – 16.VI; Abraham Brumberg";

49. Financial Times – June 22, 1989, p. 2 – "Poles look to capitalist path to lure Western aid" by Edward Mortimer, John Lloyd, Peter Riddell, Lionel Barber;
Forum No. 26 (1249) – July 2, 1989, p. 5 – "Echa polskie – Diagnozy; The Financial Times -22. VI; Edward Mortimer, John Lloyd, Peter Riddell, Lionel Barber";

50. The New York Times – October 11, 1989 – „Foreign Affairs; Good/Bad News" by Flora Lewis;
Forum No. 44 (1267), November 5, 1989, p. 6 – „Echa polskie; The New York Times – 12. X; Flora Lewis".

APPENDIX B

MANIPULATIVE TECHNIQUES

Omissions (referred to in detail in the main body) (210)

Omissions of whole passages – Group VII (see Appendix D) (195)

Similarity of contents (33):

2.
- a) (paragraph 1/4) the invitation of West German bishops for the thousandth anniversary of Polish Christianity in the ST → (paragraph 1,2/3) the invitation of West German bishops for the thousandth anniversary of Polish Christianity and its **positive reception according to "Der Spiegel"** in the TT;
- b) (paragraph 3/4) questioning borders on the Oder and Neisse and the Baltic Sea **by the bishops** → (paragraph 3/3) questioning the borders (**no concrete reference where) by German repatriants' organisations** in the TT;

17.
- a) "Mr Stanisław Kania moderate leadership" – "Mimo niepokojów ostatnich miesięcy partia i Stanisław Kania wciąż panują nad sytuacją. W kraju nie doszło do żadnego załamania prawa i ładu publicznego.";
- b) „it provides Moscow with the kind of evidence to prove that healthy forces in the Polish party share Moscow's concern" – "Polska nie stanowi wyzwania dla hegemonii Związku Radzieckiego w Europie Wschodniej";
- c) "and voiced objections to private farming in Poland" – "Oskarżanie partii polskiej o skażenie «nacjonalizmem, agraryzmem i poglądami antyradzieckimi»";

25.
- a) Substitution/explicitation „**the trial of the alleged killers of Father Popieluszko** would begin **next month**. He said he was determined to expose all the facts of the case." → „generał odpowiedział na wiele pytań dotyczących m.in. morderstwa Popiełuszki. Zapowiedział, że

proces trzech funkcjonariuszy służby bezpieczeństwa oskarżonych o to morderstwo zacznie się **w grudniu**.";

- b) Substitution/addition: „He said: We want **to clarify** everything and **not leave any doubts**." → „Podkreślił, że chce **wykryć całą prawdę o tym «haniebnym czynie».**";

- c) Addition: "'Objectively, **this crime did a lot of harm to us**,' the Polish leader said. 'To what extent it was meant to harm us is a matter for further investigation […]'" → „**Morderstwo to** – stwierdził dalej generał – **wyrządziło nam ogromną szkodę polityczną.**";

- d) Substitution: „Discussing Poland's future, Generał Jaruzelski said that **the country was ready "to resume its traditional role in international diplomacy**." → „Rząd Polski przywiązywał do spotkania w Jabłonnie pewną wagę, ponieważ to tak szerokie międzynarodowe zgromadzenie **umocniło żywione przez Polskę ambicje powrotu do jej tradycyjnej roli międzynarodowej.**";

- e) Omission/substitution (generalisation): „**The Polish leader's press conference was the first he has ever held** and was attended by 100 journalists following a three-day conference in Warsaw, **on the East-West relations**." → „Do udziału w konferencji zaproszono stu uczestników spotkania dziennikarzy w Jabłonnie, które właśnie zakończyło trzydniową frustrującą **dyskusję na temat stanu świata**." (paragraph shuffled with the one that precedes it);

- f) Substitution: „**General Jaruzelski emphasised Poland's desire to improve relations with West Germany,** but branded Bonn's present Ostpolitik as 'a fiasco'." → „**Generał nie zademonstrował szczególnego podziwu dla kanclerza Kohla**, określając jego politykę wobec Europy Wschodniej jako «fiasko»";

- g) Amplification: "He was speaking in the Warsaw Palace where the Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955." → „Konferencja prasowa odbyła się **w siedemnastowiecznym pałacu Radziwiłłów,** w którym w 1955 r. podpisano Układ Warszawski.";

- h) Substitution: "Referring **to contacts** the government has had with Poland's Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, General Jaruzelski said: **'I assess them very positively and I appreciate them very highly.'**" → „i położył nacisk na sprawę **współpracy z Kościołem, którego prymas jest «realistą i postępuje właściwie».***)";

- i) Substitution/addition: „**We are still interested in improving our relations with all countries, including the United States.** That is part of our policy," he said." → „**Generał niewiele ma nadziei na szybką poprawę stosunków ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi**. Dopóki Stany

Zjednoczone będą uważać, «że Polskę można po prostu skreślić», **stosunki będą trudne**.";

30.
- a) „A Western diplomat explains: 'Eventually, they might even make the zloty convertible.' Convertibility would constitute a revolution in favor of a free-trade, market-based economic system. At this time, no Pole can change zlotys legally into dollars. 'Giving up exchange limitations means giving up central planning'…'The government no longer could control imports and exports" → „Polscy robotnicy będą musieli zaakceptować wiele zmian w mniej scentralizowanej gospodarce";

31.
- a) "the Lenin shipyard workers here have ended **their strike** without wresting a single concession from the Government" → "Rząd generała Jaruzelskiego nie stracił głowy i pewnie przeciwstawił się "Solidarności", która – jak wiedział – postąpiła pochopnie";
- b) "Mr Walesa said yesterday he was ready at any time to talk with the Government if it meant what it said about dialogue and conciliation. The Government has said it wants nothing to do with Mr Walesa. But the word "deadlock" does not seem to be in the vocabulary of either side. "It may be," said a shipyard clerk yesterday, "that nobody knows exactly what to do next. Even so both sides have gained experience." → „Taką pragmatyczną taktykę stosowano w ciągu kilku minionych lat – iść tak daleko, jak to możliwe, ale bez zmuszania rządu do dokonywania wyboru między ustępstwami, a przymusem (został zmuszony wybrać to drugie)";
- c) „Meanwhile the Government won sweeping powers to push through its economic reforms." → „zanim władze uznały, że muszą, lub zanim miały czas **zadziałać**";

33.
The original text consists of quotations of Russian politicians and people of different professions concerning the Party conference in Moscow. The Polish translation is a critical review taking into consideration The person of Gorbachov.
The texts are equivalent only in one part:
- a) "The leader had said **restructuring** should be done calmly and humanely."; "Nevertheless some Party officials did not hide their disagreement when Gorbachov went on to argue his point about **limiting the Party's activities** and bringing it under democratic influences." → „Problemem zasadniczym była na konferencji kwestia **przeniesienia części władzy sprawowanej przez elitę na to nowe**

społeczeństwo radzieckie. Pytanie brzmiało: **jak odciążyć partię komunistyczną od sprawowanej przez nią władzy**, nie wywołując zarazem chaosu i nie aktywizując reakcji? Właśnie tę kwestię miał na myśli Gorbaczow, gdy powiedział na konferencji, że sprawą kluczową jest reforma systemu politycznego.";

35.

Similarity of contents (typical of the whole translation – two main problems of the original article mentioned in the translator's own words):

➢ ending of the strike

- a) "Shipyard workers in Gdansk voted narrowly to end their strike yesterday after some bitter heart-searching and argument, and a candid admission from the Solidarity leader Mr Lech Walesa that his talks with the Polish authorities guaranteed nothing." → „Od bałtyckich stoczni po śląskie kopalnie panowały wątpliwości i niepewność, czy wystrychnięto robotników na dudka, czy też nie.";

- b) "Most strike banners and Solidarity slogans had been removed, but all along the milelong route to St. Brygida's Church – the union's spiritual base – there were kisses and flowers from supporters. The men marched out, still singing, behind a cross, some carrying Solidarity banners." → „W Polsce z mieszanymi uczuciami zwinięto chorągwie strajkowe. Od bałtyckich stoczni po śląskie kopalnie panowały wątpliwości i niepewność, czy wystrychnięto robotników na dudka, czy też nie.";

➢ talks between Wałęsa and gen. Kiszczak:

- c) "Mr Walesa, by all accounts, was greeted with some heckling and boos from the men as he sought to persuade them to resume work. He admitted his talks with General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the Interior Minister, had been 'awful' and little of substance had yet been gained." → „Wałęsa być może zyskał na znaczeniu i stracił na charyzmie, ale kariera generała Kiszczaka, który obecnie wydaje się jego głównym adwersarzem, również w ciągu najbliższych kilku tygodni albo się rozwinie, albo nie.";

40.

- a) in the middle of paragraph 1 to introduce details concerning types of reforms: "Polish Parliament meets to pass legislation" (end of paragraph 1.) → "Obecnie podpisano pakiet porozumień";

- b) "for Solidarity's return to legality after being banned seven years ago" → "Siedem lat temu zakazano Solidarności"; "legalizację Solidarności i innych związków,";

- c) "The Sejm is to amend the law on" → „Obecnie podpisano pakiet porozumień";
- d) „Mr Lech Walesa, the Union's leader, said yesterday he was willing to „beg, plead and kneel" for foreign financial aid to help Poland out of its economic crisis." → „Rząd i przywódcy «Solidarności» mają wystosować apel o ulgowe potraktowanie 38-miliardowego polskiego długu. Wałęsa mówi, że będzie «*biegał, klękał i błagał Europę o pomoc dla Polski*»";
- e) „Wednesday's night's victory would 'remain theoretical unless the economy functioned.'" → „Ogłosił polityczne zwycięstwo, ale stwierdził, że może się ono obrócić w klęskę, jeśli nie doprowadzi do przemian gospodarczych.";
- f) „The country should earn foreign investment as a 'healthy economic partner'." → „Jednak reformy nie można rozpocząć bez pomocy z zagranicy. Teraz jest pora, by zachodni przywódcy dotrzymali obietnic dając pieniądze i pomagając «w praktyczny sposób»";
- g) "Mr Walesa's remarks followed positive signals from Washington on the round-table deal, with President Bush praising the accord and saying that the US would consider ways of furthering the liberalising trend in Poland." → „Jeśli prezydent Bush naprawdę uważa, że jest to «*wielki dzień dla Polski*» to może zadziałać szybko zachęcając zachodnich sojuszników do przełożenia spłaty długów i do dokonania zasadniczych inwestycji gospodarczych. Tak samo może postąpić Wielka Brytania.";
- h) „Mr Walesa said that the agreement put Poland on a path to pluralism and freedom, but that compromises were needed to ensure success." → „Ostatecznie jest to w końcu historyczny kompromis, a nie zwycięstwo.";
- i) „and the decisions to hold parliamentary elections in June" → „które może nabrać formalnego kształtu w czerwcowych wyborach";
- j) „The kind of agreement being worked out is similar to that signed last year between Hungary and the EEC." → „Przemówienie to było sygnałem wielkich, lecz **fałszywych** nadziei na nowy początek w Europie Wschodniej, jak **fatalnie** zakończony dla Węgrów i niemal tak samo dla Polaków.";

45.

- a) [written before the elections] "In the main parliament, the Sejm, only 35 per cent of the seats are to be contested. The rest are allotted to the Communists and their allies. But the vote for the upper house, the Senate, will be free. Free elections for the main parliament are promised in four years' time." → [written after the elections] „Generał

Jaruzelski podkreślił, że w porozumieniu okrągłego stołu «nie ma żadnego formalnego zobowiązania» do przeprowadzenia wolnych wyborów, ale dodał: «Chciałbym, aby odbyły się wolne wybory, ponieważ sądzę, że umożliwi je stan stosunków politycznych i społecznych»"; "W kwestii, czy partia komunistyczna mogłaby zostać odsunięta od władzy głosami wyborców generał Jaruzelski powiedział: «Jest logiczne, że jeśli się mówi o wolnych wyborach, to zakłada się, że możliwy jest każdy rezultat»"; „Generał Jaruzelski powiedział, że «Solidarność» prawdopodobnie zdobędzie wszystkie miejsca w 100-osobowym Senacie"; "Oczywiście wybory stworzyły niezwykłe zjawisko – jedno ugrupowanie będzie miało wszystkie miejsca. Jednakże generał Jaruzelski nie był skłonny uważać, że stanowi to odbicie przygniatającego poparcia dla «Solidarności». «Nie jest to eksplozja miłości do opozycji» - powiedział on."; „65 proc. miejsc w głównej izbie parlamentu wciąż jest zarezerwowanych dla partii komunistycznej i jej sojuszników.";

Additions (referred to in detail in the main body) (70)

Attenuations (12):

11.
- a) "the Soviet press has been **extremely** critical" → "radziecka prasa **bardzo** krytycznie wypowiada się";
16.
- a) "the delay in carrying out **target** programmes" → "opóźnienia w realizacji **ważnych** programów";
19.
- a) "that Poland's farmers **distrust them so much** that they have been hoarding grain" → "że władze wojskowe w Polsce są **nieprzyjemnie zaskoczone** postawą chłopów, którzy chomikują zboże";
- b) „the economy **continues to sink**" → "sytuacja gospodarcza **będzie się w dalszym ciągu pogarszać**";
24.
- a) „At no time …did he mention the **outlawed** Solidarity trade union" → "Ani razu nie wspomniał o **rozwiązanym** związku zawodowym 'Solidarność'";
- b) „Our society has rid itself of many **misconceptions and illusions**." → „społeczeństwo nasze wyzbywa się wielu **naiwnych złudzeń**";

26.
- a) "After the marrow cells have been separated from the blood and other unneeded substances" → "**Po odpowiedniej obróbce** – odseparowaniu krwi i innych zbędnych substancji";
- b) „conducted **in Soviet history**" → „przeprowadzonych **w historii radzieckiej medycyny**";

41.
- a) "Behind the striking political changes… **is the apparent realization**" → "Zmiany […] **zostały w pewnym stopniu wymuszone**";

44.
- a) "Outside Parliament, around a hundred demonstrators **picketed the building**." → „Przed gmachem Sejmu **zebrało się** około 100 demonstrantów.";

46.
- a) "from **the regime** as well" → "ze strony **rządu**";

47.
- a) "to comment on **the regime**" → "wypowiedzenia się na temat **ustroju**";

Modulations (47):

1.
- a) "Mr Cyrankiewicz, the Prime Minister of Poland, **is due in Paris** tomorrow evening" → „To, że premier Cyrankiewicz **natychmiast po swej pierwszej rozmowie z prezydentem**";

3.
- a) "**important**" → „w sposób **nie pozbawiony znaczenia**" [negated adjective of opposite meaning];

6.
- a) "Britain and France **have** their guarantees to Poland." → "Wielka Brytania i Francja **udzieliły** Polsce gwarancji.";

7.
- a) "village volunteers **teaching children** the newsstyle catechism" → „mieszkańcy wsi, którzy ochoczo **prowadzą z dziećmi lekcje** katechizmu";

8.
- a) "this **may be** possible" → „**jest** to możliwe";

9.
- a) "**may be reflected** in Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak's call **this week** for an early Comecon summit" → „**znalazły swe odbicie** w

niedawnym apelu prezydenta Husaka, by jak najszybciej zwołać spotkanie na szczycie krajów RWPG";

- b) "Poland **has undertaken by far the largest commitment** in these joint investments to built nuclear power plants on Soviet soil" → "Polska bez wątpienia **miałaby ponieść największe koszty** tego wspólnego przedsięwzięcia, które zakłada budowę elektrowni atomowych na terenie ZSRR";
- c) „they **see it as bringing about** changes within the bloc" → "**Twierdzą, że wszystko to wywoła** zmiany wewnętrzne samego bloku";

14.
- a) „**it's** foolish to demand" → "szaleństwem **byłoby** domagać się";
- b) „**you only make** the black market stronger" → "**wzmocniłoby to** tylko czarny rynek";

19.
- a) "over **the same months** in 1981" → "w porównaniu **z analogicznym okresem** 1981 roku";
- b) „are now disposed to continue business virtually **as usual**" → „które są obecnie gotowe kontynuować **normalny** biznes z Polską";
- c) „The development that attracted **world attention** was" → "Wydarzeniem, które zwróciło **uwagę światowej opinii publicznej**, były";

20.
- a) "It is the only way **of suggesting**" → "ale trzeba ją przytoczyć, **by uświadomić sobie**"
- b) "did **not go empty-handed**" → "też **uszczknęły małe co nieco**";

21.
- a) „the rate of decline **had slowed**" → „tempo spadku **wykazuje tendencje malejące**";
- b) „increased foreign exchange earnings from these sources **would have to be diverted** to" → „wpływy dewizowe z tego tytułu **są przeznaczane** na";
- c) „Western bankers **are unlikely to take kindly**" → „Bankierzy zachodni **nie będą życzliwie nastawieni**";
- d) „until **military rule** had been relaxed in Poland" → „póki władze polskie nie złagodzą **rygorów stanu wojennego**";

23.
- a) "most other West European governments **appear in feel**" → "rządy większości innych krajów Europy Zachodniej **uważają, iż**";

24.
- a) „a report by France's state radio that he had been **behind the murder** last month of the pro-Solidarity Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko" → „o doniesieniach państwowego radia francuskiego, że to on **stał za mordercami**, którzy w październiku zabili prosolidarnościowego księdza katolickiego Jerzego Popiełuszkę";
- b) "**while seeking** to resolve political and economic crisis" → "**a jednocześnie dążył** do wyprowadzenia kraju z kryzysu politycznego i gospodarczego";

26.
- a) "**from having inhaled or swallowed** contaminated particles" → "**ponieważ do ich dróg oddechowych lub przewodu pokarmowego dostały się** skażone cząstki";
- b) "a desperate effort **to treat**" → "intensywnych wysiłków lekarskich podejmowanych **w celu uratowania** osób";

28.
- a) "**Last week**" → "**w tych dniach**";
- b) „**The report goes further**, urging a 25-year period of stable rules for such ventures." → "**W raporcie proponuje się bardziej śmiałe kroki**., wzywając do określenia stałych, obowiązujących przez najbliższe 25 lat zasad działalności *joint ventures*.";
- c) "A boxer forced into a corner **knows only one way**" → "Bokser zapędzony w róg ringu **może tylko w jeden sposób**";

34.
- a) „But this time, the divisions **seem to run** deeper" → "Tym razem jednak podziały **przebiegają** głębiej";
- b) "Such statements **would have sounded heretical** in August 1980." → "Tego rodzaju doświadczenia w sierpniu 1980 r. **byłyby herezją**.";
- c) „Since his military crack down **Jaruzelski has failed to implement** economic reforms" → "Od czasu wprowadzenia stanu wojennego **nie zdołano wprowadzić** w życie zmian gospodarczych";
- d) "For a reporter **who was present** at the beginning of the great strike of August 1980" → "Dla reportera **oglądającego na własne oczy** początki wielkiego strajku w sierpniu 1980 r.";
- e) „Paradoxically, economic hardships **may have increased** the divisions among Polish workers." → „Jest paradoksem, że trudności gospodarcze **pogłębiły** podziały wśród polskich robotników.";

38.
- a) "and a substantial bloc of opposition candidates **is likely to compete in elections and sit in the legislature** for the first time since the

1940s" → "oraz liczący się liczbowo blok opozycyjnych kandydatów **walczących w wyborach o miejsca w parlamencie**";
- b) "Poland's communist-ruled neighbors, who have watched the progression toward the round table with varying degrees of unease, **can be offered an assurance**" → "Sąsiedzi Polski, którzy z niepokojem obserwują postęp w kierunku rozmów przy okrągłym stole **otrzymają zapewnienie**";
- c) „**has not been** characterized by **the violence of 1956 and 1970** or the revolutionary euphoria of 1980" → "**nie będzie** charakteryzował się **wstrząsami podobnymi do tych z lat pięćdziesiątych i siedemdziesiątych"**
- d) „party opposition based in the **official communist** trade unions and the security apparatus **will almost certainly move** against them" → "opozycja w partii, opierająca się na **rządowych** związkach zawodowych i aparacie bezpieczeństwa **z całą pewnością** ruszy do ataku przeciwko obecnemu kierownictwu rządu i partii";
- e) "Above all, it is **Jaruzelski's party leadership** that **seems to face** the greatest risks in the coming months." → "**Rząd gen Jaruzelskiego stanie** w najbliższych miesiącach **w obliczu** największego ryzyka.";
- f) „even senior party officials **seem to have only** a murky conception" → "przedstawiciele partii **mają tylko** bardzo ogólną koncepcję";

39.
- a) „acknowledged a senior West German official, speaking **most candidly**" → "przyznał **szczerze** wysoki rangą oficjalny przedstawiciel RFN";
- b) "in optimistic **scenarios**" → „według optymistycznego **wariantu prognoz**";

41.
- a) "What intrigues most Poles is **what will happen** to a Soviet ally **that chooses** a path away from Communism" → "Polaków zaś najbardziej intryguje dziś **to, co się stałoby** z krajem-sojusznikiem Związku Radzieckiego, **który wybrałby drogę** odchodzącą od komunizmu.";

42.
- a) „once denounced **as dangerous radicals**" → „potępianymi niegdyś **za niebezpieczny radykalizm**";
- b) "A new parliamentary chamber, the 100-seat senate, **is to be set up** alongside the present 460-seat *Sejm* (pronounced "same") → "Obok obecnego czterystasześćdziesięciomandatowego Sejmu **powstaje** nowa izba parlamentu – stuosobowy Senat.";

- c) "among the established parties **led by communists**" → "między już istniejące partie **na czele z komunistyczną**";
- d) "to turn the journalists away **when they arrive**" → "by odsyłać z powrotem dziennikarzy **przybywających** na konferencję";

44.
- a) "And for the first time for many years, **Warsaw heard** anti-clerical slogans" → „I po raz pierwszy od wielu lat **usłyszano w Warszawie** hasła antyklerykalne";

47.
- a) „they **could not govern** without it" → "bez niej **nie da się** rządzić";

Reductions (17):

3.
- a) „to **gain control** of nuclear weapons" → „do **uzyskania broni nuklearnej**";

6.
- a) "the two States leaderships and all reasonable and astute persons among the two peoples and countries **possess this firm will and determination** to improve relations" → "czynniki kierownicze obu państw, jak również wszyscy rozumni i rozważni ludzie w łonie obu narodów i państw, **pragną usilnie** poprawy wzajemnych stosunków" ;

9.
- a) "compared with the same **three-month period** of 1980" → "w porównaniu z **analogicznym okresem** 1980 roku";

20.
- a) "**And ignore him is what** the art establishment […] has largely done" → "**tak właśnie** postępuje establishment świata sztuki";

26.
- a) "and Dr. **Paul I. Terasaki**" → "oraz chirurg **Paul Terasaki**";

27.
- a) "So far, seven radiation patients have died, in addition to two men **killed by steam and falling debris during the accident**." → "Zmarło siedmiu napromieniowanych pacjentów, nie licząc dwu mężczyzn, **którzy ponieśli śmierć już w trakcie katastrofy.**";

28.
- a) "independently of its size and **whether it is owned by the state or privately**" → "bez względu na jego rozmiar i **status**";

29.
- a) "the reorganization should curtail **some of the detailed management of state industries by ministry officials in Warsaw**

and allow individual enterprises **in many fields more freedom to manage their own affairs**" → "iż ograniczenie **uprawnień centrum w sprawach dotyczących gospodark**i pozwoli przedsiębiorstwom **na większą swobodę działania**";

- b) "However, they pointed out that **the reorganization preserved extensive centralized control of two key industries** – coal mining and energy production." → "Jednakże dwie dziedziny: górnictwo i energetyka **będą nadal w gestii władz centralnych**.";

32.

- a) "The Government **was not about to announce the cancellation** of its economic plans." → "Oczywiście rząd **nie odwołał** planów gospodarczych.";

36.

- a) "declared Rakowski **in a speech to the Central Committee** yesterday" → "Premier Mieczysław Rakowski oświadczył **podczas obrad** KC,";

38.

- a) "and **radical realignment of political forces**" → "oraz **zmiany układu**";

- b) „the Polish party is badly divided, and **factions of both the far right and far left** are ready to attack" → "Polska partia jest podzielona, są w niej **grupy** gotowe zaatakować";

41.

- a) "the country's **economic problems are so severe** that" → "przez **gwałtownie pogarszającą się sytuację gospodarczą**";

- b) "the country's economic problems are so severe that **the help of Solidarity is needed to solve them**" → "Porozumienie z 'Solidarnością' było – częściowo – uważane przez władze za próbę **zyskania pomocy związku**";

- c) „**in countries that are testing the waters of liberalization, like Hungary, or those that refuse to bow to the winds of change, like East Germany**" → "**w krajach bloku wschodniego**";

44.

- a) „reaching out beyond its **traditional constituency of the intelligentsia to the shop floor**" → "wychodzący poza dotychczasowe **tradycyjne ramy**";

Simplifications (1):

36.

- a) "the **overall ban** on the union" → "z jego **nielegalności**";

Substitutions (94):

3.
- a) "agonised reluctance" → "wyraźne wahania";

4.
- a) "**Mr Brown's 'Yes, in a way'** to recognising the Oder-Neisse line" → **"Odpowiedź Browna** udzielona jednemu z dziennikarzy na temat uznania granicy na Odrze i Nysie";

5.
- a) "has been **quietly** postponed" → "została **spokojnie** odłożona";
- b) „both sides hope **to come close to a final agreement**" → "obie strony mają nadzieję **na zawarcie ostatecznego porozumienia**";
- c) "and the two sides have **quietly agreed** to postpone the talks" → "obie strony podjęły **zgodną decyzję**, aby przesunąć negocjacje";
- d) „the chief Polish negotiator" → "szef polskiej delegacji";

6.
- a) "at the inexpressible and **wanton folly of it**"→ „będąc świadom tego, **iż jest ona rezultatem bezmyślności i szaleństwa**, które trudno wyrazić słowami";
- b) „It will be a test of Germany's good faith **whether Hitler also responds**." → „To, **czy Niemcy również odpowiedzą**, będzie sprawdzianem ich dobrej woli.";
- c) „It has been the great **justification** of the democratic principle" → "była to wspaniała **manifestacja** słuszności zasad demokracji";
- d) "The thing has to be seen through." → „Jest to zjawisko znamienne.";

7.
- a) "look after **38,200** parishes" → „otoczyć opieką **38 tys.** Parafii";

8.
- a) „It has an immediate interest" → „Zachód jest przede wszystkim zainteresowany";
- b) "by helping the present security system" → „poprzez wzmocnienie obecnego systemu bezpieczeństwa";
- c) "to attach detailed conditions" → „określić szczegółowe warunki";

9.
- a) "The **repercussions in the Warsaw Pact** also may be causing Moscow to have second thoughts" → "Niewykluczone, że **skutki kryzysu polskiego** mogą skłonić Moskwę do zrewidowania";
- b) Time reference: "Two weeks ago" → „Na początku kwietnia";
- c) „**the changes in mine shifts** would have a long-term impact **on the plans** conceived long before these changes took place" →

"**wprowadzenie 5-dniowego tygodnia pracy oraz zmiany w systemie pracy górników** będą miały wpływ **na plan 5-letni**, który został przygotowany przed wprowadzeniem tych zmian w życie";

- d) „the Soviets may now have second thoughts about their **integration drive**" → "Rosjanie poważnie się teraz zastanawiają nad swym **programem integracji**";
- e) time reference "Reaction to the Polish crisis in Eastern Europe **during the last few days**" → "**Kwietniowe** reakcje Europy Wschodniej na kryzys polski":

10.
➢ For a word "warning" (3 cases):
- a) "It **gives warning** that despite plans for a rigorous austerity programme" → "Raport **zawiera też prognozę**, że mimo realizacji program surowych środków oszczędnościowych i wyrzeczeń […]";
- b) "It projects…and **gives a warning** that the import […] will be eliminated altogether." → "W dokumencie powyższym **przewiduje się** […] a także całkowite wstrzymanie importu.";
- c) "authorities **give warning** that only families with lowest incomes can expect full compensations" → "to jednak **przewiduje się**, że pełną rekompensatę otrzymają jedynie rodziny o najniższych dochodach";
➢ Single words:
- d) "however" → „natomiast";

11.
- a) "Whether Mr Suslov came here to prevent personnel changes at the top, demanded by the rank-and-file party members, is hard to tell. Despite the pressures from below, the leadership is seeking a solution which would allow it to enlarge the Politburo without giving in to demands for the removal of some members opposed to reforms." → „Pod tym względem jest rzeczą znamienną, że proces ośmiu dysydentów – przebywających w więzieniu od września ubiegłego roku – został odłożony, a dwie osoby spośród zatrzymanych – uwolniono.";
- b) "clear **clues**" → „jasnej **oceny**";
- c) "to calm **Soviet anxieties**" → „uspokoić **stronę radziecką**";

14.
- a) "Poland deserves more than …**erratic sympathy**" → „Polska zasługuje na coś więcej niż […] **przelotną sympatię**";

16.
- a) "though some **Western officials** have speculated that it might take place in East Berlin" → „aczkolwiek niektórzy **obserwatorzy zachodni** nie wykluczają, że odbędzie się ona w Berlinie Zachodnim";

- b) "The 35ᵗʰ Comecon Council is likely to be held **next month**" → „35 sesja tej Rady ma się odbyć **w czerwcu**";

18.
- a) "Ursus may only turn out **this year** as few as 200 tractors" → "może się okazać, że

przez cały 1982 r. Zakłady «Ursus» wyprodukują zaledwie 200 ciągników";
- b) „under General Wojciech Jaruzelski's economic reforms" → „wprowadzonej przez rząd **premiera** generała Wojciecha Jaruzelskiego";

19.
- a) „but the second half of the battle **ahead of the Jaruzelski regime** will be far tougher" → "jednakże druga część batalii będzie **dla rządu Jaruzelskiego** znacznie trudniejsza";
- b) "**The bottom line of all this**, for western governments and banks, is that" → "Dla zachodnich rządów i banków **płynie z tego wszystkiego wniosek, że […]**";
- c) "the placard of the **illegal** Solidarity movement placed prominently atop Cardinal Wyszynski's tomb" → "afisza **zawieszonego** związku zawodowego – 'Solidarność', umieszczonego na poczesnym miejscu u grobu kardynała Wyszyńskiego";

20.
- a) "in hectic line and explosive colour" → "pośpiesznymi pociągnięciami pędzla";
- b) "And it goes on, and on, and on." → "A przecież na tym nie koniec.";

22.
- a) "Only in Nowa Huta steelworks in Krakow do workers seem to have taken **a major part** in an effort to mark the August 1980 anniversary." → „Wydaje się, że robotnicy odegrali **pewną rolę** w próbach obchodów rocznicy sierpnia 1980 r. tylko w zakładach stalowniczych w Nowej Hucie.";
- b) "an impression of **more force than necessary**" → "użyła **siły na większą skalę**";

23.
- a) „at the EEC summit later this month" → „na szczycie krajów EWG pod koniec bieżącego roku";
- b) „uncertainty" → "wątpliwości";
- c) „to urge the US" → "wywarcia […] nacisku";

24.
- a) "in a U.S.-inspired **ostracism** of Poland" → "w inspirowanym przez USA **krytykowaniu** Polski";
- b) „Polish authorities were vigorously investigating '**the hideous crime**,' which he said had done a lot of damage to us." → „władze prowadzą energiczne śledztwo w sprawie tego '**haniebnego czynu**', który – jak powiedział – 'wyrządził nam ogromne szkody.'";
- c) „**President Reagan's** rearmament program" → „programów zbrojeniowych **Ronalda Reagana**";
- d) „But he said Poland was '**very interested**' in positive developments" → "Powiedział jednak, że 'Polska jest **szczerze zainteresowana**' pozytywnym rozwojem wydarzeń"
- e) „That, he said, was '**a wrong way of thinking**'" → "I dodał, że 'są to r**achuby płonne**'";
- f) "'There are very few people **who have done so much to convince** socialist countries about the need for better integration' of their economies as has Reagan" → "Oświadczył też, że 'mało kto **z tak przejmującą jasnością uświadomił** krajom socjalistycznym, że muszą ze sobą jeszcze bliżej współpracować', jak to uczynił Reagan";
- g) "his government over the past three years had been **dealing 'honestly' with the population**" → "W ciągu ostatnich trzech lat jego rząd zawsze '**mówił narodowi prawdę**'.";

26.
- a) „the Chernobyl **nuclear disaster**" → „**katastrofy w** czernobylskiej **elektrowni**";
- b) „one of **the most life-threatening** consequences of exposure to intense radiation" → "jedną **z najgroźniejszych** konsekwencji intensywnego napromieniowania";
- c) „**Without any preparation**, Soviet doctors" → "**Szybkie połączenie** zespołu radzieckich lekarzy";
- d) „not only an **unlikely** alliance but also" → "nie tylko **nietypowy** sojusz, lecz";
- e) "was the rapid **deterioration** of blood" → "wystąpienie nagłych **zmian** krwi";

28.
- a) "The direction of the changes is the same e**verywher**e" → "Kierunek zmian jest **zawsze** ten sam";
- b) „**concerning** necessary radical changes" → "**w którym dowodzono** konieczności przeprowadzenia radykalnych zmian […] **mówiło się w nim** m.in. o […]";

- c) „aimed at creating a Common Market **of the European socialist countries**" → „zmierzającą do utworzenia wspólnego rynku **państw Europy Wschodniej i Zachodniej**";

29.
- a) "**in a major concession to bureaucratic interests**" → "**w gestii władz centralnych**";
- b) "in which Poles **will be asked to vote** for" → "które **zadecyduje o**";
- c) "However, the **official questions** approved today" → "Niemniej jednak **pytania referendum**";
- d) "and the granting of financial and legal **autonomy** to city and neighborhood governments" → "udzielenie władzom miejskim i gminnym prawnych i finansowych **uprawnień i przywilejów**";
- e) "**Government officials** portrayed the referendum…as" → "**rząd** przedstawia referendum jako";

32.
- a) "when strike leaders, **welders and mechanics**" → "jego przywódcy i **uczestnicy**";
- b) "the Government agreed to wage increases **for striking Government-approved unions** that were bigger than planned" → "podwyżki płac były wyższe od planowanych **przez tamtejsze oficjalne związki**";
- c) „a call by **the union's national council** Monday" → "poniedziałkowy apel '**Soliarności**'";

34.
- a) "breaking **the most serious outbreak of labor strike** here" → "opanowania **najpoważniejszych zaburzeń społecznych** w Polsce";
- b) „The strikes of last spring and **this summer**" → strajki wiosenne i **sierpniowe**";

37.
- a) "**To field a top team** on the economy" → "**Do rozmów** nt. problemów gospodarczych";
- b) "**viable** solutions" → "rozwiązań **rokujących trwałość**";

38.
- a) „party opposition based in the official **communist** trade unions and the security apparatus will **almost** certainly move against them" → "opozycja w partii, opierająca się na **rządowych** związkach zawodowych i aparacie bezpieczeństwa z całą pewnością ruszy do ataku przeciwko obecnemu kierownictwu rządu i partii";

- b) „it could become **the occasion** for a hard-line faction putsh" → "że mogą stać się **obiektem** zamachu stanu ze strony reprezentantów twardej linii";

39.
- a) "of Central Europe" → "Europy Wschodniej";
- b) "one that **puts a premium** on encouraging evolutionary change" → "która **przewiduje** zachęcanie do ewolucyjnych przemian";
- c) „to President Francois Mitterrand **in Paris**" → "f**rancuskiego** prezydenta François Mitterranda";
- d) "Timothy Garton Ash, a British writer **and authority on Eastern Europe**" → „brytyjski publicysta Timothy Ash, **często piszący na temat Europy Wschodniej**";
- e) "of the Federal Republic" → „o Niemczech";
- f) "Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher" → "pani Thatcher";

41.
- a) "Poland's Communist authorities" → "Polska";
- b) "there are some to be sure who are probably **still betting** that" → "niektórzy z jego członków zapewne **nadal liczą na to,** że";
- c) time reference: "Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, who until now has been no friend of the Communist authorities, in addressing a gathering at Warsaw University **today** took the unusual step of offering to travel to Moscow." → „Lech Wałęsa oświadczył **w czwartek (6 kwietnia)** publicznie, że gotów jest udać się do Moskwy."

42.
- a) negative message – hiding the existence of the NSZ: "Members of a newly legal union: NSZ students in Warsaw." → "Ostateczna decyzja co do nominacji 260 kandydatów, jakich wystawi opozycja, należeć będzie do Lecha Wałęsy i najwyższego kierownictwa związku.";

43.
- a) "the **disgraced** Gomulka" → "Zrehabilitował **pognębionego** Gomułkę";

44.
- a) stylistic: "Poland's liberal abortion laws and attempts to overturn them **are emerging as** potentially one of the most divisive issues" → "Obowiązująca w Polsce liberalna ustawa w sprawie przerywania ciąży oraz próby jej uchylenia **to** potencjalnie najbardziej kontrowersyjne tematy";
- b) explicative: „They are hoping this will get them through the next few weeks unscathed." → „zdając sobie równocześnie sprawę z tego, **że w czasie kampanii wyborczej poparcie Kościoła jest im nadal potrzebne**";

- c) "but on this **they are too much in the hands of the Church**" → "ale w tej sprawie **Kościół posunął się za daleko";**
47.
- a) "**planned to have** elements of freedom" → "**miały na celu wprowadzenie** elementów wolności";
- b) "was more a pistol duel with dummy bullets **than the High Noon**" → „były tu raczej pojedynkiem na ślepe naboje, **a nie na ostre**";
- c) "**the Government** would win a small majority in the senate" → "**koalicja rządowa** uzyska niedużą większość w Senacie";
- d) „Minister of the Interior **and a policeman**" → "ministrem spraw wewnętrznych, **a więc milicjantem**";
- e) "asks **an acquaintance**" → "pyta **jeden z moich rozmówców**";
- f) „the **election's** limited democracy" → "ograniczony charakter **powyborczej** demokracji";
- g) "he said he had felt **safer** in prison" → "powiedział, że **pewniej** czuł się w więzieniu";
48.
- a) "and in the new Senate, **92 out of the 100 seats** will be held by men and women elected on t**he Solidarity ticket**" → „w których **kandydaci opozycji** zagarnęli **prawie wszystkie miejsca** w Senacie i w których wyborcy odrzucili 33 kandydatury wyższych osobistości komunistycznych i rządowych, ubiegających się o wybór do Sejmu bez konkurentów";
- b) „led to the r**elegalization** of Solidarity" → „doprowadziły do **legalizacji** 'Solidarności'";
49.
- a) "**The British Foreign Office** said Mr Soro's plan was seen as far too interventionist for a Polish Government to accept" → "**Przedstawiciele Wielkiej Brytanii** mówią, że plan zakłada zbyt wielką ingerencję zagranicy, by mógł go przyjąć rząd polski";

Transpositions (21):
3.
- a) „the declarations they signed" → „podpisane deklaracje";
14.
- a) „as the official party newspaper, Trybuna Ludu, **calls it**" → „jak **to okreśłiła** oficjalna gazeta partyjna TRYBUNA LUDU";
- b) „Poland **was already** one of Europe's most homogeneous states." → „Polska **jest** jednym z najbardziej jednolitych krajów Europy.";
- c) „Bogdan Lis, its vice-chairman, **says**" → "**jak powiedział** wiceprzewodniczący KKP Bogdan Lis";

- d) „Walesa's political secretary **says**" → „który jest politycznym sekretarzem Lecha Wałęsy, **powiedział**";
- e) "that the report **was written**" → "że raport **napisali** ministrowie";

16.
- a) „but the latest statements by Mr Husak and Mr. Ceausescu **indicate** that the next meeting will involve party chiefs as well as Prime Ministers" → „ale z tych najnowszych oświadczeń Husaka i Ceausescu **wynikało,** że w najbliższej sesji wezmą udział – oprócz premierów – również przywódcy partii";

19.
- a) „Whatever **happens** on the political front" → "Bez względu na to, co **wydarzy się** na froncie politycznym";

20.
- a) "Well, **they've ignored** him" → "Topolski, chociaż **ignorowany**";

24.
- a) "Jaruzelski said that the U.S. economic sanctions **have made it 'more difficult** to cure our economy." → "Gen. Jaruzelski powiedział, że sankcje gospodarcze USA '**utrudniają nam** proces uzdrawiania gospodarki.";

26.
- a) "Among the problems **were t**hese:" → "**Są** one następujące:";

29.
- a) "the actions **represented** the first step" → "działania te **stanowią**";
- b) "Economists here **said**" → "Ekonomiści **utrzymują**";

32.
- a) „Others **seemed** simply afraid." → "Jeszcze inni **wykazują** po prostu obawy.";
- b) "Poland **was free** of labor disruptions, sit-ins or other strife" → "Polska **jest wolna** od strajków";

37.
- a) "by Mr Lech Walesa and others – **will be for show**" → "Lecha Wałęsy i innych uczestników spotkania **jest na pokaz**";

41.
- a) "no one, not even on the Solidarity side, **was interested in** provoking an early answer" → "nikt, nawet ze strony 'Solidarności' **nie jest zainteresowany tym, by** spowodować szybką reakcję";

42.
- a) "Usually on such occasions the colonel **is waiting**" → "Zazwyczaj w takich okazjach pułkownik **czekał**";
- b) „had waited until **crises were** upon them" → "czekały, aż **nadejdzie kryzys**";

47.
- a) "But whatever **happened** at the polls" → "bez względu na to **jak zachowają się** wyborcy";

49.
- a) „A plan to solve Poland's economic and financial problems by a dramatic austerity programme, combined with a new convertible currency and a rapid restoration of capitalism, **has been approved**, in principle **by experts** from the Warsaw Government and Solidarity, in the hope that Western leaders will back it when they meet in Paris in mid-July."→ „**Eksperci r**ządu warszawskiego i «Solidarności» **zaaprobowali** w zasadzie rozwiązania ekonomicznych i finansowych problemów Polski za pomocą drastycznych oszczędności połączonych z wprowadzeniem wymienialności pieniądza i szybką odbudową kapitalizmu. Uczynili to w nadziei, że planowi temu udzielą też poparcia przywódcy Zachodu na spotkaniu paryskim w połowie lipca bieżącego roku";

Neutral techniques:

Stylistic and functional omissions (42):

6.
- a) "This announcement was made by the Premier last night in a crowded House of Commons, **Mr Chamberlain said**" → „Wczorajszej nocy premier Wielkiej Brytanii złożył w przepełnionej Sali Izby Gmin następujące oświadczenie";
- b) „'We are resolved that these methods must come to an end – (**cheers**) – and…" → „Jesteśmy zdecydowani położyć tym metodom kres. I […]";
- c) „the lives of countless **thousands** of men, women, and children"→ „jak również życie niezliczonych mężczyzn, kobiet i dzieci";
- d) "its brutal prosecuting spirit, its colossal immorality in international relations – is something which even the most cynical feel that **in sheer self-preservation** we must resist" → „jego duch znajdujący wyraz w brutalnych prześladowaniach, jego krańcowa niemoralność w sferze stosunków międzynarodowych – **zmusza nas do stawiania oporu**. Przyznają to nawet najwięksi cynicy.";
- e) "We have many assets **on our side**" → "Mamy […] wiele atutów";
- f) „Other forces have captured Bohumin and Teschen, **still farther south**." → "Inne oddziały zajęły Bohumin i Cieszyn.";

7.
- a) "**Well** over 80 per cent of Frenchmen **still** get baptized, married and buried in church." → „Ponad 80 procent Francuzów chrzci swe dzieci, bierze kościelny ślub i urządza swym zmarłym kościelny pogrzeb.";

10.
- a) Sums in dollars converted into pounds and place in which the report was created (Warsaw).;

11.
- a) "This is, **however,** already something positive" → „Jest to już coś pozytywnego";
- b) "the Polish leadership has **certainly** gained time" → "polskie kierownictwo zyskało na czasie";

13.
- a) „the figure will still be **as high as** $ 4.3 bn" → "około 4,3 mld dolarów";

14.
- a) "and must **first** be changed" → "I musi zostać zmieniony";
- b) „the most important party meeting **in Poland for a generation**" → „najważniejszy ze wszystkich dotychczasowych zjazdów";

16.
- a) "The 35th Comecon Council is likely to be held next month in Sofia **in Bulgaria.**" → "35 sesja tej Rady ma się odbyć w czerwcu w Sofii.";

19.
- a) "Fourteen "priority programmes" have been demarcated, **basically** food"→ "Opracowano 14 programów priorytetowych (produkcja żywności)";
- b) "there will be no return to the situation **prevailing** before martial law" → "że nie będzie absolutnie powrotu do sytuacji sprzed wprowadzenia stanu wojennego";
- c) „**Briefly,** among other changes" → „Inne wprowadzane zmiany";

21.
- a) "which agreed to reschedule 90 per cent of the interest due to them in 1981 **as part of the 1981 rescheduling terms**" → „które w 1981 r. zgodziły się na przesunięcie na późniejszy termin płatności 90 proc. przypadających odsetek";
- b) „Poland is due to repay $10,000m (**about £5,650m**) in 1982" → "W 1982 r. Polska powinna spłacić około 10 mld dolarów";

27.
- a) "on what organs were most exposed, **the doctors explained today**" → "od tego, które organy zostały najbardziej uszkodzone";

- b) "The unpredictability of the radiation cases **from Chernobyl** is compounded by radioactive gases that **apparently** were released at the height of the accident, the doctors said" → "Trudność w rozpoznaniu stopnia napromieniowania poszczególnych pacjentów wynika z faktu, że w kulminacyjnym momencie awarii doszło do ucieczki radioaktywnych gazów – powiedzieli lekarze.";

28.
- a) "his local version of *perestroika* **(restructuring)**" → "swoją lokalną wersję pieriestrojki";

32.
- a) "But there was also a sense that **the men may have been marking** the death of the notion" → "ale także oznacza koniec poglądu, że";
- b) "his wife, **Danuta,** interjected bitterly" → "jego żona zauważyła z goryczą";

34.
- a) „at the shipyard Monday **morning**" → "w stoczni w poniedziałek";

38.
- a) "who have watched the progression toward the round table with **varying degrees** of unease, ca be offered an assurance" → "**z niepokojem** obserwują postęp w kierunku rozmów przy okrągłym stole otrzymają zapewnienie";
- b) "in Eastern Europe's biggest **and most populous** country" → "w największym kraju Europy Wschodniej";
- c) "**Above all**, it is Jaruzelski's party leadership that seems to face the greatest risks in the coming months." → "Rząd gen Jaruzelskiego stanie w najbliższych miesiącach w obliczu największego ryzyka.";
- d) "**Remarkably**, opposition and government **leaders** already appear **remarkably** close to agreement" → "Zarówno opozycja jak i rząd wydają się już bliscy porozumienia";

39.
- a) title: "**President** Mitterrand" → "Mitterrand";
- b) redundancy: „'Finlandization' **of swaths** of Eastern Europe" → „'finlandyzacji' Europy Wschodniej";
- c) attribute: "an **embryonic** new order" → „nowym ładem";
- d) title: "**Chancellor** Kohl" → „Kohl";
- e) explanatory information (pronunciation): "A new parliamentary chamber, the 100-seat senate, is to be set up alongside the present 460-seat *Sejm* (**pronounced "same"**) → "Obok obecnego czterystasześćdziesięciomandatowego Sejmu powstaje nowa izba parlamentu – stuosobowy Senat.";

43.
- a) "He was posted instead to an auxiliary construction unit **(the Soviet equivalent of the Pioneer Corps).**" → "Jednakże przydzielono go do pomocniczej jednostki budowlanej.";
44.
- a) "**Some** 10 days ago" → „Dziesięć dni temu";
48.
- a) "to join **formally** in a governing coalition" → "do wejścia w skład koalicji rządzącej";
47.
- a) "before the second **election** round" → "już przed drugą rundą";
- b) "**then** the new Party leader" → "świeżo wybranego na stanowisko pierwszego sekretarza partii";
48.
- a) "Understandably, Solidarity is riding **a crest of** euphoria" → "jednak Solidarność – co jest zrozumiałe – przeżywa **euforię** po wyborach.";
- b) "**or, for that matter**, how to raise the **estimated** billions of zlotys" → „w jaki sposób zgromadzić miliardy złotych";
49.
- a) "said **it was significant** that this was the first such plan" → "powiedział, że jest to pierwszy plan tego typu";

Stylistic and functional additions (37):

13.
- a) „In a normal rescheduling operation there are three main strands." → "W normalnej operacji odraczania spłat, występują trzy główne elementy, **czy – jak kto woli – fazy**.";
- b) „The whole arrangement is normally backed up by a request from the debtor country for credit from the IMF" → "Cały ten plan jest zazwyczaj podparty **oficjalną** prośbą kraju-dłużnika o kredyt ze strony MFW.";
- c) "This last element is important." → Ten **trzeci** ostatni element jest **szczególnie** ważny.";
14.
- a) "For Western Europe, **the interest lies** in Poland's attempt to achieve a social contract between management and union" → "Europa Zachodnia **jest żywo zainteresowana wynikiem** polskiej próby doprowadzenia do umowy społecznej między władzami a związkami zawodowymi";

- b) „for equalising political power. The gap between party and non-party members" → „na rzecz zrównania władzy politycznej, **głoszącemu, że** przepaść między partyjnymi a bezpartyjnymi";

18.
- a) "last December 14 which was quickly broken up" → "podjęła 14 grudnia ubiegłego roku strajk protestacyjny, który **jednak** został szybko opanowany";

19.
- a) "has attempted, with mixed success, three things" → "próbował – ze zmiennym powodzeniem – **osiągnąć** trzy rzeczy";

21.
- a) „Mr Zygmunt Krolak, commercial counsellor at the Polish Embassy, said" → „Radca handlowy ambasady PRL **w Londynie** Zygmunt Królak oświadczył **mianowicie**";
- b) „it would be necessary for commercial banks" → „że **prywatne** banki komercyjne będą musiały";
- c) „Mr Krolak said Poland's ability to repay part of the interest" → „Radca Królak stwierdził, że polskie możliwości spłaty **w bieżącym roku**";
- d) „are expected to meet bankers in London next month" → „spotkają się **w maju bieżącego roku** z bankierami **zachodnimi**";
- e) „it was indicated in London yesterday" → "Z oświadczenia złożonego **22 kwietnia br.** w Londynie";

23.
- a) „in early June" → „na początku czerwca **bieżącego roku**";
- b) „with Poland" → „z Polską […] **w tym kraju**";

24.
- a) "Jaruzelski said" → „powiedział **gen.** Jaruzelski";
- b) „Jaruzelski said" → "**gen.** Jaruzelski oświadczył";
- c) "in positive developments that could come from the planned resumption in January of high-level Soviet-American arms control negotiations" → "pozytywnym rozwojem wydarzeń, do jakiego mogłoby dojść w wyniku zaplanowanego na styczeń **1985 r.** wznowienia radziecko-amerykańskich rokowań na temat kontroli zbrojeń";
- d) "Jaruzelski said that the U.S. economic sanctions have made it 'more difficult to cure our economy. But they also have brought some benefit." → "Gen**.** Jaruzelski powiedział, że sankcje gospodarcze USA 'utrudniają nam proces uzdrawiania gospodarki**. Dodał jednak**, że przynoszą one pewien pożytek.";

- e) "but was not going to 'pay for this with concessions' they demand" → "ale, że nie będzie za to 'płacić **jakimiś** koncesjami'";
- f) „that Poland can be deleted" → „iż Polskę można **po prostu** skreślić";

28.
- a) "A boxer forced into a corner knows only one way" → "Bokser zapędzony w róg **ringu** może tylko w jeden sposób";

29.
- a) "The Polish parliament today enacted a major government reorganization" → "Polski parlament zatwierdził wielki **plan** reorganizacji rządu";
- b) "austerity measures that are a crucial part of the plan" → "i innych środków oszczędnościowych istotnych dla planu **reform**";

36.
- a) "declared Rakowski in a speech to the Central Committee yesterday" → "**Premier Mieczysław** Rakowski oświadczył podczas obrad KC";

39.
- a) "the Soviet Union's hold on several nations" → "wpływy radzieckie w niektórych krajach **tego rejonu**";
- b) „the major policy challenge" → „trudny problem dla polityki **międzynarodowej**";
- c) „that only West Germany" → „że **spośród krajów zachodnioeuropejskich** tylko RFN";
- d) „At seminars" → „na **różnego rodzaju** seminariach";
- e) „the framework of Yalta" → „strukturę **wykoncypowaną** w Jałcie";

42.
- a) „Prominent western visitors like President François Mitterand" → "wizyt **różnych** wybitnych osobistości zachodnich, takich jak **prezydent Francji** François Mitterand";
- b) „The countryside's political importance has been strengthened" → "polityczne znaczenie wsi uległo **jeszcze** zwiększeniu";

46.
- a) „to cooperate on economic reform" → "na współpracę **w przeprowadzaniu** reform gospodarczych";

48.
- a) translator's initials;
- b) „refused to issue the challenge" → "odmówiła zgłoszenia propozycji przejęcia władzy – **(przyp. FORUM)**";
- c) „Nor is it in any way to gainsay the enormous significance of the eclipse of the one-party state in Poland and the triumph of a movement

that the Communist regime had contemptuously consigned to oblivion." → „Nie oznacza też w żadnym wypadku kwestionowania ogromnego znaczenia **dwu rzeczy** – schyłku jednopartyjnego państwa w Polsce oraz triumfu ruchu, który komuniści z pogardą usiłowali skazać na zapomnienie.";

50.
- a) "more from habit" → "bardziej z **dawnych** nawyków";
- b) „from deliberate sabotage" → "z rozmyślnej **chęci** sabotażu";

Adaptations (2):
14.
- a) „the police" → „milicja";
22.
- a) „more than a score of civilian and **police** injuries" → „ponad 20 osób cywilnych i **milicjantów** odniosło rany";

Amplifications (1):

21.
- a) "Although production was 10 per cent down in the first quarter of 1982" → „Choć w I kwartale br. Produkcja PRL zmalała o około 10 proc. **w stosunku do analogicznego okresu sprzed roku**";

Archaisms (1):

- a) "and sprinkled his answers with colloquialisms and jokes" → "a swe odpowiedzi **krasił** kolokwializmami i dowcipami";

Diffusions (1):

18.
- a) „revealed serious difficulties" → "można tu dostrzec **różne sygnały wskazujące na kłopoty**";

Explicitations (68):

5.
- a) descriptive explanation of deixis: "to resume the discussions **here this week**" → "aby wznowić rozmowy **w Bonn na początku września**";

- b) descriptive explanation of deixis: "informed sources **here**" → "dobrze poinformowane źródła **bońskie**";

6.

- a) descriptive explanation of a phenomenon: "Even in his own shameless record of **insincerity**" → "Nawet w dziejach jego własnej bezwstydnej kariery, **pełnej złamanych przyrzeczeń**";
- b) descriptive explanation: „we can have no truce with a system that **renders a beneficent peaceful civilisation insupportable**" → "Nie możemy jednak zawierać rozejmu z systemem **pragnącym zniszczyć pokojową i zbawienną cywilizację**.";
- c) descriptive explanation of a phenomenon: „in trying to secure a cessation of **hostilities**" → „w próbach niedopuszczenia **do wybuchu działań wojennych**";
- d) idiom explanation: „The German Government **let the sands run out**" → "Rząd Rzeszy **dopuścił do wygaśnięcia wszystkich terminów**.";

8.

- a) "to **reschedule** its massive debt" → „**przesunięcia terminów** spłaty";
- b) „new **money**" → "nowe **pożyczki**";

12.

- a) time: "in August" → "w sierpniu **bieżącego roku**";
- b) „**stubbornly patriotic local regions**" → „**organizacji lokalnych, które uparcie bronią interesów partyzanckich**";

13.

- a) additional message: „the negotiations are handled by a steering committee **of banks** which have run up the heaviest exposure" → "sprawą negocjacji zajmuje się tak zwany komitet sterujący, **złożony z przedstawicieli tych banków**, które są największymi wierzycielami";

14.

- a) "**parliamentary control**" → "**nadzoru parlamentu nad rządem**";
- b) „and **levelled** bourgeoisie" → „i **zniósł przywileje** burżuazji";
- c) „**industrial** unions" → „związki **gałęziowe**";
- d) „separate associations for certain professions" → "oddzielne związki skupiające ludzi różnych zawodów";
- e) „it insists that they negotiate as Solidarity" → "nalega, by prowadziły one negocjacje pod szyldem 'Soidarności'";
- f) „Solidarity is divided" → "W 'Solidarności' panują różnice poglądów";

18.

- a) deictic element - time: „ last month" – „w lutym **bieżącego roku**";

19.
- a) "But even the general **in charge of the mines** has warned that" →
  "Jednakże nawet generał **sprawujący funkcję ministra górnictwa**
  przestrzegł, że";
- b) "puts this year's **hard currency trade surplus** at \$1bn" →
  "**wolnodewizowa nadwyżka w bilansie handlowym** Polski może
  wynieść w roku 1982 1 mld dolarów";
- c) explanatory expression: „Poland will be expected to **repay** with
  more exports to the East." → "Polska będzie musiała **spłacić
  wspomniane deficyty** poprzez zwiększenie eksportu na Wschód.";
- d) explanatory expression: „What makes many Polish officials so
  angry about **the West's** "economic blockade" is that" → "W kwestii
  "blokady ekonomicznej" **zastosowanej przez Zachód**, wielu
  przedstawicieli władz polskich najbardziej irytuje to, że";
20.
- a) "to **the man on the Clapham omnibus**" → "po **szaraczków z
  ubogich dzielnic**";
21.
- a) „**Mr** Krolak said" → „**Radca** Królak stwierdził";
- b) „to adopt a similar **line** to western governments" → „przyjąć taka
  samą **linię postępowania** co rządy zachodnie";
23.
- a) „**lend** his moral authority" → "**wesprzeć władzę polską** swym
  autorytetem moralnym";
- b) „Senior US State Department officials have confirmed that these is
  serious discussion **within the Administration**" → „Wyżsi urzędnicy
  amerykańskiego departamentu stanu potwierdzają, że **wewnątrz władz
  wykonawczych** USA toczy się poważna dyskusja";
- c) „That discussion has begun **within the Administration**" →
  „Rozpoczęcie dyskusji na ten temat **w rządzie USA**";
- d) „the American **labour movement**" → „amerykańskich **związków
  zawodowych**";
- e) „**the same sources** have expressed" → „**urzędnicy Ci** wyrażają";
- f) „and **will probably be accompanied by**" → „Najprawdopodobniej
  konferencja ta **wyda też zalecenie**";
24.
- a) "but, **he said**, the country continue to experience difficulties" →
  "**Dodał** jednak, że kraj nadal przeżywa trudności";
- b) "bantered with journalists **he recognized**" → "żartował z
  dziennikarzami, których **znał z wcześniejszych okazji**";

- c) „He **sounded sharp** when questioned about" → "Kiedy zadano mu pytanie dotyczące praw człowieka w Polsce, **odpowiedział w ostrym tonie**";

25.
- a) time reference: " would begin **next month**" → „ zacznie się **w grudniu**";
- b) "the trial of **the alleged killers**" → "proces **trzech funkcjonariuszy służby bezpieczeństwa oskarżonych o to morderstwo**";

26.
- a) "as of **Wednesday evening**" → „że do **dnia 14 maja**";
- b) "the center of **a desperate effort**" → "jest centrum **intensywnych wysiłków lekarskich**";

27.
- a) deictic element – place: "A total of 299 are in hospitals **here** and in other cities" → "Łącznie w szpitalach **Moskwy i innych miast**";

28.
- a) "the **country's joint venture** law" → "przepisy, **dotyczące zakładania w kraju przedsiębiorstw-spółek z kapitałem mieszanym**";

29.
- a) "To stabilize Poland's shortage-wracked domestic market, **it** foresees drastic cuts in government subsidies." → "Aby ustabilizować cierpiący na zasadnicze braki rynek polski, **rząd** musi podjąć drastyczne kroki redukcji subsydiowania produkcji.";
- b) „In the political sphere, **it** promises that" → "W sferze politycznej **dokument dotyczący referendum** zakłada, że";

32.
- a) "as **in a sequel** to the strike" → "**w działaniu, które należy uznać za desperackie**";
- b) „strikes in **1970 and 1980**" → "strajki z lat **1979-1981**";

34.
- a) deictic element - time: „at the shipyard **Monday morning**" → "w stoczni w poniedziałek **22 sierpnia**";
- b) deictic element – place: "breaking the most serious outbreak of labor strike **here**" → "opanowania najpoważniejszych zaburzeń społecznych **w Polsce**";

36.
- a) "party and opposition activists **said**" → "**Tak ocenili sytuację** […] działacze i partii i opozycji";

37.
- a) explanatory detail: "The deal would also include an agreement and **support** for economic reform policies." → "Układ ten zawierałby także zgodę i **poparcie ze strony** «**Solidarności**» dla polityki reform gospodarczych.";

38.
- a) explanatory detail: „with highly ambitious **plans**" → „z bardzo ambitnym **programem reform gospodarczych i politycznych**";
- b) „party opposition based in the official communist trade unions and the security apparatus will almost certainly move against **them**" → "opozycja w partii, opierająca się na rządowych związkach zawodowych i aparacie bezpieczeństwa z całą pewnością ruszy do ataku przeciwko **obecnemu kierownictwu rządu i partii**";

39.
- a) "Britain and France have redoubled their diplomatic involvement **there**" → "Wielka Brytania i Francja wzmogły **w tej części Starego Kontynentu** swoje dyplomatyczne zaangażowanie";
- b) „a **low-key** approach" → "**dyskretne, pozbawione reklamy podejście**";
- c) „**clashes** with Bonn" → „**starć na linii** Bonn-Waszyngton";

41.
- a) „and **compound the problem**" → „a najwyżej **uruchomi klasyczną spiralę inflacji**";

42.
- a) "**On Monday** a police colonel had been told" → "**W poniedziałek (10.04)** pewnemu jej pułkownikowi powiedziano";
- b) „**Last weekend** a group of academics and well-known artists" → "**W ubiegły weekend (8-9.04)** grupa naukowców i znanych artystów";
- c) "As the secret policeman's behavior indicates, **it** is already changing the psychological atmosphere." → "Jak wynika z opisanego powyżej zachowania oficera policji, już teraz **reformy te** zmieniają atmosferę psychologiczną.";
- d) „the new **joint venture law**" → "nowej **ustawy o spółkach z udziałem obcego kapitału**"
- e) „**farm** prices" → „ceny **płacone rolnikom**";
- f) "**by this week**" → „**w drugim tygodniu kwietnia**";
- g) „**price controls** lifted soon after" → "a wkrótce potem zniesienie **kontroli cen płodów rolnych.***)";
- h) "The authorities hope this will give **official candidates** a better chance" → "Władze mają nadzieję, że polepszy to szanse **ich własnych kandydatów**";

- i) "on the **shop floor** level" → „na poziomie **zakładów pracy**";
43.
- a) "died of tuberculosis **together with two of their children**" → "zmarła na grużlicę; **w tym czasie zmarło także dwoje jej dzieci**";
49.
- a) time reference: „in mid-July" → "w połowie lipca **bieżącego roku**";
50.
- a) "**urgency**" → "**potrzeby silnego działania**";
- b) "Solidarity was reluctant to **accept responsibility**" → "'Solidarność' […] wahała się **przed objęciem władzy**";
- c) time reference: „**last week**" →"kilkanaście dni temu";

Hypernyms (6):

6.
- a) "this agreement shall have in its wake **a lasting pacification**" → "to porozumienie powinno doprowadzić do zawarcia **trwałego układu";**
11.
- a) "both the Polish people and **Moscow**" → "narodu polskiego i **ZSRR**";
20.
- a) "chi-chi galleries off **Bond Street**" → "modnych **londyńskich** galerii";
24.
- a) "**The Americans** 'are learning very slowly'" → "**Stany Zjednoczone** – powiedział – 'uczą się bardzo powoli";
44.
- a) "through many **a domestic living room**" → "w **prywatnych mieszkaniach**";
50.
- a) "**democratic** transformation" → "przeobrażeń **politycznych**";

Naturalisations (3):

7.
- a) "anathema" → „anatemę";
- b) „integrationists" → „integrystów";
20. (also 42. and 47.)
- a) "establishment" → "establishment";

Paraphrases (5):

7.
- a) "youthful" → „pełni młodzieńczego wigoru";
- b) „the worker priests have been banned by Rome" → "ruch księży robotników został przez Rzym zakazany";
- c) "irreverent" → „odnoszących się z małą rewerencją";
- d) „It led to the mushrooming of lay communities" → „Przysporzyło to komunistom wielu nowych członków spośród laickich katolików.";

22.
- a) „centre of a key export industry" → "które jest jedną z kluczowych gałęzi pracujących na eksport";

Context-dependent functions of techniques:

➢ **Glosses (7):**

12.
- a) "on Wednesday" → "w środę (**6 maja – przyp. Forum**)";

24.
- a) 2 footnotes with explanations on the part of Polish translator;

25.
- a) „*) Mimo cudzysłowów, nie jest to dosłowny cytat, lecz dokonana przez Hellę Pick rekapitulacja dłuższego fragmentu wypowiedzi. Przypis FORUM.";

27.
- a) "more than 800 rads of radiation" → "wynoszącego ponad 8 'gray'ów' (**jednostka radiacji równająca się 100 radom**)";

42.
- a) „Wolne ceny skupu i gwarantowane - wyższe od dotychczasowych cen skupu – ceny minimalne produktów rolnych zostały już wprowadzone od 17.IV br. Przypis FORUM"];

49.
- a) „to meet Mrs Thatcher" → „ wizytę **Premierowi Wielkiej Brytanii Margaret** Thatcher";

➢ **Reorderings (12):**

The most meaningful, influencing the ST message:

16.
- a) „In a co-ordinated move, **President Gustav Husak and President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Czechoslovak and Romanian party leaders, spoke out publicly in favour of a summit** at the end of Mr Ceausescu's three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia last week." → "Pod koniec trzydniowej oficjalnej wizyty w Czechosłowacji **prezydenta Rumunii Nicolae Ceausescu zarówno on, jak i prezydent Gustav Husak wypowiedzieli się publicznie za zwołaniem konferencji na szczycie.**" (TT - from less to more important);

21.
- a) „Western **banks will have to agree to delay interest as well as capital** repayments on Poland's debts if agreement is to be reached on a 1982 rescheduling, it was indicated in London yesterday." → „Z oświadczenia złożonego 22 kwietnia br. w Londynie wynika, że jeśli ma dojść do porozumienia w sprawie konwersji zadłużenia polskiego w 1982 r., to *bankierzy* zachodni **będą musieli się zgodzić** nie tylko na przełożenie **na późniejszy termin spłaty rat,** ale również i przypadających na ten okres **odsetek.**" (TT - from less to more important);

23.
- a) „An end to NATO sanctions against Poland is in sight now." – the sentence is moved from the very beginning of the article to the paragraph ending in the translation: → "Teraz, kiedy prymas Polski w komunikacie wydanym wspólnie z generałem Jaruzelskim uznał publicznie, że sytuacja ustabilizowała się i że utorowana została droga do wizyty papieża w czerwcu bieżącego roku, pojawiła się perspektywa zniesienia przez NATO sankcji wobec Polski.";

28.
   Reversed order:
- a) "Changes are taking place **in Hungary, Poland, and particularly in the Soviet Union**" → "Zmiany zachodzą **przede wszystkim w Związku Radzieckim**, a także w **Polsce i na Węgrzech**";
- b) „**Ideological conservatives and bureaucrats** afraid of losing their position" → "**biurokraci i konserwatyści** obawiający się straty swych pozycji";

- c) „**to undertake and develop** economic activity" → "**w rozwijaniu i podejmowaniu** działalności gospodarczej";

29.

- a) "and the granting of **financial and legal** autonomy to city and neighborhood governments" → "udzielenie władzom miejskim i gminnym **prawnych i finansowych** uprawnień i przywilejów";

36.

- a) "At the same time, **Solidarity and party activists** say that" → "Zarówno **działacze partii jak i działacze 'Solidarności'** twierdzą jednak, że";

38.

- a) „**Solidarity and the government** will attempt to collaborate in implementing an economic program" → "**rząd i 'Solidarność'** będą dążyć do wprowadzenia w życie program ekonomicznego";
- b) "Above all, it is Jaruzelski's party leadership that seems **to face the greatest risks in the coming months**." → "Rząd gen Jaruzelskiego stanie **w najbliższych miesiącach w obliczu największego ryzyka**.";

41.

Hiding a negative message:

- a) (after a sentence omitted) „Poland **has $39 billion in foreign debt, an aging industrial base and severe and chronic shortages of all kinds of consumer goods**." → "pogarszającą się sytuację gospodarczą, spowodowaną ogromnym **zadłużeniem zagranicznym (39 mln dolarów), starzejącym się parkiem maszynowym i brakiem artykułów konsumpcyjnych**";
- b) "that the **Communist pattern of public power and ideology is in crisis** throughout Eastern Europe" → "lecz, że w całej Europie Wschodniej **nastąpił kryzys komunistycznego wzorca władzy oraz ideologii**";

Newspeak (referred to in detail in the main body) (135)

APPENDIX C

OMISSIONS OF GROUP VIII (MISCELLANEOUS, NOT INCLUDED IN THE MAIN BODY) AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION (85)

3.
- a) descriptive redundancies (3x: "**Pink-faced and gasping in the tremendous heat of a Rumanian summer**"; "**East** Germans" → „Niemców"; "agonised reluctance **to get involved**" → „wyraźne wahanie");

4.
- a) prognosis: "Trade will take a huge leap forward this year, **and a consular agreement should be signed**." → „Wymiana handlowa zrobi w tym roku ogromny krok naprzód.";
- b) comment: „The Polish government regards the existence of an East German buffer State as a vital interest, **whatever they think privately about the Ulbricht regime**." → "Rząd polski uważa, że istnienie Niemiec wschodnich, państwa buforowego, leży w żywotnym interesie Polski.";

8.
- a) omissions of a descriptive redundancy: "Its **gross** financing requirement for 1981" → „Jej zapotrzebowanie finansowe na 1981 r.";

9.
- a) descriptive, explanatory redundancy, a gloss: "from public statements and **private** reports about dislocations in Comecon, **the Soviet Bloc common market**" → "na podstawie oświadczeń oficjalnych oraz reportaży informujących o zakłóceniach w funkcjonowaniu gospodarki krajów RWPG";
- b) descriptive redundancy "the **East German** magazine Neuer Weg said" → "Pismo Neuer Weg zamieściło";
- c) some detail: "The East Germans, meanwhile, have ordered their factories and power plants to use domestic brown coal and **compressed lignite,**" → "Fabryki i elektrownie otrzymały również polecenie, by spalać węgiel brunatny produkcji krajowej." ;

- d) gloss: „According to economist Cam Hudson of Radio Free Europe**, a US funded operation that beams news and programs to Eastern Europe,**" → "Według ekonomisty Cama Hudsona z Radia Wolna Europa,";
- e) descriptive redundancy: „at Smolensk and Kursk, **in western Russia**" → "koło Smoleńska i Kurska";

11.
- a) omission and sense modification: "**In fact**, while Mr Suslov **was closeted** with the entire Polish Politburo yesterday" → "Kiedy Suslovc prowadził rozmowy z całym Biurem Politycznym";

12.
- a) gloss: "a debate in the Sejm, **Poland's Parliament**" → "z debaty sejmowej";
- b) descriptive redundancy: "**enjoying its courteous ceremony and the attention of attendants in blue uniforms and white gloves**";

13.
- a) some detail: "without the help of the IMF **or the Paris club**" → "bez pomocy Międzynarodowego Funduszu Walutowego";

18.
- a) some detail: "Every working day this year **at least** 210 tractors have cone off the assembly line" → "W ciągu każego dnia roboczego z taśm montażowych zjeżdża 210 ciągników";
- b) some detail: "producing **in large quantities** under a 15-year licensing agreement" → "wytwarzać w ramach 15-letniego porozumienia licencyjnego";
- c) some detail: „and 90,000 Perkins engines **a year**"→ „oraz 90 tys. silników typu Perkins";
- d) some detail: "one of **the 14** "priority programmes" → "jednego z priorytetowych programów";

19.
- a) some detail: " and someday, **somehow**, he is going to have to march them down again" → "i kiedyś będzie musiał ich stamtąd sprowadzić";
- b) negative message: "Some 100,000 tonnes of this is said to have gone mouldy over the winter.";

20.
- a) some detail: "Topolski went to Kenya **for Kenyatta**" → "Topolski wybrał się sam do Kenii";
- b) some detail: „the only one **of John Freeman's interviewees** who declined" → "Jedynym człowiekiem, który odmówił";
- c) some details: "It is a massive work containing both the procession in the streets and the ceremony inside the Abbey – the Yeomen in the

Guard, **the equerries,** the bishops and archbishops, the Queen, the maids of honour, and the gentlemen-at-arms, the horses, **the coaches,** Churchill in the robes of a Knight of the Garter, **the regalia,** the Queen of Tonga…" → „To potężne dzieło ukazuje zarówno procesję na ulicach, jak ceremonię w Opactwie Westminsterskim, z udziałem gwardii konnej, biskupów i arcybiskupów, królowej, druhen, członków gwardii szlacheckiej, koni, Churchilla w stroju kawalera Orderu Podwiązki, królowej Tonga…";

- d) some detail: "an Irish politician once said **in the Dail**" → "Jak powiedział kiedyś pewien irlandzki polityk";
- e) some detail: "as well as producing **the University of Texas** and 'Face to Face' portraits" → "I wykonuje portrety z serii 'Twarzą w twarz'";
- f) additional message: "It's housed in his studios under the arches of Hungerford Bridge (**opposite the Artist's Entrance to the Royal Festival Hall, admission free, Fridays only, 2 30-7 30**") → "Mieści się on w studiu artysty pod przęsłami mostu Hungerford";

21.
- a) some detail: „However, **increased** foreign exchange earnings from these sources" → „Należy jednak podkreślić, że wpływy dewizowe z tego tytułu […]";
- b) some detail: „and a positive balance of trade with western economies is expected for the first time **since the early seventies**" → „po raz pierwszy też od lat bilans handlowy z krajami zachodnimi ma się zamknąć, jak się przewiduje, saldem dodatnim";

23.
- a) one detail: "**politically** realistic"→ "że realna staje się możliwość";

24.
- a) one detail: "At no time **during the 165-minute session** did he mention" → "Ani razu nie wspomniał";
- b) one detail: "in positive developments that could come from the planned resumption in January of **high-level** Soviet-American arms control negotiations" → "pozytywnym rozwojem wydarzeń, do jakiego mogłoby dojść w wyniku zaplanowanego na styczeń 1985 r. wznowienia radziecko-amerykańskich rokowań na temat kontroli zbrojeń";
- c) one detail: „Speaking **with bitterness** about Reagan's policy toward Poland" → „Mówiąc o polityce Reagana wobec Polski";
- d) one detail: „Jaruzelski said the U.S. administration 'thinks that Poland can be deleted **from the world scene**'" → "gen. Jaruzelski

oświadczył, że administracja amerykańska sądzi, 'iż Polskę można po prostu skreślić'";
- e) descriptive detail: "and wore his customary dark glasses";
- f) some message: "a conference sponsored by the Association of Polish Journalists";

26.
- a) some detail: "who spent the first hours **after the April 26** accident within yards" → "którzy przez pierwsze godziny awarii przebywali w odległości liczonej w metrach";
- b) some detail: „One of the American physicians, Dr. Robert **Peter** Gale" → "Jeden z lekarzy amerykańskich prof. Robert Gale";
- c) some detail - gloss: „extracted from the livers of aborted fetuses, **a procedure known as a fetal liver transplant**" → „uzyskanym z wyciągu z wątroby płodów poronionych";
- d) "Dr. Gale, **a specialist on bone marrow transplants**, said" → "Dr Gale powiedział, że";
- e) some detail: "the physician arrived in Moscow on May 2 **at the invitation of the Soviet Government**" → "Dr Gale przybył do Moskwy 2 maja.";
- f) some details: "by Armand Hammer, the American industrialist whose ties with Moscow **date to 1921, when he was introduced to Lenin after helping combat a typhus epidemic in the Soviet Union**" → "Arnold Hammer, utrzymujący ścisłe kontakty z Moskwą";
- g) some detail: "Dr. Champlin **and Dr. Gale** said" → "Dr Champlin oświadczył";
- h) some detail: "Radiation has a devastating effect on bone marrow, **according to the American doctors**," → "Napromieniowanie powoduje fatalne następstwa dla szpiku";

27.
- a) descriptive part: "**An American doctor here to help treat victims of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident** said today that the death toll" → "powiedział, że liczba ofiar śmiertelnych"
- b) some detail: "Gale appeared at the press conference **for Soviet and foreign journalists** with Dr. Andrei Vorobev." → "Dr Gale wystąpił na konferencji prasowej razem z dr. Andriejem Woroblowem";

28.
- a) some detail: "debate on **new solutions for its economy often called** the second stage of economic reform" → "debatą nad tzw. Drugim etapem reformy gospodarczej";

29.
- a) some detail: „the economic program, announced **at a parliamentary session** two weeks ago, includes" → "przedłożony przed dwoma tygodniami program gospodarczy zakłada";
- b) some detail: „there will be no overall fall in living standards **as a result**" → "iż nie będzie ogólnego spadku stopy życiowej";
- c) some detail with time reference: "Government officials portrayed the referendum, **scheduled for Nov. 29**, as" → "rząd przedstawia referendum jako";

32.
- a) some details: "Poland was free of labor disruptions, **sit-ins or other strife**" → "Polska jest wolna od strajków";
- b) some descriptive details: "that **certainly** would have followed a decision to end the strike **with broken bones and bloodied heads**" → "nastąpiłyby w ślad za decyzją zakończenia strajku";
- c) some details – descriptive: „for **the Government's economic czar**, Deputy Prime Minister, **Zdzisław** Sadowski" → "dla wicepremiera Sadowskiego";
- d) some detail: "When Mr. Walesa reaffirmed **the union's slogan** Tuesday night after leaving the shipyard, saying," → "Gdy Wałęsa we wtorek wieczorem po opuszczeniu powiedział";

34.
- a) single word: „This seems to have encouraged **ordinary** Poles" → "Zachęciło to – jak się zdaje - Polaków";

36.
- a) some detail: "Warsaw, **Jan. 18**" → „Warszawa";
- b) some detail: "one senior Solidarity figure in Warsaw, **who asked not to be named**.";
- c) some detail: "risking the loss of his position as the country's opposition leader, **activists warn**";

37.
- a) a defining unit: "**the Baltic ports** of Gdańsk and Szczecin" → „w Gdańsku i w Szczecinie";
- b) some detail: "the strikes **duly** ended" → „strajki się skończyły";
- c) gloss: "Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, **the head of state**" → „gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski";

38.
- a) some details: "and a substantial bloc of opposition candidates is likely to compete in elections and sit in the legislature **for the first time since the 1940s**" → "oraz liczący się liczbowo blok

opozycyjnych kandydatów walczących w wyborach o miejsca w parlamencie";

39.
- a) some detail: "a much more fluid, fragmented and **potentially** more dangerous arrangement" → "znacznie płynniejszą, bardziej zróżnicowaną i obfitującą w niebezpieczeństwa konfigurację";
- b) some detail: "a Hungarian Politburo member **and a champion of political pluralism**" → "członek Biura Politycznego partii węgierskiej";
- c) some detail: "anti-Communist or anti-Soviet rebellion **in one or several countries**" → "antykomunistyczna czy antyradziecka rebelia";
- d) some details: "one of the top foreign policy priorities of his new seven-year term. **The French President visited Czechoslovakia in December and Bulgaria last month**" → "na liście priorytetowych zagadnień polityki zagranicznej swojej drugiej, 7-letniej kadencji";
- e) some detail: "denouncing Jaruzelski **or whatever**" → „potępiając Jaruzelskiego";
- f) some detail: „the **gripping** Polish upheaval of 1980-81" → „polskich wstrząsów z lat 1980-1981";
- g) some detail: "a **highly** successful visit" → „udaną wizytę";
- h) some detail: "**ambitious** approach to Eastern Europe" → "w jego podejściu do Europy Wschodniej";

41.
- a) some negative detail concerning the character of changes in Poland: "**the striking political** changes" → "zmiany";

42.
- a) explanatory notes: „Mr Lech Walesa**, Solidarity's leader**, says" → "Lech Wałęsa mówi";
- b) some detail: "some seats **to fight**" → „pewną liczbę miejsc";
- c) explanatory notes: "'I need $60,000 **(£35,500**) for equipment and $8,000 and zl 4.5m (**£ 4,000**) for the first two weeks,' he said. 'Remember a 15-minute video costs zl 5m.' **he added**" → "Potrzebuję 60 tys. dolarów na sprzęt oraz 8 tys. dolarów i 4,5 mln złotych na pierwsze dwa tygodnie. Pamiętajcie, że piętnastominutowe wideo kosztuje 5 mln. złotych.";

43.
- a) some details: „he resented Stalin's **pre-war** liquidation of the KPP **and its leaders**" → "Ochab dezaprobował likwidację KPP przez Stalina";

44.
- a) exaggerative introduction: „**On top of that**, it highlights the considerable problems women face" → "Znajdują w niej także odbicie trudne problemy, z jakimi borykają się polskie kobiety";
- b) some unnecessary detail: "Estimates on the number of abortions **carried out each year** vary" → "Oblicza się, że liczba tych zabiegów waha się";
- c) some detail: "the Government also suggested **to Parliament**" → "Wystąpił on też z sugestią, by";
- d) some detail: "Warsaw heard anti-clerical slogans **chanted in good faith**" → „usłyszano w Warszawie hasła antyklerykalne";

46.
- a) some descriptive detail: „Poland's **stone-faced** Communists" → "komuniści";

47.
- a) some identifying details - gloss: "the seats in **the Sejm**, the key house of the new **two-chamber** parliament" → "miejsc w kluczowej izbie nowego parlamentu";
- b) some detail: „The Government pitch to be the party of law and order, the guarantor of calm (**private polling always tells it this is popular)**, seemed feeble" → "argumentacja rządu, że jest partią ładu i porządku, gwarantem spokoju, wypadła słabo";
- c) some detail: "they could fight an election **for all the world**" → "że są w stanie wypaść dobrze w walce wyborczej";
- d) some detail: "amazement at the election result was balanced **throughout the week**" → "uniesienie tymi wynikami wyborców zmąciły";

49.
- a) some detail: "New York financier **and fund manager**" → "nowojorskiego finansistę";

APPENDIX D

OMISSIONS OF WHOLE PASSAGES – GROUP VII (195)

1.
- a) 3 paragraphs concerning other East-European visits to France together with Cyrankiewicz's, the people accompanying Cyrankiewicz, plans for visiting places of interest;

2.
- a) 2 paragraphs concerning the problem of the invitation given to German Bishops by Cardinal Wyszyński and 2 Polish bishops, and the right to decide on foreign policy problems without consulting the Polish Government;

3.
- a) 4 paragraphs: out of 8;

4.
- a) 1 paragraph concerning a historical note on the Potsdam conference and its consequences;
- b) 1 paragraph concerning characteristics of Minister Rapacki;
- c) a part concerning the British and Polish policy on Vietnam;

6.
- a) 2 bigger parts of the original article: "Trades Union Congress. Shortened Meeting: A Declaration Against Aggression" and "Manchester Evacuation Almost Complete. 95,000 Have Been Sent Away. Education Director's Tribute To All Helpers.";
- b) a historical note: "Germany's sudden attack on Poland yesterday morning has been followed by an ultimatum to Germany by Great Britain and France. Germany is warned that unless the German troops are immediately withdrawn Britain and France will without hesitation fulfill their obligations to Poland.";

7.
- a) passages concerning the Pope;
- b) passage concerning the situation of the French church: "In a recent polemic the conservative Father Bruckberger claims there is a secret

plot to destroy the church – by the new theologians, the new liturgists, the new technicians of the catechism and the new exegetists. He accuses the progressives of using the Vatican II council of the 1960s as their alibi.

In a famous counter-polemic the Catholic historian Pierre Pierrard, spokesman for the new wave, says it is the integrationists who use Vatican II as their alibi: "for them it is an excuse to live in the past".

Lefeuvre, still celebrating Mass in Latin in his Paris church, still ordaining priests, will not meet the Pope. His following is diminishing but hardening, said Father Defois.";

- c) passage concerning the Pope: "The Pope thinks as a Slave while we are unrepentant Cartesians," said Gabriel Marc, former head of one of the biggest Catholic Action groups. […]." (long passage concerning the Pope John Paul II omitted);

- d) passage concerning the Pope's visit in France: „Mr Marchais, the Communist leader, will meet the Pope, as will President Giscard although protocol forbids him driving down the Champs-Elysees in the same car. So will Mr Chirac, the Gaullist leader, in his capacity as Mayor of Paris. Only the socialists say they are not interested. Some Catholics still hope the Pope can achieve more in three days than "mere show business". More promise on his return to France next year to take part in the Council of Bishops' meeting at Lourdes. He might then try pulling together his warring strands among French Catholics.";

8.
- a) paragraph 1 (27 lines, concerning a probability of a civil war and using force by the communist powers): „This means that besides the danger of spontaneous outbreaks of discontent there is a still greater danger that hardliners inside the apparatus, perhaps with Soviet support, will engineer provocative incidents in the hope of driving the Government into using force against its own people, thereby provoking civil war and Soviet intervention.";

- b) 15 lines with the critical view on the Russian ruling: „We would have to wait for more enlightened Soviet leaders who could see that their own interests would ultimately be better served by riding with change in eastern Europe than by trying to prop up systems which are neither popular nor efficient.";

10.
- a) introduction (article's summary on an economic crisis): "The Polish Government has admitted that the country's economic crisis is so bad that a savage drop in living standards and some unemployment will be unavoidable this year. A Warsaw report drawn up last month and

presented to Western bankers says investment will have to be concentrated on agriculture and export industries while other enterprises slow down or cease production.";

- b) the amount of the Polish debt: "Set against currency reserves of $300m, Poland's short-term debt in February was $1,900m and its medium to long-term debt was $22,900m. By the end of this year the medium to long-term debt could total $26,100m the report says.";

13.

- a) message on the Polish debt: "When Poland first made its rescheduling request in March it was talking about margins of ⅓ -1½ per cent over Libor for rescheduled debt. At the same time Brazil, which still has some $ 6.5 bn in international reserves and has not asked for its debt repayment to be deferred, was paying margins of more than 2 per cent. Yet few bankers voiced complaints about Poland's suggested margins.";

- b) message on the Peru's debt: "In April Peru repaid early some $ 360 m of the debt which had been rescheduled in 1978. Its credit rating has improved to the point where it is now able to borrow at margins well below the 1⅞ per cent it was paying on its refinanced debt.";

- c) message on the Turkish debt "Even as late as January this year Turkey had to ask commercial banks to restructure $ 3.2 bn in commercial loans to free the country of the burden of interest and principal repayments while it pressed ahead with its economic programme."

14.

- a) introductory part (8 paragraphs), unconnected with the main contents;

19.

- a) negative message – criticism of central planning of the Soviet Union: "But the words of Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski, a new deputy minister for economic reform - "Poland's economic problems are not just the result of policy blunders, but a failure of the central planning system itself" – are not far from those once uttered by Mr Walesa – "there is little point in carrying out repairs. We might as well get a new machine.";

- b) negative message –concerning the crisis and criticism of central planning of the Soviet Union: "The relevance of the reforms is highly questionable in the current war economy. New flexibility on paper is meaningless to Polish managers who are rationed on supplies and currency. Nor is it clear how the new reforms will mesh in with the

orthodox central planning system of the Soviet Union, towards which Poland is perforce drawing closer.";

20.
- a) introductory note;

22.
- a) negative message – concerning possible workers' strikes: "But the final report to come in from the provincial centres – some hours after he had spoken – could conceivably bring the workers out in force";
- b) negative message – concerning killing the strikers of 1970s and 1980s: „But regardless of who made the decision to take this drastic course of action, the incident was a vivid reminder of the bloody riots in December 1970 that set Poland on the path to its present crisis. Some 70 workers were killed in the 1970 riots. Police action against the strikers in 1976 took another toll. The first days of martial law in December 1980 yet another. In August 1980, one of the priority demands in the new strikes was for erecting monuments in Szczecin and Gdansk to put the victims of the 1970 clashes on record for all time. Similar bitter reactions could result from what happened Aug.31 at Lubin.";
- c) negative message – concerning the probable results of postponing trade unions: "That unless the government starts recognizing the increasingly apparent inevitability of bringing Solidarity and at least its moderate, most responsible leaders into the talks about new unions, it is going to have this periodic trouble and a restless youth on its hands for a long time. The Lubin shootings will simply add to the unrest.";

23.
- a) additional negative information introduced by „•" about the imprisonment of a Solidarity activist: „Mr Lech Walesa, attending the trial of a Solidarity colleague Anna Walentynowicz, in Grudziadz yesterday, called for more "determined forms" of protests to counter political indictments of union leaders. His call came as the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk demanded revival of the union. "We demand the return of Solidarity in legal open activity, and an end to all reprisals," an unsigned letter said.";

24.
- a) negative message – concerning the murder of Priest Popiełuszko: "'We have nothing to hide,' he said. 'We are interested in discovering everything about the tragedy.'";
- b) negative message – jailing Solidarity activists and bans on new credits and economic sanctions "Jaruzelski's suppression of Solidarity and his jailing of its activists led the U.S. government to impose

sanctions including a ban on new credits, opposition to Poland joining the International Monetary Fund and suspension of normal tariffs on Polish exports to the United States. The Reagan administration continues to demand the release of a remaining two dozen or so political prisoners following the freeing last summer of most of those held and the resumption of a dialogue by the government with genuine representatives of society.";

- c) negative message – dependence of the Soviet Union on the U.S. military development: "'I know the Soviet Union well enough' to be sure that it can match any new U.S. weapons program, he said.";
- d) 7 concluding paragraphs concerning economic and political situation, the relations of the state with Roman-Catholic Church, imposing the martial law, accusations of the West Germany's Government of stationing nuclear missiles, alliance with the Soviet Union.;

25.
- a) negative message concerning the trial in the case of Priest Popiełuszko's murder: „We do not know if there were other conspirators, but if the trial does not produce the answers, then we cannot do any more.";
- b) negative message concerning the trial in the case of Popiełuszko's murder: "He added that he could not "over-emphasise how much damage the priest's murder had done to Polish interests and angrily rejected allegations that he might have been involved in the conspiracy. He said he would "not even stoop to answer such charges." But he vowed there would be no cover-up in the case.";
- c) negative message concerning the trial in the case of Popiełuszko's murder: "Who inspired it? We don't know, we don't know them. The murder prompted General Jaruzelski earlier this month to assume personal supervision over the Interior Ministry, which controls the security police. General Jaruzelski said: "The majority of priests behave in such a way that they carry out their duties without colliding with the state. But I must admit that there are priests who do not respect these principles, the provisions of the constitution, the requirements of our state. He said that the Government had held talks with church leaders on the subject of rebel leaders.";
- d) negative message – concerning the rejection of Western influence in Poland: "But he warned that Poland 'cannot be treated independently of its communist system and its Warsaw Pact alliance.' We want broad cooperation with the West, but we will not pay for it with concessions.";

- e) negative message concerning bad relations between Poland and West Germany: "He said that revanchism in various West German quarters inevitably "generates mistrust." Poland "cannot be indifferent to this. It is poisoning the international atmosphere, but we still expect the right tendencies to reassert themselves.";
- f) propaganda message concerning the role of the Warsaw Pact: "It expires next May but is certain to be extended. General Jaruzelski said that a Warsaw Pact summit would be held before the expiry of the present treaty to determine its future duration. He said that the treaty was 'a major force for peace.'";
- g) negative message concerning the relations of Poland with the West: "The Polish leader also touched on relations with Western countries, which imposed sanctions in retaliation for martial law.";

26.
- a) negative message – information on a death toll: "Tonight, Mikhail S. Gorbahev said in a nationally televised address that the death toll had risen to 9 – 2 killed in the original explosion and 7 who have died since of radiation. He said that 'as of today' 299 people had been hospitalized with radiation disease of varying degrees. That figure was 95 more than reported by Soviet officials last week.
Dr. Gale said that based on his first-hand information and data provided by the Soviet health authorities, the death toll from the accident, including one person killed by steam burns and another hit by falling debris the night of the accident, was now nine and would probably increase.";
- b) negative message – concerning the refusal of Soviet doctors to give information to the press "Soviet doctors were not available for interviews, and Western reporters were barred from talking with patients or visiting the hospital. Dr. Gale is scheduled to hold a news conference in Moscow on Thursday.";
- c) descriptive part: „Dr. Gale, who is 40 years old, is chairman of the advisory committee of the International Bone Marrow Transplant Registry, a consortium of 128 transplant teams from 60 nations. The registry maintains computerized lists of more than 50,000 potential donors. An intense, thin man with graying hair.";
- d) some detail: "'The first job was a triage,' Dr. Gale said.";
- e) negative message – rationing the marrow: "'We didn't want to give a transplant to someone who might recover on their own without one,' Dr. Champlin said.";
- f) 11 paragraphs on carrying out transplants and doctors private plans after the treatment;

- g) 6 paragraphs concerning Israeli doctor and lack of diplomatic contacts between the USSR and Israel causing the fact of not mentioning his assistance and the nuclear disaster and its victims;

27.

- a) negative message concerning treating of radiation casualties: "Since their arrival, they have been closeted at a Moscow hospital, working with a team of Soviet doctors to save the lives of 35 victims suffering from acute radiation.";
- b) negative message – concerning the death toll: "Dr. Richard Champlin, also of the UCLA Medical Center, said 33 of those suffering acute radiation poisoning are men and two are women. He said six of the 19 victims who had bone marrow transplants have died.";
- c) descriptive part: "In a transplant, bone marrow from a close relative, or someone else with very similar tissue structure, is injected into a patient's veins. It then replaces the marrow destroyed by radiation.";
- d) 7 paragraphs concerning donations of bone marrow, the American doctors visit and its sponsorship and their meeting with Gorbachev;
- e) descriptive part: "Gale is head of the advisory committee for the International Bone Marrow Transplant Registry, a group involving 60 countries that has made plans to treat victims of radiation poisoning in case of a nuclear emergency. Before Chernobyl, the Soviet Union was not a member of the organization, but it is now applying for membership.";
- f) a comment: "Given the uniqueness of the Chernobyl accident, Gale said no one could have been fully prepared. Still, he said, the medical community would have to learn lessons from the incident, because 'anything less than 100 percent efficiency is unacceptable.";
- g) negative details – concerning the injuries: "'There were some people who were not at the station, but nearby,' he said, noting that it was difficult for some patients to relate exactly where they were and how they were exposed to radiation. He said that in one case, a man had high radiation levels on one side of his body, but not the other. We try to reproduce where he stood during the accident, but it is a very complicated job, especially considering the split-second releases of uncontrolled radioactive gases,' he said.";
- h) some detail: "Gale declined to predict long-term medical prospects for people living in the vicinity of the power plant.";
- i) some detail: „'I don't believe we should be making definitive statements about radiation at points distant the Chernobyl source,' he said. 'I would very much welcome an opportunity to go down there.";

28.
- a) negative message concerning the economic situation in Poland: "On the other hand, the Government is under pressure from reformist groups and a population discouraged by the lack of improvement in the economic situation. Such opinions are reflected in a section of the media. In contrast to political issues, it is possible to voice liberal opinions concerning economic reform.";
- b) negative message referring to the economic reform: "The report not only goes further than the Government's own reform programme but also urges speedier implementation.";
- c) negative message concerning the economic reform: "The authorities, however, set on date for this, while the report maps out a three-year path to internal convertibility for Polish companies at least. An essential first step is the establishment of a free currency market, including a currency exchange in mid-1988. The worst exchange, however, does not appear in the government programme. The currency market would be accompanied by a diminishing role for central government in financing imports.";
- d) some detail: "Poland should create more favourable conditions for these companies than other Eastern European countries.";
- e) some details: "Piotr Aleksandrowicz, a journalist, and Wlodzimierz Kicinski, an economist, are among the authors of the Polish report "No Limits to Foreign Trade.";

29.
- a) details concerning the referendum: "Under the referendum plan revealed in the parliament today after weeks of internal government debate, Poles will be asked if they are 'for the full implementation of the program of radical healing of the economy, […] knowing that it requires going through a difficult two or three-year period of quick change.

A second question will ask if voters are for 'the Polish model of profound democratization of political life,' which is explained as a move to 'expand the rights of citizens and increase their participation in ruling the country.'";
- b) negative message concerning the criticism of the modest plan of program of political changes: "Western analysts here said the initiative seemed designed to bolster the political legitimacy of Jaruzelski's government by indicating support for its modest program of political changes, which contrasts sharply with platforms put forward by the banned Solidarity trade union and the Roman Catholic Church.";

- c) negative message concerning the liquidation of bureaucratic posts in the country: "The initial reorganization measures enacted today will mean the consolidation of 16 ministries into eight new ones and the elimination of more than 3,000 of the 12,000 bureaucratic posts devoted to central management of the economy. Officials said more than half of the nearly 200 government positions at or above the rank of vice minister would be eliminated.";
- d) negative message concerning losing the posts by former officials: „Another important move in the new program is expected Saturday when new ministers will be named to accompany the new structure. Parliamentary sources said several ranking officials who have resisted radical economic changes in the past will lose their posts, while the architect of the new program, Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski, will be placed in control of the Planning Commission, until now a conservative bastion.";

30.
- a) the whole problem addressed in the original article concerning the existence of a double currency system in Poland and the dollar black market;

31.
- a) negative message concerning new principles of ruling: "Hours after the strike collapsed the Sejm, the Polish Parliament, voted powers to freeze prices and wages, enforce layoffs and dismiss managers until the end of the year";
- b) negative message concerning the strike end: "The official news agency PAP said the sudden end on Tuesday of a strike led by Lech Walesa at the Lenin shipyard had exposed the "myth" of Solidarity's might.";
- c) negative message concerning new people ruling the country: "The "new leaders" in the shipyard say that Mr Zdislaw Sadowsky, a non-party man who is deputy prime minister, head of the state plan and chief executive of the reform programme, is someone with whom they could deal. So too is Dr Wladyslaw Baka, head of the National Bank, who is currently grappling with Poland's $40 billion hard currency debt. So, somewhat surprisingly, is Mr Alfred Miodowicz, the head of the OPZZ, the post martial-law official trade union, who was vocal last week in criticizing the incompetence of the would-be reformers.";
- d) negative message concerning new people ruling: "Mr Zbigniew Messner, the Prime Minister, is thought by many of the workers and by some less discrete officials in his own Government, to have been conspicuously lacking in dynamism – in contrast to Mr Karoly Grosz,

the Prime Minister of Hungary, who is so vigorously managing to sell unpopular policies to a reluctant work force.";

- e) negative message concerning new people ruling "Then, there is the puzzling personality of Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski. He met Solidarity on its home ground in 1981 and has been out of favour with Gen. Jaruzelski and then back in again since. He now sits in the policy-making politburo and in the report published last month he declared that traditional Communist ideology would lose its appeal if it did not get rid of 'useless ideas and outdated concepts'.";

- f) negative message concerning new ways of ruling: "The shipyard workers' representatives now declare they want reform of the law and of the institutions associated with *nomenklatura*. This is the system by which the ruling party appoints people to public offices, which in a democracy would be elected posts.";

- g) negative message concerning new ways of ruling: "They said in Gdansk that *nomenklatura* and the present legal system, as at present enforced, mean "there is no trust" in people's Poland.";

32.

- a) negative message concerning new ways of ruling: "The new powers will enable him to enforce the program for economic recovery by dismissing uncooperative managers, freezing wages and prices, and even making strikes subject, in effect, to approval by the Politburo of the Communist Party.";

- b) negative message revealing the weakness of the government: "Stronger measures enabling the Government to virtually ban labor action were dropped. Instead, the Government merely said collective bargaining, procedures would be subject to approval by the leadership of the Government-approved trade unions that were set up in 1982 to replace Solidarity. The head of these unions is Alfred Miodowicz, a member of the Politburo.

Parliament's move today appeared to be an act of desperation, for if the labor unrest of the last few weeks demonstrated anything, it was that the Government and the party no longer has the vigor to use such powers – especially in the wake of the international outcry over the police raid that broke up the strike at Nowa Huta steel foundry last Thursday.

When Jerzy Malkowski, the Government economic spokesman, was asked at a news conference whether the Government would consider a wage-and-price freeze as the first exercise of its new powers, the room rang with the laughter of the reporters attending, most of them Poles.";

- c) negative message revealing the weakness of the government: "The Government is no less fearful of the workers who didn't strike than of the strikers. On Tuesday, even as the strikers were preparing their dramatic march from the yard, those who did not strike were called to a sports fieldhouse near the center of Gdansk to collect their pay for April. The peaceful affair, in which several hundred workers stood in line to pick up their pay envelopes, unfolded under the watchful eyes of hundreds of riot police. 'Look, we're collecting our money, and we're collecting it under police sticks,' a 27-year-old welder said, nodding toward battered blue police vans.' 'They are afraid of our shadows.'";

- d) negative message concerning the situation in the country leading to Solidarity's constitution and its later outlaw: "Solidarity was born out of frustration with steadily deteriorating living conditions, out of a desire for the good things after years of empty promises, and out of cynicism about ruling-class corruption. The strikes showed these feelings have not changed, even though the union was officially outlawed after the declaration of martial law in 1981 and then replaced by the Government-sanctioned unions.";

- e) negative message showing the weakness of the Government and increasing power of Solidarity: "For the union, the strike was encouraging for several reasons. Though weakened by arrests and defections, it saw a rash of strikes erupt, some of them crippling major industrial complexes for more than a week. The Government was compelled to use force to end the one at Nowa Huta and to undertake direct contact with Solidarity advisers to end the one here, something that would have been unthinkable as recently as several months ago. The Government was even claiming it had sought direct talks with Lech Walesa, the union leader, which he denies. But it was a far cry from recent disparaging references to him as a private person, and to Solidarity as a phantom, an organization that no longer exists in Poland.";

- f) 4 ending paragraphs concerning ideas to appeal to potential members by Solidarity;

34.

- a) details concerning encouraging to take part in the strike: "'Are you Poles?' demanded Aloyzy Szablewski, chairman of the strike committee, as he confronted several middle-aged lathe operators standing by their machines.
  'Yea.'
  'Then why don't you defend your union?'

'What will this strike solve? We had a strike last May and it changed nothing. I have a family, children, I have to think about them. We can hardly make ends meet'

'If we win, then we can have an independent union back. Once Solidarity exists, then everything else will follow.'";

- b) some details concerning the atmosphere around the strike: „'You have an apartment, but what do we have?' replied the 20-year-old striker who lives in a workers' hostel in Gdansk.";

- c) some details concerning the atmosphere around the strike and its followers: "'These 20-year-olds have entered the political scene sooner than we expected,' said Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, the government's official pollster, in a recent interview. 'They embody an almost exact replica of the problems of the 30-year-olds, but their radicalism is of a different type. They don't have leaders and they are politically illiterate. They are difficult to control'";

- d) some details concerning the atmosphere around Solidarity: "There is another reason why Solidarity evokes less fervor than it did in 1980: many of its goals have been realized, even though the union itself is banned. August 1980 was a kind of cultural revolution that broke political taboos and made a mockery of Gierek's talk about 'ideological and moral unity.'";

- e) negative message concerning severe critic of the Government: „During Monday's march through the yard, workers heard an impassioned attack on the communist system from Roman Taran-Zygmanski, an organizer. 'This communist system functions only because of the fear of the society. Every totalitarian system functions because people are frightened. All of you here think like me, but some of you haven't got the courage to say it.' Then a young worker in steel-rimmed glasses spoke-up' 'In the geopolitical situation that Poland finds itself, right on the borders of the Soviet Union, how can you imagine that Poland can be anything other than communist? And anyway, What's this got to do with the strike?'";

35.
- a) introductory comment: "Poles march out singing but without guarantees";

- b) many details, like e.g. description of the strike ending, or those concerning the group aimed to carry out talks with gen. Kiszczak, strikes in other plants and mines apart from the Gdańsk shipyard, death of a policeman in Stalowa Wola, undertakings of gen. Jaruzelski to reach consensus;

36.
- a) negative message concerning Jaruzelski's resignation: "The 3 a.m. confidence vote was the first held by the party in the general's seven-year rule and came in response to calls for his resignation by some rank-and-file party activists, officials said.";
- b) negative message concerning the change of government: "The state news agency PAP reported tonight that Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski, Defense Minister Florian Siwicki and Interior Minister Czesław Kiszczak all offered to resign in the course of the late-night debate. In the end, the agency said, 32 of the 230 Central Committee members voted against the leadership's plan for Solidarity.";
- c) negative message concerning the negotiations between Solidarity and the government: "The leadership's hard-fought victory will probably clear the way for broad negotiations between the party and Solidarity that have been blocked since last September by the party's refusal to accept the principle of labor union pluralism. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, who has demanded a "declaration of intent" from the party on Solidarity before beginning a proposed "round table" of negotiations, is likely to announce his agreement on talks at a press conference Thursday in Gdansk, union sources said.";
- d) negative message concerning outbreaks of strikes and violence: "The key impetus behind the political bargaining is an economic crisis that government and opposition activists say is certain to provoke new outbreaks of industrial strikes and possibly even violence.
  Even as the Central Committee was debating yesterday, workers in a textile plant in the town of Pabianice staged the first strike of the year to demand a big pay increase and Solidarity's immediate legalization. The strike was reported to be continuing today.";
- e) some details on the party control: "Despite the outpouring of hardline speeches and criticism during the two-day meeting, several activists said Jaruzelski's control of the party is stronger than it appears. The hard-liners failed to reflect a 'silent majority' supporting reform in the body, they said.";

37.
- a) introduction: "Some 50 people will sit down today at a round table in a Warsaw palace once owned by the aristocratic Radziwill family, to inaugurate talks on a non-aggression pact between Poland's communist authorities and the Solidarity opposition.";

38.

- a) negative message concerning weak communist leadership and its consequences: "With the elaborate 'round-table' negotiations involving party and opposition leaders set to begin Monday, the attention of many Poles is fixed on possible legalization of the banned Solidarity labor movement as an independent union. But strategists for both sides say the talks are likely to trigger a much broader political upheaval that, like those before it here, will be as potentially explosive as it is hectic and improvisational. Much as it did after the workers' protests of 1956 and 1970 and the strikes that created Solidarity in 1980, Poland's weak communist leadership is searching for a new political and economic formula for a country threatened by economic chaos and popular rebellion. And as with each of the past outbreaks, the restoration of stability will require the party to surrender more of its authority to the noncommunist movements and Catholic Church institutions that represent the aspirations of an overwhelming majority of Poles.";
- b) negative message referring to the political situation as disastrous: „'We have an awareness that we are trying to save the country from a disaster,' said Bronislaw Geremek, a top adviser to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. 'And we know that the risks are great.'";
- c) 3 paragraphs concerning the government's and opposition's plans for the reform, the round-table talks and the country's economic situation, the most appealing omitted part is: "'If the economic situation does not get better, and if there is growing tension in society as a result, it is easy to imagine a wave of anarchy and chaos and the eventual predominance of demagogues,' said Leszek Miller, a secretary of the party's policy-making Central Committee, in a meeting with reporters Friday, Miller said he believed such a breakdown would not occur in the coming months, but he added with a rueful grin: 'You're in a country where everything is possible'";
- d) some details concerning the character of the future office of the president: "Miller, for example, said there was no agreement on whether an office of president, if created, should be that of a strong executive or a mere head of state. 'All these things will be the subject of the talks at the round table, ' he said.";
- e) 5 ending paragraphs concerning the conditions of an agreement between opposition and the government;

39.

- a) negative message concerning the decline of the Soviet Union: "A new coinage for what is happening in Eastern Europe is 'Ottomanization,'

with the Soviet Union likened to enfeebled Turkey losing its imperial holdings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But experts stress that, even in decline, the Soviet Union could use its vast military might to crush change.";

- b) negative message concerning the instability of Eastern Europe: "'But Eastern Europe,' he warned, 'could become a zone of instability and risk. I think they all launched on a toboggan and they do not know where they are going to end up.'";

- c) negative message concerning the changing European order: „'There is a lot of underlying suspicion that is a terrible problem for the Germans,' said Karl Kaiser, the staunchly pro-NATO director of the nonpartisan German Foreign Policy Association in Bonn. 'The European order is changing, but the others are beginning to discover that they liked the status quo.'";

- d) some details concerning the French economy: „The impulse behind the French initiative is partly to recover export markets that, however small, have been important for key sectors of the French economy.";

- e) some details concerning visits by Western statesmen to Eastern Europe. "It is above all the British who have made conspicuous calls on dissidents a fixture of visits by Western statesmen to Eastern Europe.";

- f) negative message concerning the Kohl's offer of help in paying off the Polish debt and its conditions: "A text-book case of the Bonn's Ostpolitik is unfolding as Chancellor Kohl seeks to organize a milestone visit to Poland later this year. The Chancellor is reported to be pressing for financial help for Poland, struggling under the weight of a $37 billion foreign debt, if Warsaw will recognize the existence of a German-speaking minority there.";

- g) negative message concerning subverting the existing order in Eastern Europe: „Neither Paris nor London contests Bonn's paramountcy in fixing the Ostpolitik agenda – whose very long-range goal is to subvert the existing order in Eastern Europe.";

- h) some details concerning the trade in Europe between the blocs: "TRADE BETWEEN THE BLOCS Goods and merchandise traded between countries in first six months of 1988. Figures are in millions of dollars.";

40.
- a) Omission of 17 out of 24 paragraphs (16 are ending paragraphs);

41.
- a) negative message concerning the ban on Solidarity and its role in economic recovery of Poland: „Although the Government itself, under

Soviet pressure, had arrested Solidarity leaders in 1981 and banned the union, there was never much doubt in Poland that only with the cooperation of Solidarity could there be a chance of turning the economy around.";
- b) negative message concerning the depression of spirit in the country: "Beyond the economic problems is a depression of spirit manifest today in the visible lack of popular enthusiasm for the changes.";
- c) negative message concerning the role of Solidarity and the church in the country's survival: "and clearly the hope among the Polish leadership is that with the cooperation of Solidarity and the church, these dreams can be revived";
- d) negative message concerning the role of Solidarity in the country's survival: "But it is uncertain if even Solidarity can work miracles.";
- e) negative message concerning the decision of free elections: „Those talks led eventually to the accords, announced Wednesday, which include provisions for a new parliament elected by free balloting for the first time since the Communists cemented control in 1946.";
- f) negative message concerning the future of communist rule: "The accords raised questions about the future of Communist rule, not only in Poland, but also in other Soviet bloc countries. What would happen if the non-Communist opposition took control of the new two-house parliament, even though guarantees seem written into the accord to give the Communists nearly 40 percent of the key lower house? Poland, the first of the East European countries to be brought into the Soviet sphere in 1946, might very well be the first to break its bonds.";
- g) negative message concerning the role of Solidarity in fighting Communism: "where even a Soviet magazine that recently published an interview with Mr. Walesa was refused distribution. Hard-line parties in East Berlin and Prague can be expected to bristle at what they must perceive to be unmistakable softening of the Polish Communist role as what has traditionally been called the leading force in society.";
- h) omission of final paragraphs (9);
43.
- a) some details – biographical note: "Edward Ochab, politician and statesman, born Krakow Poland 16 August 1906, married Rachela Silbiger (four daughters), died Warsaw 2 May 1989.";
44.
- a) some details concerning women's opinion on abortion: "This tends to confirm the experience of a women's weekly paper, which has had

letters from women in the cities uniformity against repeal, while those in the countryside oppose abortion.";

46.
- a) negative message on the rule allowing to cross out Communist candidates in the elections which was vastly applied by voters: "The complex electoral arrangement allocated 299 seats, or 65 percent, in a lower house to the Communist bloc. But voters had the right to cross out candidates' names, and apparently all the Communist candidates lost, even those who ran unopposed. A new 100-member Senate, with veto power, was chosen by an open vote, and Solidarity won 92 of those seats.";

48.
- a) negative message concerning the fall of the communist regime: "These are blows from which the regime is not likely to recover and which may have a profound impact on the movement toward political pluralism in other Communist countries as well. Indeed, on June 7 he Budapest daily Magyar Nemzet hailed the elections as 'the first expression of the people's real opinion about a system that was imposed on them.";
- b) negative message concerning the economic fall of Poland: under Jaruzelski's rule: „Poland's economy has long been deteriorating, never more drastically than under the regime of Gen. Jaruzelski, whose overriding priority was to crush any challenge to the party's monopoly of power. Such measures as were finally introduced resulted in little more than burgeoning discontent.";
- c) negative message concerning both sides' wrong political prognoses: "The political compromise is also fraught with danger. Clearly, both sides miscalculated – the government by assuming that a brief electoral period (seven weeks) would work in its favor and Solidarity by assuming that the government was hellbent on its destruction. The results came as a shock to both sides.";

49.
- a) a negative message concerning the political mess in Poland: "Reaction to the plan in Washington and London has been skeptical [US officials], uncertain who is now running Poland,";
- b) a negative message concerning the Polish debt and possible loans: "The World Bank is likely to agree two loans in September - $250 m (£161 m) for industrial exports and $50m for farm exports – both modest in the face of Poland's needs and its $39 bn of debt. The International Monetary Fund sent a team to Poland recently but there was no outstanding IMF credit nor is there likely to be.";

- c) a negative message concerning the deterioration of living standard in Poland: "If the stabilization scheme is successful, the plan says, the cost of living "should remain stable after the initial adjustment. Real wages need not fall, but there would be a temporary reduction in living standards, due to high unemployment caused by tight monetary policy". In other words, it would mean a drastic shedding of manpower in the state enterprises to make them profitable and therefore attractive to private investors."

APPENDIX E

EDITORIAL NOTE INTRODUCING THE IDEA UNDERTAKEN BY *FORUM* – REPRINTING FOREIGN PRESS PUBLICATIONS

"WITAJCIE CZYTELNICY!

Oto pierwszy numer naszego tygodnika. Rozpoczynamy próbę przekazywania polskiej opinii publicznej zakrojonego na szeroką skalę PRZEGLĄDU PRASY ŚWIATOWEJ w tekście, fotografii i grafice politycznej. Naszym celem jest objęcie, w miarę możności, pełnego wachlarza zagadnień współczesnej areny międzynarodowej dla odtworzenia jej obrazu z polskiej perspektywy. Postawiliśmy sobie za zadanie relację problematyki w jej dynamice ruchu z kontrowersjami najrozmaitszego rodzaju. Mamy zamiar położyć szczególny nacisk na dokumentacyjną stronę materiałów i ich dobór pod kątem raczej długofalowego znaczenia, jakkolwiek nie będziemy unikali meandrów codziennego wykresu światowej polityki, ekonomiki, nauki i techniki. Sporo miejsca poświęcimy zagadnieniom kultury, historii, obyczajowości, socjologii. Duże znaczenie przywiązujemy do dokumentów zdjęciowych i rysunku satyrycznego.

Zdajemy sobie sprawę, że „Forum" wychodzi na światło dzienne w warunkach szczególnie wzmożonej walki politycznej i ideologicznej. Z tamtej strony przejawia się ona w aktywizacji polityki agresji, czego przykładem jest wojna w Wietnamie, w podejmowanych szeroko próbach poderwania zwartości socjalistycznego systemu, w taktyce ideologicznego „rozmiękczania". Chcemy na swych łamach przedstawiać te tendencje, aby czytelnik mógł sam dokonać ich konfrontacji z pokojową polityką krajów socjalistycznych, z dążeniami do pokojowego współistnienia i współpracy między narodami.

Pragniemy poprzez przedruk różnych artykułów, dokumentów i opinii, ukazywać obraz sytuacji międzynarodowej w jej rozwoju. Pragniemy szerzej zapoznawać czytelników zwłaszcza z tymi materiałami, które mogą być szczególnie interesujące z naszego polskiego punktu widzenia.

Zdajemy sobie sprawę, że wysiłek nasz stanowi tylko ograniczony wkład do realizacji tych poważnych zadań, które podejmuje cała nasza prasa. Postaramy się czynić to z całą rzetelnością.

Redakcja 'Forum'"

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SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

The aim of this research study was an attempt to examine and exemplify the occurrence of manipulation in the translation of British and American press articles into Polish for *Forum. Przegląd Prasy Światowej* magazine in the times of the People's Republic of Poland. In the analyses articles published in the years 1965 – 1989 (since the beginning of *Forum*'s existence up to the decline of communist rule in Poland) were taken into consideration.

The research was inspired by a number of publications concerning the language of propaganda in the times of the communist rule in Poland (by Bralczyk 2001, 2003, Galasiński 2000, Głowiński 2009 and others), referring to the censorship apparatus's activity (e.g. by Romek 2000, 2010, Bagiński 1981, Degen and Żyrda 2012, Pawlicki 2001, Łętowski 2010, Radzikowska 1990, Skorupa 2010), and showing the raised interest in the issue of manipulation in language developed in Poland in the last two decades (Puzynina 1992, Krzyżanowski and Nowak 2004, Tokarz 2006), which made us aware of the need to show evidence for the use of manipulative techniques also in the field of translation in the period of the communist regime influencing Poland.

The theses stating the existence of methods manipulating language in the period of the communist rule in order to create a positive view on the communist authorities' activities and promote the optimistic image of a political, economic and social situation in the country, expressed as theoretical claims or being results of overall research made by linguists or historians, required to be supported by an empirical study also within translation studies. The existence of ST manipulation in translation discovered based upon comparative analyses of STs and TTs, could constitute an empirical proof on the legitimacy of the theses mentioned. The study concentrates upon the texts coming from the western press in English after 1965, concerning the economic-political situation in Poland, so it is an attempt to show two clashing views – the capitalist and the one under the communist influence, on important fields of the country's existence.

The method of a comparative study enables to show all the nuances while rendering ST message in translation and in the case of the analytical corpus (50 texts from British and American popular newspapers and

magazines together with their 50 translations), to expose the methods of communist powers' preventive censorship. The texts were analysed within their editorial features, translation techniques used (elicited based on Vinay and Darbelnet 1958, Newmark 1988, Delisle 1999, Malone 1988, Leuven-Zwart 1989, Kwieciński 2001), the presence of Newspeak characteristics, and finally conclusions have been made proving the existence of manipulation within all 3 analytical areas chosen.

The conclusions reveal the fact that the most common translation techniques used by translators during the communist regime and censorship activity were omissions – of single words but also whole passages including unwanted contents. The omissions (of different types within 8 various groups elicited), additions, substitutions and many other techniques of manipulative character, are additionally supported by manipulation within the editorial features of STs, of which TTs are almost completely deprived. The climax of manipulation is constituted by the use of Newspeak features due to which these texts are sometimes as propaganda language templates regardless of the *Forum* publisher's declaration of them being reprints.

Summary in Polish

Celem niniejszej rozprawy była próba empirycznego zbadania i udokumentowania obecności manipulacji w tłumaczeniach artykułów prasowych z prasy brytyjskiej i amerykańskiej na język polski, dostępnych w okresie PRL'u za sprawą tygodnika *Forum. Przegląd Prasy Światowej.* W analizie wykorzystane zostały artykuły publikowane w latach 1965 – 1989, od początku istnienia pisma do upadku systemu socjalistycznego.

Badania zostały zainspirowane szeregiem publikacji na temat języka propagandy PRL-owskiej (m.in. Bralczyk 2001, 2003, Galasiński 2000, Głowiński 2009) i działalności organów cenzury (m.in. Romek 2000, 2010, Bagiński 1981, Degen i Żyrda 2012, Pawlicki 2001, Łętowski 2010, Radzikowska 1990, Skorupa 2010), jak również rozwijającym się w Polsce w ostatnich latach zainteresowaniem kwestią manipulacji w języku (np. Puzynina 1992, Krzyżanowski i Nowak 2004, Tokarz 2006) i potrzebą wskazania dowodów na stosowanie technik manipulacyjnych również na gruncie tłumaczenia w okresie reżimu komunistycznego w Polsce w celu poparcia tez o manipulowaniu słowem tłumaczonym.

Tezy zakładające obecność metod sterowania językiem w tekstach okresu socjalizmu w celu kreowania pozytywnego wizerunku komunistycznych władz i promowania optymistycznego obrazu sytuacji polityczno-ekonomicznej i społecznej w kraju, wypowiadane w formie twierdzeń teoretycznych lub zbiorczych wyników przeprowadzanych przez językoznawców i historyków badań, wymagały poparcia studium analitycznym m.in. w dziedzinie translatoryki. Obecność metod manipulacji tekstem źródłowym w tłumaczeniu stwierdzona na podstawie analizy porównawczej tekstów źródłowych i docelowych stanowić mogła obrazowy dowód na prawdziwość wspomnianych tez. Niniejsze studium koncentruje się na tekstach w głównej mierze o tematyce polityczno-ekonomicznej dotyczących sytuacji w Polsce, rekrutujących się z anglojęzycznej prasy zachodniej po roku 1965, jest zatem próbą pokazania zderzenia dwóch odmiennych spojrzeń – kapitalistycznego i będącego pod wpływami komunizmu, na istotne dziedziny funkcjonowania państwa.

Metoda, jaką jest studium porównawcze pozwala wskazać wszelkie niuanse w próbie odtworzenia informacji źródłowej poprzez tłumaczenie, a w przypadku wybranego korpusu (50 tekstów źródłowych z poczytnych czasopism i dzienników brytyjskich i amerykańskich wraz z

odpowiadającymi im 50 tłumaczeniami), zdemaskować metody PRL-owskiej cenzury prewencyjnej. Teksty zostały poddane analizie według cech edytorskich, technik tłumaczeniowych (wyszczególnionych na bazie takich autorów jak: Vinay i Darbelnet 1958, Newmark 1988, Delisle 1999, Malone 1988, Leuven-Zwart 1989, Kwieciński 2001) i obecności znamion nowomowy, a następnie przedstawione zostały wnioski zbiorcze potwierdzające tezy o manipulacji w zakresie wszystkich 3 wymienionych nurtów analizy.

Wnioski płynące z badań wskazują, iż najbardziej powszechnie stosowanymi technikami tłumaczeniowymi za czasów cenzury PRL-owskiej były opuszczenia – pojedynczych słów, ale i całych fragmentów zawierających niepożądane treści. Opuszczenia (różnorodnego rodzaju, w obrębie 8 różnych grup), dodania, zastąpienia i wiele innych technik o charakterze manipulacyjnym, są dodatkowo wsparte manipulacją w zakresie cech edytorskich tekstów źródłowych, których to mówiąc najogólniej teksty docelowe są niemal zupełnie pozbawione. Zwieńczeniem metod manipulacji jest zwyczajowe stosowanie cech nowomowy, dzięki czemu teksty te wpisują się w kanon języka propagandy, pomimo deklaracji wydawcy *Forum*, że są one „przedrukami" artykułów z prasy zagranicznej.