

Translating the True North: Exploring Representations of Canada around the 2010 G8 and G20 Summits

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Abbreviations

CADS	Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Linguistics
CTS	Corpus-based Translation Studies
MR	Members' Resources
TS	Translation Studies

Abstract

A country's international reputation has profound implications for its citizens; given that national image or reputation is built and circulated using language on a global scale, translation is necessarily involved. This project draws on bilingual corpora of government and media texts to examine how Canada was framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its two official languages at the time of the 2010 G8 and G20 Summits, using concepts and techniques from Critical Discourse Analysis, narrative theory, and corpus linguistics. Examining some aspects of language in use such as collocation, semantic relations, and metaphor, several of the ways in which Canada was framed in the two contexts and languages were compared. The project concludes that discourses and narratives may differ between sources and languages, thereby highlighting the importance of recognizing the impact of translation on the variety of national representations within discourses and narratives.

Résumé

La réputation d'un pays sur la scène internationale a une incidence considérable sur les citoyens de ce pays. Puisque l'image ou la réputation nationale se construit et circule au moyen du langage à l'échelle internationale, la traduction a forcément un rôle à jouer. Le présent projet se penche sur des corpus bilingues de textes gouvernementaux et médiatiques et a pour objet d'examiner la manière dont le Canada a été représenté dans les discours et les récits qui ont circulé dans les deux langues officielles de ce pays lors des sommets du G8 et G20 en 2010. Ce projet s'appuie sur des méthodes et des concepts tirés de l'analyse critique du discours, de la théorie du récit et de la linguistique de corpus. En s'intéressant à certains aspects de la langue en usage tels que la collocation, les relations sémantiques et la métaphore, on a pu comparer les différentes manières dont le Canada a été représenté dans les deux contextes et dans les deux langues à l'étude. On conclut que les discours et les récits peuvent varier selon la source et la langue, d'où l'importance de reconnaître l'influence qu'exerce la traduction sur la pluralité des représentations nationales à l'intérieur des discours et des récits.

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Introduction

Language-based communication plays a fundamental role in human interactions, whether between individuals, communities, societies, or countries. It also has a profound effect on every aspect of our lives. As the world continues to globalize and countries become more closely linked, governments become increasingly dependent on communicating and coordinating with other countries to accomplish many of their goals; trade agreements, tackling climate change, and combatting nuclear proliferation, to name only a few, require multilateral, rather than unilateral action.

However, political communication is not limited to direct discussion between leaders of individual countries nor to statements directed at a government's own population. As technology developed, government leaders could also directly address the citizens of *other* countries, with profound implications for future diplomatic relations between the countries involved; one of these implications is that a foreign leader could take a more active role in shaping public perception about the country from which he came. One example is the American president John F. Kennedy's 1963 speech to citizens of West Berlin, which generated an overwhelming response and a marked improvement in German-American relations (Daum 174) to the extent where it is still active in the German ethos five decades later¹. In Canada, the French president Charles de Gaulle's "Vive le Québec libre" exclamation to a crowd in Montreal in 1967 also had widespread public reaction and became a serious diplomatic incident.

Likewise, business which extends beyond local communities or national boundaries is a hallmark of globalization. A world in which an earthquake's effects are immediately felt in stock markets and oil prices around the world, triggering talk of "economic aftershocks" ("Japan Earthquake")—as well as the

¹ "Ich bin ein Berliner" has been called "one of the most famous statements ever made in the history of political rhetoric" (Daum 1). A search of German news sources in the database Factiva covering August-October 2011 using the key phrase "Ich bin ein Berliner" had 48 hits. Search done 4 Nov. 2011.

more traditional tectonic variety—demonstrates this combination of globalization and advancing communication technologies which provide nearly instant news. This powerful combination of globalization and communication technologies extends well beyond finance and politics, informing tourism (reports of crime in resort areas may decrease the number of foreign visitors), health (avoidance of goods produced in a certain region, based on reports of health-related issues in that area), and consumer choices (enabling consumers to know the context in which their products were produced; one such example is a certain brand of coffee, whose package is labelled with a QR code which, when scanned using a smartphone, enables the consumer to track their exact bag of coffee from tree to grocery store), to name only a few.

This high degree of information which can be quickly and effectively communicated means that the collective perception of individuals can impact choices made by politicians, business leaders, and other powerful figures. As alluded to in the coffee example, ‘ethical’ or ‘responsible’ consumption is a growing trend, one which is attracting the notice of business, which may choose to label their diamonds as ‘conflict-free’ or their running shoes as ‘sweatshop-free’. Corporations are aware that their brand can be built or destroyed by public perception; governments are becoming increasingly cognizant of this as well. For elected (as well as many unelected) officials, as discussed above, communication technologies mean that their citizens are aware of many of their actions related to both domestic and foreign policy. Business leaders may easily access information regarding labour laws and public perception of working conditions in a country. Tourists select their destination based on perceived attractions or dangers of a particular region or country. This perception of a country, also known as its image or brand, can be the determining factor on which individual business, financial, recreational, investment, immigration, and other choices are based. This conclusion led to the concept of ‘nation branding’ or the active monitoring and cultivation of a particular national image (Potter 5-6). Just as brand perception impacts consumer choices, so does country perception. In a globalized, hyper-communicative world, perception has wide-

ranging implications: the choice of where to establish an office or factory; where to holiday; where to immigrate; where to purchase raw materials; where to hold international events; which countries to establish a trading relationship with; where to institute economic sanctions or military action.

Simon Anholt, who publishes annual national image rankings, states that:

“Countries, cities and regions that are lucky or virtuous enough to have acquired a positive reputation find that everything they or their citizens wish to do on the global stage is easier [...] Places with a reputation for being poor, uncultured, backward, dangerous or corrupt find that everything they or their citizens try to achieve outside their own neighbourhood is harder, and the burden is always on their side to prove that they don’t conform to the national stereotype” (4).

Clearly, others’ perception of one’s country is of vital importance to national interests. Governments have long attempted to sway other governments’ opinion of and actions towards their country through diplomacy. As globalization brings both countries and their citizens closer together, governments which recognize the power of public perception are expanding the historic definition of diplomacy to include communications not only with other government officials, but also directly to populations of other countries in order to positively influence the foreign publics’ perception of the country. This has become known as public diplomacy and may take a range of forms, from sponsoring educational exchanges to funding international broadcasting to athletic competitions to subsidizing cultural exports like literature and film.

Public Diplomacy at the Muskoka G8 and Toronto G20 Summits

Public diplomacy efforts may be criticized because they may be very costly and the results difficult to quantify. Governments may therefore turn towards an avenue which has wide international reach and a great deal of influence to make the most of their spending: international media. Opportunities which attract a massive amount of global attention and media coverage include sporting events such as the Olympics and visits from foreign leaders. Especially compelling from a public diplomacy perspective are opportunities where leaders from a variety of countries are hosted simultaneously. This potential was

clearly acknowledged by the Canadian government, which, when describing the Experience Canada exhibit in the International Media Centre in Toronto during the 2010 Summits, stated that

“As Canada hosted world leaders for the G-8 and G-20 summits, thousands of international media chronicled developments at the summits for audiences around the world. This offered a unique opportunity to draw international media attention to Canada’s many strengths as a destination for business, investment and tourism [...] Canada’s valued attributes as a modern and innovative country. This information could be used for international print and broadcast stories about Canada.” (“Experience Canada”)

The intentionality demonstrated in this statement to impact foreign audiences through international media leads one to question what image of Canada is being cultivated, how it is being communicated, and whether the international media is in fact communicating this image. Furthermore, how does the plurality of languages and cultural audiences impact communications (or vice versa)? These are the themes which will be addressed through this research.

A brief explanation of the wider geopolitical context may provide some insight into the systems within which these texts were produced. The G8 and G20 are related but distinct organizations; the G8 began in 1975 and has expanded to include France, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Canada, and Russia. It has been described as “[...] a closed international club of capitalist governments trying to raise consciousness, set an agenda, create networks [...]” (Hodges 69). Without a set agenda or clear mandate, it has also been described as a [...] bonding process for the leaders of some of the major players in the international community” (Hodges 70).

The G20 expands the circle and has an economic focus, as it convenes the finance ministers and central bank governors of the G8 countries in addition to those of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, and several international organizations such as the European Union and International Monetary Fund (Martin).

Each member country has the opportunity to host every eight years; Canada has hosted five G7/8 summits (Ottawa in 1981, Toronto in 1988, Halifax in 1995, Kananaskis in 2002, and Toronto in 2010) (Dobson 3). The host is able to wield considerable influence by setting the theme for the summit (Hajnal 53); hosting a summit can also be considered “[...] a source of national pride and an indication of a country’s contribution and commitment to international society” (Dobson 29). As illustrated above, it can also be seen as the chance to promote a positive image of the host to attendees and globally, via the media.

The media is becoming increasingly central to the summits. For example, ‘a few hundred’ media people attended the first summit in 1975, but by the Okinawa Summit 25 years later, 4,000 journalists were expected to attend (Dobson 26). The Muskoka (sometimes called Huntsville) G8 Summit took place on June 25-26, which was followed directly by the Toronto G20 Summit on June 26-27. Media covering both events were hosted at the International Media Centre in Toronto.²

Translation and Public Diplomacy

It is interesting to note that in the 1963 Kennedy speech mentioned above, the only line which was not spoken in English was a translation from Latin (Daum 150). He clearly believed that the language in which this statement was communicated affected its meaning; the statements “I am a Berliner” or “Civis Romanus sum” would likely not have had such an impact. This claim is hardly surprising for Translation Studies (TS) scholars, who widely accept that information is necessarily lost, gained, or skewed in translation. Mona Baker states that “contemporary wars have to be sold to an international and not just domestic audiences, and translation is a major variable influencing the circulation and legitimization of the narratives that sustain these activities” (Baker 2). I would contend that it is not just wars, but also a

² Canadians monitoring domestic news coverage of the Summits may remember media favourites the ‘billion dollar boondoggle’ and ‘fake lake’, i.e. the costs associated with hosting and security, and images of burning police cars and riot police with protesters. The ‘fake lake’ was, in an ironic twist, part of a display inside the International Media Centre aiming to share the beauty of the Canadian wilderness with an international audience via the reporters covering the Summit.

wide range of other policies and initiatives which need to be 'sold' internationally, and this claim provides a unique starting point for analyzing public diplomacy efforts in a Canadian context: the intended image of Canada takes its shape through particular discourses and narratives. As a well-known bilingual and bicultural country, this image must be communicated in both English and French. However, if information is lost, gained, or skewed through translation, are the same discourses and narratives communicated in English and French? Are particular aspects more widely circulated in one of the two languages involved, evidenced by increased levels of reproduction in the media?³ These questions will be studied by comparing at the image of Canada that is presented in English and French government communications from the G8 and G20 Summits held in Muskoka and Toronto in 2010 with the image of Canada constructed in selected French and British newspapers during the same period. Specifically, the research question which will be addressed in this project is: How is Canada framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its official languages? This question is motivated by two hypotheses: first, that representations of Canada present in government texts are different from representations in media texts; and second, that these representations are also different in Canada's two official languages.

In order to explore the central research question, the general objectives of this research are to analyze the images of Canada in government and newspaper texts in English and French by identifying themes and the perspectives, or frames, from which they are presented. After identifying some of the ways in which Canada is framed, they will be compared and contrasted to identify similarities and differences between languages and types of text.

These objectives will be achieved by building corpora of texts from government and newspaper sources in English and French. Representations of Canada in these sources and languages will be compared using

³ The reception of these narratives and discourses is, of course, a closely related and important area of research: i.e. do they actually impact actions of those who are receiving this communication? Are these narratives and discourses being reproduced in new contexts? I acknowledge the importance and relevance of this research; although it is outside the scope of this project, it would provide a fascinating area for future work.

Critical Discourse Analysis, following four general steps. First, occurrences of *Canada* and derived terms will be identified in each corpus. Secondly, collocations with these occurrences will be identified. Thirdly, collocations will be analyzed and grouped. Lastly, semantic relations and metaphors related to Canada will be discussed.

The media's power to impact perceptions means that governments have a vested interest in attempting to mediate the issues discussed and the angle from which they are presented. This, as the analysis in Chapter Four will demonstrate, is the case with Canadian government texts analyzed in this project; they cover a limited number of issues, and discuss these extensively and from a very specific perspective. Governments' activities to change or improve their national images have generated significant interest in a range of academic fields from international relations to media studies to marketing, to name only a few. Most focus on aspects of language or action that are not interlingual; this is where Translation Studies can bring a valuable new perspective, as it is "[...] through translation that information is made available to addressees beyond national borders; and it is very frequently the case that reactions in one country to statements that were made in another country are actually reactions to the information as it was provided in translation" (Schäffner 118).

Linguistic translation, the translation of French statements into English, for example, is widely understood.⁴ The second definition of translation, also included in this project, extends beyond the linguistic and into the realm of the interpretive. This expanded definition of translation⁵ echoes Meschonnic's emphasis on translation as interpretation (21). He assigns "l'invention d'un sujet" as an integral part of the translation process (56). This distinction is discussed by Nouss, referencing Meschonnic, as "un usage restreint et un usage généralisé" (para. 6). This *usage généralisé*, or expanded

⁴ Linguistic translation is referred to in this project simply as translation.

⁵ This definition of translation referred to in this project may also be called 'metaphoric' translation.

understanding of translation, includes the interpretation of events , texts, and reality; this widens both the field of Translation Studies and the research areas of interest to the translation scholar.

This project grew out of a fascination with this second definition of translation pertaining to news and how it interprets events. The power of news sources as translators of events to make them understood across cultural and linguistic boundaries gives them tremendous ability to shape perceptions and create reality. The power of language in translating events was made clear to me while I was living in France in 2006. The spirited and large-scale protests which were, admittedly, disrupting transit and class schedules had been translated by mainstream North American media into imminent and omnipresent danger, social pandemonium and chaos ruling the streets; reading North American news sources reporting on the supposed upheaval outside my door was a tremendous education in translation. While not accurate from my perspective, these representations had real effects: substantial concern, and for some of my classmates, return plane tickets from concerned parents.

The acceptance of the interpretive nature of news leads one to question how “newsworthy” events are represented by different parties. For example, most Canadians likely noticed the 2010 Toronto summit or its aftereffects. Round-the-clock news coverage focused on security and civil rights concerns: riots, burning police cars, police brutality, massive security fences, infiltration of secure areas through sewer systems, as well as the cost of both the summit and the security. Governments, however, seemed to be dealing with a very different summit, and using different language to discuss it. This marked division of language and perspective, which seemed to depict two distinct events, led me to wonder what language and perspective were being projected ‘home’ by foreign parties. How were they translating this event (using the expanded definition introduced above) into a reality, language, and perspective for their audiences?

These are, generally, the topics which will be discussed in this thesis, structured as follows. In Chapter One, I will briefly provide an overview of the fields involved and how Translation Studies provides a helpful overarching discipline for this analysis. I will then outline the theoretical framework which will be used to conduct this analysis, primarily discourse and narrative. In Chapter Two, I will outline the framework which underpins the research methodology and incorporates some techniques used in corpus linguistics into the study of narrative and Critical Discourse Analysis. In Chapter Three, the methodology is outlined which includes descriptions of the corpora and explanations of the steps used to conduct the analysis. The results of the research, applying discursive and narrative analysis to discuss how Canada's image is represented in these texts through collocations, Fairclough's "relations of meaning inclusion", and metaphor, among others, will follow in Chapter Four. We will conclude with overall observations, as well as suggestions for how this type of analysis could be used.

Chapter One

One may question whether Translation Studies is really the most appropriate field in which to explore issues around national representation, government communication, and international media. I contend that Translation Studies is, in fact, uniquely well suited to exploring the question of intentional cultivation of the Canadian image on the international stage due to its interdisciplinary nature as well as the central role that language, discourse and translation are equally given within this field.

Any exploration of national image, government, and media would involve communication, media studies, international relations, and translation, among other fields. The project itself requires the inclusion of multiple disciplines, as reflects the many fields inherent in the production of such wide-ranging activity. Even a brief survey of research in public diplomacy, ideology, discourse, and news media reveals that many authors mention the importance of an interdisciplinary perspective in this type of research. Therefore, a discipline that is by its very nature interdisciplinary⁶ is at an advantage, since the validity and value of methodologies and theories from various disciplines are accepted. The relevance of many different disciplines to the study of translation is discussed by, among others, Ernst-August Gutt, in *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context*; while scholars may take different perspectives and research from different angles, and give more or less weight to a particular field, the relevance of multiple disciplines seems to be widely agreed on (1-23).

Translation Studies is an appropriate field in which to undertake such an interdisciplinary research project, as recognized by prominent TS scholars such as Bassnett and Bielsa, who have conducted studies with a similar mix of fields. Ruth Wodak, whose work is also well known within TS, argues that “[...] relationships between language and society are so complex and multifaceted that interdisciplinary research is required” (8). As will be discussed in more detail in a later section, the foundational discourse

⁶ As described by Snell-Hornby in the preface of *Translation Studies: An interdiscipline* as well as by Christina Schäffner.

theorist whose work I am using in this thesis, Norman Fairclough also emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary analysis of texts (*Analysing Discourse* 6). The contributions brought by interdisciplinary analysis will be more fully illustrated, by the discussion of two types of texts, in two languages, written about a wide range of topics, in the last chapter of this project.

This need for interdisciplinary analysis exists because “[...] textual features need to be linked to the social and ideological contexts of text production and reception. In other words, texts and discourses are framed by social and political structures and practices. This aspect links TS to PDA [Political Discourse Analysis] and CDA [Critical Discourse Analysis]” (Schäffner 131-2). Neither the study of language-in-use on its own, nor the study of social and political contexts will provide this breadth of analysis individually.

Reputation, image, brand, perception: no matter what it is called, it is developed within and through discourse, and has significant effects. Schäffner states that Political Discourse Analysis (and, I would contend, other types of discourse analysis as well), serves to link linguistic behaviour to political behaviour; it makes the connection (or the translation, as it were) between talk and effect (120).

Within political discourse, or any discourse in which language lines are crossed, interlingual translation becomes a necessity. Far from being a simple, straightforward process, “[...] translation is in fact part of the development of discourse, and a bridge between various discourses” (Schäffner 118). To use the Saussurian model, it is not simply a matter of swapping out one ‘signifier’ for another, which point to precisely the same ‘signified’. Rather, both linguistic and metaphoric expanded translation are processes of reconstruction, both of the text and what is behind the text into a new context, culture, and language. In this research project, this is seen in the movement of texts and contexts into a new set of texts and contexts, from Canada to France and Great Britain.

Despite this, within fields such as International Relations, the importance, role, or even existence of translation is largely overlooked. Translation mentioned in public diplomacy research such as in Evan

Potter's *Branding Canada* is the 'cultural' variety – the translation of literature and other cultural products to spread them to a larger audience. Despite acknowledging the power of language within image creation, the foundational role which translation plays in this process is not discussed. I found this to be typical within international relations and media research. Even where the existence of multiple languages obviously necessitates translation and it is mentioned, it is often implicit or discussed more as a methodological challenge rather than a phenomenon which may add differing ideological or contextual meaning in its own right⁷. As Schäffner and Bassnett observe, "Translation, although often invisible in the field of politics, is actually an integral part of political activity" (14). As we shall see, this is especially true in Canada, a bilingual country, which produces its material for international political activity in two languages. Examining these issues within a TS framework has the potential to offer new perspectives and insights on the power of translation in international political communication and, possibly, on the understanding of translation itself.

TS owes much to research from other fields whose theories have been applied to translation questions, giving them new relevance and providing fresh perspectives. TS has, in fact, been shaped so heavily by these thinkers as to develop turns, such as the cultural and sociological turns which helped to expand and define translation and TS in new ways.⁸ Many of these theorists, interpreted within a TS context, provide an ideal framework within which to explore the questions I have proposed to study in this project.

In light of the points briefly described above, rather than 'Why Translation Studies?', more appropriate questions might indeed be: Why not Translation Studies? In fact, what other issues around international

⁷ One example in Fortner's "Public Diplomacy" involved research into government communications being covered by various radio stations broadcasting in different languages. As many languages were involved, the researchers did not understand them all and as a result, relied on summaries translated for them. The methodological explanation stated that since all stations studied (and languages) drew from the same news source, the "basic indication" of what was reported was amply sufficient.

⁸ Many of which are described by Mary Snell-Hornby in her aptly named book, *The Turns of Translation Studies* (2006).

relations, inter-linguistic and -cultural communication, and media might be explored and enlightened if looked at through the Translation Studies lens? This is but a small step in that direction.

Having discussed the central role of translation and the power of language in countries' activities and images, the importance of taking an interdisciplinary approach, and how a TS lens can bring a helpful new perspective, we will now briefly examine how the discourses that underpin these images are constructed, disseminated, and translated by the media.

The International Media and the Translation of Newsworthy Events

The historical motto of the BBC – Nation shall speak peace unto nation – reflects the power which has been attributed to the media and its global impact (Fortner 22). Since this motto was chosen, this power has arguably grown to the point where “Over the last three decades, the globalization and the communications revolutions have created the most striking transformation of society since the Industrial Revolution” (Potter 3).

One of these striking transformations is the unprecedented role that the international media has in international relations. Former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali eloquently communicated this level of influence by stating that “CNN is the sixteenth member of the [fifteen member United Nations] Security Council” (Ammon 7). Two of the ways in which this influence is manifested are through determining what events or situations are given media attention and what perspective is used when this information is communicated.

Given the power the media wields, it is no wonder that governments are interested. As mentioned in the previous section, the processes of selection and contextualization of stories has a real effect on public perception and understanding of issues pertaining to government. Governments therefore are generally interested in how events, not to mention their political actions and policy agendas, are portrayed in the media. Media outlets have a vested interest in ensuring that their audiences are

engaged and continue to rely on them for information; under pressure from other news sources, they must ensure their continued financial success, which is generally only viable through ensuring a large circulation or viewership. These concerns may manifest themselves in a variety of ways in government and media texts; they do not always match, and in fact their interests may compete with each other. As the analysis of the corpora will reveal, how Canada was covered by government and media sources around the time of the 2010 G8/G20 Summits differs substantially. These differing interests may point to some reasons why this is the case.

One method which meets governments' interest in affecting public perception and the media's need for constant, easily transmittable news is through 'information subsidies'. This includes, for example, press releases issued by government departments which mimic the style of news stories (McCombs 102); this allows governments to 'get their message out' and provides news outlets with news stories which require less work to prepare. This is especially relevant when journalists are unfamiliar with a particular topic, in which case both the topic and the perspectives from which it is presented are likely to be used (D'Angelo 86). Sriramesh cites a study which suggests that, since the 1960s, 25-80% of news content has been prepared using information subsidies of this type (62).

This type of information subsidy has become increasingly important as the demand for news increases (McNair 64-5). Media communications researchers refer to the '24-hour news cycle' in which media outlets are not limited by a newspaper publishing deadline or the 6 o'clock news. With the advent of news channels, the groundbreaker of the genre being CNN in the 1980s, and internet news sites which allow for constant updating and publication of stories, the demand for news has grown massively.

The interaction between government communications—by which I mean any written or verbal text intended to be consumed by external parties, such as speeches, press releases, interviews—and media stories is complex. The intertextual relationships between these types of texts (Chilton and Schäffner 23)

are what make them an interesting object of study from a translation perspective, since “Media reports about political events are always forms of recontextualisation, and any recontextualisation involves transformations. Recontextualisation and transformation are particularly complex where translation is involved, that is, when media reports cross language boundaries” (Bassnett and Schäffner 2). In cases of a government text being transformed into a media story, it is interesting to note which type of language and which perspectives are recreated in the new context both when interlingual translation is involved and when it is not.

One example of the intertextual nature of government communications and media reports which also illustrates how perspectives can travel from one to the other was studied by Duguid. She examined how the phrase ‘smoking gun’ in reference to Iraq was used by a UN weapons inspector. This phrase was linked to a ‘mushroom cloud’ by a White House speechwriter and used in a New York Times article in 2002. In the following months, the same phrases were used by a White House official in a CNN interview, by President Bush in a speech, and in a New York Times article quoting an American general. They became a part of the political discourse to the point where “[...] a Google search revealed 480,000 pages containing the phrase on 05.10.07 and the phrase has been used again with reference to Syria and Iran” (Duguid 258).

The interplay between government and media is no unimportant matter – the interest lies in the role the media plays in shaping perceptions, actions, and therefore reality. One may claim that the mass media is now the “[...] main source and focus of a society’s shared experience” (McNair 20); in this case, the shared experience, beliefs, and perceptions about one’s own society and other societies will be a fundamental force shaping how interactions between societies proceed. “Whether our perceptions of the world are real or fictional does not play a large part in our daily lives. One behaves as if one’s perception of the world were ‘true’.” (Sriramesh 782). Because of this, the perceptions that are held

about countries, both one's own and foreign, are important determinants of how governments and publics interact. As shall be demonstrated in the discussion of the government corpora, the focus of government communications is heavily focussed on Canada's economic strength and resiliency, likely in order to shape perceptions, and thus determine the course of future interactions.

The perception of a given country is known as a "[...] *national image* [which] can be defined as the cognitive representation that a person holds about a given country – a person's beliefs about a nation and its people" (Sriramesh 782). This image is reflected and shaped by the media, especially internationally. For example, in an introduction to a new section focussed on China in the weekly newspaper *The Economist*, they state that is "[...] is the first time since we began our detailed coverage of the United States in 1942 that we have singled out a country in this way. The principal reason is that China is now an economic superpower and is fast becoming a military force capable of unsettling America" (editorial). One could argue that this level of attention reflects China's economic and military power; however, regular articles also clearly increase international attention on the country (both positive and negative), which will impact investments, tourism, political discussions, and so on. From an economic perspective, "[t]he image of a country as one in permanent crisis or as economically unreliable, generated perhaps by continuous negative reporting, can influence economic decision-making processes and discourage investments, which in turn can create, or exacerbate, future crises" (Sriramesh 791). As we shall see, Canada, during the 2010 Summits, was presented by the government as having an exceptionally strong economic track record, especially in comparison to other countries. The degree to which national images represented in the media can impact economic and political reality explains the interest governments take in controlling how they are portrayed.

Moose, Mounties, and Mountains – Public Diplomacy

Not only does the media's level of influence interest governments; it also provides a fruitful and fascinating opportunity for scholarship and research in many different fields. This level of interest has

generated a potentially overwhelming number of concepts and terms which are used with different meanings and variations by different scholars and within various domains. I will briefly outline some of the main concepts that are relevant to this study, conduct a brief historical overview, and situate the discussion within a Canadian and Translation Studies perspective.

In this project, **public diplomacy** is defined as the action that a government takes in order to influence foreign public opinion for a national interest (Potter 34). This type of activity has multiple labels, including international political communication (Hachten and Scotton 166), public relations (Sriramesh 823), perception management (Sriramesh 831), propaganda (Fortner 9), and soft power (Potter 42). It may be broken into subcomponents including media diplomacy and “direct communication among governments and foreign publics”, which is the subject of this study, as well as cultural diplomacy, which uses cultural outputs to generate a positive image of a country (Sriramesh 825). As the analysis of Canada’s national image in the news corpora will reveal, mentions of Canadian cultural output is surprising, especially when compared to how frequently the subject is mentioned in the government corpora.

Another important concept is that of **national image**, which is defined as the perception that individuals, groups, or governments have of a particular country. The construction of a positive national image can be understood as the primary goal of public diplomacy for, “[...] as in politics or business, perception is reality. National image is not who *you* say you are but who *others* say you are” (Potter 34). National image can also be referred to as a nation’s brand or reputation, “[...] the sum total of a person’s perception of a country – its governance, its people, its cultural heritage, its immigration policies, and the quality of its exports. The sum total of other people’s perceptions of these qualities is the nation’s reputation, or its ability to attract support” (Potter 42). For these reasons, how Canada is represented in the newspaper corpora, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, is both relevant and revealing. A

positive national image can pay off in a variety of ways, including through generating tourism, encouraging cooperation from other governments, receiving aid (Curtin 24), building international coalitions, and attracting investment or people (Potter 3). In summary, “the state does have an interest in controlling media output. The media [...] have immense power and influence.” (Fairclough, *Media* 45).

This has resulted in the professionalization of political communication agents, or what Duguid calls ‘discourse technicians’ (Duguid 253). Countries may spend significant resources managing their international images, including those which suffer from ‘structural communication deficits’, i.e. countries which are not economically, militarily, or politically powerful enough to generate a positive image, or any portrayal at all, in international media (Sriramesh 781). Even where such investments are made, it is difficult to ascertain links between attempts at public diplomacy and what is actually covered by various international media (Sriramesh 785).

Media refers to the organizations and the products that they distribute such as television newscasts, newspapers, and online news outlets, especially those which have significant influence, as determined by subject matter they cover, reputation, and circulation or viewership. **News** refers to the reporting of events and issues that have economic, political, or social importance, generally beyond the scope of the purely personal (i.e. for a region, country, or group).

Government attempts to influence national images in other countries by providing a certain perspective on news events have a long history. In addition to the overt proclamations in the form of statues, buildings, and the like, leaders also attempted to influence publics in more subtle ways.⁹ Emperor Maximilian attempted to incite the population of Venice to mount an insurrection. A century later, Cardinal Richelieu engaged directly with the press and established various organizations for public relations ends, even appointing an “Information and Propaganda” minister. As conditions changed and

⁹ A brief overview, from which these examples are taken, is provided in Sriramesh 771-6.

the media grew in importance, professional 'image cultivation' developed during WWI when the British staged a stealth media campaign in the United States to convince the Americans to join the war. The German government responded with the "German Information Bureau" which even purchased an American newspaper in a bid to influence American public opinion directly. The German efforts were ultimately without success, but this 'press conflict' generated the idea that wars could be won or lost depending on public opinion. In 1917, the American president established the Committee on Public Information which was tasked with "mobilizing the mind of the world" to understand that country's character and ideals. These attempts continued during the Cold War, Vietnam, the Falklands, and the first Gulf War (McNair 157). President Bill Clinton achieved a new level of 'message management' with the creation of the International Public information (IPI) program in 1999 to sync messages from all government agencies (Sriramesh 834). This professionalization of countries' and individuals' images continued unabated, to the point where the "[...]today nearly every act in the (open) conduct of foreign policy takes public relations [...] into account" (Sriramesh 775) and countries prioritize cultivating a positive image abroad as an integral part of their economic and military policy.

The economic effects of national image are clearly defined in this quote from the Romanian Minister of Communications and Information Technology in 2005:

"Outsourcing is an area of success for Romanian Information and Communications Technologies. Competition in this market has become intense, with Romania having to compete in the global village not only with European countries but also with countries with the Far East and Latin America. Only a marketing and branding strategy which is well structured and envisaged for the medium term will help us to situate ourselves in a leading position in this global competition" (Fairclough, *Globalization* 1).

In Canada, as well, creation of a positive national image has been defined as an important international priority.¹⁰ This is necessary to allow "[...] Canada (as the most trade-dependent of all Group of Eight (G8)

¹⁰ Quote from *Canada's International Policy Statement*: "Public diplomacy is about projecting a coherent and influential voice to all those who have influence within a society – not just within its government. [...] Public

countries) to export its products and services; to attract portfolio and direct investment, to attract talent in the form of students and skilled workers in order to maintain its economic growth, and to gain international respect that will, in turn, allow Canada to play an important role in maintaining international peace and security” (Potter 6).

A positive image can also help to counteract damage done by negative news coverage, such as the international effects SARS had on tourism and the economy, especially in Toronto (Potter 41). The question of whether these attempts are successful is less clear than the fact that they exist. According to Potter, Canada’s public diplomacy efforts attempt to convince the world that the country is both culturally sophisticated and economically gifted because of its geographical area and resource-based economy (Potter 174). Despite this, “A regular reader of the higher-quality newspapers in the United Kingdom would most likely have his or her stereotypes of Canada confirmed (e.g., in recent years, stories of bear attacks on unsuspecting joggers in Canada have been popular) or receive only the most rudimentary information about Canada’s political and social landscape.” (Potter 100) As will be shown in the discussion of English newspaper coverage of Canada, bears continue to be discussed (but fortunately, not very often) around the time of the 2010 Summits.

In all of this interaction between governments, media, and publics, as Potter suggests, “The main tool of either propaganda or public diplomacy is language” (Fortner 37). If language is, in fact, the fundamental medium through which ‘discourse technicians’ do their work, where spin doctors ply their trade and the media reports and thereby helps construct the rise and fall of empires, the degree to which language and languages are ignored in discussions around public diplomacy surveyed for this project (and in politics generally (Bassnett and Schäffner 14)) is astonishing. A few exceptions include research conducted by scholars well known within TS such as Bassnett and Schäffner. They discuss the

diplomacy is also crucial to achieving our foreign policy goals. By persuading others as to the value of our proposals and strategies, or by engaging in cross-cultural dialogue, we can take important steps in furthering shared objectives of importance to Canadians.” in Potter, 9.

importance of translation in international politics and diplomacy between governments, as well as international organisations (13). In addition, they question the political motivations for decisions about what is translated, by whom, and which information is made available in which languages. They note that the same text or political event is often recontextualized into a new perspective as well as a new language when it is translated and reported on in the media (21).

A few mentions of translation found outside of TS include translation as a component of cultural output. This excerpt serves as an example: “Translation is often ignored as a tool in public diplomacy, even though it is probably one of the most effective ways of conveying one’s culture to another society. Promoting Canada through the translation of its literature creates an impression on foreign audiences and contributes directly to Canada’s visibility in an increasingly competitive world” (Potter 46, 112). Certainly, Canadian literature and other cultural products do great credit to this country, and translation helps them to gain a wider audience. Within TS, this has generated some interest as well, as flows of translated cultural works for political purposes is something which may be intriguing for many translators. It is interesting how often ‘cultural ambassadors’ appear in the newspaper coverage around the 2010 Summits; this will be discussed in Chapter Four. Cultural export is seen as an important part of nation branding, i.e. achieving an “impact by *telling stories*” (von Flotow 193). However, translation has additional, more central roles to play in international communication.

In addition to references to cultural products, Potter also mentions translation on the websites of consular missions, wondering: “What information will be translated into languages other than English and French? Who will verify the quality of third-language translations?” (167). While quality is important and doubtless interesting to study, there are many more questions which could be asked by translation scholars. As Bassnett and Schäffner state:

“[...] Translation Studies today is no longer concerned with examining whether a translation has been ‘faithful’ to a source text. Instead, the focus is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors. In other words, there is a general recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon of translation [...]” (12).

It is this understanding of translation in its complexity which is brought to bear on this study of English and French texts in translation which construct Canada’s image for the world; I have chosen to study this construction through analyzing the discourses and ways in which reality is framed within these texts.

Discourse

There is some variation in how discourse researchers define their object of study. Discourse can be defined, as Blommaert does, as “meaningful symbolic behaviour” and “language in action” (2). Many would agree that discourse can be found in both textual and non-textual elements (3); for example, in spoken and written communication using words, but also its non-linguistic features such as the font or colour in which those words are presented. Discourse in this view consists of social interaction and communication between language users, and is both complex and contextually defined (van Dijk, *Studies* 3-4).

A distinct but complimentary understanding of discourse is that each individual discourse can also be understood as one of many possible discourses; Fairclough describes a **discourse** as one particular way of “representing aspects of the world” where many other ways of representing those same aspects may also exist as other discourses (*Analysing Discourse* 124). He continues by stating that “Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world [...Discourses] may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth” (*Analysing Discourse* 124). In this view, a discourse is an abstraction, a construct which is created not in any one instance, but through repetition in the form of multiple texts (*Globalization* 41). These characteristics make discourses

“[...] difficult to pin down or describe – they are constantly changing, interacting with each other, breaking off and merging. [...] In addition, any act of naming or defining a discourse is going to be an interpretive one. Where I see a discourse, you may see a different discourse, or no discourse” (Baker, *Corpora* 4).

Ideology and Discourse

Discourse provides an interesting object for study within the framework of this project because of the ideologies with which discourses are linked. “Ideology” can have multiple meanings and is used in many ways; Terry Eagleton discusses some of the challenges with various definitions of ideology and distills six from these. In this project, borrowing and uniting two of these definitions, **ideology** is defined as “[...] ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class [...]” and “[...] the *promotion* and *legitimation* of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests” (29).

According to Fairclough, “Ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on ‘common-sense’ assumptions” (*Power* 2). It is these ‘common-sense’ assumptions which can be identified by studying discourse. Since discourse is language in use, studying discourses (what is said, how it is said, and what is not said, for example) can reveal the ideology/ies of the writer or speaker. This is not necessarily obvious, as “Texts do not typically spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that she brings ideologies to the interpretation of texts – and reproduces them in the process!” (Fairclough, *Power* 85). This is important because one could argue that there is little objective reality outside of language, discourse, or ideology about which everyone agrees. Reality is constructed through discourse, and ideology is at the foundation of that process. “Facts [...] gain meaning within a framework of explanation that is inevitably value-laden. Moreover, language with which we express the facticity of reality is often morally charged” (McNally 37). Heroes and villains are not born; they are

made. Their actions may exist independent of language, but the process by which their characters are made, recognized, and held in common within a community is through discourse, and the beliefs which determine how they are hailed, which behaviour is virtuous, heinous, or insignificant, are based on ideology. Canada is presented fairly frequently as a model of austerity in the British press coverage which will be analyzed in Chapter Four; it is doubtful that this 'heroic' image would appear in texts written by public sector unions, for example.

If one accepts that perceptions of reality are largely coloured by the discourses we engage and the ideologies we hold, it follows that these discourses and ideologies make both interesting and vitally important objects of study. If "[...] our images of reality are filtered through culturally determined presuppositions" (McNally 38), gaining some understanding of these presuppositions allows us to acknowledge the existence of others' presuppositions, which may be different or even in direct conflict with our own.

As discourse is constructed using language, the components of language (words and phrases) reveal clues about it. Meaning can be built and modified by how and when a word is used within a discourse or excluded from it. "The struggles—over definitions of words, to whose discourse a term should belong etc.—are in fact struggles over the identities of discourses" (Larsen 19). Ideological positions can be expressed through syntactic structures (i.e. putting a verb in the passive tense, thereby removing the agent of an action) and lexical choice (van Dijk, *News as Discourse* 177). For example, the name by which a country or region is referred can be understood to reveal the speaker's geopolitical beliefs.

The same word or phrase used in different discourse communities can have vastly different meanings. For example, the term *Dutch disease*, used within economic discourse, simply denotes a theory in which a country's manufacturing sector is negatively affected by increasing exports of natural resources. However, when the same term was used in Canadian federal political discourse, it became an

opportunity for various parties to dispute the health of regional, resource-based economies and gained a new connotation. Of course, this recasting of statements by political rivals may be common practice in political process, but the process of renegotiating meaning and connotations is by no means limited to this area (McNally 47).

The use of the word *disease* to describe an economic concept also illustrates one of the components of language use which will be discussed in later chapters: **metaphor**. Much more than a simple way of adding interest to the language we use; the explicit comparisons they contain can have real effects by changing how individuals understand topics, people, and events. As Lakoff and Johnson state, how we “[...] think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (3). They define metaphor at its core as “[...] *understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*” (5, emphasis in the original). One common example they cite from English in its current usage is TIME IS MONEY. We understand that money can be spent, saved, and invested, as can time (8-9). Understanding time in this way affects the way in which members of the language community behave (by *using* or *making* time, for example, rather than *passing* it).¹¹ Another metaphor they mention is LOVE AS PATIENT (49); curiously, this is similar to metaphors around the economy in English government texts, as will be shown in a later section.

Metaphor is only one example of the complexity of language-in-use. If meanings of a given word or phrase can differ substantially between different discourse communities within the same language, translating these words or phrases into additional languages and into the discourse communities which use these languages will multiply the complexity of meanings assigned to them. “Discourse objects are social constructs, independently of the issue whether such an object exists in the discourse-external reality. A **discourse object** is constituted by all that has been said about it [and...] all that has been said

¹¹ For a discussion of metaphor research using corpora, see Partington, chapter 10.

about this discourse object contributes towards its meaning” (Teubert 68; *my emphasis*). Looking at discourse in texts can reveal how meaning shapes discourse, how discourse shapes meaning, and how both reveal beliefs and ideologies about the discourse community which generated the text in the first place.

Discourses and the ideologies which they reveal directly impact actions and reality; ideology and power are seen to be closely related (Wodak and Meyer 10). “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, *Power* 2). A dominant ideology becomes common sense through a process of naturalization at which point it no longer looks like ideology (Fairclough, *Power* 107).

“Successful ideologies are often thought to render their beliefs natural and self-evident – to identify them with the ‘common sense’ of a society so that nobody could imagine how they might ever be different” (Eagleton 58). A successful ideology which has gained this level of unquestioned acceptance is known as hegemony.

Discourse and Hegemony

Hegemony, a term embraced by Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, is used to describe various parts of life, including the political. From a Gramscian perspective, politics is framed as a ‘struggle for hegemony’, in which ideology is central to maintaining power relations. “The hegemonic struggle between political forces can be seen as partly a contention over the claims of their particular visions and representations of the world to having a universal status” (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 45). The media were understood to play a central role in this struggle, as the mouthpiece of the elites who had a

vested interest in maintaining the system's status quo and who did so by creating consent amongst the rest of the citizens (McNair 57).

In the field of international relations, hegemony can be seen as the condition where one state (or a group of elite states) controls the international system, in much the same way as hegemony in a society occurs when a group of elites control the system within a society (McNally 20). In this conceptualization, public diplomacy can be understood as an attempt to challenge or modify the hegemonic status quo.

"Discourse can generate imaginary representations of how the world will be or should be within strategies for change which, if they achieve hegemony, can be operationalized to transform these imaginaries into realities" (Fairclough, *Globalization* 26). Discourses, introduced by governments or elites in order to generate imaginary representations may achieve hegemony if they are reproduced in and by the media, and may thereby become reality. For example, if Canadian banking regulations are purported to be the means to avoid national bankruptcy and global financial ruin, and if they are reported as such, and if they are believed to be such and widely adopted, they may well become the way in which national bankruptcy and global financial ruin are, in actual fact, avoided.

Of course, before a discourse can have a hegemonic position, it must become widely adopted. "One of the most important ways that discourses are circulated and strengthened in society is via language use, and the task of discourse analysts is to uncover how language is employed, often in quite subtle ways, to reveal underlying discourses" (Baker, *Corpora* 13). Although this project refers primarily to the theories of discourse analysis put forward by Norman Fairclough, one would be remiss to talk about discourse without mentioning one of the most well-known discourse theorists, Michel Foucault.

Discourse and Foucault

Foucault defines discourse as « des pratiques qui forment systématiquement les objets dont ils parlent » (*Archéologie* 66) and « lieu d'émergence des concepts » (*Archéologie* 83). Consisting of social practices,

Foucaultian discourse has a great deal of sticking power; it is created through social practices, but then evolves independently, becoming all-pervasive and all-encompassing, making it impossible to control, although there may be dissenting voices (Larsen 18). In this understanding, « [...] le discours n'est pas simplement ce qui traduit les luttes ou les systèmes de domination, mais ce pour quoi, ce par quoi on lutte, le pouvoir dont on cherche à s'emparer. » (*Ordre* 12). As a result, authorship of specific texts is entirely unimportant (Teubert 82) – in order to research the discourse, one must examine the conditions which enabled a certain text to come into existence. This is because “[...] in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures [...]” (Foucault, *Archaeology* 216); the goal of the discourse researcher is to describe the ‘archaeology’ of a given discourse, meaning the rules which govern its production, reproduction, and organization (Teubert 75).

Describing the archaeology of a discourse is what is to enable a researcher to identify a unique discourse and differentiate it from others; this is what can be called a discursive formation or an order of discourse. Larsen explains the difference as a discourse being “a particular historical instance of a discursive formation”, which stretches through time (16). Fairclough describes it as follows:

“An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and styles [...]. These elements select certain possibilities defined by languages and exclude others – they control linguistic variability for particular areas of social life. So orders of discourse can be seen as the social organization and control of linguistic variation.” (*Analysing Discourse* 24).

In both of these understandings, a discourse is a component of an order of discourse. The control of linguistic variation noted above is discussed further by Larsen, who states that the rules which govern language use in individual orders are what give words their meanings. These rules are necessary because:

“[...] the impact of words derives not only from the differences between them but from the social values given to them (or more correctly the values given to the different signifiers) and the rules determining the ways in which words can be connected. These rules are not grammatical or syntactical rules but rules for what gives meaning socially. As the value of words and the rules differ, there is no general system. Such a system of values and rules in a given linguistic context can broadly speaking be defined as a discourse” (Larsen 14).

In a discourse, the building block of meaning is an *énoncé*¹²; *énoncés* can be, but are not necessarily, sentences (Foucault, *Archéologie* 107). Each one is entirely distinct from the others, even if the words which make it up are not unique, because they have a particular contextual relationship with a subject which is unique. They can also only occur within the discourse which is associated with them, since outside of said discourse, the *énoncé* loses its meaning. They also need to be emitted in some way; silent inner thoughts do not count (Foucault, *Archéologie* ch. 2). *Énoncés* are, in any case, more than collections of signs that designate specific objects (*Archéologie* 66).

Foucault’s work is often referenced by discourse researchers and his work has figured largely in the development and theories of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse has generated interest for researchers in a range of disciplines; many schools of thought and variations about how to classify and study discourses exist. One of the major umbrellas under which discourse is studied is called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Within CDA, “Critical analysts of ‘discourse’ approach language as one facet of social life which is closely [...] interconnected with other facets of social life, and is therefore a significant (though generally somewhat neglected) aspect of all the major issues in social scientific research – economic systems, social relations, power and ideology, institutions, social change, social identity and so on” (Fairclough, *Globalization* 9). As could be imagined from the casting of such a wide net, these analysts see their field as an inter- (Van Dijk, *News As Discourse* 2), cross-, or transdiscipline (Fairclough, *Globalization* 11).

¹² A French term for an utterance, widely accepted in English usage as English does not possess an appropriate equivalent.

A few of the main schools of CDA include studying discourse: from a socio-cognitive perspective, as in the work of T.A. van Dijk; linguistically, as in the work of Ruth Wodak; and using the 'middle ground' approach espoused by Norman Fairclough (Wodak and Meyer 14-31). Within this variation, there are a few aspects of CDA which are generally ascribed to, and particularly emphasized in, Faircloughian CDA. These include an emphasis on power relations within discourses, which are studied with a well-defined political bias or agenda and a focus on the analysis of context as well as content.

Within CDA, understanding power, including the ways in which it is held, maintained, used, and fought over, is a fundamental reason for studying discourse. "The way in which orders of discourse are structured, and the ideologies which they embody, are determined by relationships of power in particular social institutions, and in the society as a whole" (Fairclough, *Power* 31). Understanding discourse enables researchers to understand underlying power dynamics, since "For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (Wodak and Meyer 10). However, it is not enough for many CDA scholars to understand discourse and power; they see their role as challenging those who hold the power within the discourse community.

Many proponents of CDA declare themselves to be on the side of the oppressed and attempt to reveal the power relationships and ideologies present in texts in order to subvert them. My goal is not so politically motivated (I am not making a value judgement about the correct use of power, nor any prescriptions about what should be subverted or how). However, I believe it is in the best interest of those whose lives and views are so fundamentally impacted by media, including anyone who consumes media products either directly (by viewing, reading, listening) or indirectly (by speaking, viewing, reading, or listening to those who have consumed media products), to gain a basic understanding of how the media and their products have been shaped by various forces. It is only with a certain degree of

transparency that media consumers can be empowered to act in whatever way they understand to be in their best interest.

Discourse and Context

This agenda is much less overtly political than in many CDA studies, but does correspond with one of the overarching goals of this politicization: the empowerment of all parties within a discourse community.

An understanding of how international news is constructed and the functions it serves, including the many actors involved—such as international media organizations, translators, editors, interested parties (governments, corporations)—increases the visibility of not only ‘news’, but also the ideologies and narratives which travel with it. This helps empower actors to see through some of the spin to become more conscientious and informed consumers, as well as constructors, of news and perceptions. The accompanying result is that shapers of news could also become more adept at seeing where their attempts have succeeded and failed, and therefore become more effective at spinning the news.

In order to conduct CDA research, focussing on specific texts for a linguistic analysis is an essential step. However, it also extends beyond the texts into context as present in the texts’ “order of discourse”.

“Critical discourse analysis is concerned with continuity and change at this more abstract, more structural, level, as well as with what happens in particular texts” (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 3).

The larger context beyond specific texts is what an individual will use to interpret the meaning of a specific utterance within that text. This context, or order of discourse, is how members of the discourse community construct meanings which shape their realities. “[...] you do not simply ‘decode’ an utterance, you arrive at an interpretation through an active process of matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations you have stored in your long-term memory.” These representations which are contextually constructed are known as ‘**members’ resources**’ (MR) (Fairclough, *Power* 10). “Whenever people produce or interpret discourse, they necessarily draw upon orders of discourse and other aspects of social structure, internalized in their MR, in order to do so”

(Fairclough, *Power* 39). This is perhaps why some impressions of Canada (for example, as a vast expanse of untamed, snowy wilderness) are prevalent. This is the importance of context within CDA: it is not enough to linguistically examine a particular text. Instead, one must acknowledge the context in order to account for how members of a discourse community will likely interpret the text.

Interlinguistic translation introduces another level of context into this scenario, as outlined by Gutt in his Relevance Theory¹³. In this theory, communication is inherently inferential; linguistic expressions are received by an individual, and then are mentally assigned semantic representations, or assumption schemas “which need to be developed and enriched in a number of different ways” (26). This development and enrichment involves the use of context and their “assumptions about the world” (27). Gutt places translation at the heart of this process, as through the process of translation, one must transfer both explicit information and implicit assumptions (46). He emphasizes intention as part of communication; I would add, however, that it is not only the intended components of language-in-use that are important (if, in fact, intentionality can be ascribed) but also the unintentional aspects.

Meaning is constructed through repetition and context. The relationship between language and reality, text and context is that “[...] social structures shape MR, which in turn shape discourses; and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures” (Fairclough, *Power* 162). Identifying how discourses travel from genre to genre, from language to language, and from culture to culture is fascinating because of the changes that this can have on MR and, as a result, on social structures.

A study outlined by Morely and Bayley illustrates how phrases, and perhaps the discourses behind them, can travel in precisely this way (whether intentionally or unintentionally). As they discovered, “the American people”, “America”, and “the United States” all belong to the same national brand but serve different functions within language-in-use and perhaps even different discourses.

¹³ For more detailed explanation, see chapter two of his book.

“While the American people is generally presented as receiving messages from the president rather than sending them to anyone, America as a nation is shown as addressing the world by communicating its values and ideals. The United States, in contrast, is presented as the addresser of messages usually directed to its opponents. The existence in the briefings of two types of message that partly overlap—a set of diplomatic messages conveyed by the United States as a state, and a set of messages about values and ideals, conveyed by America as a nation—points to a mechanism illustrated by George Lakoff, who defined it as the State-As-Person System:

A state is conceptualized as a person, engaging in social relations within a world community. Its land-mass is its home. It lives in a neighborhood, and has neighbors, friends and enemies. States are seen as having inherent dispositions: they can be peaceful or aggressive, responsible or irresponsible, industrious or lazy. (Lakoff 1991: online version)

It is clear from this case that the construction of participant roles in such an event as the communication of messages is not left to chance: it is taken for granted that the people of America not only support the administration in conveying its messages, but the whole nation is construed as participant in this communicative act.” (125)

This example illustrates how isolating instances in which words are used can display their additional meanings by examining how they are used in specific discursive contexts.

The question follows: how can one study the complex interactions between individuals and societies, texts and contexts, language and discourse, which are the focus of study within CDA and discourse studies more generally? Obviously, no one method would be sufficient. For this reason, discourse studies is described as cross-discipline without one specific research methodology which can be used in every situation, nor can all possible aspects of discourse be analyzed in any given situation (van Dijk, *Studies* 6). According to discourse type, context and object of study, a multitude of research methods from various fields can be called on. Generally, Fairclough identifies two steps for identifying discourses within a text. He suggests that:

“We can think of a discourse as (a) representing some particular part of the world, and (b) representing it from a particular perspective. Correspondingly, in textual analysis one can:

- (1) Identify the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented – the main ‘themes’.

- (2) Identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented.”
(*Analysing Discourse* 129).

Notwithstanding the importance of context, conducting an analysis of discourse as discussed above requires specific texts in order to find and study a wider discourse. Many discourse analysts have chosen to study political and media texts because of their close relationship with power and with each other. Some themes of political and media texts, in the form of government communications and newspaper articles from early-mid 2010, include the global economic crisis and the Summits themselves; themes and the perspectives from which they are presented will be discussed further in the analyses.

In Translation – Discourse and Narrativity

Narrative, as used in Mona Baker’s Translation Studies work *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, provides the definition and framework that is used to underpin the application of narrative study in this project, as well as to explain the translational aspects of discourse in practice. **Narratives** are described as “everyday stories we live by” (3) which is compatible with Foucault’s conceptualization of discourse, as discussed above. The main difference identified by Baker is that narrative as a concept is more accessible, and makes political agents concrete by making them characters in a story. In this conceptualization, stories make the hero and the villain and conflict is carried out through conflicting stories; whoever’s story wins can describe the characters.

A strength of narrative theory, defined according to Baker, is that:

“[...] unlike much of the existing scholarship in translation studies, it allows us to examine the way in which translation features in the elaboration of narratives that cut across time and texts. It is simultaneously able to deal with the individual text and the broader set of narratives in which it is embedded, and it encourages us to look beyond the immediate, local narrative as elaborated in a given text or utterance to assess its contribution to elaborating wider narratives in society” (4).

Baker emphasizes that “[...] translation is not a by-product, nor simply a consequence, of social and political developments, nor is it a by-product of the physical movement of texts and people. It is part

and parcel of the very process that makes these developments and movements possible in the first place” (6). For these reasons (the accessible conceptualization of discourse and incorporating texts and contexts in translation), narrative is a helpful addition to the theoretical framework of this project. The relationship between discourse and hegemony, as discussed above, is mirrored in Baker’s narrativity, in which she states that “one of the effects of narrativity is that it normalizes the accounts it projects over a period of time, so that they come to be perceived as self-evident, benign, uncontestable and non-controversial” (11). The role of translation in this context is recognized in that it “[...] plays a key role in naturalizing and promoting such narratives across linguistic boundaries” (14). Narratives normalize events, opinions, beliefs, and behaviour, they help us categorize (and therefore understand) our world, construct our reality both past and present, and define who we are.

Although they are fundamental to our understanding of the world, narratives are not stable. “Every time a version of [a] narrative is retold or translated into another language, it is injected with elements from other, broader narratives circulating within the new setting [...]” (22). These narratives are retold, shaped, and manipulated in order to sell a product, for example, by telling a story:

“Instead of selling products in the same way to every culture, marketers have turned to narrative, to finely-tuned story-telling, carefully adapted for individual cultures, for specific audiences, with specific cultural backgrounds and beliefs, stories that may only tangentially relate to the product. What counts is the *story*, and a key factor is the need to constantly provide updates of the old stories, to re-focus the narratives [...]” (von Flotow 193, emphasis in the original).

This is done in an attempt to increase international influence by creating a more powerful image (von Flotow 194). Far from being limited to selling physical products and services, this translation of narrative into global contexts and multiple languages is a key component of international relations and, as suggested earlier, activities such as public diplomacy.

Not all narratives are going to be accepted, even if they are modified through the translation process. According to Baker, narratives are assessed by their coherence on various levels: how well it fits together as a story, both structurally and materially, i.e. with other narratives which have already been accepted, as well as characterologically, ie. based on the credibility of its main characters (*Translation* 148). In addition, new narratives presented to us are examined for fidelity, or how well they fit into our existing logic, and values: according to what we judge as good reasons. How narratives frame reality is an important consideration in whether or not they will be accepted.

Framing

Narratives cannot be told from an objective perspective – as the saying goes, there are two sides to every story. Although I would suggest there are often more than two, the existence of spin, differing angles or perspectives of how an event or situation is discussed, both privately and through the media, is widely accepted. This is done partly through what communication researchers call priming and framing¹⁴; priming refers to the relative weight assigned to an issue (by repetition, placement within the news source, and so on) and **framing** refers to the angle or perspective from which it is presented (Ammon 131). The frames that occur within media stories are most powerful when they correlate with the public's previous perceptions of the issue presented or a related topic. "An issue has been successfully framed when there is a fit between the line of reasoning a message or news story suggests on an issue and the presence of those existing mental associations within a particular audience" (D'Angelo 47). It follows, therefore, that a story which is well received by one audience may not necessarily be in another context.

Framing is a key concept related to narrativity for Baker. Drawing on the work of other scholars, she identifies eight features of narrativity: temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, selective appropriation, particularity, genericness, normativeness, and narrative accrual. She uses framing as a

¹⁴ For interesting case studies focussing on rhetorical devices in news stories, see van Dijk, *News Analysis*.

concept to explore how these eight features can be renegotiated in translation (105). Framing is defined as “[...] an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality” (106). In this view, translation is a dual frame: the translation of an event into a conceptualization of an event, and then the translation of that conceptualization in one language into a different conceptualization. Frames can be ambiguous (i.e. multiple frames can be in conflict with each other); framing can be accomplished by changing the temporal or spatial frame space (i.e. reframing by changing the time or place), selectively appropriating the textual material which supports or suppresses parts of a narrative, and by labelling concepts or characters in different ways.

Frames help people to process information; they can be seen as ‘guides’ or ‘information-processing schemata’ which help us to understand the world around us (Entman 6). Through repetition, they become ingrained and become taken for granted; they can even become part of our personal or cultural ideology, achieving status as an obvious truth (hegemony, as discussed above).

As another scholar of narrative, Entman, states,

“Comparing media narratives of events that could have been reported similarly helps to reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text. [...] Comparison reveals that such choices are not inevitable or unproblematic but rather are central to the way the news frame helps establish the literally “common sense” (i.e., widespread) interpretation of events” (6).

These textual choices are necessarily more complex when they are being done trans-linguistically; the textual choices that are made frame the topic and the reality of how the topic is framed and understood by the audience, by determining how it fits into a wider narrative.

Framing, whether done unilingually or across linguistic boundaries, is a subject of considerable interest to media researchers, as analyzing media framing allows greater understanding of perspective, focus,

and biases. Another component of media influence involves not only *how* a subject is being discussed, but whether it is even mentioned. This function of the media is known as agenda-setting.

Agenda-Setting

The ability of the media to turn the public's attention towards a given topic or situation gives it substantial influence, with both positive and negative effects. For example, a natural disaster which receives media coverage will receive more donations towards a recovery effort than one which is not in public view (Lim 103). This "signal function", or ability to alert people to what they would otherwise be unaware of, is especially profound because of the selection which must take place – not everything can be brought to the public's attention. Some issues and events must be selected to be given this level of attention and all the rest must be ignored. This agenda-setting function of the media occurs as "[...] the issues emphasized in news reports become the issues regarded as most important among the public. The agenda of the news media becomes, to a considerable degree, the agenda of the public. In other words, the news media set the public agenda" (McCombs 2). Although the preceding statement would appear to suggest that there is a monolithic entity ('the media') which sets the agenda for a homogeneous group of 'the public', in most cases, especially on an international scale, I would suggest that there are many media and many publics. A Foreign Images Study conducted for UNESCO, for example, found that:

"International news is selected by criteria similar to those used for national news or local news. Higher ranking (superpower) or geographically and/or culturally close states are most likely to be reported on by the media of a country. Economic alliances and ideological relations also generate more intensive coverage of another country. [...]election is done by universally valid criteria, with particular emphasis on the unusual such as disasters, unrest, and coups. Regionalism is particularly pronounced in all media systems" (Sriramesh 780).

From an interlinguistic and intercultural perspective, this poses interesting questions which are essentially questions of translation. Which events are being selected for translation for foreign audiences, what level of attention will they receive, who decides what an accurate or appropriate

translation is, and what effect does this have? Just as translation is “a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication” (Tymoczko and Gentzler xxi), so is the news creation an act of selection and the closely related act of framing. How Canada is translated for and by foreign audiences in the research corpora will be the focus of discussion in Chapter Four.

Analyzing Political and Media Discourse

We briefly discussed the connection between political communication and the media in a previous section. When looking at this relationship from a discursive perspective, the interest in this connection and the power held by governments and media as actors within a discourse community becomes clear.

As Fairclough states,

“The boundary between the social fields of media and politics has been redrawn, producing a substantial if partial intersection between the two: political debate and persuasion, the making and implementation of policy, and the whole business of government have so to speak migrated to a significant degree from specialized institutions in the political field to the media. [...] It is associated with a ‘professionalization’ of ‘communications’ within government and political parties and the management of the mediation of political ‘messages’, and the emergence of ‘spin doctoring’, seeking to put a positive ‘spin’ on political messages [...]” (*Globalization* 101)

Most individuals participate in political and media discourse because of how pervasive it is; media sources of news “[...] account for a not insignificant proportion of a person’s average daily involvement in discourse” (Fairclough, *Power* 37). This sustained level of participation changes perceptions, discourses, and social structures by changing MR within a society. An individual news story, for example, is unlikely to be remembered by a large number of individuals – “[...] what readers do is not so much remember news reports at all but rather construct new and update old models of the situation a news report describes. Recall, thus, is based on the partial retrieval of such models” (van Dijk, *News Analysis* 181). As certain themes, perspectives, and interpretations are repeated, they are increasingly incorporated within the MR of a particular group. For example, if immigration is often mentioned in international news sources when discussing Canada, these two subjects will become increasingly linked

in the minds of a newspaper's readers. This occurs outside of the media as well, but the media has an exceptional level of influence because of the relatively large percentage of the community which is exposed to it.

"A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth. Thus through the way it positions readers, for instance, media discourse is able to exercise a pervasive and powerful influence in social reproduction because of the very scale of the modern mass media and the extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a relatively homogeneous output." (*Power* 80)

The influence of the media on an international scale is acknowledged by researchers outside of CDA as well. A public relations researcher states that the media, "[...] by serving in the diplomatic sphere as a source of international information, can contribute to international orientation by establishing a common fund of knowledge that enables or facilitates negotiations, for example" (Sriramesh 778-9). If discourse is an integral part of communication (such as would be required in 'establishing a common fund of knowledge'), one must conclude that in addition to bringing information to international attention, it also brings a certain perspective – in spreading particular information, it also spreads particular discourse. News sources, according to Fairclough, account for a 'not insignificant' proportion of an individual's participation in shared discourse (*Power* 37).

Theoretical Framework – Conclusion

We have established the importance of discourse in shaping perceptions, and therefore shaping reality.

We have discussed how discourse, and ideology which underpins it, is present whenever language is used, and we have accepted Fairclough's accounting of discourse analysis which is "[...] based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language" (*Analysing Discourse* 2). If language is of fundamental importance, it follows that translation plays a key

role in the spread and acceptance of narratives (Baker, *Translation* 14), discourses and ideologies circulating between different linguistic communities.

The acceptance and spread of particular narratives through translation has real effects, including effects on international flows of power, people, and money. As one politician-author explains the importance of narratives, “The challenge is to find an understanding that can help make the complicated more explicable and to allow for choices to be made. It is why stories matter so much [...]” (Dryden 5). As stated above, the objectives of this project are to analyze images of Canada in English and French, exploring the role of translation in spreading and naturalizing specific narratives and discourses within a defined context. There are many methodological angles which could be used in order to accomplish this goal and a summary of some of them, which will inform this project, follow.

Chapter Two

As stated above, the aim of this project is to explore discourses in translation within one particular context, the international political and media scene in May-July 2010, the time of the Canadian-hosted summits in Huntsville and Toronto. The frameworks within and upon which this project is built are necessarily multi-layered and multi-faceted. Context must be accounted for; discourse and ideology, such overarching topics, must first be described, explored, and extrapolated from. However, these are evident only in texts, and thus concrete, specific components and strategies for identifying them must be used. The richness and diversity of options must be explored, and most must be discarded, due to the sheer number of possibilities. Using an interdisciplinary methodology outlined below and through a TS lens, this project aims to address the following question within this context: How is Canada framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its official languages?

The survey of theoretical background which befits the interdisciplinary, inter-lingual, multi-translational nature of these questions was presented in the previous section. Being represented (or translated, as it were) in a certain way, and being accepted as such, this image will move between different types of texts and discourses and become what people think of when they think of Canada; it becomes part of people's MR, which in turn influences their actions. This national image can be understood to undergo three types of translation: external reality into text, which is the expanded definition of translation discussed previously, interlingual translation of government texts, and government text and context into news text.

The construction of Canada's image is evident in language through discourses, or various ways of seeing the world. By studying the words and phrases used in government and media texts which discuss Canada, one can identify some of these discourses. The agenda-setting function of the media relates to the frequency of topics and issues discussed; framing coincides with the attitudes present in government and newspaper texts. Repetition of "themes" and "perspective", as Fairclough calls them,

makes meanings more stable. Both themes discussed in relation to Canada and the perspective used to present them contribute to Canada's image; since themes and perspectives can be different in different languages, Canada may be presented differently in English and French language texts. The transfer of images across languages – across contexts and words and phrases and meanings – adds a level of complexity and points to translation as a necessary step in the transfer and spread of discourses on Canada's image.

The methodological framework below links the theory presented in the previous chapter and the specific methodology of this project.

Methodological Framework

Vocabulary, phrases, language, context, connotation... through discourse analysis, the researcher hopes to discover and uncover what is in a text, whether intended or unintentional. Discourse analysis can be many things to many people; depending on the researcher, goals, and the object of research, different components of a text or group of texts can be discovered and different techniques can be used in the research. As one might expect of a cross-discipline, there are such a wide variety of research methods that "[...] there is no typical CDA way of collecting data" (Wodak 23). Not only is there no typical way, the methodologies "[...] differ greatly: small qualitative case studies can be found as well as large data corpora, drawn from fieldwork and ethnographic research" (Wodak 2). Various schools of discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis may espouse particular methods; different researchers within the same school may each have their own preferred techniques.

Norman Fairclough, a central figure in CDA, recommends a two-step, general process for uncovering discourses: identifying main themes represented and then identifying the perspective from which this happens; this can be done by looking at vocabulary and the ways in which it structures the world (*Analysing Discourse* 129). These will be the starting points for research within this project, although

discourse researchers may differ in preferences for how to do each of these steps (and change these points altogether).

It is beyond the scope of this project to describe the range of methods of interest to the discourse researcher. However, it is helpful to situate the methods used in this project within the greater context of the types of research conducted by discourse scholars. Discourse and the analysis thereof obviously can span many types of communication. Spoken and written texts can be used for many ends, including advertising, advancing political goals, teaching, and many others. No matter their form or goal, all utterances can reveal something about language and about the emitters of said utterances. Texts or collections of texts can be studied from a macro or micro level. Macro level research can explore characteristics pertaining to organization, scope, subject matter, whereas micro level research could investigate the specific details of language in use, like verbal tics or the use of prepositions. The methods used in discourse research are just as varied, which, at least to some extent, mirror the variety and complexity of discourse analysis researchers' goals.

Given this degree of variation, therefore, the goal of any reasonable researcher cannot include every aspect of a text, discourse, or concept. There will always be another technique, another angle, another theory or methodology which can be justifiably used to cast new light on a text, group of texts, or discourse(s). Since there is not one specific way of analyzing a text, a given text, analyzed in different ways, may uncover different aspects of discourse or different discourses. Given the endless number of options presented to a researcher studying discourse, it is also unsurprising that said researcher is, to some degree, always bound by their own perspective. No research fails to reflect the perspective or biases of the researcher who carried it out. Just as a researcher cannot understand reality definitively, so said researcher cannot understand a text definitively – there is always something new that could be deduced or described about it (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 14). One of the reasons for this is that

the researcher always brings his or her contextual and discursive perspectives to bear on the analyses; neutrality is impossible (Fairclough, *Power* 31). This subjectivity does not negate the value of the analysis, but it should be acknowledged.

The similarities between these methodologies, however, are several. One is that discourse is understood to be only accessible through language-in-use, such as in texts and spoken utterances. Because mental conceptualizations and understandings are not directly accessible, they cannot be used as objects of study (Teubert 66-7). Another is that one should avoid claiming to identify relations of causality, or at least use extreme caution when claiming to establish causation – it is difficult to determine whether any particular message or campaign resulted in particular results (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 13).

CDA researchers also tend to accentuate reality as being perceived through discourse rather than attempting to compare a given discursive reality to an external, empirical reality. Fairclough discusses this aspect as distinguishing between ‘external’ and ‘internal’ relations of texts. External relations include how the text intersects with events, social practices and cultures, and other texts. Internal relations deal with interactions within the text (semantic, grammatical, vocabulary, phonological relations) (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 36). For many scholars, discourse research incorporates external, contextual information but relies on texts and materials to study discourses. In this study, the factuality of external relations or claims within the discourse is not the focus. For example, if the Canadian financial acumen is being discussed in a text, I am not in the least interested (for the purposes of this research) in whether Canadian banks are, in fact, more responsible managers of money than Belgian banks.

Instead, I am attempting to uncover linkages or similarities, a consistency which points to a particular discourse. From a TS/CDA perspective, the relationship between origin/copy or original/target is not the

focus, rather which themes or perspectives are translated into a new context, the changes that occur, and which ones are lost in translation.

One can conclude, based on the above points, that biases are unavoidable, that reality is represented differently in different discourses, and given the vastness of potential research, theories, and techniques, that an utterance, a text or a group of texts can never be fully understood. An additional complication is that words acquire new shades of meaning every time they are used (for those who are involved in that specific instance of communication); when media are concerned, the number of individuals involved can be very large and have a significant impact on lexical connotations. Take, for example, the following utterance, a tweet generated June 28, 2013, during the 2013 flooding in Alberta (Nenshi):

No machetes? Thanks for your help! MT @Handle: coming from #yeg w/ 90 masks, 200prs of gloves, 3 cases of tape 10 cases of water.

As this is a particularly cryptic utterance, one might conclude that the Calgary mayor should put down his smartphone and concentrate his flood recovery efforts elsewhere. However, contextualizing the response demonstrates that this is, in fact, a satirical dismissal of a recent intercity spat. A sarcastic comment in a newspaper editorial which referred to Edmontonians as 'machete-wielding' received national attention, so it becomes clear that Nenshi is joining in an ongoing discussion, proving he is aware of it and also derisively dismissing it. In this case, *machetes* no longer designates a type of implement but rather a conversation about the Edmonton-Calgary relationship and editorial standards.

Not only does context on a macro level like the above example matter to meaning; immediate context also impacts how words are understood. Words¹⁵ are imbued with meaning based on how they are used; to quote Saussure, “La valeur de n’importe quel terme est déterminée par ce qui l’entoure” (160).

A reader may approach the idea that a word’s immediate context is a useful subject of study within the political/media discourse, or any discourse at all, with a fair degree of scepticism. An illustration of how a word’s immediate context impacts the meaning of an utterance in the political sphere caught media attention in early 2013. The Canadian Prime Minister accused a political rival of ‘committing sociology’. Intuitively, this strikes the hearer as unusual; perhaps because sociology is most often thought of as something which is studied whereas when one thinks of committing something, it is often a crime.¹⁶ A brief perusal of phrases containing *commit* in the British National Corpus¹⁷ reveals that *commit* is often used in the construction *commit to something* (eg. They committed to the project) or, when followed by direct object, is overwhelmingly negative; one commits crimes, murders, suicides, felonies, and people to institutions. Therefore, choosing *commit* rather than another verb renders the exercise of sociology an accusation, almost criminal, which is a departure from the word *sociology* on its own. As this example illustrates, combining words in certain ways adds to or may even change their meaning.

¹⁵ Words are one of the building blocks of language; subject of speculation and meaning, contextually governed, and often assumed to mean different things or hold different connotations to anyone who hears or utters them. Take, for example, the word *word*; on first glance, it would seem to require no explanation. As this thesis’ writer, I trust that my readers will understand most of what I have written; most words like *word* can have no explanation, else the project would never end. However, a researcher in the field of terminology, for example, would consider my use of the word *word* to be excessively simplistic; they might prefer the clearer alternative *lemma*, which provides more explanation about precisely what definition of ‘word’ I am using (for example, one might claim that *table* and *tables* are different words; they are, however, indubitably the same lemma). Rather than a pointless tangent, this illustrates one of the important considerations when considering words and meaning; a word which is appropriate in one setting (eg. a lexicographers’ conference) would be entirely misplaced in another (a high school English class, for example). Since this project is not within the more technical fields, I have chosen to use the more accessible word *word* to describe the unit of language around which my research is based: the word *Canada*.

¹⁶ The concept of semantic prosody; meaning that is implicit within particular combinations of words, based on how they have been put together at other times. An example taken from Baker is that “[...] the verb CAUSE tends to collocate with descriptions of negative events. There is nothing negative per se about CAUSE, but its regular pairing with negative events suggests that it becomes imbued with this negative association.” (Baker, *Sociolinguistics* 132-3).

¹⁷ An online repository of English texts, built to be representative of English-in-use for research purposes. Consulted June 2013. Available at the time of writing at <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>.

Returning to the research question on how Canada is framed through narrative: both general contextual information and specific construction of utterances can be taken into account when determining how Canada's image is built and transmitted. Within Critical Discourse Analysis, there are many aspects which can be considered, including metaphor, argumentation, and a host of others too numerous to list. In recent years, techniques which acknowledge the power of repetition have become increasingly popular in CDA studies.

With the advent of electronic computing, it became possible to process large quantities of language. It soon became clear to researchers that language is much more phrasal in nature than had previously been thought. There are rules by which language is governed: a noun may be amended by almost any adjective, the subject of a sentence is accompanied by a verb.¹⁸ However, the ability to survey large quantities of linguistic data led to the discovery that language in use is surprisingly consistent; certain adjectives tend to be used with certain nouns; certain subjects are accompanied by certain verbs. This repetition is understood by speakers in a given linguistic community as part of idiomatic speech and when these conventions are broken, people notice. A phrase may be more (or different) than the sum of its parts.

Although somewhat daunting, the variation in discourse analysis methodologies and perspectives is an exceptional resource which researchers can tailor for their specific purposes. For this project, techniques generally assigned to both the Faircloughian form of CDA and some tools often used in the type of Corpus Linguistics (CL) often called Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS) have been selected. The research methodologies in CDA and the CL are seen by many researchers as mutually beneficial.¹⁹ These divisions and labels are imperfect because a given technique, tool, or type of analysis is not necessarily linked to one specific approach. However, CDA tends to be understood as more qualitative (relying more

¹⁸ At least in English and French, which are the only languages dealt with in this project.

¹⁹ For an overview, see Baker, in *Discourse and Society*, and Orpin.

heavily on researchers' judgement and valuation), and CL/CADS as more empirical (relying more heavily on data generated by well-defined criteria which can be used to replicate the research with the same result). These general descriptions may be helpful to distinguish between research methods in the two fields, although the distinction between the two is often fuzzy.

The strength of research which combines the qualitative and empirical approaches mentioned above is acknowledged among CDA scholars. Ideally, the findings from one can be the springboard for ongoing research in the other and the strengths of one can help the researcher circumvent the deficits of the other. In effect, they can be used in tandem in order to test hypotheses and strengthen arguments. In a somewhat begrudging admission, Fairclough states that CDA "[...] can usefully be supplanted by the 'quantitative analysis' offered by corpus linguistics [...] to identify the 'keywords' in a corpus of texts, and to investigate distinctive patterns of co-occurrence or **collocation** between keywords and other words. Such findings are of value, though their value is limited, and they need to be complemented by more intensive and detailed qualitative textual analysis" (*Analysing Discourse* 6; emphasis in original). Other researchers, especially as the tools prove their usefulness, are less reticent. Baker's methodology outlines a 'virtuous cycle' between the more qualitative and quantitative-based tools, in which the researcher is able to make a hypothesis based on results of one analysis which is then tested using the other; the testing of the preliminary hypothesis may reveal new leads for research, from which another hypothesis may be generated and tested (Baker et al, *UK* 295). This project incorporates tools from both of these approaches.

Corpus-based researchers tend to underline the importance of corpus quality, as the quality of the results is limited by the quality of the corpus itself. A **corpus** is defined as a collection of texts for linguistic analysis, made up of naturally occurring language, gathered according to certain criteria for a specific purpose to represent wider instances of language (Tognini-Bonelli 57). Corpora should be

representative; results of research should be able to be recreated in a larger sample of similar texts (Tognini-Bonelli 57). Many different types of corpora fit within this general definition; researchers decide which type of corpus they would like to build in order to best suit a particular project or objective.²⁰ As with discourse research such as CDA, one is looking for how a particular sample of language-in-use embodies a more widely held perspective.

The use of corpora in Translation Studies is unsurprising and scholars within TS have also embraced corpora in several areas. Corpora can provide an unsurpassed degree of detail about how words and structures are used, assisting in terminological research and with idiomatic use of language in a translation. Recognition of the resource which corpora present to TS has led to the creation of a sub-discipline: Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS). The interplay between corpora, translation, and ideology have driven three main areas of development in CTS:

“first, the search for common ground between linguistics and the rapidly developing interdisciplinary field of cultural studies; second, an awareness of ideology as a factor indissolubly intertwined with text, context, translation as well as the theory, practice and pedagogy of translation; and, finally, keeping pace with the development of modern technologies in order continually to update, refine and diversify the methodologies adopted in descriptive and applied studies.” (Laviosa 21).

The usefulness of corpora can be summarised as follows: “At the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were granted.” (Partington 12).

This usefulness can be harnessed for research in the area of collocations, as mentioned by Fairclough. A **collocation** is a co-occurrence of two words within a given proximity to each other that happens more frequently than would happen by pure chance. It can also be used to refer to the relationship that this

²⁰ For a description of several types of corpora and their uses, see Bowker and Pearson, chapter one.

connotes. These separate words are called **collocates**. Collocation can be most easily researched using software because of the large amount of data involved. There are a number of corpus analysis tools and concordancers that can be used for this type of research, including the one used in this project, WordSmith Tools.²¹ After selecting one's corpus (the parameters around which are discussed below) and inputting the documents, it is a simple matter to search for the word under investigation; this word is called the **node**. The researcher can specify various parameters such as how many characters on either side of the node should be included by the software in its analysis, how many results should be returned, and how the results should be sorted.

Many types of information are available, and there are different tools within concordancing software that can be used to analyze information. One of the most common is the concordancer, results for which can be organized in different ways to enable the researcher to analyze patterns and lexical relationships (Olohan 63). Concordancers are used to find all instances of a word in a corpus; in this project, that word was *Canada* and its related forms. Search results can be arranged in several formats, but the search term, or node, is often displayed in the centre of the screen with a certain amount of context, or the text that surrounds the node, on either side. Each result, displayed on a new line, is called a concordance line. This concordance display is called keyword-in-context (KWIC), as seen in figures 2.1 and 2.2. The concordance can be sorted alphabetically by words at various distances away from the node on the left and/or right. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 below show the node (*Canada*) with its collocates sorted alphabetically. In figure 2.1, the concordance list is sorted alphabetically to the right, first by the word directly adjacent to the node, then by second word to the right of the node. In figure 2.2, the concordance list is also sorted alphabetically by words adjacent on the left (first by the word directly to the left, then by the second word to the left).

²¹ Software created by Mike Scott. More information about this tool is available at <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith> (URL accurate at time of writing). This software was used in this project, as well as in, for example, Freake et al. and Koteyko.

Fig. 2.1 Concordance (right)

N	Concordance	Sect.	Sect.	File
		0	80%	g8_1,1-1,5_PM sta
806	while the Kizner facility (with assistance from Canada) will begin operations by the end of 2010.	0	98%	g8_1,1-1,5_PM sta
807	and knowledge in maternal and child health, Canada will bring together Canadian partners,	0	80%	g8_1,9_sherpas bl
808	year of our presidency of the G-8, during which Canada will champion a major initiative to improve	0	98%	g20 speeches_EN.
809	of purpose. That is why, as president of the G-8, Canada will champion a major initiative to improve	0	85%	g8_2,1_ministerial:
810	and child health. As president of the G8 in 2010, Canada will champion a major initiative to improve	0	70%	g8_2,1_ministerial:
811	26, 2010 At the upcoming G-8 Leaders' Summit, Canada will champion an initiative to increase the	0	100%	g20 news_EN.txt
812	to welcoming world leaders to Canada next year." Canada will co-chair the June G20 summit with	0	73%	g20 speeches_EN.
813	however, that the principles guiding us will not. Canada will continue to seek to do what is right.	0	15%	g8_4,4,1_muskoka
814	by G8 members) Country Commitment Progress Canada will double its international assistance	0	69%	g20 speeches_EN.
815	and reward. These are the mechanisms that Canada will encourage when the G-20 leaders	0	97%	g8_1,1-1,5_PM sta
816	2015 to \$2.85 billion For mothers and newborns, Canada will focus its efforts on improving the	0	61%	g8_3_how the g8 v
817	month the Minister of Finance announced that Canada will forgive nearly \$24 million owed by the	0	35%	g20 speeches_EN.
818	in Canada. In a few weeks, in Muskoka [Ontario], Canada will greet the heads of state and	0	26%	g20 news_EN.txt
819	in the G-7 for the next five years. "This year, Canada will have an overall tax rate on new	0	30%	g20 news_EN.txt
820	and ensuring a legacy of a greener tomorrow." Canada will host the G-8 Summit on June 25 and	0	60%	g20 news_EN.txt
821	perspective to that task," the Prime Minister said. Canada will host a focused G-20 Summit that will			

This type of concordance list could be used to examine patterns between the node and words found to its right; by sorting the concordance list as in figure 2.1, for example, Canada's stated future intentions can be examined.

Fig. 2.2 Concordance (left)

N	Concordance	Sect.	Sect.	File
		0	53%	g8_
479	rated 4 out of 5 in the Hotel Association of Canada's Green Key Eco-Rating program for the	0	60%	g20
480	Central Bank, Bank of England, the Bank of Canada , and the Swiss National Bank. The Bank	0	94%	g8_
481	and Mark Carney, Governor of the Bank of Canada , today highlighted the need to focus on	0	77%	g20
482	Peter Van Loan, also Governor of the Bank of Canada Mark Carney. Welcome all of you,	0	11%	g8_
483	Ontario Oasis Inspired by the pristine beauty of Canada's Muskoka region, the Oasis featured a	0	80%	g8_
484	Weapon Destruction Facility (CWDF) on behalf of Canada . The railway was completed in December	0	81%	g8_
485	building at the Shchuch'ye on behalf of Canada , UK, France and other donors. Most of	0	62%	g2
486	and security challenges. The theme for both of Canada's summits is "Recovery and New	0	77%	g8_
487	to introduce our guests to the diamond capital of Canada and the starkly beautiful Canadian north,			

In this example, collocates on the left have been sorted alphabetically. If we wanted to isolate all instances of institutions whose names include *Canada* (such as Government of Canada or Bank of Canada), this would be an effective tool.

A concordance list provides additional information, such as the number of occurrences (such as in figure 2.2, where we can see that the phrase *on behalf of Canada* occurs twice in the corpus under investigation) and specific document in which the occurrence is found; this allows the researcher to determine if a particular construction is only used in one type of text, or only by one author, or if it is in wide usage.

Individual collocates can also be compiled into lists of collocates, and sorted by the frequency with which the collocation occurs. This allows the researcher to rapidly determine the most common collocates of a word, where it is located in relation to the word (e.g. 2 to the left of the node, 4 to the right of the node). Below, we can see that *committed* collocates with *Canada* 13 times in this corpus; 6 times it occurs directly beside *Canada* (*Canada committed*) and 7 times once removed (e.g. *Canada has committed* or *Canada is committed*).

Fig. 2.3 Collocates

N	Word	With	Texts	Total	Total	Total	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
92	LEADING	canada	7	13	2	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	0
93	LEADERS	canada	6	13	5	8	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	4	1
94	EDUCATION	canada	3	13	3	10	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	4	1	1	3
95	EFFORTS	canada	5	13	5	8	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	1	3
96	COMMITTED	canada	6	13	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7	0	0	0
97	BY	canadian	9	13	13	0	1	1	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
98	OPPORTUNITY	canada	6	13	8	5	1	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
99	FREE	canada	2	13	4	9	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	4	1	2
100	TODAY	canada	7	12	9	3	4	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0
101	FUNDING	canada	5	12	6	6	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	1
102	ABOUT	canada	7	12	11	1	0	1	0	1	9	0	0	0	0	1	0

Beyond simply looking at syntactic features or vocabulary variation, concordance lists and collocation can be used very effectively by the discourse researcher. For example, the use of collocation to uncover or identify narratives within texts is illustrated by Baker. She cites Niranjana (1990), who explains a discourse found in a 1817 history by the author's use "[...] again and again in connection with the "Hindus" the adjectives "wild", "barbaric", "savage" and "rude", thus forming by sheer force of repetition a counter-discourse [...]" (39). It is precisely this type of study, the study of repetitive

collocations, which is attempted in this project. These combinations, when repeated, can reveal an underlying narrative. Following this logic, as we shall see in Chapter Four, the Government of Canada is trying to establish, through sheer force of repetition, a discourse around this country's economy.

These are a few examples of how computer tools can be used to identify patterns in large samples of language in use. Its value depends on the type of research being conducted; when combined with the theoretical framework outlined above, the conclusions can be compelling.

In CDA studies, researchers may focus on a specific component of discourse. As outlined in the first chapter, narrative is a central component of political and media discourse, and narratives can be compared by looking at framing; in the following chapter, the framing of Canada's image will be analyzed. Frames, according to Entman, exist as "mentally stored principles for information processing". (what I, following Fairclough, call MR) and as characteristics of a text (2). According to Fairclough, readers of a text receive cues from a text and then use "[...] assumptions and expectations (incorporated in frames) to construct [an] interpretation of the text" (*Power* 80).

As Fairclough states, "[...] meaning-making depends upon not only what is explicit in a text but also what is implicit – what is assumed. [...] What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed" (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse* 11). Since implicitness can "[...] more or less automatically provoke non-stated but none the less psychologically real meanings" (Chilton and Schäffner 33), assumptions in texts may have significant effects. Although the effects may be profound, the assumptions present within an utterance may not be obvious, since "[...] the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively 'impose assumptions' upon text interpreters *and* text producers, typically without either being aware of it" (Fairclough, *Power* 83). These assumptions, whether intentional or not, are often located in texts being transmitted to a large public, such as media texts. As van Dijk states regarding the

recipients of news texts, “[...] its readers are large groups, sometimes defined by similar political or ideological allegiance, but usually undifferentiated at a more personal level. [...] a considerable amount of generally shared knowledge, beliefs, norms and values must be presupposed. Without such taken-for-granted information, the news would not be intelligible” (van Dijk, *News as Discourse* 74). In summary, assumptions are widely accepted, implicit components of texts, including texts being distributed to wide audiences, potentially through translation.

In the following chapters, we will scratch the surface of how Canada’s story was told by the Canadian government and by select international media outlets in 2010. An attempt to identify some of the ways in which Canada is framed in the government and media representations will help to answer the research question outlined above, namely, how is Canada framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its official languages?

Criticisms of the Methodological Approaches

Both CDA and CL/CADS may be criticized for various reasons. Often, CDA practitioners have been criticized for reading into texts, over-interpreting minutiae, using research to advance their own agendas, and choosing texts which are unrepresentative and then overgeneralizing the results of their research; in sum, being excessively qualitative and generating results which are unfalsifiable (i.e. unscientific).

Unlike CDA, CL can be accused of ignoring important aspects of macro structure and context. CL can also be criticized for skewing research results; one may question how texts were selected for inclusion in the corpus and whether they are representative. If, for example, a researcher handpicks texts to include in the corpus to a particular end, conclusions based on analysis of that corpus will not be valid and could not be generalized to represent language use beyond that corpus. Although corpora are commonly understood to reduce bias, it is impossible to be objective and the researcher’s bias remains (Baker,

Corpora 10). In short, “[t]he unavoidable shortcomings of working with corpora are similar to our individual situations as members of a discourse community [...]” (Teubert 73) in that the researcher will still select texts and projects in which they are interested; they will formulate hypotheses and test them, which will reveal their personal thoughts and directions.

However, as stated above, analysis of discourse using both qualitative and empirical techniques mitigates these criticisms to some extent. While still dependent on the texts selected by the researcher, it is possible to study a much larger sample of language using corpus analysis. It is also quantifiable and therefore more clearly falsifiable.

Conclusion

Reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of TS and of questions involving discourse and language, techniques commonly associated with both CDA and CL were used in this project to study Canada’s image as projected by the Canadian government and the international media. More empirical, corpus-based perspectives involving collocations are used to determine themes and provide insight into attitudes. This analysis is combined with more qualitative analysis of these texts; a type of analysis found within CDA and which speaks to attitudes and representations of Canada. These analyses are not strictly separated, but each inform the other.

As in the example given above regarding the use of *the American people* contrasted with *America* and *the United States*, corpora can allow us to see patterns and repetition which shed new light on words, phrases, and metaphors, and seeing how they are used; in the following chapter, this power of recognizing repetition will be used to shed new light on how Canada is represented. This is the interest in corpus-based or -supported research; repetition can allow one to reach conclusions that would be invisible if fewer instances were considered. Likewise, one researcher would find it challenging and time-consuming to complete this research manually, without the use of software tools; the way in which this

project has adopted the approach outlined in this methodology framework, in which corpus research and discourse analysis are not only compatible but also mutually beneficial, is outlined below.

Chapter Three

As outlined above in the theoretical and methodological frameworks, approaches often used in CDA and CL to explore the construction of Canada's image are both promising and intriguing. Due to constraints inherent in M.A. research projects (as well as other types of projects), all facets of this study could benefit from added attention and depth. However, the benefits of combining fields and methodologies in this project are multiple. This presents an opportunity for fruitful research given the apparent lack of this type of translation-related projects and limited understanding of translation and language within existing fields of research.

Methodology

The general methodological outline of this project was partly modeled after two other projects, as outlined by Paul Baker and Rachel Freake. Baker's project focused on the presentation of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants (RASIM) in newspapers in Great Britain using techniques customarily associated with both CDA and CL; it used both keyness ("statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus [... that] point towards the 'aboutness' of a text or homogenous corpus, that is, its topic and the central elements of its content.") and collocation (Baker *UK* 278). The researchers used keyness to classify potential opinions towards RASIM that were present in the texts. In addition, lemma, word families, and semantically and functionally related words were grouped in order to glean a general impression of how the RASIM were presented. This allowed the topic and stances of the texts to be deduced, as well as implicit messages (through semantic prosody). The construction of in-groups and out-groups²² was also studied by looking at linguistic indicators, argumentation, intensification, among others. Techniques from corpus linguistics were used to get an overview of the corpus and to pinpoint areas for further research. This study was extremely involved, including teams of researchers and years of work: a level of

²² Identification of individuals or groups as belonging to another group or as being excluded from it.

complexity to which this project does not aspire. However, it provided interesting insight applicable to a decidedly smaller project.

The study conducted by Freake et al was highly relevant and unique, in that bilingual corpora were used in the research.²³ Due to its focus on the construction of nationhood in Quebec in English and French, the bilingual aspect of the research was central. As such, it served as a reference point for ways in which other, unilingual corpus research can be adapted. The challenges of comparing results across languages are discussed; in Freake et al's project, they resolved to focus on the order—or relative ranking—of results which allows for cross-lingual comparison (30). Many studies involving CL refer to keywords and frequencies in their analyses, including Baker. By ascertaining which words are used more frequently than usual, the researcher may be able to isolate themes. However, it also requires the use of a reference corpus in order to have a point of comparison. As Freake et al found, there are multiple English reference corpora readily available, but the same is not true for French. Instead, they used 'comparator corpora' which do not provide a point of comparison against 'normal' language use, but do nonetheless allow some conclusions to be made. In this project, the government and news corpora serve as comparator corpora (28). Another, related issue is the challenge "[...] in establishing one-to-one equivalences between lemmas, even across related languages with many cognates such as English and French" (43); however, they are successful at reaching interesting conclusions despite these drawbacks, confirming this as a compelling avenue for research.

Taking into consideration the best practices of corpus construction mentioned above (naturally occurring language, gathered according to certain criteria, representative), all corpora are composed of naturally occurring language, using known sources, and source dates, as discussed below. They can also

²³ As they mention, they are unaware of other studies of bilingual corpora (26). The only other study I found which analyzed bilingual corpora is Bayley and Williams' *European Identity: What the Media Say*, published in 2012.

be fairly assumed to be representative of wider instances of both government representation in other fora and respected British and French newspaper discourse pertaining to Canada.

Corpora

The texts on which the research was conducted include those generated by Canadian, British, and French sources, in the time leading up to, during, and following the G8 and G20 Summits hosted by Canada in June 2010.

This project involved four corpora:

- government texts in English
- government texts in French
- news articles in English
- news articles in French

Government texts were taken from the Canadian government's websites, predominantly international.gc.ca, g8.gc.ca, and g20.gc.ca, in 2011.²⁴ Due to practical considerations, only written material was included in the analysis, although the sites did contain other material such as videos. These pages were taken as a representative sample or indication of the type of texts distributed to the international media at the International Media Centre, where the international media were headquartered for both the Huntsville G8 and Toronto G20 summits.

Newspapers were the ideal other medium for this type of analysis, not only because they are easily accessible, archived, and more stable, but also because they are seen as influential, both as agenda-setters and by framing current events, in a way that is not equalled by less traditional media forms. Analysis of social media, for example, could be studied to examine popular opinions and discussion of events and these topics without media mediation; it would also be particularly interesting from a TS perspective to see which sources are cited in which languages, and when the language used in discussion differs from the cited source, and how the translation of subject matter and key terms is

²⁴ Pages which were included or linked to multiple times were only included once. If linked to from a main page, other government pages were also included in the analysis.

done. However, this is a very different topic and given the speed at which social media changes, perhaps best done in real time. As such, and for the agenda-setting function and unparalleled influence of traditional media, newspapers were chosen for study in this project.

Media sources from France and Great Britain were selected as they are co-members of both the G8 and G20 and have the appropriate language profile. Great Britain was selected rather than the United States or Australia (who also meet the previous criteria) since the US has a special relationship with Canada and Australia is very distant, geographically and economically. It was hoped that the geographic proximity (both to Canada and to each other), historical relationship (as co-colonizers of what is now Canada) and, being members of the EU, would generate more similar levels of coverage.

News articles were located in news databases Factiva and Eureka. For the UK, the newspapers selected are *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and for France, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. Selecting which newspaper sources to analyze is a difficult choice subject to multiple considerations. This challenge is exacerbated by the complexity of the international news system, in which stories have varied and often international origins. In addition to content written by a newspaper's own staff and reporters, they may subscribe to a news service which provides additional content, or act as a news service themselves. As Hachten and Scotton state, "[...] the global workhorses and the linchpins of the world news system have long been the so-called world news services: the AP, UPI (United Press International), Reuters, AFP, and TASS, which are in effect 'newspapers for newspapers'"(38). As an example of the impact of these news services, in 2005, the Associated Press (AP) had a total staff of 3,700 who processed 20 million words (39). In today's news world, "[...] a local story shot in Atlanta for CNN can easily find its way to televisions in Bangladesh, Togo, and Uruguay." (Golan 4)

To negotiate these choices, other media analyses were consulted to determine how researchers make and frame their decisions about which sources to study. As in other research²⁵, a balance between wider representativeness and reasonable corpus size was attempted by selecting more than one newspaper in each country. For this project, two national newspapers were selected for each country, as only selecting one may have excessively reflected a particular editorial agenda.

The criteria for selecting which newspapers to use in this project were: quality and coverage, readership/circulation, ownership, and political perspective. Sparks and Yilmaz, in their study of British press, chose to examine “three quality broadsheets”: *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, and *The Times* (263). The G8 Research Group selected the same three newspapers for their analysis of media coverage of the G8 Summit in Seoul, stating that they were the three largest (12). In order to manage the size of the corpus, the two with the largest circulation and different political propensities (*The Daily Telegraph* leaning right, and *The Guardian* leaning left)²⁶ were chosen for this project. The G8 Research Group also selected three French newspapers: *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and *Libération*, as they are all national and have the highest circulation numbers (5). This comparative circulation was confirmed by an OJD report issued in 2011 (3). For this project, the two with newspapers with the highest circulation that had different political leanings (*Le Figaro* more right-wing, and *Le Monde* centre-left), were selected.

In summary, the selected newspapers are seen as ‘serious journalism’ (rather than tabloid reporting) which cover international news rather than focusing on, for example, Hollywood celebrities; high circulation numbers; different ownership; generally seen to be supportive of different points on the political spectrum. The goal of this project is not to uncover the editorial bias within these newspapers

²⁵ Such as Golan, Johnson, and Wanta, and Bayley and Williams, who may provide a cursory comparison of the different sources (such as comparative word count), but do not focus on the difference between individual sources, nor between different authors from the same source. This would certainly be an interesting object of study but would be more applicable to intra-linguistic study (or one of much greater depth and scope than this project).

²⁶ As described by Sparks and Yilmaz, pp. 263-265.

by comparing them to one another, but rather to analyze some prominent discourses present in English and French newspaper sources from these countries.

Terms of use and questions of copyright are necessary considerations when building corpora. I have attempted to respect good practices by using only texts which are (or were, at some point) publicly available and widely accessible, describing where these texts are from, and by deleting the news and government corpora, saved only on my personal computer, upon completion of the project. In doing so, it was my intention to respect the copyright and terms of use restrictions to which these texts may be subject.²⁷

To create the government corpora, several different approaches were attempted. Given that the texts for the corpora were being collected some time after the summit took place, and given the ease with which website contents can be changed without leaving a trace of the previous material, I wanted to ensure that the texts were, in fact, from the same time period as the newspaper texts (i.e. the time around the summit). To that end, I consulted the G8 and G20 archives at the University of Toronto, but was unable to secure sufficient documentation for my purposes. A request for this documentation resulted in files which were, despite considerable attempts, unusable. Having exhausted other options, I decided to use the content as it currently stood on the website; there was no obvious sign of textual revisions (although the site's graphics had been updated) except for the standardization of hyphens in G-8/-20 and G8/20 (based on a brief comparison with the requested files). These websites are no longer available online.

²⁷ See, for example, the *Terms of Use* on a Government of Canada website, which, among other terms, state that content can be reproduced (including for public, non-commercial use), given a few conditions, such as stating that the statements were taken from the Government of Canada. At time of writing, these were available at <http://www.international.gc.ca/departement-ministere/notices-avis.aspx>. The "Droits et licence d'utilisation" for the Eureka.cc database, available from their search page, states that its contents are also subject to Canadian copyright law. It also restricts commercial use and resale. The Factiva Terms of Use, also available from their database search page, restrict sharing entire articles, for example.

Attempts to access the 2010 contents of the webpages used (as webpages are, by their nature, continuously evolving) proved impossible and, I believe, unnecessary. The G8 Information Centre at the University of Toronto, when their archives were accessed, proved of limited use for this purpose. The results of a governmental request for copies of the 2010 webpages themselves resulted in multiple iterations of pages without dates assigned and without clear divisions. I concluded that many of the iterations were very similar, if not identical, and that taking the text from the website as it currently was at time of the corpus building (2011), was the only feasible method of building the corpus.

It also underlines the common issue discussed in TS, that of lack of original. As there is no true “original”, it is hard to pin it down to a particular, definitive, version of the content. Just as I cannot guarantee that the journalists at the summit ever looked at the website(s), so I cannot guarantee which version they would have looked at, or anything of this kind. However, this is not relevant for the purposes of this project as the goal is not to study reception, but the translation, both linguistic and the metaphoric, expanded version, of Canada’s image or narrative; how is Canada’s character represented within the stories of international relationships? And how are these translated between stories and between languages? The government corpora allow us to see how this story is told from the Canadian government’s perspective, in both French and English. The newspaper corpora allow us to see how the same character (Canada) is portrayed in the stories they tell. When looking at the discourse level, and narrativity in particular, these can all be seen as translations of each other, in our expanded definition of translation.

To create the newspaper corpora, using the Factiva database for the English sources and the Eureka database for the French sources, searches were conducted within the timeframe of four weeks prior to, during, and four weeks following the summits – May 28-July 25, 2010. The contents of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* were searched using the search terms *Canada*, *Canadian* and *Canadians*. The

contents of *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* were searched using the search terms *Canada*, *Canadien*, *Canadienne*, *Canadiens*, and *Canadiennes*. The search is not case sensitive, so *canadien* and related forms are also included in the results. There are other search terms that would also have been useful in determining the overall presentation of Canada's image (for example, city names (Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Montreal) which an educated readership would associate with Canada without the country being mentioned), however, I chose to limit my search to those articles where Canada was mentioned more explicitly.

"Canadian"/"canadien/ne/s" were included in the analysis because of the linguistic differences between English and French; the transformations of grammatical components (i.e. from noun to adjective) are not relevant to this analysis; both were included so as to not exclude relevant texts based on grammatical variations.

In all four corpora, all texts within the selected time span and sources which mentioned "Canada" or "Canadian"/"canadien/ne/s", as described earlier, were included in order to determine the discourses and perspectives in which Canada is implicated. It is hypothesized that this, and the differences which may be apparent between the uses in different contexts, will reveal something about the underlying discourses. The subject of the individual texts themselves was not grounds for disposal; whether the text was about Canada (eg. Canada's involvement in Afghanistan) or whether it was incidental (eg. The Queen gets caught in a rain shower during a trip to Canada) did not influence the inclusion of said article.

The first step in the analysis was corpus creation. The English and French versions of each page (mirrored, as they are on government of Canada websites) were added to text files at the same time.

The corpus creation for newspapers was both more straightforward and more time consuming. All searchwords were searched in the aforementioned databases. The results were downloaded as pdf files.

These files were organized in order by date, duplicates were removed, and then the text was copied into text files so that they could be read by the software.

Once the corpora (in their respective folders) were created, they were input into the software used for this project, Wordsmith Tools 6.0, to be compiled as four individual corpora. This software enables large amounts of data to be analyzed fairly rapidly. At the most basic level, this software allows a search word to be entered (in this case, *Canad** - the * indicating that all words beginning with the string of letters *Canad* should be included in the search). The software then isolates all instances of this string of letters and presents them to the researcher. The concordance and collocation tools, outlined in the previous section, allow patterns to be identified and analyzed.

For the third portion of the discussion, the larger corpora needed to be downsampled to a more manageable size, as the corpora used for the previous sections were too large to analyze by reading through them all in detail. Having selected a theme on which to focus this attention, instances of the following collocates were compiled: *bank**, *financ**, and *econom** and *banc**, *financ**, and *économ**. Instances where these were part of titles or proper nouns were omitted. From the total number, ten texts were selected at random from each news corpus and eight from the government corpora²⁸. Texts from the English and French government corpora are equivalents.

There are several challenges I faced when creating these corpora. For example, pdf files are not entirely machine readable; occasionally, *c/* may be read as a *d/*, for example. This means that some instances of a word may be missed. It is also challenging to know when to omit a repeated item; if one sentence in an article was changed, is it a repetition or a distinct second article? Also, it is impossible to know what prominence these stories received on their websites, for example. Were they accompanied by a photo in the newspaper? Is a short article in fact a short article, or is it a photo caption? In these cases, I tried

²⁸ Government texts were generally found to be longer and more on-topic.

to be consistent (removing clear repetitions and captions), but likely some errors were made. These considerations, while important to the overall discursive representation of the articles and of the frames they contain, as well as the influence they have, did not appear to be overly problematic in this sample.

of texts

The analysis itself was done in three stages: observations of how Canada was characterized, based on collocates, semantic relations between Canada and other words which were identified through the concordance list, and an exploration of one of the main ways in which the government framed Canada, through metaphor.

In order to conduct the analysis of collocates, lists of collocates identified by the software within a five word span in either direction of the node were copied into a spreadsheet, and words with similar forms (eg. *lead* and *leadership*) were combined to make one, larger total number of occurrences. Observations based on relative frequency of some collocates compared to others (such as the prime minister, for example) led to further investigation. Having identified the economy and finance as one of the most discussed themes in relation to Canada, by isolating the top several dozen collocates in each corpus and comparing them by theme, the last section examines metaphors and how the economy and finance fit into Canada's story. Patterns of metaphors were isolated based on a close reading of downsampled corpora, and then analyzed.

Overview of Texts

A brief overview of the contents of the corpora, broken down by corpus, is in the table below (Fig. 3.1).

The total size of the government corpora (the word count, also called **tokens**²⁹) are approximately 200,000 words each. The English news corpus nears 300,000 words, while the French news corpus does not extend past a restrained 185,000. There are many reasons for which the French news corpus could be so much smaller than the English one; Canada was mentioned fewer times, but it is also possible that

²⁹ For more detail on tokens and types, see Baker, *Corpora* 51-2.

the English articles were, on average, longer. Since one mention of Canada or its derivatives was enough for the entire article to be included, whether it is 2,000 words or a 100 word blurb, the average length of articles would affect the totals considerably.

The internal composition of the word spread is also interesting. As shown in Table 3.1, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* seem to have a very similar level of interest in Canada, based on the similar corpus size for the two papers; *Le Monde*, however, is much more interested than is its linguistic pair, *Le Figaro* (or perhaps its articles are a great deal shorter), based on comparative corpus size. The number of **types** (individual words used; for example *the*, while undoubtedly reappearing often and therefore accounting for a large number of the total tokens, would only count as one type) also provides an interesting point of comparison. A brief look at the type numbers indicate that the newspapers use a greater diversity of words, likely reflecting a larger number of subjects and perspectives than the government corpus. The type/token ratio can be calculated, thereby indicating the linguistic complexity or uniformity of a corpus. Baker references a standard type/token ratio in a corpus of written British English is 45.53³⁰ (*Corpora* 52). According to a software analysis of the corpora, the English government corpus type/token ratio is 37.89 and that of the news corpus is 47.95. Thus one can conclude that the English government corpus is more specific/focuses more on certain subjects and words than an average corpus, whereas the English news corpus is the opposite.³¹

The total number of instances in which Canada or Canadians are mentioned is highest, both absolutely and as a percentage of the total corpus size, in the English government corpus, followed by the French government corpus (interesting, since the total number of tokens is larger in French). The English news contains 750 instances of Canada, Canadian, and similar forms, compared to 492 in the French. Although

³⁰ For written texts found in the British National Corpus. For a discussion on how this was calculated, see page 71 in Baker.

³¹ Given that I could not find a standard type/token ratio in French, I did not include it here; however, one could extrapolate that results would likely be similar.

not equal, one could argue that the number of occurrences is sufficient to be seen as representative of wider usage.

Table 3.1 Corpus Comparison

	Gov EN		Gov FR		News EN			News FR		
corpus size (running tokens)	171,915		236,428		Guard.	Telegr.	total	Monde	Figaro	total
					154,350	143,277	297,627	114,763	69,543	184,306
number of types	8,169		11,780		23,100			22,861		
# of occurrences of Canad*	1,124		1,083		750			492		
	da	850	da	865	da	399	da	273		
	dian	165	diens	71	dian	277	dien	110		
	da's	72	dienne	59	da's	42	dienne	55		
	ians	30	diennes	41	dians	31	diens	43		
			dien	37			diennes	10		
			do-	3						
# of collocates (original)	1,083		943		793			527		
# of unique collocates	737		663		554			369		

Of the total number of occurrences of Canada (/s) in the English government corpus, 493 represent Canada as an actor (eg. Canada promotes trade, Canada builds strong banks), and 504 times in the French government corpus. This represents over half of total occurrences in both cases.

Although the subject of the individual articles or government texts were not of interest, the subjects around which Canada is most often discussed enable us to see with which topics or subjects Canada is associated.

Having identified the most frequent collocates of *Canada*, we can then, as Fairclough suggests, identify the main themes represented. I have done this in two ways: by looking at a listing of the most frequent collocates and dividing them into themes, and analyzing semantic relations. Of course, whereas the process of identifying collocates (using software) is empirical, the determination of which to include in a

given analysis and which to omit, and how to classify them, is subjective and relies heavily on the researcher's judgement. I would argue that rather than a negative, this combination of empirical and qualitative analysis combines the strengths of both approaches. After identifying the main themes, the frames which are used to discuss these themes will be explored using some approaches commonly used in CDA, thereby identifying some of the major discourses about Canada which are present in the government corpus.

Determining what a text is about is often not as simple of a proposition as it would initially seem. Whether a given article³² is about international espionage, Canadian-Chinese relations, international power politics, immigration policies, or multiculturalism often depends more on the reader's perspective than any clear designation. This concern could be dealt with in numerous ways; for example, each article could be assigned to multiple topics as decided by the researcher. This potential option was not taken because of the sheer number of articles and government texts; not only would it have taken significant resources, the amount of data generated would have been unwieldy. Consolidation of potential topics and sub-topics would also be a complex undertaking.

In addition to these considerations, the way in which the newspaper articles were selected would complicate the assignation of topics. For example, if Canada was mentioned in an article as a geographic designation (i.e. "on the way to a meeting in Canada, the PM commented on something"), would the topic be relevant? Or would one first decide how much or which part of the article was about Canada and then only assign a topic to that portion of the larger article, ignoring the contextual topic? Given these challenges, and intrigued by the potential for collocation-based determination of topics, the following method was used instead. Using the software to generate a list of collocates (parameters being set to fall within 5 words on either side of the node (some version of Canad*), repetitions were

³² Example article: Leonard, Tom. "Chinese insulted by warning from Canada's top spy". *Daily Telegraph*. 26 June 2010.

removed (eg. combined *group* and *groups*, *leader*, *leadership*). In the analysis, stop words have been omitted. These are words which are generally common and serve a grammatical function but which do not necessarily elucidate meanings. For example, the five most common English government collocates on the list were *the*, *to*, *and*, *of*, and *in* and similar in French: *le*, *de*, *du*, *à*, and *et*. Despite serving important functions in language, they do not necessarily provide additional insight into the texts. A description and analysis of the top collocates in each corpus follows.

This methodology, like any other, is not without its weaknesses. It may unintentionally omit some clear themes; topics which are described using more linguistic diversity, such as synonyms, may not be taken into account; the emphasis on the micro level to the exclusion of the macro level must necessarily omit some relevant information; content which is often listed alphabetically (such as countries, for example) may skew results, especially between two languages where equivalent words' alphabetical orders differ.

However, the benefits of this type of analysis are also numerous: it enables the researcher to take repetition into account and make a fair case for how something has entered into a discourse rather than only counting on a few examples. It enables the patterns to be clearly defined and explored. It also acknowledges the significance of the immediate context which surrounds a word in use.

In summary, the proposed analysis aims to identify some of the main collocates of *Canada* in predetermined instances of language in use, using one of the many types of analysis available. This will allow for the identification of some of the main themes and topics with which Canada is associated, allowing a comparison to be made between the discourses around Canada in government and media texts. The exact numbers have not been included in the analysis below because the emphasis is placed on the comparative weighting, which is more telling than the actual number itself.

The following chapter provides the analyses of the texts in three sections, in which we explore possible responses to the research question and objectives. First, themes which are discussed in relation to

Canada are isolated and analyzed. Secondly, attitudes towards Canada are discussed, along with an exploration of how Canada is defined. Thirdly, framing which helps to construct Canada's image and relationship within a specific discourse are discussed. At each point, any distinctions noted between representation in English and French are given. Together, these analyses provide an overview of how Canada's image is being developed and constructed in its two official languages within a specific context.

Chapter Four

A survey of books on Canadian identity reveals an identity crisis: peruse a few and one is likely to find sentences like “Canada, I sometimes think, is a country that, like Einstein’s theory of relativity, is impossible for virtually any of us to grasp. [...] We are a country of endless contradiction” (MacGregor 11). This bemusement is echoed by the widely cited John Ralston Saul, who suggests that “The essential characteristic of the Canadian public mythology is its complexity” (9).

This indecision and general bewailing of our (lack of) image and reputation continues in the area of Canada’s international relations; titles on this topic bear names such as “Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada” by a former ambassador to the UN, Paul Heinbecker. Although the importance of having a good international image is undisputed, so is the belief that Canada could and should have a better one. It is argued that “[...] a good name matters. [...] We want the world to see beyond moose and Mounties [...]” (Cdn Int’l. Council 15). And not only do we need a good reputation with others, Canadians need to have a narrative we tell ourselves and the world: “We are good. A Canada with the right story will make us better” (Dryden 18). High-level strategy documents implore that “We need to make a strong, credible and consistent case of the Canada we strive to be; otherwise, we will allow others to define us—at best, as that nice country of little consequence, or at worst, as the dirty oil country or the little brother of the U.S. or that nation that clubs innocent baby seals” (Cdn Int’l. Council 15). The importance of narrative is, one could conclude, widely felt.

The reason for its importance is that the stories that people believe have, as previously discussed, effects. This line of questioning, pertaining to the 2010 Summits, asks “Will the summer of 2010 be remembered as a high-water mark of Canadian participation in international affairs? Or will we use our moment in the sun to build ongoing influence, the kind of global capital that can be employed when Canada competes for a seat on the United Nations Security Council this fall?” (Cdn Int’l. Council 5-6).

This leads to the question of what can be uncovered about narratives and underlying discourses circulating about Canada during the 2010 Summits.

This chapter is broken into the following sections: themes in the government and news corpora (identified primarily through collocations), definitions of Canada in the government and news corpora (identified through semantic relations), and an analysis of the discursive construction of Canada in relation to the economy/finance. On the quest for determining the discourses around which Canada's image is constructed or in which it is involved, let us begin by returning to our research question: "How is Canada framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its official languages?" What follows is a discussion of the following; first, a discussion of collocates and the themes discussed in the corpora; second, results found in the government corpora; third, a comparison of results with the newspaper corpora; and finally, an analysis of how these cross linguistic boundaries and fit into a wider system of discourse.

Collocations – Government

My hypothesis prior to starting the collocation analysis was that the English and French government corpora would be similar and would focus on G8 and G20-related international priorities as seen by Canada; they would also attempt to highlight Canada's attributes. Major players from Canada on the international political scene, such as the prime minister, would also have high priority. The international news coverage would focus on the G8 and G20 meetings and various international priorities with more emphasis placed on the individual countries' concerns. In short, Canada would attempt to define itself and the international media would understand and adapt those definitions to fit its own narratives; the success of the exercise of defining and national branding in this case could be determined by how similar the groups of collocations are; similarity could signal that the discourse has been translated across from genre to genre, from government to media or vice versa, and from country to country successfully, as similar words would suggest similar discourses. Opposing sides often still accept the same underlying

discourse because the underlying assumptions have been accepted. For example, a policy debate about wildlife conservation which centres around whether sharks are worth more as a tourism draw or as a food product are certainly opposing sides of an argument. However, the underlying assumptions are consistent: sharks are a commodity, value is (and can be) measured financially, and economic considerations should be the primary factor in making decisions.

It seems reasonable that *Harper*, being the Prime Minister and host of the summits, as well as a reasonable collocate in phrases such as *The Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper* or *Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper*, or *Stephen Harper, premier ministre du Canada*, all of which would fall within five words of the node, would be quite a common collocate. However, for example, the collocate *bank* was twice as common, and *trade* four times as frequent in the English government corpus. A further search in the corpus reveals that *Harper* is used a total of 57 times in the English government corpus and 53 in the French. Compared to the number of times Canada is mentioned, this is significant in that, contrary to possible expectations, it is not the individual representative of the country who advances the country's interests, but the country itself which is represented as acting on behalf of its own interests.

It is also entirely conceivable that the position would be mentioned rather than the person occupying the position. For example, *the prime minister* rather than *Stephen Harper*. This would provide continuity in representation over time (as there is always a prime minister) and therefore some level of consistency on the outward face to the world, but allow for an individual representation rather than whole-country representation. In order to test this possibility, *minister* and *ministre* were searched in the government corpora. The word *minister* appears 523 times in the English corpus and *ministre* 495 times in the French corpus; 113 times in English and 103 times in French, this is in reference to the Canadian prime minister. The government communications surveyed, therefore, seem to display a marked preference for

representing Canada as its own character in the narrative, rather than highlighting individuals acting on its behalf.

Table 4.1 Characters

Government of Canada	Prime Minister of Canada	Canada (personified, as character)	Gouvernement du Canada	Premier ministre du Canada	Canada (personified, as character)
45	18	493	47	21	504

The prime minister is not the only minister mentioned in the corpus. It was interesting to note which ministers were specifically named, either by name or by title (eg. *minister of international cooperation*).

A scan of the remaining collocates reveals several other ministers: *Van Loan, Flaherty, Cannon*, and *Oda*³³, the ministers of International Trade, Finance, Foreign Affairs, and International Cooperation, respectively. Meetings of finance and development ministers are part of each summit's agenda, so it is unsurprising that they would be frequently mentioned in government texts. The four most frequently mentioned name collocates with *minister/ministre*, in order of frequency, are Flaherty, Van Loan, Cannon, and Oda, with Flaherty mentioned more than twice as often as Oda). Once again, the emphasis on finance and trade is marked.

The country seems to be represented as its own agent. A scan of the concordances around uses of 'Canada' would support this conclusion, as Canada is often followed by active verbs (*leads, provides, supports, believes, joue un rôle, appuie, participe*). This is important because character is built and developed gradually over time. If international dealings take place between people, they depend largely on leaders' personalities and interpersonal issues. If, however, it matters less what individual leaders' personalities are and more what national 'personalities' or images are, then we see the full import of national image building. For example, if a country is seen as fair, committed, engaged, easily offended, or flighty, this will have a specific impact on a government's ability to fulfil its international agenda.

³³ Van Loan, Flaherty, and Oda appear in English; Cannon in French.

Looking at collocates also helps to identify some of the main discourses in which Canada is positioning itself. Let us begin by identifying some of the most frequent collocates of “Canad*” in the government corpora and extrapolating common discourses: *group/G8/G20, leadership, commitment, support, contribution, international, summit, trade, development, economy* were the top ten; in French, *groupe, aide, gouvernement, sommet, engagement, contribution, ministre, finance, international, pays*. While not identical, these lists are fairly similar and do not point to substantial differences, as expected, and may simply reflect differences in syntactic structure between languages.

Starting with the most frequent collocates in both English and French³⁴, several predominant themes emerged: development, economy/finance, contribution, leadership, and international, as seen in Table 4.2. These are not exclusive categories (for example, *aid* would fall under both development and contribution) but they do provide a fairly strong indication of how Canada is representing its interest and using its political clout on the world stage.

Table 4.2 Collocates

Top collocates in the government corpora according to category (more than 10 occurrences)		
contribution	<i>efforts, initiative, funding, provided, opportunity, project</i>	<i>engagement, contribution, initiative, annonce, appui, efforts, projet</i>
development	<i>development, programming, aid, education, health, security, assistance, food, water, maternal</i>	<i>aide, développement, programmation, sécurité, versement, santé, éducation, alimentaire</i>
economy/finance	<i>trade, economy, business, bank, investment, finance, workers, commerce, debt</i>	<i>finance, économie, commerce, banque, entreprises, investir, dette</i>
international	<i>group, international, summit, world, global, meeting, country, partners, nations, foreign</i>	<i>groupe, gouvernement, sommet, international, pays, monde, partenaire, relations</i>
leadership	<i>leadership, commitment, host, strengths, priority, promote, progress, role, accountability, innovation</i>	<i>déclaration, accueille, leadership, présidence, progrès, rôle, soutien</i>

³⁴ Stop words omitted

In addition to noting what a text contains, it can be revelatory to notice what is absent; in this case, there are, by and large, very few collocates which have a negative connotation or denotation. In the English government corpus, of the 386 collocates with more than 2 occurrences, 15: *debt* (11), *not* (10), *but* (8), *under* (8), *opposition* (6), *cancelled* (4), *tax* (4), *downturn* (4), *despite* (4), *last* (4), *crisis* (3), *destruction* (3), *mortality* (3), *against* (3), *hard* (3). In the French government corpus of 333 collocations, *dette* (11), *ne* (10), *pas* (9), *aucune* (7), *faillite* (6), *annule* (4), *besoin* (4), *dernière* (4), *oppose* (4), *non* (4), *sans* (4), *contre* (3), *faible* (3).

One of the predominant themes in the government corpus concerns the economy. An observer with a passing acquaintance with Canadian politics or the global economy circa 2010 will not be surprised by this. However, it seems a good place to start in determining what discourse Canada uses to discuss economic and financial concerns. We have established, using collocation and corpus tools listed above, that it is a popular theme in all the corpora. An analysis of the subcorpora will help to identify the stance on this topic and other components of this discourse.

Collocations – News

Lists of collocations for both the English and French newspaper corpora were generated using the same parameters as outlined above for the government corpora lists. The government corpora were, as per Official Languages legislation, quite similar; the comparative size of corpora, the collocations, order of textual components, and so on, were quite similar and thus were described largely as a unit. The French and English newspaper corpora, on the other hand, are decidedly different; different from the government corpora described above as well as distinct from one another. This presents some challenges in that one must be careful to not compare numbers; however, the ranking, as discussed above, can be both valid and revealing of discourses.

An initial review of the newspaper corpora suggests a much wider range of collocates than in the government corpora; this is reflected in the range of topics and subjects covered. Whereas the governmental collocates lent themselves very easily to few and interrelated topics, the news corpora reflect a much greater degree of variation. This is intriguing for a number of reasons: one can determine how Canada is defined by others, which types of matters contribute to these definitions, and whether there is any coherence between the 'original' narrative and the reflected one. This is not to imply causation: saying whether nation branding is directly responsible for a particular impression I leave to other researchers. However, one can determine whether or not two images fit together; whether they share a discourse.

Having gleaned an overview of some of the topics and issues discussed in relation to Canada in the government corpora, as well as some insight into some of the perspectives in how they are presented, let us attempt to glean similar insights into the news corpora. Not being aligned texts, as they are not translations of each other, the two news corpora will be assessed separately in the following two sections. This is interesting in that it reflects different processes of selection; from aligned translations i.e. generally the same selections, come different selections in different languages.

English News

The English news corpus contains greater variation than the government corpora in collocates, issues, and presentation. This is not unsurprising, given that one would expect a newspaper to cover a wider variety of topics, as well as displaying a wider variation of perspectives. In addition, there are two newspapers with differing perspectives and editorial priorities. Nevertheless, there are patterns and trends of note.

The highest number of collocates in the English newspaper corpus (excluding stop words) are, perhaps, unsurprising: G8/G20 and summit. Canada garnered mention not infrequently in passing as host of the

summit. This serves, albeit likely unintentionally, to underline Canada's participation in the elite national community.

In addition, there is a decided emphasis on business/the economy: *dollar, pension* (i.e. the *Canada Pension Plan*), *bank, companies, Onex, board, fund, investment, research, corporation, deficit, assets, funds, executive, spending, business, consortium, crisis, operations, owned, sector, takeover*.³⁵

A striking difference between this corpus and the government results is the increase in references to individual entities. As noted in the previous paragraph, there is a focus on finance/economy, but skewed towards specifics: *Canada Pension Plan, Onex, corporation, consortium, takeover*. Specific instances and situations are being referenced (again, unsurprising, as news tends to focus on specific events and developments, rather than generalities). This skew up towards the individual is marked in several ways including the ratio of Canadian to Canada, the increase in proper nouns, and in the number of professions in the collocate list.

The ratio of occurrences (304 to 440) of *Canadian(s)* compared to *Canada('s)* points to the tendency of increased representation via a third party: Canadian companies and individuals, identified as Canadian, who represent the country of Canada rather than Canada acting independently (i.e. apart from other characters). This, in a way, adds another layer of translation, a kind of democratization of representation; rather than a country representing all of its citizens, individual citizens become representatives of the country. It also points to a potential option for future public diplomacy: encouragement of individual success and international recognition as a way of positively impacting international perceptions of a nation.

This tendency is supported by the number of collocates that designate professions: *minister, star, chief, leader, author, pianist, soldier, DJ, singer, specialist, baritone, chancellor, diplomat, director, judge,*

³⁵ Four or more collocations.

*representative, songwriter, spy*³⁶. It is also striking and perhaps highly relevant to how countries are seen abroad to notice how many of these related to arts and culture.

This trend towards specificity included some mentions of Canadian places (granted, only those collocated with Canada): *Sherbrooke, Toronto, Banff, British Columbia, Vancouver, Kitsilano, Montreal, Ontario, Ottawa*. Looking at the corresponding concordances, Sherbrooke was mentioned exclusively in reference to Conrad Black, who was in the news at that time, as the first newspaper he owned. However, it is notable that, while mentions of Toronto are not unexpected due to the summit there, Ottawa, as the seat of the government, is the least frequently mentioned.

Several stereotypical Canadian topics are also present in the news texts (although not strong collocates), which were decidedly absent in any G8/G20 government communications; according to this collocation list, one should replace the three Ms, “Mounties, Moose, and Mountains” of Potter’s choosing with the Three Bs: bears, bacon, and Bieber. A foray into the collocation list does offer some reference to stereotypical Canadian characteristics (ice and snow) and being dull. However, it is interesting to note that these mentions receive decidedly less weight than those related to finance/business, as previously outlined.

A few additional topics to which collocates seem to refer include citizenship/immigration, the military, and resource extraction. These are not taken from any particularly frequent specific collocates, but were noticed as having a similar theme. These topics were largely absent from the government corpora.

Table 4.3 Topics in the English news corpus

Topic	Collocates
citizenship/immigration	<i>born, identity, citizenship, home, emigrated, passport</i>
military	<i>troops, battle, fighting, forces, military, regiment</i>
resource extraction	<i>sands, tar, oil, mining</i>

³⁶ I initially thought that *model* was in reference to the fashion industry; however, consulting with the concordance reveals that *model* is actually also an economy-related word, as in ‘the Canadian model for public service cuts/effective reduction in public spending’.

A particularity of the English news corpus, perhaps related to the citizenship/immigration topic above, is the higher incidence of 'hyphenated Canadians'. Eight instances of *French-Canadian*, two *Chinese-Canadian* and *English-Canadian*, as well as one *Polish-Canadian* and one *Somali-Canadian* may indicate a translation of the British experience of multiple identities into the Canadian context. This is the only corpus in which this exists: the French news corpus has two *franco-canadien*, another two *américano-canadien*, and a lone *anglo-canadien*. The French government corpus has two *canado-américain* (reverse order from the media text) and a *canado-japonais*. The English government corpus contains no hyphenated Canadian adjectives.

French News

Several of the prominent characteristics of the English news corpus are similar in the French news corpus. Firstly, despite being smaller than the English news corpus, there is nevertheless a fair amount of variation in collocates. The G8 and G20 are frequently mentioned; *Sommet* is, however, less frequent although still present.

As in the English news corpus and the government corpora, many collocates fall into the business and economy category. These include: *Euros*, *Bombardier*, *société*, *banque*, *réserves*, *RIM*, *BlackBerry*, *coût*, *dirigeants*, *économie*, *fabricant*, *finances*, *aéronautique*, *ferroviaire*, *Flaherty*, *pétrolière*. Once again, the tendency towards specific instances rather than generalities is marked, again in the ratio of *canadien(ne/s)* to *Canada* and the increase in proper nouns.

At a ratio of 218:273, the adjectival forms of Canada (*canadien* and related forms) are proportionately more frequent than in the government corpora, which coincides with the English news corpus. There seems to be a more significant proportion of proper nouns as well; one example of this is the names of Canadian cities. They include *Toronto* (#2 on the list), *Montréal*, *Vancouver*, *Acadie*, *Alberta*, *Calgary*, *Huntsville*, *Muskoka*, *Ottawa*. Once again, *Ottawa* is low on the list of cities.

The number of professions in the collocate list is significantly lower than the English news corpus, and more similar to what one would expect of the government corpus: *ministre, directeur, avocat, diplomate*. However, the reference to cultural output that the professions mentioned in the English corpus demonstrate is not entirely bypassed in the French corpus; these include *film* and *musique*.

In the French news corpus as well as in the English, citizenship/immigration and the military are both notable, as listed in Table 4.4; the only collocate(s) reflecting resource extraction is *sables/bitumineux* (listed separately, but are used as a compound).

Table 4.4 Topics in the French news corpus

Topic	Collocates
citizenship/immigration	<i>chez, ancêtres, nationalité, née, origine, résident, correspondance</i>
military	<i>armée, combat, déserteurs, soldats</i>

Semantic Relations

Fairclough discusses classification and states that semantic relations can be uncovered through looking at collocations and discovering what he calls “relations of meaning inclusion”, also known as hyponymy or hyperonymy. As mentioned previously, Fairclough contends that collocations can be used to discover ‘relations of meaning inclusion’; identifying what something is defined as tells us a lot about what is perceived as, or the underlying assumptions in the text. This relation is evidenced by linguistic markers such as *is/est* (Canada is a country), *as/en tant que* (As a country, Canada...), *including/y compris* (Many countries, including Canada...), and so on.³⁷ By evaluating how *Canada* is defined in the texts, or demonstrated to be in a relation of meaning inclusion, we can identify how Canada is being defined to the world. Ideas are conceptualized based on what they are and what they are not; determining what Canada is presented as being helps us to understand the wider definition of Canada and how it is understood.

³⁷ See Table 4.5.

Government

At the most basic level, Canada is most frequently defined using geographical language in both French and English (*place, destination, country/zone, endroit, pays, destination*). In essence, this could be described as Canada as location. It is interesting to note that seven times in both French and English, Canada is referred to as a *destination*. This seems to underline the understanding that this information is intended for foreign audiences, as destination connotes the idea of displacement.

Beyond being simply a location, as countries tend to be, one may further question how this location is being framed. As a place, one may ask what it is known for, or why it is chosen as a destination. In the corpus, Canada is overwhelmingly described as a location which is beneficial for business and financial return, as well as secondarily a place to visit.³⁸ This is evidenced by statements such as ‘modern and innovative business destination’ [34], ‘premier destination for business and investment’ [34] and ‘an ideal investment destination’ [34]. In addition, it is ‘a world-class tourism and convention destination’ [35]/‘destination de calibre mondial quant aux activités touristiques et à la tenue de congrès’ [30] and ‘a place that the world should come to for opportunities’ [3]. This is confirmed by one definition which equates Canada with its *economy/économie*, as the ‘last of the major developed economies to be pulled into this recession’ [46]. The only exclusionary statement (Canada is NOT) states that Canada was not part of the problem, in the context of the recession [41].

Canada is almost as often described as an actor within the international community (*participant, member, partner, donor, contributor, supporter, partenaire, ami, donateur, membre*). The types of programs and organizations of which it is a part make it out to be a country which contributes widely, especially in international development and relief. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) are both major departments

³⁸ Phrases which serve as specific examples are marked with a number in square brackets, which corresponds to a specific text. These can be referenced in Appendix I.

involved in international events including these summits., This may explain the emphasis on Canada's international participation, as this is a primary focus of these departments. Some of these examples include 'supporter of the Global Fund' [1], 'important donateur des programmes d'immunisation' [26], 'second largest donor to the United Nations World Food Programme' [8], and the 'le cinquième plus important donateur au Fonds de consolidation de la paix de l'ONU' [4].

Not only is Canada an actor within the international community, it also plays a prominent role (as *leader, chair, host, dirigeant, président, chef de file, champion*). This framing of Canada as a global leader in the above areas is visible not only through the nouns used to define it, but also in the adjectives which are used to modulate them. Twenty-nine out of 50 nouns in English and 26 out of 62 in French are modulated by some type of ranking or intensifying adjective, such as *ideal, first, last, great, significant, fifth-largest, de choix, idéal, excellent, and important*.

Table 4.5

Canada is:	
• country (8) • destination (7) • place (4) • donor, member, partner, supporter (3) • contributor, leader, nation (2) • chair, economy, host, government, participant (1)	• pays (15) • hôte (8) • destination (7)) • partenaire, donateur, chef de file (5) • champion (3) • zone (2) • ami, économie, endroit, dirigeant, membre, participant, président (1)

We can conclude, based on the relations of meaning that are clearly marked within the corpus that definitions of Canada fall within two main themes: business and investment, and participation within the international community. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the perspective in both these cases is that of leadership and exceptional achievement, even outperformance.

English News

Conceptually, Canada is also defined in wide-ranging ways, but along a few common veins: a template, both economically and socially, and a fellow participant in international institutions.

References to Canada as template find examples such as ‘shining example of how to cut’ [25], one of a few ‘countries with the best safety records’ [24], and even a ‘new Sweden’ [36]. Generally, these fall into two categories: an economic model (an ‘act to follow’ [11]) for responsible and effective fiscal policies and a socially enlightened model.

In the context of the G8 and Nato³⁹, Canada is an *ally*, *member*, and *big donor*; clearly a participant in the international community. A definite departure from any reference in the government corpus, it is also a *British dominion* as well as being *foreign*. It is interesting that a rare mention of Canada as a *nation* (a word which could designate in- and out-grouping) refers to nonselective immigration systems. The only negative association with Canada ranks it among other *offending* countries.

Table 4.6⁴⁰

Canada is:		
tough	act to follow	
	model	
textbook	example	
shining		of how to cut
new	Sweden	
	choice	
	country	with the best safety records
		contain self-governing territories
		which have blocked moves to tax banks
		that really did this well
		which successfully cut its debt
G8		
		where generous tax subsidies are available
big western	donor	
	member	of the G20
Nato		
Nato	ally	
	Nato	
	British dominion	

³⁹ Nato is the form used in the English news corpus, rather than NATO, to refer to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

⁴⁰ Given the greater variation in the news corpora, I amended the type of table to include more information found in the concordance list.

federal state	
nation	with nonselective [immigration] systems
home	of his birth
foreign clime	
other	
third tier	of offending nations

French News

In the French news corpus, Canada is presented most frequently as a *pays*; most references are positive, but Canada is rarely presented as an international contributor or part of the international community outside of the G7/8.⁴¹ It is twice referred to as *Nord*; this is an interesting comparison to the English corpus, where the only geographical description is *western*. Whether this is a wider difference in discursive division of the global position of countries is unclear, but would be a compelling area of future research.

It is, however, in line with the English news corpus in references to being fiscally and economically savvy and socially progressive ('programmes de dépistage' [40], 'tels centres' [38] in reference to supervised drug injection sites). It is also presented as being unusual in these respects (*seul, un des seuls, premier*).

Only one reference is overwhelmingly negative ('un des seuls pays à toujours extraire l'amiante' [39] exudes reproach).

Table 4.7

Canada is:		
un des seuls	pays	à toujours extraire l'amiante
		représenté à bord de la flotille
premier		membre du G7 à relever ses taux d'intérêt
		hôte
		du Nord
		n'ayant pas été menacés de faillite bancaire
autre		
		les plus riches du globe
		... font valoir que leurs banques

⁴¹ The repeated mention of the G7, solely in the French news corpus, is something for which I have no explanation.

certain	... mis en place, au niveau national, des programmes de dépistage
	autorise de tels centres
	les plus industrialisés
état	... échappé à la crise financière
étranger	
Province	de l'Église anglicane où l'ordination de femmes évêques est déjà effective
exemple	
Nord	
Quatuor	
G7	
G8	(3)
hôte	du sommet (2)
seul	au sein du G7 à afficher un taux de chômage en baisse

According to the semantic relationship analysis above, several conclusions can be drawn. Canada is defined along some similar lines in all of the corpora under study. The frame through which it is presented is generally positive; it is defined as a model, particularly in reference to economic successes.

These semantic analyses and the different ways of conceptualizing how Canada fits within the international community is an interesting study in how Canada is translated in different contexts and languages. In the two preceding sections, several themes have emerged as consistent across all corpora being studied, and some perspectives have been noted. Looking at subcorpora of some of these texts provides additional insight into the discourses they contain.

Canada and the Economy

In the preceding sections, using collocations and semantic relations, some themes around which discussions about Canada occur have been determined. We have begun to see that some perspectives and attitudes towards Canada are built by the government and in the media in both English and French. One of the themes they have in common is the economy/finance. Having established this connection,

this theme can be studied further within the downsampled subcorpora⁴² to hear the story that is being told about Canada and the economy.

As has been demonstrated in the above analyses, the economy and finance are closely associated with how the image of Canada is cultivated in both government and media texts. The image of an economically successful Canada is evident without much additional digging into any of the corpora; however, in order to compare how Canada is being presented discursively (in relation to the economy) in this context and in both languages, several aspects of the language in use within these texts can be examined. This is the focus of this section.

In order to explore how Canada constructs itself and is constructed by others in relation to the economy, we must first determine how the economy is viewed, and then how Canada fits into that view in different contexts and languages. As mentioned above, the texts were downsampled into a more approachable number for this analysis; in some cases, the larger collections of texts are also referenced. Below, first the surface level of the Canada-economy relationship is reviewed. Then, we will look into the metaphorical representation of the economy.⁴³ Given that different discourses are lexicalized in different ways, and the selection of certain words can reveal the ideology behind the utterance, it is interesting to compare how lexical choices reflect perspectives presented in different sources; lexical choices made in the different sources are examined near the end of this section.

At the surface level of the English news, Canada is presented as possessing strong banks, opposing the bank tax, and as a public spending model. In addition, the Canadian economy is mentioned together with that of the United States and Brazil; China is referenced in relation to fears of economic espionage.

⁴² The downsampling process outlined in the methodology section.

⁴³ Metaphors involving Canada itself were outlined above when discussing hyponymy. As Canada was less frequently discussed as an international agent on its own in the news corpora, one would need a larger corpus sample to discuss metaphors of Canada in more depth.

In the French news, Canada's economy is positively represented in much the same fashion: strong banks (thanks to 'prudence'), a public spending model with a growing economy, despite a few economic missteps (hosting the G8 in Toronto and untested methods for rewarding cost-cutting within the public sector) and opposing the bank tax along with other countries which escaped the financial crisis. Canada is often mentioned along with the United States and Australia.

In the government texts, it is no surprise to observe that Canada's economy is presented in glowing terms: opposing the bank tax, a strong (or the strongest) banking sector, benefiting from and beneficial for the global economy through free trade, an economic leader, a model, stability in the midst of turmoil, and with a government which is active in promoting economic growth and success. It also has a very strong link between economic success and free trade, with a bit of financial regulation as well.

Although there are some small differences between these representations, generally they are surprisingly consistent, given that they come from different genres, countries, contexts, and languages. However, let us take a second look at these representations to see how similar the discourse is and representations of Canada fit within it, as outlined above.

In the English news corpus, the most striking metaphor in reference to economic viability is related to health: the economy as biological entity. Some health-related metaphors have become so entrenched that they are, in fact, the default lexical choice for the concept in question: *economic recovery*, for example. However, the health-related imagery continues: 'contractionary medicine' [17] suggests that policy can heal an ailing economy; such policy is equivalent to 'brain surgery' [17]. Countries should not consider themselves 'immune' [23] to bank failures. Banks are put through 'stress tests' [49] to determine their 'financial health' [49]. Budget cuts are labeled as 'painful' [32] which are nonetheless implemented to help 'weak' [32] economies 'grow' [37].

The biological metaphor points to an assumption of a natural state of healthy. Sickness is an aberration. Just as a physical illness can be tended, so can economies be returned to health through responsible behaviour and adequate attention. Responsibility in the instance of 'sickness' will have positive outcomes; in this perspective, short-term pain is seen as necessary for long-term gain. In this case, Canada, because of its 'healthy banks' [17], is affirmed as a responsible player on the world stage, as evidenced by its health. Other countries, through emulating Canada's model behaviour, will also be able to return their banks to a state of optimal health.

In the French news corpus, the metaphors are more mixed. The economy-as-biological-entity metaphor exists here as well; 'une cure d'austérité' [9] is recommended; the Bank of Canada fears 'un nouvel affaiblissement' [10]; Canada's banking sector is 'en bonne santé' [5]. Once again, this speaks to the goal of a return to a natural state of health; if nothing is wrong, then the economy will be healthy and growing. Another metaphor, however, adds another view to this picture: the economy as moving entity. Canada, for example, is experiencing 'un redémarrage de l'économie sur les chapeaux de roue' [9]. Some economies may 'rattraper' [9] their former glory if they manage to 'sortir d'une profonde récession' [9]; at summits, discussions on 'pistes d'assouplissement' [5] are on the agenda. Changes in bank regulation may 'freiner la distribution de crédits' [18].

This decidedly less stationary view of the economy suggests that movement in a particular direction is more important than destination; the destination of the economy as moving entity is unknown. In the English news corpus, the metaphor points towards states which are clearly distinguishable: we know what 'healthy' and 'sick' look like. The motion metaphor in the French news corpus suggests constant change, which introduces more uncertainty. This distinction seems to be reflected in how Canada is discussed and constructed in these two sources: in the English news articles, Canada is a model; Canada's 'achievements were spectacular' [32] when it 'eliminated its \$42 billion deficit in just three

years' [32], for example. This 'model' [32] is a *fait accompli*. Canada's banks and economy are healthy: whether or not Britain copies the same model, the goal is the same; to have healthy banks and economy just like Canada. In the French news sources, Canada is also a model, however, it tends to present Canada's current state more like a particular step in a process. Articles include topics such as current interest rates and, rather than speaking of a finished achievement, references recent trends such as 'PIB en hausse de 6,1 % au premier trimestre' [7]. Canada is a model based upon the direction in which it is currently travelling, not because of a state it has achieved.

The government corpus contains many metaphors, including those noted in the English and French news corpora: 'accelerate the pace of economic growth' [16]/'accélérer la croissance économique' [45], and 'ralentissement économique mondial' [14] for example, mirrors the motion metaphor. The biological metaphor is present, although limited: 'healthy leverage ratios' [46], 'la situation financière la plus saine' [14], 'entered the global crisis in good shape' [46], and 'strong economy' [3]. This may point to differences in the ways in which economies are described in language in general, not specifically within these sources. However, there are some metaphors which are more clearly made and linked with the economy in the government corpora.

In the English government subcorpus, some of the metaphors used in relation to Canada and the economy are theatre ('jouer un rôle' [13], and 'global stage' [44]) and, surprisingly, water ('bailout' [46], prevention of a 'deluge' [46]/'déluge' [12], 'banks rode high in the water'[46]/'restées à flot' [12]) although these tended to be limited to a few texts. One metaphor which is striking in this source is the location metaphor. Ministers call for 'closer public partnerships' [46]; keeping one's 'economy open' [44] through free trade 'holds the key' [2] which will help the global economy 'emerge'⁴⁴ [3] from recession. Meanwhile, we are keeping 'our fiscal house in order' [44] and 'unlocking ... entrepreneurial

⁴⁴ Reminiscent of the 'movement' metaphor more common in the French.

potential' [16] with other countries 'at the table' [46]. This portrayal of Canada's economic success as location underscores the government's message that Canada is the place where financial savvy lives and that other countries should invest in Canada; if economic success is a place, its borders correspond exactly to Canadian borders. This metaphor is also present in the French texts, but less frequent (*il ne faut pas 'fermer les portes au commerce' [14], mais il faut 'garder la porte ouverte' [14]*).

In both French and English government texts, Canada is presented as taking a strong position on economic issues and acting decisively. This principled, decisive action is frequently present in verb choices (*believe, oppose, utter, veiller*). Countries *do, allow, put, and keep*; in short, their actions are represented as having specific and well-defined consequences. Verb use in the subcorpora indicates that an assumption about economies is that they are directly influenced by actions: a lack of government regulations have resulted in the need for bank bailouts; protectionist economic policy negatively affects the global economy. This belief is key for the representation of Canada as economic superpower; if recessions are part of an uncontrollable boom and bust cycle, and how much the bust affects a given country is unpredictable and uncontrollable, Canada would be seen as a lucky economic accident rather than prudent, stable, well-regulated model.

The way in which the various sources portray the current state of the economy also reflects their perspectives and assumptions. As established above, lexical choice may indicate underlying ideology, perspective, or discourse. In the English government subcorpora, the state of the economy is most frequently referred to as the *recovery*; alternatively, it is also a *recession* or, less frequently, a *crisis*. In the French government subcorpora, there is more variation: the most common conceptual reference is *reprise/redressement*; alternatively, it is also a *récession, crise, or ralentissement*. Over a third of the occurrences of *recession* or *crisis* are qualified as being *global/mondial*. In the government corpora,

numerous references to the recession are omitted altogether and must simply be inferred based on context.

In the English news subcorpus, the state is most commonly a *crisis*, infrequently a *recession*; *recovery* is mentioned also infrequently and as *threatened* and *fragile*. It is occasionally qualified as *global* in scope. The French news subcorpus is even more dire: *crise* is used overwhelmingly, with only one mention of a *redémarrage*. *Mondial* is never mentioned. The lack of global designation in the news corpus initially seems to suggest that the news sources are discussing the economy at the national level. However, I would suggest that in this case, *global* would often be redundant; it is taken for granted, so obvious that the crisis/recession is global in scale that there is no need to make it explicit.

One might inquire as to why the Canadian government would take a different perspective by highlighting the global nature of the economic condition, especially to an international audience who, no doubt, understands its wide-ranging impact. On closer inspection, global crisis seems to be often juxtaposed with Canadian success; this is a way to highlight, once again, Canada's economic leadership and fiscal responsibility on the world stage. Once again, we return to this presentation of Canada as model (for regulation, for example) and destination for investment; not only is it a model, but it is better than everyone else ('Canada's comparative advantage'). This introduces a decidedly competitive perspective. This comparison may be reflected in the news sources, although it is interesting that in the one subcorpus article which compares Canada with another country (Great Britain), the article itself discusses Canada's experience with public service cuts and lauds Canada as disciplined and forward-thinking; however, it concludes with a section entitled "Britannia and the Maple Leaf: how we compare". Instead of comparing deficits, civil service numbers, or related information, readers learn that Canada is big (area, in square miles), little populated, with a high standard of living (life expectancy, GDP

per capita), full of immigrants (migration rate), and hockey-loving (most-watched programme in TV history, 2010 Winter Olympics final)⁴⁵.

The differences between subjects and perspectives in the English and French news sources, which have sometimes been discussed together in opposition to the government corpora, are nonetheless plentiful. It is interesting to note that in the subcorpus, one article in each language deals with security and protests (not mentioned in government texts); the French frames the location choice and security concerns as an economic error, due to the effects on local business, cost of security, and so on. The English frames it as a social and policing error, encouraging rioting and violent protest through poor choice of location. In the corpora as wholes, the French seems to focus more on financial and banking regulation, whereas the English seems to focus more on spending and cuts. It is interesting that Canada is seen as a relevant example in both of these contexts.

Of note, the Canadian economic savvy being referenced is often from the 1990s. It is altogether possible that the current emphasis on Canada's economic know-how is buttressing a previously positive image rather than helping to construct a new one; this may speak to the length of time it takes to create and change discourses, and how countries must take the long view to shape their national images and their place in global narratives.

⁴⁵ Taken from Leonard, Tom. "What do the Canadians know that we don't?". *Daily Telegraph*. 8 June 2010.

Conclusion

Narratives are the stories that shape our realities and our perceptions, framing and reflecting the ideologies and discourses through which we understand the world and our place in it. The goal of this project was to study questions of national image and representation, using narrative theory and discourse studies/corpus linguistics methodology through a Translation Studies lens. Through the TS framework, three levels or types of translation could be considered: the translation of external reality into text, the interlingual translation of government texts, and the translation of (government) 'source' text and context into target (news) text.

The project was based around a single research question: How is Canada framed in the discourses and narratives in circulation in its official languages? This question was motivated by two hypotheses: first, that representations of Canada present in government texts are different from representations in media texts; and second, that these representations are also different in Canada's two official languages.

Through the analysis, we saw how Canada is indeed re-framed, or translated, into different languages and contexts. Within government texts, Canada is framed as a strong character within its stories; Canada is seen more often as represented by its citizens or businesses in the news sources. Overall, some similar themes were discovered in both the languages and sources studied, although news sources covered a wider variety of subjects. Some aspects of Canada's character as presented in the government corpora (eg. financial savvy) were reflected in news corpora, but the specific instances differed between languages (eg. a tendency towards regulation in French, and spending cuts in English).

In order to explore the central research question, objectives in this project were to identify how Canada was being presented and then to compare these national images to identify similarities and differences between languages and types of text. The differences between languages and government/media discourses were perhaps most evident in metaphor, which changed and shifted substantially from one context and language to another.

In order to accomplish the research objectives, corpora were built from government and newspaper sources in English and French. These were analyzed, using Critical Discourse Analysis, to uncover some aspects of how *Canada* was represented, identifying themes and relations of meaning inclusion by studying collocations, and analyzing metaphors involving Canada. This analysis only included some of the many techniques and theories which could be demonstrated through the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. It does, however, demonstrate the substantial potential of this type of study while enabling the project's goals to be met, albeit in a restrained way. This research identified some of the ways in which Canada is represented, and compared and contrasted how Canada's national image was presented in government and newspaper sources in English and French.

This type of research could be used in several different ways. It gives us a way of asking what story is being constructed; which stories are we being told about ourselves, and what are others being told about us. It challenges assumptions by "[...] helping people to see the extent to which their language does rest upon common-sense assumptions, and the ways in which these common-sense assumptions can be ideologically shaped by relations of power" (Fairclough, *Power* 4). It thus empowers individuals to see their linguistically created reality in new ways.

It also empowers countries and discourse practitioners. Studies of this type could, for example, be used to determine how issues and countries could be framed in order to more closely correspond to existing narratives within the target context. For example, given the emphasis on individual successes in the newspaper corpora, it may be more effective for a country or company to spend resources building or broadcasting individuals' stories. Further investigation would likely yield some insight into what type of success would most closely correlate to existing narratives, and thus be most easily adopted into the target audience.

To take this type of research further, one can clearly see the value added to this type of analysis by semantic tagging, or labelling all words according to category of meaning, as outlined in Baker (*Corpus* 145-6). Partnership and collaboration are, on a purely semantic level, quasi-synonyms. Although both words are collocates, partnership occurs far more often. Intuitively, partnership seems much more likely to be used in a business context whereas collaboration seems more likely to be used in 'soft' contexts. Semantic tagging would allow comparisons of synonyms within themes, and provide opportunities for further study.

Another potential avenue for future study, with a larger corpus, would be the use of verb tenses. In English government texts, an analysis of the concordance list revealed that the most commonly used tenses appeared to be the present perfect and present continuous, pointing towards a long and continuous record of success. In French, the *passé composé* was the most common by far, which may have a different connotation. There aren't enough instances in the news articles to make a determination about whether this focus carries through, but it demonstrates that grammatical structures could be an interesting addition to an analysis of this kind.

There are many more potential directions and strategies which could be used for additional analysis and in other contexts, such as other summits or events. Additional study into interlingual CDA using corpora would generate fruitful recommendations for such strategies.

In addition to underlining the many ways in which this type of research could be broadened and deepened, the contributions of this project are both methodological and based on content.

Methodologically, one could argue that the combination of CDA and corpus-based research within Translation Studies is under-used; this project provides a glimpse of the potential of combining these areas. Secondly, the discussion of Canadian identity is ongoing. For a bilingual country that hosts discussions of identity in both of its official languages, it seems surprising how little of this discussion is

held bilingually. As this project has illustrated, the language in which these discussions are held has an effect. This project underscores the suggestion that a bilingual country, when wrestling with questions of identity, should do so bilingually.

Examples in the English news corpus seems to corroborate that “National image [...] is a remarkably stable phenomenon, more a fixed asset than a liquid currency. We all seem to need these comforting stereotypes that enable us to put countries and cities in convenient pigeon-holes, and will only abandon them if we really have no other choice” (Anholt 6). The power of these stereotypes, discursive constructions about others, is real; they are, however, subject to modification. Changing existing frames, narratives, discourses, and ideologies generally requires time and, I would argue, could benefit from understanding what they are to start with.

Most importantly, this research points to the importance of taking language into account. Rather than just an afterthought or simple replication, language is the key component in the construction and spread of narratives. It would be difficult to overstate the potential of Translation Studies perspectives and incorporating more than just monolingual corpora into future research in areas such as discourse analysis and international relations.

Appendix I

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