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Šarić, Martina

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Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb

Department of English

**IDEOLOGY IN NEWS TRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE REPORTING ON
THE SCOTTISH REFERENDUM IN CROATIAN NEWSPAPERS**

Student: Martina Šarić

Mentor: dr. sc. Snježana Veselica-Majhut

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ABSTRACT

This diploma thesis presents a case study of articles on the Scottish referendum of independence published in Croatian daily newspapers. The aim of the thesis is two-fold: 1. to examine the role of translation in international news creation and transformational strategies used in the production of news translation and 2. to examine potential ideologically based manipulations in news texts whose production involves translation activities. The study is conducted on a relatively small corpus of the articles on the Scottish referendum, published in Croatian daily newspapers on 18 September 2014, the day the Scottish referendum was held. The analysis is carried out within the framework of Translation Studies and Political Discourse Analysis, adopting Van Dijk's concept of mental models. In its second part the study tries to find a correlation between the mental models regarding independence referenda assumedly created in the minds of Croatian people after the Republic of Croatia proclaimed independence following a referendum in 1991 and the way the Scottish referendum was interpreted in the Croatian media. We assume that articles in the Croatian press are biased towards the YES side and that this feature could be traced down in the manipulations of graphical, syntactic, lexical, semantic, rhetorical, pragmatic, dialogical and other properties of the texts.

Key words: ideology, news translation, translation studies, political discourse, political discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, ideological discourse analysis, mental model, referendum

1. Introduction

In today's globalized world, a large portion of news reports published in national newspapers are a product of translation and transediting of reports by foreign news agencies and media (see more on this in Bani 2006: 34, Orengo: 2005: 175, Bielsa and Bassnett: 106, Brook 2012). Though hidden and scarcely recognized by media practitioners and scholars, translation plays a vital role in conveying the media content across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Within Translation Studies the role of translation in the dissemination of international news has for long been neglected. The reason may be that such translations do not fit into the traditional notions of translation. In this thesis we will use the term "news translation" to refer to practices carried out with the aim of disseminating news reports across linguistic barriers. This term is chosen because it is used in recent studies by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010) that we rely on in this work. The issues of what news translation entails and how it differs from the traditional concept of textual translation will be addressed in more detail below. We should point out that recent research on news translation provides sufficient ground for us to assume that the reports on the Scottish referendum published in Croatian daily newspapers relied heavily on the content from English newspapers and involved translation. For example, Brook (2012: 29-30) provides a very useful summary of the process of translation taking place in the media:

[...] it is important to consider the fact that international journalists, who are sufficiently competent in another language, write news reports in their own language which are to be read by a new audience in that same language. This involves a complex process of translation and adaptation to meet not only the needs of the new readership but also those of the newsmakers themselves. As previously mentioned, in terms of translation *per se*, the process is complex because it does not always correspond to conventional notions of source text to target text transfer. Instead, according to the Reuters and New York Times staff whom I interviewed in the course of field research, multilingual journalists commonly write reports in the target language of text production, often having drawn on a variety of spoken or written sources in a different language. The result of this rewriting and adaptation of content to meet the needs and expectations of the new readership is the production of a new text, where the lexical, cultural, political and ideological content may often be significantly different from that intended at its various sources. Thus, through textual transformations, which may simply feature as elimination of unnecessary information or the inclusion of additional background information, the discursive effect of a report in whose production translation has played a part can change....[...] The public at large, however, is not generally conscious of the fact that possible cultural, ideological and political biases that can be

unwittingly introduced through such transformation may either negatively or positively influence the content of news reports.

Starting from the above assumption our aim is to explore potential ideological influences on the reports published in Croatian daily newspapers on the Scottish referendum on independence that took place on 18 September 2014.

2. News translation

2.1 Redefinition of translation

As Alberto Orengo (2005: 175) points out “news translation is a fairly new area of translation studies research and can be seen as a sub-branch of mass media translation.” An interest in understanding the processes of news production and news translation, a complex and still insufficiently researched area, is constantly growing (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 10) With regard to research on news translation, Bassnett (2006: 6) points out that as early as in 2004:

It was also clear that another important research question had started to emerge involving *the very definition of translation itself*. Since news translation is not strictly a matter of interlingual transfer of text A into text B but also necessitates the radical rewriting and synthesizing of text A to accommodate a completely different set of audience expectations, criteria applicable to the analysis of the translation of print documents, whether technical or literary, no longer serve the same purpose. Moreover, in news translation there are enormous constraints of time and space to which translators of other text types may not be subject: twenty-four hour breaking news is now a global expectation, and the succinct, brief item of news rather than an extended account is what twenty-first century consumers demand. Significantly, some researchers have been exploring the relationship between news translation and interpreting as more fruitful within the field of Translation Studies than a written text-based formula, for just as the interpreter has to adapt what is being said, extending, glossing or cutting to accommodate his or her listeners, so also does the news translator have to cut, edit, reformulate, clarify and then adapt to in-house style preferences.” (our emphasis)

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) also point out that in comparison to traditional notions of translation, news translation challenges the very concept of the source text (ST) and authorship as in news production authorship is not strictly individual as in classical translation. In most cases more than one journalist takes part in the creation of a news story, after which editors make their final modifications. For example, in an ethnographic research of the work process at Formosa Television (FTV), a commercial station in Taiwan, Claire

Tsai (2012) discovered that FTV's news production relies to a great extent on scripts from international agencies (Tsai 2012: 1069). Some media use this as the final version of the news they publish, while FTV news translators use them simply as raw material which they then combine with other sources such as other agencies, YouTube, online material etc, creating the final version to which authors add their comments (Tsai: 2012: 1063, 1075).

According to Orengo (2005: 171) news translation involves both interlingual and intralingual translation:

News translation and this is one of its key features occurs in two stages (cf. Jakobson, 2000: 114): first *an interlingual translation* from the press release issued by an international news agency either into a local news agency's translated press release, or into the translated news text; then *an 'intralingual' translation* when the localised news text is embedded into a news story by a specific newspaper. The two processes may even occur simultaneously in the way the news text is translated and imbued with new content and nuances." (Orengo 2005: 177). (our emphasis)

Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 6) refer to these processes as "recontextualisation processes":

"In such cases the original texts and/or speeches by foreign politicians will in all probability have been in a language different from the one a journalist uses for his or her report."

According to them, such recontextualisation processes across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries involve transformation strategies such as information selection, addition, omission, reformulation.

The fact that the process of translation is still not completely acknowledged within news agencies is not at all surprising if we consider the complex set of textual transactions in news translation that occur between and within languages: interviews conducted in one language may be edited down, summarized, passed on via another language, edited down again, transferred into the news agency language, adapted stylistically, shortened to conform to space limits (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010: 9). A story may be translated several times and then edited at every stage to conform with linguistic and stylistic constraints before it is ready to be published (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 14).

There have been several other attempts to systematically organize these processes. For example, Van Dijk lists five central procedures that take place in news production:

- selection,
- reproduction,
- summarisation,
- local transformation (addition, deletion, permutation, substitution), and
- stylistic and rhetorical formulation (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 3-4),

On the other hand, Blackredge identifies operations such as addition, deletion, rearrangement and substitution (ibid.).

In reporting about politics information is presented from many different perspectives because it goes through the complex process of recontextualization and transformation across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 17).

Transformations can sometimes be politically significant and result in different interpretations of the ‘same’ political event by readers in different countries or even in political conflict (ibid.).

2.2 Translation and journalism – professional issues

The issue of translation has been rather neglected within journalism studies. (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 9). This ambiguous attitude towards translation as part of a journalist’s work is primarily noticeable in the avoidance of the word ‘translation’ (ibid.). When journalists are asked about their role as news translators they are often surprised because they do not see translation as an activity that can be separated from the process of text edition (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 65). In most cases, they do not identify their job as translation or themselves as or translators, but rather journalist translators, international reporters or simply journalists with a knowledge of another language, placing to the foreground their knowledge of target culture and target culture norms, rather than the act of interlingual transfer (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 15).

Although news agencies do not employ translators as such (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 57), it is undeniable that some kind of interlingual and intercultural translation takes place here (Brownlie: 2010: 36). The need for translation in news agencies has been reduced to a

minimum by incorporating it into the process of news production, but the work in news agencies would be impossible without translation as people employed in news agencies face constant circulation of news in different languages and linguistic diversity that needs to be overcome in all stages of their work (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 56, 57, 59). For this reason, it is safe to say that translation is inseparable from other journalistic practices (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 56).

The job of a news translator requires competences that go beyond one traditional discipline. For example, Bassnett (Konway and Bassnett 2006: 6) points out that at the first conference on translating for news in 2004 “[...] there was some debate about whether those people engaged in interlingual news writing wanted to call themselves translators at all, preferring terms such as ‘international journalist’.” Karen Stetting introduces the term “transediting” for this process, but Schäffner argues that using this term as a substitute for translation may lead to disregarding the complexities of transformations occurring in the process of translation, mistaking it for a “purely word-for-word transfer process” (Schäffner: 2012a: 88). This is why Elpida Loupaki, who analyzed how translators deal with ideological conflict in news articles translated from English to Greek (Brook 2012: 19), suggests coining a new term “transjournalist” for this profession. On the other hand, Cristina Caimotto (Schäffner and Bassnet 2010: 23) would rather describe reporting news as “trans-reporting”, while Ewa Gumul finds the term “press translation” the most appropriate for this activity (Foglia: 2013b: 221).

The challenges of news translation tasks are best illustrated by the quantity of texts and news moving across language boundaries in the world every day. Let us just mention that the news agency Reuters produces on a daily basis the quantity of texts equivalent to the volume of the Bible, 60 per cent of them being in English, followed by texts in Japanese with 7 per cent (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 14).

Although many research papers imply that the translating part of this complex job is often improvised by insufficiently trained people, Susan Bassnett and Esperança Bielsa (2009: 56) claim that news editors, who are in charge of the final versions of texts, actually possess the necessary skills required for reliable interlingual communication and that the news agencies are organized in such a way that makes this entire process as efficient as possible.

Regardless of the way in which this field of work is organized, it is now clear that in news translation the notion of a ST is redefined and that it is no longer possible to regard translation as “an act that takes place across a binary line between source and target” (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 16) and that the time has come for TS to go beyond its traditional boundaries (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 25). Moreover, it is necessary to explore these practices in other parts of the world, since most of the research so far has been focused on the western media, as well as other contexts and institutions in which translation of political texts takes place (ibid.).

3. Media texts and ideology

3.1 Ideology in media texts

In addition to the state and the public, the media are, another significant component in the process of political communication (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 3).

Using various examples, Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 21) have shown that the media play a significant role in the transmission of information regarding politics, even at the international level. They have a great impact on the reactions of the public, as well as on politicians’ actions (ibid.). However, in spite of a widespread journalistic practice that facts and opinion should be separated (Van Dijk: 1985: 167) many media texts do not simply report on events neutrally, but frequently provide evaluations, possibly influencing the public opinion and future political events (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 4). For example, when quoting politicians, journalists often combine direct speech with reporting verbs, such as “argue”, “blame”, “caution” etc. that contain evaluation (Schäffner: 2008: 3).

Many studies describe how media discourses transport ideological meanings in many different countries and cultures and show that the news is often presented in a way that intends to influence readers’ opinions (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 4). The way information in the media is selected and presented is influenced by media interests and ideologies (Schäffner: 2008: 12). Van Dijk argues that ideologies are institutionally co-produced and reproduced by powerful institutions such as newspapers which act as faithful mouthpieces of their owners (2006: 138) and advertising investors (Foglia: 2013: 219). In the case of news reports involving

translation, the translator's loyalties lie both with the originator of the message and with its recipients (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 6).

3.2 Ideology and translation

“Our words are never neutral, they are used to convey a broad sense of meanings and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions” (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 5). Our words express our ideological positioning, especially when we speak as members of groups (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 2).

Discourses always involve power and ideologies, and due to their different backgrounds, knowledge, and power positions, they can be interpreted differently by different translators (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 6). The primary task of the translator and the difficulty of performing the task lies not in translating what is there, but what is not there, the implicit and the assumed, the blank spaces between words (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 6). This means that „we do not have the ‘right’ interpretation whereas a more or less plausible or adequate interpretation is likely“ (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 6). It has been recognized that “translation is not simply an act of faithful reproduction, but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes” (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 7).

4. Political Discourse Analysis

4.1 Defining ideology

Among a whole range of definitions of ideology, we have adopted Teun van Dijk's (1995) definition of ideology as abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes and offers a thorough analysis of the interplay between ideology, social groups and individuals. Van Dijk argues that ideologies are localized between societal structures and structures of the minds of social members, controlling how people understand their social practices, the structures of text and talk (1995a: 21). Ideologies define and explain the similarities of the social practices of social members, but individual variation is an important part of the

theoretical framework that Van Dijk constructs in his papers; each social actor is a member of many social groups, within which we can identify several, possibly conflicting ideologies (ibid.). In such cases language users may have to strategically manage their different allegiances in each of their social interactions (Van Dijk: 1995b: 142). This is also obvious in discourse, which sometimes exhibits ideological dilemmas, internal argumentation and insecurity or social pressures from different groups individuals belong to (ibid.). Just as discourses sometimes may show intertextuality, at the same time discourses may show what Van Dijk calls “interideologicality” (2002: 9), i.e. several interacting ideologies leading to the production of a specific discourse (Spofforth: 2012-13: 6). There are also cases of speakers hiding or dissimulating their ideological allegiances (Van Dijk: 2006: 124).

On top of that, every person has their own unique life experiences, values and ideologies which influence their construction of reality, as well as their production and comprehension of discourse (Van Dijk: 1995a: 21). Van Dijk criticizes most critical approaches to ideology, arguing that they are exclusively inspired by social sciences and do not pay much attention to the cognitive aspect, which leaves them unable to find an explicit connection between social structures and practices and discourses of social members (ibid.).

When conducting an analysis of ideology in discourse, Van Dijk focuses primarily on the features of discourse that express or signal opinions, perspective, position, interests or other properties of groups (Van Dijk: 1995a: 22). Van Dijk establishes the concept of “mental models”, defined as personal mental representations of people’s experiences of social practices (Van Dijk: 1995a: 19). He finds no theoretical grounds to exclude any textual structures from expressing underlying ideological principles, since opinions are part of mental models and all discourse structures contribute to their functional expression (ibid.). However, Van Dijk also supports the non-deterministic concept of ideology: “[...] members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the groups they identify with” and “ideological discourse is always personally and contextually variable” (2006: 124). Furthermore, discourse does not only serve to express or reproduce ideologies. As Van Dijk claims, “people do many things with words at the same time” (2006: 128). We should be careful not to over-interpret discourse data because “not *all* discourse structures are ideologically controlled, and that no discourse structure *only* has ideological functions” (Van Dijk: 2006: 139).

In addition to that, in order to develop an elaborate way of examining the ways in which ideologies influence contextualisations we need to face the challenge of bridging “the gaps between discourse, cognition and society” (Van Dijk: 2001: 12). Ideological discourse analysis, which Van Dijk sees as one specific type of socio-political analysis of discourse (Van Dijk: 1995b: 135), is not sufficiently explicit and does not reveal how exactly social positions of language users or of the groups they identify with influence the discourse (Van Dijk: 1995b: 136).

4.2 Political discourse analysis

4.2.1 Defining political discourse analysis

In the introduction to “What is Political Discourse Analysis” Teun van Dijk (1997) examines the ambiguities behind the term Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). Instead of trying to define this discipline in a normative way, Van Dijk tries to give a programmatic and analytical description of what the adequate way of “doing” PDA *could* be. As this debate goes beyond the limits of our present topic we will just briefly summarize Van Dijk’s view on PDA: he places it within discourse studies and states that “PDA is both about political discourse, and is also a critical enterprise” (1997: 11.).

4.2.2 PDA and Translation Studies

Christina Schäffner (2001, 2003, 2004) studies possible joint areas of PDA and Translation Studies and suggests that the research on lexical choices in target texts (TTs) and source texts (STs), on the selection of information to translate, on how new political identities are created by phrasing and framing (i.e. influencing readers to associate certain phrases with given social and ideological contexts) may result in valuable results for both PDA and TS (Bánhegyi: 2016: 151). Her research focuses on demonstrating how all of these translational practices can be used for manipulative purposes (ibid). However, she feels that so far the investigation of political discourse in translation has been underexplored in the discipline of Translation Studies (Schäffner: 2012a: 105). The aspects of political translation that have received substantial attention so far are e.g. censorship and translation policies under totalitarian regimes (Schäffner: 2012a: 104). On the other hand, the role of translators and interpreters in

conflict situations, news translation and the practices of news agencies, translation policies and practices in political institutions at the national and supra-national levels have not been researched enough (Schäffner: 2012a: 105). She stresses the importance of a closer cooperation of PDA and TS because translation enables the information to cross linguistic borders and reactions to statements from another country are in fact often reactions to the way the information is presented in the translation (Bielsa and Bassnett: 2009: 11).

5. Methodological issues

5.1 Methods of examining the relations between discourse and ideology

As Mátyás Bánhegyi (2016: 143) points out, the use, misuse or abuse of translated texts in politics has significant social, psychological and textual implications, which has prompted an increased interest in the ways translation contributes to maintaining social power and to creating or reproducing ideology. The understanding that STs and TTs are not necessarily equivalent has brought about increased attention to translation of political texts.

Consequently, numerous critical approaches to this question emerged (Bánhegyi: 2016: 151) and a wide range of analytical methods were developed within the scope of Translation Studies (Bánhegyi: 2016: 143).

Bánhegyi (2014) describes some of these approaches in “Translation and Political Discourse”. He believes that translation of political texts should be studied and described systematically within Translation Studies with the help of analytical tools provided by critical discourse analysis (CDA) (2016: 140). Bánhegyi observes that so far research in this field applies a very wide range of analytical tools (2016: 143) and claims that research methods and research results are unsystematic and hardly comparable with one another (2016: 154). As a result of these approaches, research findings often seem unconvincing, even perhaps methodologically inappropriate and *ad hoc* (2016: 141-142), which ultimately obstructs scientific advancement in this field (2016: 154). He emphasizes that if there is no systematic methodology or a theoretically well-grounded and sufficiently objective foundation of analysis and if research results are based on personal comments and *ad hoc* descriptions of context such analyses are neither valid nor reliable (2016: 143). This problem makes the advances of research on the translation of political discourse very difficult to compare and systematise, which causes the fragmentation of research efforts (*ibid.*) Bánhegyi believes that the most reliable way of

collecting data is with the help of text linguistic approaches (2016: 141-142) and hopes for a more unified research methodology described within the scope of one single theory (2016: 154).

PDA offers tools of discourse interpretation, but it is, as previously mentioned, only one of several ways of establishing possible connections between discourse and ideology (Van Dijk: 1995a: 20). Other factors, such as institutional and organizational structures, group relations and personal values and attitudes certainly bear an influence on the authors as well as the analyst (ibid.)

Van Dijk (ibid.) identifies the following levels of analysis of the relations between ideologies and discourse:

- social analysis (overall societal structures, institutional/organizational structures, group relations, group structures),
- cognitive analysis (social cognition, e.g. sociocultural values, ideologies, systems of attitudes, sociocultural knowledge),
- personal cognition analysis (general or context free, e.g. personal values, personal ideologies, personal attitudes, personal knowledge and particular or context-bound, e.g. models, context models, mental plans and representation of speech acts, mental construction of text meaning from models, mental selection of discourse structures) and
- discourse analysis (the various structures of text and talk)

However, due to time and space limitations, our research is limited to the last of the above-mentioned levels of analysis: discourse analysis, i.e. analysis of texts. We have not taken into account extra-textual sources, which may have helped us form a clearer picture.

In our research we have relied on Van Dijk's model presented in the article "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis" (1995). Below is an overview of general levels of ideological discourse analysis, which Van Dijk considers to be a type of socio-political analysis of discourse (Van Dijk: 1995b: 135), according to this model. In order to conduct a PDA of our corpus we will use Van Dijk's methods of ideological discourse analysis combined with other contributions to the research of ideology and power in political discourse and translation by

several other authors (Badran 2001, Shafiee Nahrkhalaji (n.d.), Borčić (2010) and Bánhegyi (2015)). It is also important to bear in mind that different languages may show tendencies to express ideological stance by different categories, but also that certain preferences in a particular text can vary depending on the author’s style (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 11).

Table 1: Textual levels analysed in the PDA of the corpus

Particular properties
Graphical and phonological properties
Syntax
Lexicon
Local semantics
Global semantics
Rhetoric
Pragmatics
Dialogical interaction
Additional categories

1. Graphical and phonological properties

Even special graphical or phonological emphasis can carry information on the beliefs of the speaker/writer and can also manage „hierarchical organization of models in which important information is located at the top“ (Van Dijk: 1995a: 24). On the other hand, the same can be “de-emphasized or concealed by non-prominent graphical or phonological structures when they express meanings that are inconsistent with the goals or interests of the speaker” (ibid).

Phonological strategies such as alliteration are popularly used to emphasize words in newspaper headlines, e.g. “domestic dissidents and foreign foes” (Van Dijk: 1995b: 156).

2. Syntax

The syntactic properties of a sentence may reflect the opinions and beliefs of the speaker in several ways. The word order can signal opinions about responsibility for socially positive or negative acts, i.e. “underlying semantic or cognitive agency“ (Van Dijk: 1995a: 24). In English, this is signalled with the grammatical subject and the initial position (when outgroups are subject and topic of a sentence negative properties attributed to them can be

syntactically highlighted by emphasizing their responsible agency with the help of these strategies, while the agency of the ingroup can be put in the background or avoided completely by the use of agentless passives or nominalizations) (ibid). Positive actions of a certain group can be enhanced or downplayed in the same way, depending on our goals or beliefs, e.g. the agency of ingroup actors is syntactically highlighted in sentences describing the ingroup in a favourable way, while in sentences describing positive characteristics of an outgroup their agency is downplayed and attributed to other factors (ibid).

3. Lexicon

The choice of lexicon shows the principle of positive self-presentation of the ingroup and a negative other-presentation of the outgroup (ibid). It can sometimes indicate the ideological stance of the speaker very clearly since people, when referring to some persons, groups or phenomena, usually have a wide range of words they can use depending on different circumstances such as formality, their personal attitudes, mood, discourse genre etc. (ibid.). It is not hard to infer the attitudes behind names such as the “Evil Empire” (references to the Soviet Union during the Cold War), “smart bombs” and “surgical strikes” (military propaganda) or replacing “racism” by “xenophobia”, “prejudice” or “resentment” and so on (ibid.).

If there is an interest or inclination towards presenting a certain person/group/phenomenon in a negative light, it is often done with the help of negative lexicalization (selecting strongly negative words such as “terrorize”, “destroy”, “hatred”, “extremism” to describe actions of others) (Van Dijk: 1995b: 154) or demonization (demon – the word used to describe enemies negatively) in combination with dramatization (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 13) and negative comparison (presenting negative properties of the outgroup by comparing them with a “generally recognized bad person or outgroup”, e.g. George Bush comparing Saddam Hussein to Hitler during the Gulf War) (Van Dijk: 1995b: 155).

Grammatical words can also be used to decipher the author’s beliefs, especially when we talk about deictic expressions (Us vs. They, Our vs. Their...) which show “ideological or social distance between the speaker and the Others” and identify speakers as members of groups which are in a way opposing (Van Dijk: 2001: 31).

4. Local semantics

When discussing local semantics, the “management of meaning” and “ideologically controlled representations of the situation” also show the same signs of positive self-

presentation of ingroups and negative presentation of outgroups (Van Dijk: 1995a: 26). Schöffner views this as legitimization in Translation Studies (Federici: 2010: 118). There is a tendency to leave all information that is unfavourable for the ingroup implicit (this device is called implication), while the same information for the outgroup is made explicit (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27) and described in concrete, visualizable terms and in great detail (Van Dijk's example: "immigrants building a nuclear device with a view of lower Manhattan") (Van Dijk: 1995b: 156). This device is called concretization (ibid.). The reverse is true for our negative properties and their positive properties – they remain implicit (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27).

Presupposition as a semantic device can also serve our needs regarding representation very well (Van Dijk: 1995b: 157). The good properties of the ingroup are treated as if they were common knowledge or common sense and their existence is therefore not further developed or substantiated with arguments. Van Dijk illustrates this mentioning the assumption that Muslims are "fearful of the contagiousness of Western political, religious and sexual freedoms", presupposing that such freedoms undeniably exist in the West and disregarding all the arguments that could refute such a statement. (ibid.). The notion of knowledge is also ideologically conditioned – what one group of people sees as group knowledge another group considers to be a prejudiced belief. Van Dijk (2006: 131) provides an example for this device: claims that refer to intellectual inferiority of the black population are in racist circles accepted as knowledge, while for others these claims present an ideological prejudice.

The view on the situation can also be manipulated with the help of carefully placed "disclaimers" followed by a retraction - a negative statement about the Others. This device achieves two goals: avoiding a negative impression (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27) by expressing a general socio-cultural value (Van Dijk: 1995b: 145) while providing a negative impression of the outgroup (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27). Van Dijk points out to his own earlier classification of various types of disclaimers, which we present below using his examples (1995b:155):

- apparent denial ("I have nothing against Blacks, but..."),
- apparent concession ("There are of course a few small racist groups in the Netherlands, but on the whole..."),
- blame transfer ("I have no problem with minorities in the shop, but my customers...") (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27),

- apparent empathy (“I understand that many people want to come to Britain to work, but there is a procedure whereby people can legitimately become part of our community. People who come as economic migrants are sidestepping that.”) (Van Dijk: 2001: 30),
- apparent altruism (“But in the interest of Muslim and non-Muslim, it has to be said without evasiveness...”),
- apparent honesty (“Frankly...”, “We should not hide the truth...”)

These “introductions” often have nothing to do with altruism, honesty or empathy and they serve solely as strategic and rhetorical devices (ibid.).

Apart from making ourselves look honest and benevolent, we can present ourselves as a dominant power as well, but a positive one (“display of power”) (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 12). We can also do the opposite: represent the Others as powerful, but with the opposite goal – to create a “threat” (They are a powerful, They are dangerous and We should be in fear of Them) (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 14). We can establish a clear distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup by putting the values of the ingroup (e.g. human rights, political liberty...) to the foreground and showing that the outgroup is somehow guilty of “norm and value violation” (e.g. with their nationalism) and that they are placing themselves outside of the group with favourable properties, values, goals and so on (Van Dijk: 1995b: 156-157).

5. Global semantics

Global semantics, i.e. the topics of discourse, as well as its “schematic structure may”, as Van Dijk puts it “be subject to ideological management” (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27-28). The topic of a discourse can indicate which information is intended to be put in the foreground: “topicalization” and “detopicalization” are in the service of positive selfrepresentation, while initial summaries or headlines in the news suggest the highest topic in the macrostructure hierarchy, i.e. what is presented as the most important information (ibid).

6. Rhetoric

At the level of rhetoric the effect may be achieved by using surface structure repetitions such as rhyme and alliterations or semantic figures that reflect the underlying ideology, such as metaphor, hyperbole, euphemism, litotes, rhetorical question, repetition, irony etc. (Van Dijk: 1995a: 29).

“Euphemism” is commonly used when talking about the negative acts of the ingroup with the goal of importing new qualities to a thing or a person by changing names (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 13). The mistakes of the ingroup are described using euphemisms and abstract terms, attributed to circumstances beyond their control or even blamed on the victims, while the mistakes of the outgroup are described with great explicitness and emphasizing their agency (Van Dijk: 1995a: 27).

“Litotes” is a figure of speech that serves to express a meaning by using a word that has the opposite meaning with a negative word or by adding the negative prefix like un- at the beginning of the word in order to de-emphasize negative things about *us* or positive things about *them* (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 13).

On the other hand, we can put a stronger emphasis on the aspects of the situation that our beneficial to goals regarding self-representation on the representation of others by using “hyperbole” (Van Dijk: 1995b: 154).

“Rhetorical question” is a useful device which aims to put the focus on a certain scenario because the explicit expression in the form of a statement will not be as effective (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 14).

Creating a “hypothetical situation” is extremely efficient in enhancing our suggestive power over the recipients because, as Van Dijk explains, “it forces the recipients to construct a mental model in which they experience concrete oppression” (Van Dijk: 2001: 35).

The figure of “personification” possesses a great persuasive potential: it indicates emotions and attitudes towards people, objects and different other entities (possibly states and parties), which directly or indirectly transmits the belief of a worth of an object/person/entity onto the communicative partner (Borčić: 2010: 149).

“Metaphor” is a semantic-rhetoric figure which establishes a comparison between two concepts in order to make the abstract or unfamiliar one closer to us (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 13).

7. Pragmatics

In the domain of pragmatics the management of speech acts in certain social contexts and communicative situations can reflect different relations between speech participants (Van Dijk: 1995a: 30). Inequality can be recognized, for example, in the choice of speech acts such as commands, threats, giving advice etc. (ibid.). Van Dijk points out to many instances in which journalists of the New York Times and the Washington Post write unsubstantiated *warnings* based only on speculations or fantasy which describe doomsday scenarios with

emphasized future terror in combination with negative lexicalization, demonization of the Others, religious prejudice, concretization and threat (Van Dijk: 1995b: 156).

8. Dialogical interaction

Van Dijk ends his systematization by showing how dialogical interaction, that is conversation, exhibits signals of the power relations between the participants by observing opening and closing of conversations, turn management, interruption, setting agendas for meetings, change and closure of topics, breaking the normal rules of conversation, using inequalitarian speech acts etc.(Van Dijk: 1995a: 31).

9. Additional categories

Several categories will be addressed separately because they cannot be unambiguously placed under one single of the above mentioned levels of analysis.

The first one is “quotation”. It is argued that quotations in political texts or quotations of political actors also interpret or reinterpret power relations and events by giving voice to some people and silencing others (Schäffner: 2012a: 115). The strategies of manipulating quotations include their selection, the way direct and reported speech are combined, and the use of reporting verbs to introduce quotations, such as “he claims“, “they warn“, “she emphasizes“ etc. (ibid.). In his examination of news localization, Orengo (2005) argues that in this process a small number of translated quotations or excerpts from foreign texts are incorporated into a news story and that the degree of their faithfulness varies depending on the “newspaper’s degree of supposed bias” (Orengo: 2005: 184). This is why we consider quotations an important element in analysing underlying ideology in news discourse. The use of quotations is discussed in more detail in the Analysis section.

Another way of manipulating is by using “fallacies” – breaches of argumentative rules and principles (Nahrkhalaji: n.d.: 10-11). As the use of fallacies is a very large field, we will briefly mention only several types of fallacies: irrelevant arguments, playing on people's emotions, overgeneralization, false analogies, and making claims that need to be substantiated (ibid.) (See more on this topic in “Ideology and discourse: a multidisciplinary introduction” by Teun van Dijk 2000).

The third additional category is “modality”. Dany Badran (2001: 48) believes that modality can be analysed from the perspective of more than one of the mentioned domains. Neither

semantic nor syntactic analysis would, in his opinion, suffice to describe this category properly; a reliable analysis should definitely also include the pragmatic point of view, i.e. the interpretation of the type of modality based on the context, even though in this case the “neatness” of the system is sacrificed (ibid.). Badran argues that the analysis of modality in a text can provide us with information regarding the writer's or speaker's ideological attitudes (Badran: 2001: 49) since modality is often described as “the area of meaning that lies between yes and no” (Badran: 2001: 51) or “the grammaticalization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions” (Badran: 2001: 48). It reflects the type and the degree of the speaker’s involvement in their utterance (Badran: 2001: 47).

Another issue worth attention is the manipulation of narratives. In “Translation and Conflict. A Narrative Account” (2006) Mona Baker discusses four possible strategies for influencing the reception of narratives which can commonly be found in the media: “temporality”, “relationality”, “causal emplotment” and “selective appropriation”.

“Temporality” refers to sequentially organizing elements of a narrative (events, relationships and protagonists) (Baker: 2006: 51), which is important when translating because changing order of their presentation can influence the logical interpretation of the text and the construction of reality in readers’ minds (Bánhegyi: 2016: 148-149).

“Relationality” is a device of establishing a connection between events in a narrative (Baker: 2006: 61). By choosing a lexical item in translation that possibly establishes a connection with an event that is not present in the ST we can significantly influence the reception of the text, which can be used for a certain political agenda (Bánhegyi: 2016: 149).

“Causal emplotment” refers to the fact that events in narratives are not simply listed, but also interpreted and morally and ethically evaluated so their influence on a specific outcome could be understood, which can also be manipulated in the process of translation (Baker: 2006: 67.).

The last strategy Baker mentions is selective “appropriation” - constructing a narrative by including or excluding events from the final version of the narrative, consciously or unconsciously, with the potential to drastically change the interpretation of a text and serve a particular agenda (Baker: 2006: 72, Bánhegyi: 2016: 149). Here we can also look beyond the level of events in a particular narrative - we can ask ourselves the general question why some texts get translated while others don’t (Bánhegyi: 2016: 149).

5.2 Organization of research and research questions

Our analysis is divided into two parts, as we posed two sets of interrelated research questions.

In the first part, our aim is to examine the reports in Croatian newspapers for which we assume that came into being as a result of translation activities carried out by “international journalists” or “translator journalists”. The focus in this part of the analysis is placed on the transformations that English texts as “source texts” underwent in the process of the production of Croatian “target texts”. The particular research question inspiring this part of our analysis is:

What procedures were used by the Croatian journalist-translator in the production of a “target text”?

In order to conduct the analysis we searched the reports in the British media published around this date, as we assume that they were used as sources for the texts published in the Croatian media. Two political figures and their speeches and statements gained particular prominence in the British media: David Cameron, the then Prime Minister and Alex Salmond, the former Scottish first minister, who resigned after Scotland voted No on 18 September. In addition to Cameron’s and Salmond’s statements, statements of Scottish celebrities were also widely presented in the British media. Therefore, in this part of the analysis our task is to trace textual interventions carried out by translator-journalists and see whether they contributed to the “change of news angle” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 60) that we could later bring into correlation with the findings of discourse analysis conducted in the second part of the research.

In the analysis we use Van Dijk’s five central procedures (Schäffner and Bassnett: 2010: 3-4) quoted above (p. 6) to refer to textual interventions in the “source text”.

- selection,
- reproduction,
- summarisation,
- local transformation (addition, deletion, permutation, substitution), and
- stylistic and rhetorical formulation.

In the second part of our analysis, a PDA of entire articles published in Croatian newspapers that make up our corpus is conducted. The purpose of this analysis is to examine whether discourse properties of text segments that were not directly translated from the British

newspapers exhibit ideological positioning of the journalist by favourably representing the independence supporters.

In this part of the analysis we posed two research questions:

1. Is the YES option (the one supporting the independence of Scotland) more favourably represented in Croatian news reports than the NO option?
2. Is the more favourable slant in the representation of the YES option reflected in the graphical, syntactic, lexical, semantic, rhetorical, pragmatic, dialogical and other properties of the texts?

Van Dijk's theory of mental models argues that people form event models about certain stories based on, among other things, newspaper articles they read (Van Dijk: 2004: 74). These models then amount to general knowledge that we construct about a certain event and influence the way we understand similar events (ibid.).

As the Republic of Croatia proclaimed independence after a similar referendum on independence held on 19 May 1991, we assume that the Croatian referendum of 1991 created a mental model (Van Dijk: 1995a: 19) of this event in the minds of Croatian people and journalists through which they interpreted the referendum on Scottish independence in the United Kingdom. This leads us to examine whether the reports on the Scottish referendum published in the Croatian print media contain a certain ideological slant that might stem from this collective mental model.

5.3. The corpus

Our research is conducted on a relatively small corpus of articles in Croatian printed newspapers published on 14 September 2014, available in the archive of the National and University Library in Zagreb. The newspapers making up the corpus are *Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list*, *Zadarski list* and *Novi list* (which both published the same article) and *24 SATA*. Four more daily newspapers are published in the Croatian language: *Glas Slavonije*, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, *Sportske novosti* and *Poslovni dnevnik*. However, as on 18 September 2014 they published no articles concerning the Scottish referendum they are excluded from the corpus.

In the weeks preceding the referendum a number of articles concerning this topic was published in the above mentioned newspapers, as well as in other printed and online media. Including a higher number of texts would provide us with more reliable results, but because of the limitations of the scope of this diploma thesis the research focused on printed daily newspapers published on the day the referendum was held.

The corpus includes the following articles:

Newspaper	Title	Author
Večernji list	Strah od škotskog ‘da’	Miho Dobrašin
Jutarnji list	Uoči referenduma napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju	Ana Muhar
Novi list Zadarski list	POVIJESNA DVOJBA Škotsko „biti ili ne biti“	Tihomir Ponoš
24 sata	Škotska vs. Britanija	Boris Rašeta

6. Data Analysis

6.1 Analysis of textual interventions in the assumed translated segments

On September 16 2014, David Cameron delivered a speech in which he pleaded Scots not to vote Yes on the referendum. The appendix to this thesis contains photocopies of British newspapers that released Cameron’s full speech. In this part of the analysis we are interested to see which parts of the speech Croatian newspapers used and how they framed or “recontextualized them”. The newspapers *24 SATA* and *Jutarnji list* report on Cameron’s speech, while the article published in *Novi list* and *Zadarski list* use other Cameron’s statements.

6.1.1 24 SATA

Croatian daily *24 SATA* published a three-page article signed by their journalist Boris Rašeta. While the article contains comments framed as the journalist's opinions, a large part of the article is based on overt reporting of Cameron's words. Thus, we may reasonably assume that the sources for these parts were releases of Cameron's speech in the British media (The Guardian, Evening Standard, The Independent, The Mirror). We should point out that only The Independent published Cameron's entire speech. In line with our research question posed above, we will examine the following aspects:

1. Which parts of Cameron's speech were selected by *24 SATA*?
2. Which lexical and syntactic choices were made by the journalist-translator in the reporting on Cameron's speech?

How lexical and syntactic choices made by the journalist contribute to the change of news angle? A comparative analysis of the available statements of Alex Salmond and celebrities quoted in the same article in *24 SATA* is carried out along the same lines.

The quotations of the above mentioned protagonists' words reported in *24 SATA* can be found in the following articles published in English:

- “Scottish Independence: Misty-eyed David Cameron says Yes vote ‘would break my heart’ “, published in The Evening Standard on 10 September 2014,
- “Scottish Independence: Full text of David Cameron's ‘no going back’ speech”, published in The Independent on 16 September 2016,
- “Scottish independence: David Cameron in impassioned plea for Scotland to stay”, published in The Guardian on 10 September 2014,
- “Scotland will face ‘painful divorce’, says David Cameron in emotional speech”, published in The Guardian on 15 September 2014,
- “Yes or No? Scotland's stars take sides in independence debate”, published in The Guardian on 12 July 2014,
- “Scottish Independence: What have celebrities been saying?”, published on 4 July 2014 on the website of BBC News,
- “Scottish independence: One million Scots urged to sign ‘yes’ declaration”, published on the website of BBC News and

- “Scottish independence: Sean Connery and Gerard Butler vote yes while Susan Boyle and Emma Thompson vote no”, published in The Mirror on 9 August 2014.

Table 1: Reporting of Cameron’s statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	<p>I speak for millions of people across England, Wales and Northern Ireland – and many in Scotland, too who would <u>be utterly heart-broken</u> by the break-up of the United Kingdom.</p> <p>Source: “Misty-eyed David Cameron says Yes vote ‘would break my heart’ ”, The Evening Standard</p>	<p>Britanski premijer David Cameron u Edinburghu <u>je priznao</u> kako bi mu se “<u>srce slomilo</u>” ako Škoti odu.</p>
2	<p>The power to set your own course and make your own decisions with the security of being in the UK without the risks of going it alone.</p> <p><u>It’s the best of both worlds.</u></p> <p>A family is not a compromise, or a second best, it is a magical identity, that makes us more together than we can ever be apart <u>so please – do not break this family apart.</u></p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: Full text of David Cameron’s ‘no going back’ speech”, The Independent</p>	<p>On ih je, kako se izrazio, “očajnički zamolio” da ne razbijaju obitelj nego da prihvate najbolje od “oba svijeta”.</p>
3	<p>David Cameron has pleaded with Scotland not to rip apart the union as he issued a warning that independence <u>is a “leap into the dark”</u> from which there is no going back.</p>	<p>Od Škota je zatražio “otreznjenje” upozorivši ih kako je odcjepljenje, ni</p>

	Source: "Scottish independence: David Cameron in impassioned plea for Scotland to stay", The Guardian	manje ni više nego <u>skok u mračnu provaliju</u> .
4	Mr Cameron, who appeared to be misty-eyed as he spoke, said he did not care that the Tories would benefit if Scotland went independent and slashed the number of Labour MPs at Westminster. "I love my country far more than I love my party," he declared. Source: "Misty-eyed David Cameron says Yes vote 'would break my heart' ", The Evening Standard	Na upit zašto se toliko zalaže za ostanak Škotske u Velikoj Britaniji, kad bi bez nje, prema svim procjenama, njegova Konzervativna stranka bolje prošla na svibanjskim izborima uzvratio je da rekavši da više voli svoju zemlju nego svoju stranku.
5	"Independence would not be a trial separation. It would be a painful divorce." Source: "Scotland will face 'painful divorce', says David Cameron in emotional speech", The Guardian	„To ne bi bilo sudsko razdvajanje, to bi bio bolni razvod – rekao je u Edinburghu.“
6	And as Prime Minister I have to tell you what that would mean. It would mean we no longer share the same currency. It would mean the armed forces we have built up together over centuries being split up forever. It would mean our pension funds sliced up – at some cost. It would mean the borders we have would become international and may no longer be so easily crossed. It would mean the automatic support that you currently get from British embassies when	„Kao premijer, moram vam reći što bi to značilo. To bi značilo da više nećemo imati istu valutu. To bi značilo da bi naše oružane snage, koje smo zajedno gradili stoljećima, bile razdvojene zauvijek. Mirovinski fondovi bili bi smanjeni. Granice koje imamo postale bi međunarodne i preko njih se možda više ne bi moglo tako lako prelaziti. To bi

	<p>you're travelling around the world would come to an end.</p> <p>It would mean over half of Scottish mortgages suddenly, from one day to the next, being provided by banks in a foreign country.</p> <p>It would mean that interest rates in Scotland are no longer set by the Bank of England – with the stability and security that promises.</p> <p>It would mean - for any banks that remain in Scotland – if they ever got in trouble it would be Scottish taxpayers and Scottish taxpayers alone that would bear the costs.</p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: Full text of David Cameron’s ‘no going back’ speech”, The Independent</p>	<p>automatski značilo da više nemate potporu koju danas dobivate od britanskih ambasada kad putujete svijetom. To bi značilo da bi preko polovice škotskih hipoteka odjednom bilo pod vlašću stranih banaka. To bi značilo da kamate u Škotskoj više ne određuje Bank of England (op.a. britanska središnja banka), sa svom stabilnošću i sigurnošću, a ako banke koje ostanu u škotskoj ikad zapadnu u probleme, škotski porezni obveznici, i samo škotski porezni obveznici, snosili bi trošak – najavio je Cameron.“</p>
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Example 1 refers to the section of the article “Scottish independence: Misty-eyed David Cameron says Yes vote 'would break my heart' “ published in The Evening Standard. The author of the Croatian article literally translated the phrase “break my heart” (“srce slomilo”). The author used a number of local transformation procedures: deletion, addition and substitution that we will discuss in more details. Thus, he used deletion and omitted the first part of the English heading that refers to David Cameron’s appearance (“Misty-eyed David Cameron says...”). While the English text presents Cameron as having tears in his eyes because of strong emotions (“misty-eyed”), in the Croatian text this is omitted, resulting in a change in news angle. The intensifier “utterly” was omitted out of the translation of the phrase “utterly heart-broken”. On the other hand, the Croatian author used addition (“Britanski premijer” and “u Edinburghu”) that could be explained by a need to tailor the text to the needs

of its recipients – Croatian readers. Substitution is used when the English reporting verb “says” is replaced with “priznao je”.

Example 2 shows that Cameron’s words “so please – do not break this family apart.” are rendered as “on ih je “očajnički zamolio” da ne razbijaju obitelj”. The Croatian text also contains an explicit suggestion that these are Cameron’s words („kako se izrazio“). Therefore, the word “please” is translated as “očajnički zamolio”, where we can see an obvious manipulation in the translation (addition), which results in presenting Cameron as being desperate and begging Scots not to leave the UK.

Example 3 cannot be found in Cameron’s speech, as published in *The Independent*. It is found in the article “Scottish independence: David Cameron in impassioned plea for Scotland to stay” published in *The Guardian* on September 10 2014. The Croatian journalist translated the phrase “a leap into the dark” as “skok u mračnu provaliju”. However, the more telling part of the text is the journalist’s own comment following the representation of Cameron’s words in which he brings into doubt the sincerity of Cameron’s “emotionality” (“Cameronova ‘osjećajnost’ nije neshvatljiva – nije baš zgodno ući u povijest kao premijer kojemu se raspala Velika Britanija...”). The addition of this comment to the Cameron’s words is an evident attempt of suggesting a negative interpretation of his words and portraying Cameron as hypocritical. If we also take into account the deletion of a reference to “misty-eyed” Cameron, we may suggest that a change in news angle is undertaken: in English newspaper reports Cameron’s speech is presented as a sincere, emotional plea, while the Croatian text alludes to his calculated use of emotions for the sake of his political reputation. We should also pay attention to the addition of inverted commas in the Croatian text, which suggests phoney emotionality.

In example 4 the procedure of summarization of information is employed in order to create one sentence in the Croatian article that corresponds to several sentences in the English “source text”. It is also indicative that in this summarization, a reference to “misty-eyed” Cameron is omitted. Also, the direct quotation (“I love my country far more than I love my party,” he declared.) in the “source text” is transformed into reported speech („...uzvratio je da rekavši da više voli svoju zemlju nego svoju stranku.“) in the Croatian text.

Example 5 from the article published in *The Guardian* shows that the phrase “trial separation” is mistranslated as “sudsko razdvajanje” instead of “probno razdvajanje”. This brings to the fore the issues raised in the Introduction to this thesis related to the professional issues in news translation.

Example 6 contains a direct translation of a part of Cameron's speech, as published in *The Guardian*, into Croatian without any significant interference by the journalist.

Table 2: Reporting of Salmond's statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	N/A	Neovisna Škotska bit će bogata poput Norveške zbog zaliha nafte u Sjevernome moru jer sad u proračun uplaćuje više od ostatka zemlje – kaže premijer Alex Salmond, glavni promotor odcjepljenja.
2	N/A	Možemo izgraditi pravednije društvo – kaže on.

We were not able to find corresponding sources for Salmond's statements in English papers published around the relevant dates.

Table 3: Reporting of what celebrities think of independence

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	Gerard Butler: "I can't see why Scotland shouldn't be independent – it has different attitudes, people and outlook". Source: "Yes or No? Scotland's stars take sides in independence debate", The Guardian	Glumac Gerard Butler kaže da ne vidi ni jedan razlog zbog kojega Škotska ne bi bila samostalna, a njegov kolega Alan Cumming tomu dodaje svoj argument:- U zadnjih 15 godina postali smo jači, ekonomski, kulturno i socijalno. Svijet nas čeka, mi smo spremni"

	<p>Alan Cumming: Speaking at the launch of the Yes Scotland campaign for independence, the actor said: "The evidence is clear - in the past 15 years we have become stronger economically, socially, culturally and globally. The world is waiting for us and <u>I know</u> Scotland is ready."</p> <p>Source: "Scottish Independence: What have celebrities been saying?", BBC News</p>	
2	<p>Sean Connery: "The "Yes" campaign has centred on a positive vision for Scotland. It is rooted in inclusiveness, equality and that core democratic value that the people of Scotland are the best guardians of their own future."</p> <p>Source: "Scottish independence: One million Scots urged to sign 'yes' declaration", BBC News</p>	<p>„Vizija samostalne Škotske ukorijenjena je u vjeri u ideju prema kojoj će škotski narod sam najbolje čuvati demokratske vrijednosti.“</p>

3	<p>"My hesitance at embracing independence has nothing to do with lack of belief in <u>Scotland's remarkable people or its achievements</u>. The simple truth is that Scotland is subject to the same 21st century pressures as the rest of the world. It must compete in the same global markets, defend itself from the same threats and navigate what still feels like a fragile economic recovery."</p> <p>Source: "Scottish independence: Sean Connery and Gerard Butler vote yes while Susan Boyle and Emma Thompson vote no", The Mirror</p>	<p>J.K. Rowling: „Moja neodlučnost u prihvaćanju neovisnosti nema nikakve veze s nedostatkom vjere u Škotsku. Jednostavna istina glasi: Škotska u 21. stoljeću podliježe istim pravilima kao i ostatak svijeta. Mora se natjecati na istim globalnim tržištima, braniti se od istih prijetnji i boriti se za krhki gospodarski oporavak.”</p>
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The quotation in Example 1 is a summarization of Gerard Butler's and Alan Cumming's words in one sentence. A combination of direct and reported speech (Butler's words are transformed into reported speech, while Cumming's quotation is left in direct speech) can be observed, as well as a deletion of the underlined part of Butler's sentence ("I can't see why Scotland shouldn't be independent – it has different attitudes, people and outlook.").

We can also notice a shift in the translation of Cumming's words: "The world is waiting for us and I know Scotland is ready." Cumming is presenting his own personal opinion as knowledge, which is indicative not only in the English source article, but in the translation as well. The words "I know", with the personal pronoun "I" indicate that this is his personal approach to the matter, were omitted (deletion), removing the tone of subjectivity and presenting this as a general fact.

Although Sean Connery's words in Example 2 are presented as a direct quotation, this sentence has clearly gone through a process of the selection of information, rearrangement, reformulation and deletion. It is also possible that the journalist of *24 SATA* used another quotation by Sean Connery on that matter. However, as this was the only one available online at the time the research was conducted, we used it as a possible corresponding source text.

Example 3 contains a quotation of J. K. Rowling without the journalist's interference, except in the first sentence ("My hesitance at embracing independence has nothing to do with lack of belief in Scotland's remarkable people or its achievements."), where a deletion of the underlined part of the sentence is observed („Moja neodlučnost u prihvaćanju neovisnosti nema nikakve veze s nedostatkom vjere u Škotsku.“).

6.1.2 Večernji list

Večernji list published an article with the title "Strah od škotskog 'da' " written by Miho Dobrašin. No quotations by politicians or celebrities were used in the article, which is why we have not carried out a comparative analysis of the assumed translated segments. The journalist appears to have personally interviewed a couple of voters ("Iz Aberdeena piše Miho Dobrašin"), whose words are quoted in the article. We could not trace any articles in British newspapers and on news websites on this topic around the time the referendum was held mentioning these people.

6.1.3 Jutarnji list

Jutarnji list published an article by Ana Muhar under the title „Uoči referendum napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju“, which also quotes a large part of David Cameron's speech

mentioned above. In addition to Cameron’s speech, we will also compare translations of Alex Salmond’s letter to voters published on the last day of the campaign and MP Rory Stewart’s quotations to their „source texts“ presented in the British media in order to answer the research question quoted above: What procedures were used by the Croatian journalist-translator in the production of a “target text”?

The articles that we assume the journalist-translator relies on are:

- „Scottish Independence: First Minister Alex Salmond’s letter to voters“, published in The Independent on 16 September 2014
- „Scottish independence: Full text of David Cameron's 'no going back' speech“, published in The Independent on 16 September 2014
- Rory Stewart’s personal website (<http://www.rorystewart.co.uk/well-stronger-together/>).

Analysis:

Table 4: Reporting of Cameron’s statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
	<p>„So as you reach your final decision, <u>please</u> don’t let anyone tell you that you can’t be a proud Scot and a proud Brit. Don’t lose faith in what this country is – and what we can be. Don't turn your backs on what is the best family of nations in the world and the best hope for your family in this world“.</p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: Full text of David Cameron’s ‘no going back’ speech”, The Independent</p>	<p>„Kada donosite konačnu odluku, <u>molim vas, molim vas</u>, ne dopustite nikome da vam kaže da ne možete istovremeno biti ponosni Škoti i ponosni Britanci. <u>Molim vas</u>, nemojte izgubiti vjeru u ono što ova</p>

		zemlja jest i što može postati. Ne okrećite leđa onome što je najbolja obitelj nacija na svijetu i najveća nada za vašu obitelj na ovome svijetu.“
2	N/A	Premijer je priznao da zbog povijesnog referenduma noću ne spava.
3	N/A	Naime, u nastojanju privlačenja što većeg broja glasača unionista Cameron je obećao „veća prava i odgovornosti“ škotskom parlamentu.

Example 1 refers to David Cameron’s speech published in The Independent and exhibits an evident manipulation in the translation of David Cameron’s words in the first sentence of the quotation: „So as you reach your final decision, please don’t let anyone tell you that you can’t be a proud Scot and a proud Brit.” In the translation the journalist used the procedure of addition: “please” (“molim vas”) appears only once in the English sentence while in the Croatian text a second “molim vas” was added in the same sentence („Kada donosite konačnu

odluku, molim vas, molim vas, ne dopustite nikome da vam kaže da ne možete istovremeno biti ponosni Škoti i ponosni Britanci.“) and a third “molim vas” in the beginning of the following sentence (“Molim vas, nemojte izgubiti vjeru u ono što ova zemlja jest i što može postati.“). We suppose that addition is conducted with the aim of reinforcing the representation of David Cameron’s position as desperate and inferior to the position of the independence supporters. Also, in this same sentence Cameron uses the personal pronoun “we” to appear closer to Scottish voters and show himself and them as one entity, while the Croatian translation omits this pronoun and shows the potential Cameron talks about as referring to the country and not to them as people (“Molim vas, nemojte izgubiti vjeru u ono što ova zemlja jest i što može postati.“).

Table 5: Reporting of Salmond’s statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	It's the greatest most empowering moment any of us will ever have. Source: „Scottish independence: First Minister Alex Salmond's letter to voters“, The Independent	U otvorenom pismu biračima, škotski prvi ministar Alex Salmond izjavio je da referendum predstavlja „najveći trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati“.
2	I have no doubt people in Scotland will look past the increasingly desperate and absurd scare stories being generated daily from Downing Street. Confidence. Belief. Empowerment.	On je poručio biračima da ignoriraju „sve očajnije i apsurdnije strašne priče“ Downing Streeta i da vjeruju u sebe.

	Source: „Scottish independence: First Minister Alex Salmond's letter to voters“, The Independent	
3	N/A	S jedne strane, samouvjereni prvi ministar Škotske Alex Salmond ta obećanja naziva „nekonkretnima“ i „znakom potkupljivanja“.

Examples 1 and 2 show mostly addition and summarization strategies in reporting Salmond's words. In translation of the phrase “the greatest most empowering moment” a deletion of the word “empowering” can be detected (“najveći trenutak”), causing the phrase to lose some of its motivational potential.

Table 6: Reporting of other MPs’ statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
	Nationalists blame Scotland’s problems – which are almost indistinguishable from the problems of most Western democracies – on their relationship with the rest of Britain. Instead of trying to harness the potential of <u>a diverse, connected, and rapidly expanding</u> London, they treat London as a threat – <u>and attempt to segregate and protect themselves from it.</u>	Rory Stewart: „Škotski nacionalisti krive svoj odnos s Londonom za sve škotske probleme, koji su u stvari problemi većine zapadnih demokracija. Umjesto da pokušaju izvući najbolje od Londona, oni ga tretiraju kao prijatnju.“

	Source: http://www.rorystewart.co.uk/well-stronger-together/	
	<u>In short</u> , their response to the fundamental problems <u>of a 21st century democracy</u> is to try to shut the complexity out by drawing in their borders. Source: http://www.rorystewart.co.uk/well-stronger-together/	Rory Stewart: Njihov odgovor na fundamentalne probleme je pokušaj smanjivanja njihovih kompleksnosti gradnjom granica.“

Several MPs were quoted in the article (Nigel Adams, Rory Stewart, John Redwood, Mark Field, Harriet Harman), but only Rory Stewart’s quotation was found online, on his personal website. Although his words are presented as a direct quotation, minor deletions were made which do not explicitly change the representation of his camp. Since this quotation is placed in a separate part of the article, we may conclude that the reason for the deletion may have been to adjust to the spatial limitations.

6.1.4 Novi list and Zadarski list

The article “POVIJESNA DVOJBA. Škotsko ‘biti ili ne biti’ “ by Tihomir Ponoš was published both in *Novi list* and *Zadarski list*. The journalist’s analysis of the situation in the UK in the days before the referendum is accompanied by reporting primarily on David Cameron’s words and the already mentioned letter to voters by Alex Salmond, as well as statements by other both British and foreign politicians, which will also be analysed and compared to their words as presented in the British media. Besides Cameron and Salmond, we have found a source for the statement of the then Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy and former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, which will be added to the analysis.

The quotations analysed were compared to the following articles:

- “Cameron and Brown forge friendship fighting for the Union”, published in The Telegraph on 17 September 2014
- “Scottish independence: First Minister Alex Salmond’s letter to voters”, published in The Independent on 16 September 2014
- “ ‘Silent no more’: Watch Gordon Brown’s patriotic and passionate Scotland speech”, published on 17 September 2014 in The New Statesman
- “Scottish or Catalan vote ‘torpedoes EU’, says Spain’s Rajoy”, published on the website of BBC News on 17 September 2014.

Analysis:

Table 7: Reporting of Cameron’s statements on the referendum

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	<p>"Well of course everyone who cares about our United Kingdom - and I care passionately about our United Kingdom - is nervous," he said.</p> <p>"My name is not on the ballot paper," Mr Cameron said. "What’s on the ballot paper is ‘does Scotland want to stay in the United Kingdom, or does Scotland want to separate itself from the United Kingdom? That’s the only question that will be decided on Thursday night. The question about</p>	<p>„Svatko tko brine o Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a ja itekako brinem o njemu, je nervozan, izjavio je Cameron i ponovio da neće dati ostavku u slučaju da na referendumu prevagnu glasovi zagovornika neovisnosti.</p>

	<p>my future will be decided at the British general election coming soon."</p> <p>Source: „Cameron and Brown forge friendship fighting for the Union“, The Telegraph</p>	
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Example 1 shows the only quotation of David Cameron in this article which can be found in the article *Cameron and Brown forge friendship fighting for the Union* published in The Telegraph. In the Croatian article Cameron's words were selected and summarized using a combination of direct and reported speech with no apparent ideological motivation.

Table 8: Reporting of Salmond's letter to voters

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	<p>It's the greatest most empowering moment any of us will ever have. .</p> <p>Source: "Scottish Independence: First Minister Salmond's letter to voters", The Independent</p>	<p>Predstojeći referendum za njega je „najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati“.</p>
2	<p>„I have no doubt people in Scotland will look past the increasingly desperate and absurd scare stories being generated daily from Downing Street.</p> <p>Confidence.</p> <p>Belief.</p>	<p>Biračima je poručio da zanemare „sve očajnije i apsurdnije strašne priče“ Downing Streeta, odnosno britanske vlade te da vjeruju u sebe.</p>

	<p>Empowerment.</p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: First Minister Salmond's letter to voters”, The Independent</p>	
	<p>Don't let this opportunity slip through our fingers.</p> <p>Don't let them tell us we can't.</p> <p>Let's do this."</p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: First Minister Salmond's letter to voters”, The Independent</p>	<p>Poručio je „neka ova prilika ne isklizne kroz naše prste, neka nam oni ne kažu da mi to ne možemo, učinimo to“.</p>
	<p>Wake up on Friday morning to the first day of a better country.</p> <p>Source: “Scottish Independence: First Minister Salmond's letter to voters”, The Independent</p>	<p>Probudimo se u petak ujutro u boljoj zemlji, poručio je Salmond.</p>
	N/A	<p>Salmond je biračima poručio i da će neovisna Škotska biti dobrodošla u EU.</p>

In the translation of parts of Salmond’s letter to voters as published in The Independent several recontextualisation strategies can be noticed, however, they reveal no apparent favourisation of any option. Parts of his letter in the Croatian text were summarised, transformed into a combination of direct and reported speech and in some instances added a reporting verb.

Example 1 shows the translation of the phrase “most empowering moment” into “najvažniji trenutak”, in which the omission of the word “empowering” can be noticed once again.

Table 9: Reporting on statements of Gordon Brown and Mariano Rajoy

Example no.	English text	Croatian text
1	<p>“They do not know what they are doing, they are leading us into a trap.”</p> <p>Source: “ ‘Silent no more’ Watch Gordon Brown’s patriotic and passionate Scotland Speech”, New Statesman</p>	<p>Gordon Brown: On je izjavio da zagovornici neovisnosti „ne znaju što čine“.</p>
2	<p>Independence referendums in Scotland or Spain's Catalonia region are like a torpedo to European integration, PM Mariano Rajoy has warned.</p> <p>He told MPs such processes created "more economic recession and poverty".</p> <p>Source: “Scottish or Catalan no vote 'torpedoes EU', says Spain's Rajoy”, BBC News</p>	<p>Mariano Rajoy: On je izjavio da bi neovisnost Škotske i Katalonije torpedirala Europsku Uniju, a posljedice bi bile snažnija recesija i povećanje siromaštva.</p>

Example 1 shows that the journalist selected the first part of Gordon Brown's statement and incorporated its translation into his text as direct speech, while Rajoy's statement in Example 2 was summarised and transformed into a combination of direct and reported speech.

6.2 PDA of the Croatian corpus

6.2.1 24 SATA

The article has a headline (“Na referendum u četvrtak glasuju o sudbini Velike Britanije”), a main title (“Škotska vs. Britanija”), a subtitle under the main title (“Odu li, Škoti će graditi socijalnu državu. Ostanu li, dobit će više samostalnosti”), four subtitles (“Hoće li na referendum presuditi srce ili novčanik?”, “Škoti bi više socijalizma a manje kapitalizma”, “Odete li od nas, možete računati na manje mirovine”, “Prednost unionista se istopila, šanse su 50:50”), three graphically highlighted comments (“Nakon škotskog referenduma, kakav god bio rezultat, Britanija više neće biti ista. Ne samo to. Čini se da neće biti isti ni svijet. Referendum, naime, znači tektonski potres u najstabilnijoj složenoj državi zapada, kraljevini koja od 1707. godine nije imala revoluciju i kojom mirno vlada ista dinastija.”, “Washington je jasno rekao da su **Sjedinjene Države protiv** osamostaljenja Škotske”, “Cameron prijeti ‘kineskim zidovima’ i **nepopravljivim štetama**, no Škoti kažu: ‘Nikamo ne idemo. Ostajemo tu, ali kao gospodari svoje sudbine’ ”) and four photographs with captions (“ŠKOTI, SLOMIT ĆETE MI SRCE ODETE LI Britanski premijer Cameron Škote je pokušao zaplašiti nizom poteškoća koje će ih zadesiti ako odu i povlastica koje će zadržati ako ostanu. Kraljica im je poručila da ‘dobro razmisle’ ”, “ODLUČIMO SAMI O SUDBINI SVOJE ŠKOTSKE Većina zagovornika odcjepljenja slaže se da će Škoti sami bolje i pametnije odlučivati o svojoj sudbini nego to je to proteklih stoljeća radio London”, “VRIJEME ODLUKE. Alex Salmond, škotski premijer, uvjeren je da će postati neovisni jer ‘dobro zna što narod govori’ ”, “ZNA SE. James Bond Connery ne želi više biti ‘u službi Njezina’ – there is presumably a part missing, most probably the word Veličanstva).

The headline (“Na referendum u četvrtak glasuju o sudbini Velike Britanije”), the main title (“Škotska vs. Britanija”), the subtitle under the main title (“Odu li, Škoti će graditi socijalnu državu. Ostanu li, dobit će više samostalnosti”), two of the subtitles (“Hoće li na referendum presuditi srce ili novčanik?”, “Škoti bi više socijalizma a manje kapitalizma”) and two of the graphically highlighted comments (“Nakon škotskog referenduma, kakav god bio rezultat, Britanija više neće biti ista. Ne samo to. Čini se da neće biti isti ni svijet. Referendum, naime, znači tektonski potres u najstabilnijoj složenoj državi zapada, kraljevini koja od 1707. godine nije imala revoluciju i kojom mirno vlada ista dinastija.”, “Washington je jasno rekao da su **Sjedinjene Države protiv** osamostaljenja Škotske”) indicate no ideological positioning of the

author, but they serve as a means for dramatization and polarization of the two sides. The adversity is reflected both in grammatical structure and rhetoric. The choice of phrases such as “sudbina Velike Britanije”, “Britanija više neće biti ista” or “tektonski potres” emphasize the historical importance of the referendum. From the headline on it is clear that the aim of the author is to build the image of an antagonistic relationship between the YES and NO camp by using phrases such as “Škotska vs. Britanija”, the alternative conjunction “ili” in “Hoće li na referendumu presuditi srce ili novčanik?”, the adversative conjunction “a” in “Škoti bi više socijalizma a manje kapitalizma” or juxtaposing two conditional sentences: “Odu li, Škoti će graditi socijalnu državu. Ostanu li, dobit će više samostalnosti”.

When it comes to other highlighted parts, a significant difference in representation can be observed in this respect. Only one subtitle emphasizes the disadvantages of leaving the union using a warning (“Odete li od nas, možete računati na manje mirovine”). This subtitle introduces a paragraph in which David Cameron explains the advantages of staying in the United Kingdom and the pitfalls of leaving the Union in a significantly more detailed manner than in other articles. His point of view is very well represented by facts and real life examples (concretization): “To bi značilo da bi naše oružane snage, koje smo zajedno gradili stoljećima, bile razdvojene zauvijek. Mirovinski fondovi bili bi smanjeni. Granice koje imamo postale bi međunarodne i preko njih se možda više ne bi moglo tako lako prelaziti. To bi automatski značilo da više nemate potporu koju danas dobivate od britanskih ambasada kada putujete svijetom. To bi značilo da bi preko polovice škotskih hipoteka odjednom bilo pod vlašću stranih banaka...”

Although this part of the text serves the promotion of the unionists’ ideas very well, from a quantitative perspective they are undoubtedly underrepresented when it comes to the article’s graphical properties. While only one subtitle is dedicated to their positive portrayal, six subtitles, comments and captions favour the independence movement.

The subtitle “Prednost unionista se istopila, šanse su 50:50” emphasizes the decline in the support the unionists have. The comment “Cameron prijeti ‘kineskim zidovima’ i **nepopravljivim štetama**, no Škoti kažu: ‘Nikamo ne idemo. Ostajemo tu, ali kao gospodari svoje sudbine’ ” contributes to the negative characterization of the British by portraying them as threatening (“Cameron prijeti”) while the Scots are positively lexicalized as “gospodari svoje sudbine” (“masters of their own destiny”). The caption “ŠKOTI, SLOMIT ĆETE MI SRCE ODETE LI Britanski premijer Cameron Škote je pokušao zaplašiti nizom poteškoća koje će ih zadesiti ako odu i povlastica koje će zadržati ako ostanu. Kraljica im je poručila da

‘dobro razmislite’ ” reinforces the demonization of David Cameron and the British by using the verb “zaplašiti” (scare), as well as their portrayal as weak with putting emotions in the foreground instead of arguments (“ŠKOTI, SLOMIT ĆETE MI SRCE ODETE LI”), while other captions further build the positive image of the separatists (“ODLUČIMO SAMI O SUDBINI SVOJE ŠKOTSKE Većina zagovornika odcjepljenja slaže se da će Škoti sami bolje i pametnije odlučivati o svojoj sudbini nego to je to proteklih stoljeća radio London”, “VRIJEME ODLUKE. Alex Salmond, škotski premijer, uvjeren je da će postati neovisni jer ‘dobro zna što narod govori’ ”). In the end there is a picture of Sean Connery expressing his support to the independence movement (“ZNA SE James Bond Connery ne želi više biti ‘u službi Njezina (Veličanstva?)”).

When it comes to visual representation we can observe that there are four photographs of YES supporters, while only one, smaller in size, of David Cameron and Queen Elisabeth, who did not express support to any of the options.

Voicing in this text reveals great ambiguities. From the supporters of the unionists only David Cameron and J. K. Rowling were quoted, while five persons voiced the independence option: journalist Agnus Roxburgh, Prime Minister Alex Salmond, actor Sean Connery, actor Gerard Butler and actor Allan Cumming. However, a word count of direct quotations, which are the dominant style of quoting in this article, gives more insight on the matter. Once again, contrary to the first conclusion that the author favours the YES camp, the data reveal another discrepancy: there are 202 words of Cameron’s and Rowling’s quotations, while only 137 words of the five separation supporters, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the author’s inclinations in this respect.

From the rhetorical point of view, the author’s comments offer plenty of material for analysis. He uses very colourful language and makes several personal remarks, but only a small part of them could be interpreted as ideological positioning. For example, he comments on David Cameron’s words by emphasizing the severity of his position (“Cameronova “osjećajnost” nije neshvatljiva – nije baš zgodno ući u povijest kao premijer kojemu se raspala Velika Britanija...”). However, most of his rhetorically rich remarks have the primary purpose of dramatizing and creating an antagonism between the two options by using metaphors (“Ima i analitičara koji vjeruju da je ovo tek početak domino efekta i u Britaniji...”) and personifications (“Španjolska ima dvije separatizmu sklone pokrajine, Francuska strepi od Korzike, Balkan je bure baruta, Kavkaz kuha, Krim se odcijepio...”) in order to convey the emotions of fear and tension to the reader.

To conclude, although it may be argued that this article exhibits certain signs of ideological positioning in the sense that it favourably represents the independence option (visible in the graphical and visual properties of the text, as well as lexicalization), there are other aspects of the text, such as voicing, that seem to be ambiguous in this respect. The main characteristic of this article could rather be described as creating a narrative about the Scottish referendum of independence that would be emotionally charged and dramatic in order to attract and please the readership.

6.2.2 Večernji list

We will start the analysis with the graphical properties of the article: the text has a heading (“Škoti danas odlučuju o svojoj i sudbini Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva”), a title (“Strah od škotskog ‘da’ ”), a main subtitle under the main title (“Za put u neovisnost spremno je još osam regija unutar EU”), two subtitles in the text (“Putem Švedske i Norveške”, “Raspad bi bio šok”), two graphically highlighted quotations (“Jamie: Na izlazak me motiviraju upozorenja da ne možemo sami”, “Dejan Jović: Odcjepljenje bi pokolebalo zemlje koje hoće u EU”) and a graphically highlighted poll result (“Posljednja anketa 52:42”). There are also two large pictures: one of them is a photograph of a woman with a small child wearing a large flag and holding a small paper flag saying “Yes” with the caption “Sanjaju nezavisnu Škotsku” and the other one is a map with information about other regions in the European Union whose people have expressed a desire to become an independent country with the caption “Tko u EU teži odcjepljenju”.

One of the two subtitles in the text (“Putem Švedske i Norveške”) can be interpreted as also favouring the YES side because this is a part of a quotation of an independence supporter explaining the positive changes that would happen in case Scotland gains its independence (“Želimo ići putem Švedske i Norveške, želimo socijalno osjetljivu državu”, poručuje u Ulici unije u centru.”), using causal emplotment to establish a direct link between independence and a prosperous future. The other subtitle, on the other hand, is a form of a dramatized warning of what a separation might bring (“Raspad bi bio šok”).

Of the two graphically highlighted quotations, one represents the voice of a person supporting independence (“Jamie: Na izlazak me motiviraju upozorenja da ne možemo sami”). The other

one provides a comment on the situation by a Croatian political analyst, which cannot be described as explicitly favouring either side because it refers to other countries (“Dejan Jović: Odcjepljenje bi pokolebalo zemlje koje hoće u EU”), while the graphically highlighted poll result (“Posljednja anketa 52:42”) emphasizes the currently leading status of the NO vote.

There is one photograph positively portraying supporters of the independence - a woman and a child with a flag “dreaming of independent Scotland” (“Sanjaju nezavisnu Škotsku”) and a relatively factual map portraying countries with regions that also strive for independence: however; in one part of the map there is a list of “countries that would lose the most” (“Odcjepljenjima bi najviše izgubili”) in case of some of these regions proclaim their independence, supported by statistical data about their part in their countries’ GDP. With this negative formulation the author describes these countries as “losers” in case of separation and implies that these regions would be financially more prosperous on their own, just as it is the case in the main title.

Although the representation of both camps seems relatively balanced at the schematic level of the text, after a more thorough analysis we can see that the headings, titles and all the graphically highlighted parts of the text slightly emphasize the benefits of choosing independence for Scotland. When we observe other properties of the text, such as voicing, syntax, lexicalization, local semantics and rhetoric we come to the conclusion that they also exhibit bias against the unionist camp, as I will show below.

There are five people, besides the author, whose opinions are voiced in this article: two of them belong to YES voters, another two to NO voters and the fifth is a Croatian analyst working for the President of the Republic of Croatia, who gave a comment which exhibits no apparent support for either side. However, even though the representation seems fair for both camps, if we examine the amount of attention they receive in the text we can easily observe that they are not as equally represented as it may seem at first glance. When we count the number of words of quotes expressing NO voters’ opinions, we come to the number of 42, while there are 66 words of YES voters’ quotes. The difference becomes even more noticeable when we do not look only at pure quotations, but also include introductions of the speakers and the author’s comments on their words: the author dedicated the independence supporters almost twice as much space (146 words) as to the unionists (75 words).

The dominant topic when discussing the advantages and disadvantages of Scotland’s leaving the UK is the economic aspect of the separation. YES voters emphasize their future economic

prosperity in an independent state because they will finally be able to manage their natural resources without outside interference. Their words are supported by the author's comment, a concretization of their arguments and a visual representation of the resources they talk about ("U obližnju luku uplovljava brod s naftnih platform udaljenih 100-tinjak kilometara.") On the other hand, the author provides no comments or factual corroboration for any of the NO voters' arguments; they are always left as rather abstract unsupported claims such as the following statement: "S njom se slaže i umirovljenica Aneeka Everard (73): 'Ljude se pokušalo odvući u utopiju, lagalo im se o prednostima raskida unije.' "The argument by this NO voter is constructed as a warning formulated in a passive sentence without a specified agent in which she describes the separatists' goals as "utopia", implying that a prosperous future in a separate country is illusory and unattainable.

With the next comment the author tries to eliminate the possibility of describing YES voters as nationalists by potentially using norm and value violation against them ("Rastuće društvene nejednakosti, korumpirane središnje vlade i mjere štednje stvaraju masovne pokrete za odcjepljenje u kojima više ne sudjeluju samo nacionalisti."). In this case, relationality is established between social problems such as corruption and social inequality in the UK and the desire for independence as a solution to this problem. This statement is followed by another warning, this time by an independence supporter (" 'Europskim kraljevstvima, nekad moćnim državama, a danas zastarjelim uređenjima počeo je otkucavati sat,' poručuje McEwan."), presupposing that Britain's form of government, negatively lexicalized as "zastarjelo uređenje" (outdated form of government) is not appropriate for modern times. This is contrasted by a quotation of a unionist expressing her fear ("Aneeka Everard, koja je čitav život lojalna kraljici, kaže: 'Raspad bi bio šok.' O tome ne želim ni razmišljati."). This leads to the conclusion that the separatists are portrayed as confident, modern and having support of many other regions in Europe, while the unionists seem threatened and frightened.

On top of that, when describing the independence movement the author uses conceptual metaphors that compare them with forces of nature such as water or river ("Entuzijizam iz Škotske **prelijeva** sena Flandriju...", "Separatističke težnje **bujaju** na Korzici, Sardiniji, u Južnom Tirolu i Padaniji."), as if the desire for independence were natural, inevitable and useless to fight against.

To conclude, even though at first glance the representation of YES and NO supporters seems to be relatively balanced both in quantity and quality, a detailed analysis reveals that the

author's choices in the text regarding the previously mentioned criteria for a political analysis of discourse work favourably for the supporters of Scottish independence.

6.2.3 Jutarnji list

Let us start with the graphic properties of the text: this article has a heading (“NOVINARKA JUTARNJEG IZRAVNO IZ EDINBURGHA UOČI ODCJEPLJENJA”), the main title (“Uoči referendum napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju”), a subtitle under the main title (“Škotska je oštro podijeljena, ljudi u istoj obitelji ne mogu se složiti oko odcjepljenja”), 5 subtitles in the text (“Pitanje nacionalizma”, “Cameronova dilemma”, “Financijski poremećaj”, “52 POSTO STANOVNIKA JOŠ UVIJEK PROTIV NEOVISNOSTI”, “Podijeljeni zastupnici parlamenta”) and a graphically highlighted author's comment (“Cameron ne može pobijediti. Ako se odcijepe, izgubio je dio zemlje, a ako ostanu, mora im dati više moći”). There are also six photographs above the text and five photographs of the British MPs who were quoted in a separate part of the text, two of them being in favour of the separation, three of them against it. Only two of the photographs have captions (“Novinarka Jutarnjeg u Edinburghu”, “Članovi iste obitelji ne mogu se usuglasiti oko dogovora”).

The captions, the title (“Uoči referenduma napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju”), as well as the subtitle under it (“Škotska je oštro podijeljena, ljudi u istoj obitelji ne mogu se složiti oko odcjepljenja”) do not seem to exhibit bias towards any side.

The first subheading “Pitanje nacionalizma” brings negative connotations by introducing the question of nationalism into the story; however, in the text that follows this possibility is discarded by a quotation of a YES voter saying that his choice is not motivated by nationalism; independent Scotland is simply the better option for them when he considers the economic factors (“Škotska je jedina zemlja, uz Iran, koja je nakon pronalaska nafte postala siromašnija, a ne bogatija. Ne radi se tu o nacionalizmu, nego o boljoj opciji – uvjeren je Hugh.”), which suggests relationality between the economic disadvantage and the Scottish status in the UK. Moreover, in this entire part of the text, from the subtitle “Pitanje nacionalizma” until the next subtitle “Cameronova dilemma” only YES voters were given a voice.

The subtitle “Cameronova dilema” announces two paragraphs about the difficult situation David Cameron will be in in case of the separatists’ victory, putting in the foreground his concessions to Scottish demands and describing him as the absolute loser of the referendum, regardless of how the people vote (“Niti jedan od mogućih scenarija, koji će postati jasniji večeras, nakon zatvaranja birališta, za Davida Camerona neće biti pobjednički.”), which is complemented by the graphically highlighted comment that summarizes that paragraph (“Cameron ne može pobijediti. Ako se odcijepi, izgubio je dio zemlje, a ako ostanu, mora im dati više moći”). The third and fourth subtitle, on the other hand, emphasize the current lead of the NO vote and the possible negative consequences of the separation (“Financijski poremećaj”, “52 posto stanovnika još uvijek protiv neovisnosti”).

Since the article mostly consists of direct quotations and the author’s comments, the attention that was given to both options measured in the number of words may be a good indicator of voicing and representation in this case. After a word count of direct quotations we come to the conclusion that both sides got almost the exact amount of attention – 166 words for the separatists and 165 words for the unionists. However, there are significant differences in the content of the quotations chosen by the author.

When it comes to voters, four of them were given a voice: one of them is a NO voter that in her only sentence expresses her fear of the separation (“Nicolina mlađa kolegica Gillian nada se da će danas prevladati njezin glas za ostanak - Bojim se da bi odvajanje Škotske bilo previše riskantno – tvrdi Gillian.”).

The YES voters’ quotations, on the other hand, express arguments in favour of independence regarding the economic (“Škotska je jedina zemlja, uz Iran, koja je nakon pronalaska nafte postala siromašnija, a ne bogatija”), political as well as emotional aspects of the separation (“Sigurna sam da bi u samostalnoj Škotskoj moje dijete odrastalo s više samopouzdanja jer bi živjelo u zemlji u kojoj građani imaju priliku odlučivati – objašnjava.”) and express faith in the Scottish people (“Ova generacija ima energiju da zaokruži ‘da’.”). They are also given a chance to demonize the English and victimize themselves by creating a threat of them (“Nervozna sam. Ako ne prođe naš glas za nezavisnost, bit ćemo u velikim problemima. Ne samo zato što nećemo ostvariti ovu jedinstvenu priliku da sami biramo svoju vladu, nego i strahujem da će nas Englezi na neki način kazniti – kaže Nicola, 39-godišnja krojačica.”).

When we observe the words of politicians we come across of a quantitatively opposite situation, but contentwise still unfavourable for the unionists: in this case David Cameron was

given much more attention than Alex Salmond (65 words for Cameron as opposed to 15 words for Salmond); however, the choice of quotations is highly indicative and reveals bias against the unionists.

Salmond's and Cameron's words are always in direct proximity to one another in order to create an impression of dialogical interaction, in which Salmond's dominance is always supported by positive lexicalization, while Cameron appears to be inferior to him.

Although in few words, Alex Salmond is portrayed as a positive leader, while Cameron is shown as desperate and ready to do anything to stop the separation (“On (Salmond) je poručio biračima da ignoriraju ‘sve očajnije i apsurdnije strašne price’ Downing Streeta i da vjeruju u sebe.”, “...Salmond ta (Cameronova) obećanja naziva ‘nekonkretnima’ i ‘znakom potkupljivanja’.”). He describes the referendum using a hyperbolized phrase that refers to it as a historic event of unprecedented importance (“U otvorenom pismu biračima, škotski prvi minister Alex Salmond izjavio je da referendum predstavlja ‘najveći trenutak koji ćemo ikad imati’.”). Cameron, on the other hand, is portrayed as weak, desperate and the person to blame if he “loses Scotland” (“Ako sutra Škotska de facto ne bude dio Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, David Cameron bit će zapisan u povijest kao premijer koji je ‘izgubio Škotsku’, ‘Premijer je priznao da zbog povijesnog referendum noću ne spava.’, “U potezu koji je interpretiran kao paničan, britanski premijer David Cameron i još dvojica čelnika glavnih stranaka u Westminsteru obećali su u utorak ‘nove, velike ovlasti’ Škotskoj ako donese odluku protiv neovisnosti.”). Furthermore, in his last formal address before the referendum, which is his longest quotation in the article, he repeats the phrase “molim vas” (please) three times, (“Kada donosite konačnu odluku, molim vas, molim vas, ne dopustite nikome da vam kaže da ne možete istovremeno biti ponosni Škoti i ponosni Britanci. Molim vas, nemojte izgubiti vjeru u ono što ova zemlja jest i što može postati. Ne okrećite leđa onome što je najbolja obitelj nacija na svijetu i najveća nada za vašu obitelj na ovome svijetu.”). He uses the hyperbole extensively and the conceptual metaphor he constructs is “The United Kingdom is a family”. For comparison, what Cameron calls a family Mark Field describes as a bad marriage of nations (“loš brak nacija”), also constructing a metaphor with very clear source and target domain.

The author emphasizes his unfavourable position by mentioning that his own party colleagues do not support him and accuse him of yielding to Scottish demands (“S druge strane, pak, Cameronovi torijevci se ljute zbog politike popustljivosti i najavljuju pobunu ako premijer održi obećanja.”).

Not only are politicians individually polarized in this sense, the same strategy is visible in the portrayal of the English and the Scots as nations. The English are either collectively demonized or shown as weak (“... strahujem da će nas Englezi na neki način kazniti”, “Bilo je tu obećanja, kalkulacija i preklinjanja, katkad s emocionalnim prizvukom čak i od poslovnično hladnih Engleza.”), while the author makes no remarks about the Scots.

Only when we include the comments of MPs that are in a separate part of the article where there are no author’s comments do we get a more balanced representation. Here we come across the first description of England’s superiority (“Ako Škotska glasa za odlazak, Engleska će biti pobjednik. Uskoro ćemo vidjeti sjajnu budućnosti koju bi Engleska mogla imati.”) and one negative portrayal of Scots, showing them as irrational nationalists (“Škotski nacionalisti krive svoj odnos s Londonom za sve škotske problem, koji su ustvari problem većine zapadnih demokracija.”).

In conclusion, it can be argued that this article constructs a narrative in which the translation strategies and the rhetoric reveal there is a recognisable ingroup, identifiable by the positive lexicalization supporting Alex Salmond and the separatists and an outgroup, marked by negative lexicalization connected to David Cameron and the unionists.

6.2.4 Novi list and Zadarski list

The article has a heading (“Sudbina Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva. Danas škotski birači odlučuju hoće li napustiti zajednicu koja postoji 307 godina ili će u njoj ostati”), a main title (“POVIJESNA DVOJBA Škotsko ‘biti ili ne bit’”), a subtitle under the main title (“Škotski premijer i najveći zagovornik neovisnosti Alex Salmond uputio je otvoreno pismo biračima. **Predstojeći referendum za njega je ‘najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati’**”), two subtitles in the text (“Buđenje u boljoj zemlji”, “Manja nezaposlenost”), a schematic representation of the British flag with a title (“Union Jack: prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost”) and explanations, a graphically highlighted poll result with a picture (“ANKETA Posljednja anketa pokazuje da će 52 posto onih koji će sigurno izaći na biralište glasati za ostanak u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a njih 48 posto podržat će neovisnost”) and two photographs with captions (“Zagovornici škotske samostalnosti vjeruju da će danas uspjeti biti brojniji od sunarodnjaka koji bi radije ostali u Uniji”, “Učinimo to!- škostki premijer Alex Salmond”).

The heading, the main title and the title above the schematic representation of the flag do not exhibit obvious ideological positioning; however, all the other graphically highlighted parts of the text represent a certain point of view. The main subtitle (“Škotski premijer i najveći zagovornik neovisnosti Alex Salmond uputio je otvoreno pismo biračima. Predstojeći referendum za njega je ‘najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati’ ”), two photographs (“Zagovornici škotske samostalnosti vjeruju da će danas uspjeti biti brojniji od sunarodnjaka koji bi radije ostali u Uniji”, “Učinimo to!- škotski premijer Alex Salmond”) and the first subtitle in the text (“Buđenje u novoj zemlji”) are dedicated to Alex Salmond and YES voters, showing them as confident and ready for a better future. The second subtitle “Manja nezaposlenost”, corroborated by statistical data regarding the economic development of Scotland within the UK, and the graphically highlighted poll results (“Anketa. Posljednja anketa pokazuje da će 52 posto onih koji će sigurno izaći na biralište glasati za ostanak u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a njih 48 posto podržat će neovisnost”) represent the NO vote and show their current dominance.

After the initial analysis, from the quantitative point of view, the schematic structure of this text seems to be favourable for the independence movement, but when other aspects of the text are taken into account the results become ambiguous. The subtitle “Buđenje u boljoj zemlji” is emotionally charged and creates positive imagery for the readers; however, such claims remain to be unsubstantiated by any concrete data in the article, while the subtitle “Manja nezaposlenost” is followed by statistics about new jobs and the decrease in unemployment rates, showing the economic stability of Scotland in the UK (“Uoči referenduma objavljeno je da je broj nezaposlenih u Škotskoj između svibnja i srpnja smanjen za 15.000, otvoreno je 45.000 novih radnih mjesta, nezaposlenost iznosi šest posto, što je manje od britanskog prosjeka koji iznosi 6,2 posto.”). Since there is, as already discussed, a tendency to present the advantages of the group we identify with in a concrete and visual manner and to leave the good sides of the outgroup abstract and implicit, this leads to the conclusion that this particular part of the text reflects ideological positioning favourable for the unionist faction. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that in no place is it explained how or whether the lower unemployment rates were connected to the central British government, these statistics were simply listed in a paragraph that listed the advantages of staying in the UK, suggesting relationality between the two.

Discrepancies do not end here, there are also noticeable discrepancies in the aspect of representation. When analysing the voicing in this text a word count would not be a reliable

indicator of representation because the author uses paraphrasing and indirect quotations more than direct quotations. This is why in this case only the number of people whose opinions are voiced in the text will be taken into account, since the difference in this aspect alone is highly indicative. The opportunity to express their support to Scotland's remaining in the UK was given to five politicians (Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy, the leader of the NO campaign Alistair Darling, British Prime Minister David Cameron, former British Prime Minister from Scotland Gordon Brown, former President of the USA Bill Clinton) and 14 military, navy and air force commanders, whose opinion on the defence aspect of the possible separation was delivered as a joint statement. The separatist option, on the other hand, is covered by one person only – the Scottish Prime Minister Alex Salmond. This reveals a significant difference in representation opportunities. These numbers could, at first glance, be interpreted as an obvious bias against the independence; however, a deeper analysis of the content and the rhetoric of their words discloses another discrepancy in that respect. Namely, the rhetoric around Salmond and the separatist camp is accompanied by positive lexicalization (“-Probudimo se u petak ujutro u boljoj zemlji, poručio je Salmond.”) and his quotation is graphically highlighted in two places (“Škotski premijer i najveći zagovornik neovisnosti Alex Salmond uputio je otvoreno pismo biračima. Predstojeći referendum za njega je “najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati”, “Učinimo to!- škotski premijer Alex Salmond”).

The politicians of the NO side are quantitatively better represented, but their words reveal fear and inferiority. The author quotes Mariano Rajoy, the Spanish Prime Minister, using the metaphor “On je izjavio da bi **neovisnost Škotske i Katalonije torpedirala Europsku Uniju...**”, which is constructed on the conceptual metaphor Proclamation of independence is an act of war or Referendum is a weapon, where the European Union, and by extension Spain and the UK are endangered by the current independence movements. Their inferiority is reflected in the negative lexicalization in other politicians' words as well: Alistair Darling describes the possible separation scenario as a tragedy (“Izglasavanje neovisnosti bi za Alistaira Darlinga, koji vodi kampanju protiv neovisnosti, bila tragedija.”), while David Cameron is described as worried and nervous (“Britanski premijer David Cameron dan prije referendum priznao je da je zabrinut...”, “Svatko tko brine o Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a ja itekako brinem o njemu, je nervozan.”).

The results of the analysis of this article remain inconclusive. The text shows many ambiguities in the representation of both options at all levels of discourse which makes it hard to argue that the author shows an inclination towards a certain option.

7. Conclusion

The comparative analysis of the translations of statements by David Cameron, Alex Salmond, other MPs and celebrities revealed considerable transformations of source texts, which resulted in changes of news angle and in reinforcement of the negative portrayal of David Cameron and his camp. The analysis of four articles published in *Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list*, *Novi list*, *Zadarski list* and *24 SATA* conducted within the theoretical framework of PDA has shown that in three of the articles favourable representation of the YES option in the Scottish independence referendum is indicated, which suggests that the initial assumption about the bias towards the YES option is confirmed. This leaves room for further research that would bring this bias into a more direct correlation with the assumption that the Croatian referendum of independence in 1991 has created a mental model of such events, influencing the understanding, interpretation and representation of the Scottish referendum.

It should be emphasized that the research was conducted on a relatively small corpus and the limitations of PDA should be borne in mind. In addition, Van Dijk's non-deterministic view of ideology should not be forgotten. It must be taken into account that discourse analysis is, as already discussed, only one level of analysis that may reveal relations between ideology and discourse; social analysis, cognitive analysis and personal cognition were not a part of this research and these factors have certainly influenced the authors of the articles, as well as the analyst.

Although a discourse analysis revealed a certain bias towards the independence supporters, there was no explicit favourization of either side, no parallels were drawn to the Croatian referendum of 1991 in the texts and there were obvious attempts to convince the reader to support either option, which is not surprising considering the fact that thirteen years have passed since the Croatian referendum took place. It would be interesting to see in further research how the same event was covered by the media in the countries that were at that time in a similar situation as the United Kingdom and compare, e.g. the articles in different Spanish or Turkish newspapers, which then had the opportunity to directly influence the events in their own country by creating mental models and shaping public opinion.

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APPENDIX 1

Rašeta, Boris. "ŠKOTSKA vs. BRITANIJA," 24 SATA. Sept. 18, 2014.

ČETVRTAK, 18. 9. 2014. | PANORAMA | 24 SATA | 30

FELJTON

NA REFERENDUMU U ČETVRTAK GL

ŠKOTSKA vs

ODU LI, ŠKOTI ĆE GRADITI SOCIJALNU DRŽAVU.
OSTANU LI, DOBIT ĆE VIŠE SAMOSTALNOSTI

Piše: BORIS RAŠETA

Nakon škotskog referenduma, kakav god bio rezultat, Britanija više neće biti ista. Ne samo to. Čini se da neće biti isti ni svijet. Referendum, naime, znači tektonski potres u najstabilnijoj složenoj državi zapada, kraljevini koja od 1707. godine nije imala revoluciju i kojom mirno vlada ista dinastija.

Što su motivi škotskih birača? Postoje dvije teorije. Jedna, "teorija srca", govori kako će škotski birači odlučivati emotivno, ne vodeći računa o brojevima. A oni su, uostalom, posve oprečni – prema studiji koju su naručili secesionisti, svaki će Škot, zbog bogatih izvora nafte i manjih poreznih davanja u središnju blagajnu, godišnje raspolagati s 1000 funti više. A studija koju je naručio London pokazuje da će svaki Škot u samostalnoj državi ostati uskraćen za sličan iznos. Nitko ne zna koji je nalaz točan, ali – nadvladali "pristup srca", to ionako

neće biti važno. I zagovornici Unije barataju argumentima srca. Britanski premijer David Cameron u Edinburghu je priznao kako bi mu se "srce slomilo" ako Škoti odu. On ih je, kako se izrazio, "očajnički zamolio" da ne razbijaju obitelj nego da prihvate najbolje od "oba svijeta". Na upit zašto se toliko zalaže za ostanak Škotske u Velikoj Britaniji, kad bi bez nje, prema svim procjenama, njegova Konzervativna stranka bolje prošla na svibanjskim izborima, uzvratilo je da rekavši da više voli svoju zemlju nego svoju stranku.

HOĆE LI NA REFERENDUMU PRESUDITI SRCE ILI NOVČANIK?

Od Škota je zatražio "otreznjenje" upozorivši ih kako je odcjepljenje, ni manje ni više nego skok u mračnu provaliju. Cameronova "osjećajnost" nije neshvatljiva – nije baš zgodno ući u povijest kao premijer kojemu se raspala Velika Britanija...

Racionalni, ekonomistički argumenti pristaša samostalnosti vrte se oko nafte. Tako je profesor Alex Camp, ugledni energetski stručnjak, objavio prognozu prema kojoj će u sljedećih 30 godina u Sjevernom moru početi crpljenje 99 novih nalazišta nafte, a stručnjaci iz drugih oblasti tvrde kako će se neovisna Škotska brzo naći u društvu 20 najbogatijih zemalja svijeta, značajno iznad britanske razine. Ovdje se donekle pomaljaju i obrisi socijalne revolucije. Značajan dio pristaša samostalnosti u neovisnoj državi vidi priliku za realizaciju skandinavskog tipa države blagostanja. Engleska je, naime, jedno od rodnijskih mjesta neoliberalizma; Margaret Thatcher na Škotima je vježbala svoje ekonomske recepte koji počivaju na vjeri u svemoć tržišta, a zagovornici odcjepljenja preferiraju socijalizam. "Ja ću glasovati za neovisnost, ne zato što

sam nacionalist nego zato što sam socijaldemokrat", piše Agnus Roxburgh u New Statesmanu, "i ne zato što mrzim Engleze (kako bih i mogao kad sam godinama živio u Engleskoj i cijeloga života radio s Englezima?) nego zato što sam Škot i zato što vjerujem da ćemo mi, zbog nacionalnog identiteta i vrijednosti, bolje upravljati svojom zemljom ako to budemo činili u svoje ime". - Neovisna Škotska bit će bogata poput Norveške zbog zalih nafte u Sjevernom moru jer sad u proračun uplaćuje više od ostatka zemlje – kaže premijer Alex Salmond, glavni promotor odcjepljenja.

- Možemo izgraditi pravednije društvo – kaže on. Najpoznatiji zagovornik odvajanja Škota iz 307 godina dugog saveza je glumac Sean Connery, koji kaže:

- Vizija samostalne Škotske ukorijenjena je u vjeri u ideju prema kojoj će škotski narod sam najbolje čuvati demokratske vrijednosti.

Glumac Gerard Butler kaže da ne vidi ni jedan razlog zbog kojeg Škotska ne bi bila samostalna, a njegov kolega Allan Cumming tomu dodaje svoj argument:

- U zadnjih 15 godina postali smo jači, ekonomski, kulturno i socijalno. Svijet nas čeka, mi smo spremni.

ŠKOTI, SLOMIT ĆETE MI SRCE ODETE LI
Britanski premijer Cameron Škote je pokušao zaplašiti nizom poteškoća koje će ih zadesiti ako odu i povlastica koje će zadržati ako ostanu. Kraljica im je poručila da "dobro razmislite"



WASHINGTON JE JASNO REKAO DA S

ASUJU O SUDBINI VELIKE BRITANIJE

S. BRITANIJA

ODLUČIMO SAMI O SUDBINI SVOJE ŠKOTSKE

Većina zagovornika odcjepljenja slaže se da će Škoti sami bolje i pametnije odlučivati o svojoj sudbini nego što je to proteklih stoljeća radio London



Autorica "Harryja Pottera" J.K. Rowling zagovornica je zajedničke države. Ona je u kampanju za ostanak Škotske uložila milijun funti.

- Britanija je bolja sa Škotskom u svom sastavu - rekla je Rowling.

- Moja neodlučnost u prihvaćanju neovisnosti nema nikakve veze s nedostatkom vjere u Škotsku. Jednostavna istina glasi: Škotska u 21. stoljeću podliježe istim pravilima kao i ostatak svijeta. Mora se natjecati na istim globalnim tržištima, braniti se od istih prijetnji i boriti se za krhki gospodarski oporavak.

A to je, prema njezinoj mišljenju, lakše u većoj zajednici.

Ovaj će referendum biti važan svjetski presedan. Mirne demontaže složenih država rijetkost su i na demokratskom Zapadu.

Katalonci se već tjednima pozivaju na škotski primjer. Bruxelles strahuje od eventualnog uspjeha referenduma jer širom Europe postoji mnogo neuralgičnih točaka koje će se otvoriti kao domine. Italija je nedavno jedva smirila separatizam bogatog sjevera, Padanije.

ŠKOTI BI VIŠE SOCIJALIZMA A MANJE KAPITALIZMA

Španjolska ima dvije separatizmu sklone pokrajine, Francuska strepi od Korzičke, Balkan je bure baruta, Kavkaz kuha, Krim se odcijepio, a istok Ukrajine čeka neizvjesna sudbina. Šef Krima Semionov rekao je ovih dana, ne skrivajući veselje nad rastom popularnosti škotskih suverenista, kako će Zapad, odcijepi li se Škotska, morati priznati i odcjepljenje Krima. Bitna je ipak razlika to što se London s referendumom slaže a Kijev ne. Ima i analitičara koji vjeruju da je ovo tek početak domino efekta i u Britaniji - već se čuju glasovi iz Walesa koji najavljuju primjenu škotskih recepata. Tržišta novca osnažit će funtu za pet posto, kažu stručnjaci, ako Škotska ostane u zajednici. Napusti li je, britanska valuta past će za pet posto.

NASTAVAK NA SLJEDEĆOJ STRANICI

OSAMOSTALJENJE ŠKOTSKE PROTIV SJDINJENE DRŽAVE

FELJTON



VRIJEME ODLUKE Alex Salmond, škotski premijer, uvjeren je da će postati neovisni jer "dobro zna što narod govori"

Cameron prijeti "kineskim zidovima" i **nepopravljivim štetama**, no Škoti kažu: "Nikamo ne idemo. Ostajemo tu, ali kao gospodari svoje sudbine"

Velika Britanija u svakom će se slučaju mijenjati. Odcijepi li se Škoti, vjerojatno će se mijenjati ime koje je zemlja uzela nakon što su parlament Škotske i Engleske prije tri stoljeća izglasali uniju. Cinici kažu da će se zemlja tad zvati Mala Britanija. Ima logike – Škotska ima tek nešto više od pet milijuna stanovnika, ali prostorno čini veliki komad Otoka. Hoće li Škotska zadržati funtu? Hoće li ostati članica Europske unije ili će morati proći kandidacijski postupak? Hoće li Elizabeta ostati kraljica? Škoti žele zadržati monarhiju i Elizabetu – koja se nedavno oglasila pitijskom izjavom, prema kojoj "Škoti trebaju dobro razmisliti prije no što donesu konačnu odluku" – omiljen je lik u separatističkoj pokrajini. Niti na jedno od tih pitanja još nema jasnog odgovora.

ZNA SE
James Bond
Connery ne
želi više biti "u
službi Njezina



David Cameron prilično je turbobnim bojama oslikao budućnost samostalne Škotske. - To ne bi bilo sudsko razdvajanje, to bi bio bolni razvod - rekao je u Edinburghu.

ODETE LI OD NAS, MOŽETE RAČUNATI NA MANJE MIROVINE

- Kao premijer, moram vam reći što bi to značilo. To bi značilo da više nećemo imati istu valutu. To bi značilo da bi naše oružane snage, koje smo zajedno gradili stoljećima, bile razdvojene zauvijek. Mirovinski fondovi bili bi smanjeni. Granice koje imamo postale bi međunarodne i preko njih se možda više ne bi moglo tako lako prelaziti. To bi automatski značilo da više nemate potporu koju danas dobivate od britanskih ambasada kad putujete svijetom. To bi značilo da bi preko polovice škotskih hipoteka odjednom bilo

pod ovlašću stranih banaka. To bi značilo da kamate u Škotskoj više ne određuje Bank of England (op.a. britanska središnja banka), sa svom stabilnošću i sigurnošću, a ako banke koje ostanu u Škotskoj ikad zapadnu u probleme, škotski porezni obveznici, i samo škotski porezni obveznici, snosili bi trošak - najavio je Cameron. London Škotskoj nudi, ostane li u zajedničkoj državi, niz pogodnosti - veću kontrolu nad porezima i blagajnom, veća socijalna prava, ukratko, više autonomije. Mnogi Škoti zalazu se za puno veću autonomiju čak i ako Škoti ostanu u Britaniji – oni za proljeće spremaju veliki skup, na kojem će odrediti nove, federalističke zahtjeve prema Londonu.

PREDNOST UNIONISTA SE ISTOPILA, ŠANSE SU 50:50

Neovisna Škotska mogla bi se suočiti i s demografskim problemom. U Škotskoj radi premalo ljudi, a očekuje se da će se neravnoteža (3,2 radnika na jednog umirovljenika) dodatno produbiti. Osim toga, Škoti, demografski, imaju sve starije stanovništvo. To znači da će rasti troškovi mirovina i zdravstvenog osiguranja, što

će stvoriti dodatni pritisak na javni sektor i ugroziti vladine planove o gomilanju naftnih prihoda u državni fond. Kad problem Škotske bude skinut s dnevnog reda, na vratima će se pojaviti novi. Europa je ušla u renesansu nacija, stanje podsjeća na 1914. godinu, ali postoji labava nada da smo iz povijesti ipak nešto naučili. Strasna, ali civilizirana britanska rasprava o sudbini Škotske, sama po sebi dobar je, ali nedovoljan znak mirne budućnosti. Izlazak Škotske iz Britanije značio bi i ponovno preispitivanje članstva ove zemlje u NATO-u, pa Washington vrlo nerado gleda na referendum. Odu li Škoti, to će svakako biti briljantan dokaz demokratičnosti britanskog ustroja, ali će biti i pokazatelj slabljenja zapadnog saveza, u kojemu nacionalni individualizam odnosi prevagu pred solidarnošću sa širom zajednicom. Ishod je neizvjestan. Do prije koji mjesec, unionisti su imali golemu prevagu, ali njihova se prednost istopila. Omjer za i protiv izlaska Škotske je oko 50/50, pa će svaki glas biti važan. Kladionice predviđaju neuspjeh referenduma... ali s malim koeficijentima...

APPENDIX 2

Muhar, Ana. "Uoči referenduma napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju," *Jutarnji list*. Sept. 18, 2014.

8

četvrtak
18. rujna 2014.

jutarnji.vijesti

UKRATKO

NOVA VLADA Zeljezna Maggie na čelu Belgije

Belgija bi mogla dobiti prvu premijerku - Maggie De Block iz flamanske stranke VLD, koju još nazivaju Zeljezna Maggie zbog oštrog stava prema imigraciji. Ona je ministrica togresora, a i pobjednica anketa u kojima su građanidali svojemišljenje o tome tko bi trebao biti idući premijer. Belgija je, kao iobično, u procesu formiranja vlade čiji se kraj uskoro očekuje. ■ A. H.



PREDSJEDNIK SAD-a

Obama tvrdi: Ebola izmiče kontroli

Američki predsjednik Barack Obama dramatično je upozorio svijet da epidemija ebrole u Africi "izmiče našoj kontroli". Obama je izjavio kako svijet treba učiniti više kako, ako reakcija bude dobra, mogu biti spašeni životi stotine tisuća ljudi. Također je najavio uspostavu zračnog koridora prema zapadnoj Africi i baze u Senegalu kako bi se unaprijedila pomoć. ■ A. H.

48

Sirijaca

popinulo je u dvodnevnom napadu al-Asadovih snaga

RUSKI MINISTAR

Lavrov tepe Afriku: Vi ste stup svijeta

Ruski ministar vanjskih poslova Sergej Lavrov izjavio je tijekom posjeta Zimbabveu da je "Afrika stup razvijajućeg svjetskog poretka". I dok je Rusija izolirana ekonomskim sankcijama Zapada zbog Ukrajine, Lavrov je u naturnej, čiji je cilj poboljšati veze s Afrikom, svoga domaćina, predsjednika Roberta Mugabea koji je također pod sankcijama, nazvao legendom i povijesnom ličnošću. ■ A. H.



NOVINARKA JUTARNJEG IZRAVNO IZ



Novinarka Jutarnjeg u Edinburghu (lijevo). Članovi tiste obitelji (gore) ne mogu se usuglasiti oko odgovora



Uoči referenduma napetosti u Velikoj Britaniji ključaju

Škotska je oštro podijeljena, ljudi u istoj obitelji ne mogu se složiti oko odcjepljenja

IZ EDINBURGHA
ANA MUHAR

Skupine turista koje su se jučer provlačile centrom Edinburgha, osvjetljene trgovine kiltova, viskija i ostalih škotskih suvenira te sivi jesenski pokrivac nad gradom dočaravali su posve uobičajeni dan. No, samo naoko. Ovo su povijesni trenuci i jučer, kad su nas samo sati dijelili od otvaranja birališta, referendum je bio središnja misao svakog Škota.

Nervozna sam. Ako ne prođe naš glas za nezavisnost, bit ćemo u velikim problemima. Ne samo zato što nećemo ostvariti ovu jedinstvenu priliku da sami biramo svoju vladu, nego i strahujem da će nas Englezi na neki način kazniti - kaže Nicola, 39-godišnja krojačica.

Baš kao i cijela Škotska, radionica Gordon Nichols Nicoltmakers je podijeljena. Nicolina mlada kolegica Gillian nada se da će danas prevladati njezin glas za ostanak - Bojim se da bi odvajanje Škotske bilo previše riskantno - tvrdi Gillian.

Pitanje nacionalizma

Ispred Holyrooda, škotskog parlamenta, susrećem mladu obitelj koja je posljednjih mjeseci intenzivno sudjelovala u kampanji. Hugh je Englez iz Nottinghama koji se pridružio skupini Engleski Škoti za 'da'. Sa svojom suprugom Skotkinjom živi u Edinburghu i smatra da je Škotska nezavisnost najbolja opcija.

- Škotska je jedina zemlja, uz Iran, koja je nakon pronalaska nafte postala siromašnija, a ne bogatija. Ne radi se tu o nacionalizmu, nego

o boljoj opciji - uvjeren je Hugh.

Njegova supruga Pauline osjeća odgovornost u ovoj povijesnoj odluci. - Moj djed ima 90 godina, moj sin je tek ro-



POSLEDNJE ANKETE POKAZUJU VRLO TJESNU UTRKU

52 POSTO STANOVNIKA JOŠ UVIJEK PROTIV NEOVISNOSTI

Tabor "za" i onaj protiv nezavisnosti Škotske uputili su u srijedu svoje posljednje poruke građanima, dan prije referenduma na kojemu će odlučiti hoće li napustiti 307 godina dugu zajednicu s ostatkom Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva. Ispitivanja javnog mišljenja pokazuju da će rezultati referenduma biti neizvjesni do samoga kraja. Tri ispitivanja,

koje su proveli ICM, Survation i Opinium, objavljena u utork navečer, pokazuju da je 52 posto Škota protiv nezavisnosti, dok 48 posto želi otcjepljenje. U otvorenom pismu biračima, škotski prvi ministar Alex Salmond izjavio je da referendum predstavlja "najveći trenutak koji ćemo ikad imati". On je poručio biračima da ignoriraju "sve očajnije i apsurd-

nije strašne priče" Downing Streeta i da vjeruju u sebe. Salmond tvrdi da će Škotska biti dobrodošla u EU. U potezu kojij interpretiran kao paničan, britanski premijer David Cameron još dvojica članka glavnih stranaka u Westminsteru obećali su utork "nove, velike ovlasti" Škotskoj ako donese odluku protiv nezavisnosti. ■

POPLAVE Drama kod Virovitice zbog vodenog vala koji putuje Dravom

Evakuiraju se svi stanovnici Novoga Graca

Hrvatske vode naložile su početak evakuacije stanovništva u mjestu Novi Gradac kod Virovitice, za koje je procijenjena najkritičnija situacija uoči nailaska vodenog vala Dravom.

Postupno smanjenje

Izvijestio je o tome zamjenik rukovoditelja Centra obrane od poplava Sektora B čija je zona obuhvata cijeli tok Dunava kroz Hrvatsku te 175 km

tolka Drave od Terezinog polja do ušća u Dunav.

- Vodostaj Drave bit će gotovo metar niži u odnosu na prošlu godinu, no na nekim mjestima očekujemo probleme i tamo se pripremamo za loše scenarije.

Probleme također očekujemo i u mjestu Sveti Đurad kod Donjeg Miholjca, gdje je potencijalno ugroženo šest kuća u najnižem dijelu naselja - rekao je Haničar, dodavši



Šest mjeseci nakon katastrofalnih poplava, Hrvatska opet pod vodom

i kako bi se vodeni val koji je kod Botova trebao postupno smanjivati.

Čvrsti nasipi

Drava će kod Osijeka porasti za još 80-ak cm u odnosu na

335 cm koliko je izmjereno u srijedu, čime će se izliti na ionako poplavno područje svoje lijeve obale, ali kuće u Tvrdavici i Podravlju neće ugroziti, jer ih štiti nasip. ■ N. Patković

POMOĆ KOMISIJE

Obuka za MUP protiv e-kriminala

Hrvatska policija će se, u suradnji s kolegama iz Austrije i Španjolske, usavršavati u suzbijanju kibernetičkog kriminala, a Europska unija za to je izdvojila čak 700 tisuća eura.

- Uspostavom programa obuke cilj je osnažiti kapacitete MUP-a za učinkovitu borbu protiv kibernetičkog kriminala - ističu u MUP-u nakon što je projekt financiran u sklopu programa Europske unije IPA predstavljen u Ravnateljstvu policije. ■

EDINBURGH U OČI ODCJEPLJENJA ŠKOTSKE



cija ima energiju da zaokruži 'da' - slazu se oboje.
Nakon tisuću dana kampanje, koja je kulminirala posljednjih tjedan dana kada su, čini se, obje strane argumentima uistinu osvijestene implikacije oba scenarija, jučer je bio njezin finale.

Cameronova dilema

Bilo je tu obećanja, kalkulacija i preklinjanja, katkad s emocionalnim prizvukom čak i od poslovično hladnih Engleza. U svom posljednjem službenom obraćanju u povodu škotskog referenduma David Cameron je rekao: - Kada donosite konačnu odluku, molim vas, molim vas, ne dopustite nikome da vam kaže da ne možete istovremeno biti ponosni Škoti i ponosni Britanci. Molim vas, nemojte izgubiti vjeru u ono što ova zemlja jest i što može postati. Ne otkrećite leda onome što je najbolja obitelj nacija na svijetu i najveća nada za vašu obitelj na ovome svijetu.
Premijer je priznao da

Cameron ne može pobijediti. Ako se odcijepi, izgubio je dio zemlje, a ako ostanu, mora im dati više moći

zbog povijesnog referenduma noću ne spava. Tome bi razlog mogao biti i veliki politički pritisak na britanskog premijera unutar vlastite stranke. Naime, u nastojanju privlačenja što većeg broja glasača unionista Cameron je obećao "veća prava i odgovornosti" škotskom parlamentu.

S jedne strane, smouveni prvi ministar Škotske Alex Salmond ta obećanja naziva "nekonkretnima" i "znakom potkupljenja".
S druge, pak, Cameronovi torijevci se ljute zbog politike popustljivosti i najavljuju pobunu ako premijer održi obećanja. Niti jedan od mogućih scenarija, koji će postati ja sniji večeras, nakon zatvara-

nja birališta, za Davida Camerona neće biti pobjednički. Ako sutra Škotska de facto više ne bude dio Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, David Cameron bit će zapisan u povijest kao premijer koji je "izgubio Škotsku". Ako, pak, Škoti glasaju za ostanak u tri stotlješa dugom partnerstvu, nema sumnje da će vršiti pritisak na Camerona da prepusti dio ovlasti, novca i moći.

Financijski poremećaj

Dok se nagada o mogućim rezultatima i problemima koje će oni donijeti, financijsko središte Britanije za država daš. Nedavna anketa, koja je ukazivala na odvajanje Škotske, već je unijela poremećaj i funta je znatno pala. Uoči objave rezultata referenduma banke odvoze milijune novčanica u škotske poslovne, očekujući znatni porast potražnje funti ako većina Škota na pitanje "Treba li Škotska biti nezavisna?" odgovori "Da".

Podijeljeni zastupnici parlamenta

NIGEL ADAMS - NE

"Moglo bi doći do ozbiljnih financijskih posljedica odlučili Škotska napustiti Uniju. Također mislim da će to imati dalekosežnije posljedice na Europu ako separatističke skupine također pozele postati nezavisne."

RORY STEWART - NE

"Škotski nacionalisti krive svoj odnos s Londonom za sve Škotske probleme, koji su ustavn problem većine zapadnih demokracija. Umjesto da pokušaju izvući najbolje od Londona, oni ga tretiraju kao prijetnju. Njihov odgovor na fundamentalne probleme je pokušaj smanjenja njihovih kompleksnosti gradnjom granica."

JOHN REDWOOD - DA

"Ako Škotska glasa za odlazak, Engleska će biti pobjednik. Uskoro ćemo vidjeti glavnu budućnost koju bi Engleska mogla imati."

MARK FIELD - DA

"Ostanu li Škoti u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, politička klasa neće je jedinom omogućiti da nezadovoljstva tinjaju u lošem braku nacija."

HARRIET HARMAN - NE

"Mimamo ostanak obitelji, u protivnom ćemo jedni drugima biti stranci, a to ni za koga neće biti dobro."

Strah od neizvjesnosti će presuditi

PIŠE
AUGUSTIN PALOKAJ



Škoti danas imaju priliku koju neki drugi narodi u EU neće imati. Oni, ako žele, danas mogu odlučiti da se Škotska odcijepi od Velike Britanije i postane neovisna država. Ali, Škoti će najvjerojatnije glasati većinom protiv neovisnosti zbog nepredvidljivosti koju samostalnost donosi. Jedna od tih nepoznanica je sudbina članstva Škotske u EU. U principu, novostvorena država bi trebala od početka aplicirati za članstvo u međunarodnim organizacijama, pa tako i u EU i NATO-u. Procedura bi trajala nekoliko godina, a ishod je neizvjestan jer se i u EU i u NATO-u sve odluke o daljnjem proširenju usvajaju jednoglasno, dakle svaka postojeća država članica ima pravo veta.

Za razliku od Škota čiju bi neovisnost London priznao, takvu priliku neće imati Katalonci jer Madrid ne bi samo njihov referendum proglasio ilegalnim, nego bi iskoristio i članstvo u EU za

Odcjepljenje Škotske moglo bi biti presedan za EU koji će promijeniti kartu Europe

blokiranje pokušaja članstva Katalonije. A za razliku od Škota, Katalonci bi, da imaju priliku, gotovo sigurno izabrali neovisnost.

Današnji referendum u Škotskoj je ipak izazvao strah u Bruxellesu. Dosad je teritorij jedne države postao dio Europske unije time što se pripojio jednoj državi članici. Dogodilo se to nakon ujedinjenja Njemačke. Ah, nikada se nije dogodilo da se dio teritorija jedne države članice osamostaliti.

Zato Škoti, Katalonci i dio Flamanaca vjeruju da bi se unutar EU moglo pronaći rješenje prema kojemu bi bilo moguće napustiti jednu državu članicu, ali ostati u EU. Naravno, Škotska sutra, Katalonija jednoga dana ili Flandrija, koje bi sve kao države bile daleko iznad prosjeka EU po razvijenosti i BDP-u, ne bi bile tretirane isto kao Srbija ili Albanija.

One ne bi morale čekati deset godina za članstvo. U svakom slučaju, njihovo osamostaljenje bi dovelo EU u izuzetno tešku poziciju. Zato je EU diskretno poručila da bi neovisna Škotska morala od početka aplicirati za članstvo.

SVERCERI Carina u velikoj akciji protiv kriminalaca Zaplijenili 778 lažnih Chanel i Burberry torbica

Još će se dugo oporavljati od carinskog prepada rovinjski trgovci robom, koji su kobnog 15. rujna tijekom višesatnog nadzora ostali bez 666 komada robe čija vrijednost u maloprodaji iznosi 569 tisuća kuna.



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Vrijedni satovi

Trgovcima su uručeni prekršajni nalози i paprene novčane kazne, a ostali su bez čak 1040 komada dresova nogometnih klubova, 778 torbi, 2400 naočala, 199 novčanika, 403 slušalice, 56 prenosnih radijskih aparata, 698 majice, 25 haljina, 695 kapa, 41 remena, 24 halja, 168 zvučnika, 17 satova i 111 pari cipela. **M.H. K. J.**

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CIJENA NEKRETNINE: NA UPIT - tel. 01/630 66 45 (pravna služba Štedbanke d.d.).

APPENDIX 3

Dobrašin, Miho. "Strah od škotskog 'da,'" *Večernji list*. Sept. 18, 2014.

Svijet

vecernji.hr/svijet/



VIDEO DANA

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29233675> Može li Škotska nešto naučiti od Čehoslovačke



NAGRADA Istražitelji se nadaju da će neko progovorit

Istaga o letu MH 17

Doušniku nude 30 milijuna dolara

Nepoznati dobrotori iz Njemačke prikupili su 30 milijuna dolara i angažirali privatnu istražiteljsku tvrtku Wikifa da otkrije tko je srušio zrakoplov Malaysian Airlines iznad Ukrajine. "Nakon ove tragedije politika je tvrdila kako će otkriti počinitelja zato što to duguje žrtvama ove katastrofe. To još nitko nije učinio", stoji u priopćenju. Onaj tko da precizne informacije o tome tko je naredio rušenje i tko je onemogućavao istragu dobit će nagradu od 30 milijuna. Računaju s time da svatko ima svoju cijenu. (maš)



SEOBA NA ZAPAD

Polovica kineskih bogataša želi emigrirati iz zemlje

Polovica kineskih bogataša razmišlja o tome da se u idućih pet godina preseli u neku europsku zemlju ili u Sjedinjene Države. Kao glavni razlog za iseljavanje iz Kine bogataši navode sustav školstva koji stavlja prevelik pritisak na djecu i ne nudi im mogućnost zapošljavanja u inozemstvu. Bolji uvjeti poslovanja drugi su na rang-listi razloga za emigraciju iz Kine. (mas)



CLINTONOVI O IZRAELU

Bill: Netanyahu nije čovjek koji će sklopiti mir

Bivši američki predsjednik Bill Clinton, na jednom propalestinskom skupu u Iowu kazao je da izraelski premijer Benjamin Netanyahu nije osoba koja će pristati na sklapanje mira s Palestincima. Zanimljivo je to što je na tom skupu bio sa suprugom Hillary, koja je nedavno dala punu podršku Izraelu i Netanyahuu u njegovoj politici prema Palestincima.

Kosovo

Medu petnaest uhićenih radikalnih džihadista ima imama i profesora

Na Kosovu uhićeno 15 osoba zbog sumnje da su džihadisti. Policija je potvrdila da je uhitila 15 osoba osumnjičenih za kaznena djela protiv ustavnog poretka i sigurnosti Kosova. Srpski mediji prenose prištinske koji su javili da su uhićeni povezani s radikalnim islamizmom i terorizmom, kao i da je među njima više imama iz raznih dijelova Kosova i jedan političar. Navodi se da među uhićenima ima profesora s prištinskog Fakulteta Islamskih studija. Tijekom pretrage oduzeti su "inkriminirajući materijali". (mf)

Škoti danas odlučuju o svojoj i sudbini Ujedinjene

Strah od ško

Za put u neovisnost spremno je j



Iz Aberdeena piše Miho Dobrašin

dumsko pitanje: "Treba li Škotska postati nezavisna zemlja?"

Putešnički i Norveške

Kiša rominja Aberdeonom, naftnom lukom na istoku Škotske, no stanovnici kažu da ih ništa neće spriječiti da od sedam sati ujutro odlučno krenu prema biralištima. Svjesni da danas pišu povijest, ući će na biračka mjesta i gledati sudbonosni listić na kojem piše referen-

"Nikako", ističe Marie Boutton (47), nezavisna zastupnica u gradskoj skupštini, koja će križićem označiti poje uz "ne". "Nema razloga za nezavisnost, ovdje dobro živimo. Za razliku od brojnih zemalja, imamo stabilnost, a Britanija gospodarski raste", ističe. S njom se slaže i umirovljenica Aneeka Everard (73):

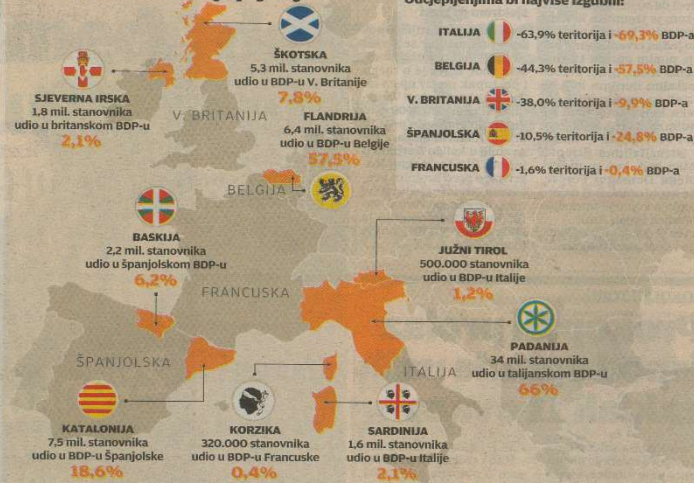
"Ljude se pokušalo odvući u utopiju, lagalo im se o prednostima raskida unije". No student fizike Ally McEwan (21) vjeruje da sutra počinje razdoblje prosperiteta i pravednijeg društva.

"Želimo ići putem Švedske i Norveške, želimo socijalno osjetljivu državu", poručuje u Ulciu unije u centru. U obližnju luku uplovljava brod s naftnih platformi udaljenih 100-tinjak kilometara. "Samostalno ćemo koristiti bogate izvore", naglašava

McEwan. Njemu je ovo prvi izlazak na biračko mjesto, baš kao i Jamieju Barclayu (17). "Uzbuden sam, znam da je danas veliki dan. Na izlazak me motiviraju uporenja da ne možemo sami", kaže nezaposleni mladić.

"Nijedna zemlja koja se osamostalila više nije poželjela vratiti se natrag", poručuje Barclay. Stanovnici Škotske, uključujući strance, glasovat će večeras do 22 sata. Rezultat s nestrpljenjem

Tko u EU teži odcepljenju



Odcjepljenjima bi najviše izgubili:

- ITALIJA -63,9% teritorija i -69,3% BDP-a
- BELGIJA -44,3% teritorija i -57,5% BDP-a
- V. BRITANIJA -38,0% teritorija i -9,9% BDP-a
- ŠPANJOLSKA -10,5% teritorija i -24,8% BDP-a
- FRANCUSKA -1,6% teritorija i -0,4% BDP-a

OPĆA PANIKA Sjever Sirije nadlijeću američke bespilotne letjelice koja su prethodnica zračnih udara

Islamisti napustili sve položaje u svom glavnom uporištu Raki

Al-Qa'ida poručila ISIL-u: Oslobođite Alanu Henninga jer je pomagao muslimanima. Njegova je otnica korak previše

Opća panika zavladała je među islamistima u provinciji Raka u Siriji nakon prelijetanja američkih bespilotnih špijunskih letjelica te se svaki trenutak očekuju američki zračni udari. Naime, iz grada Rake, oko 450 km sjeveroistočno od Damaska, u kojem živi oko 200 tisuća stanovnika, glavnom uporištu ISIL-a u Siriji, za koji se vjeruje da je mjesto odrubljivanja glava američkim novinarima te britanskom humanitarcu, prema svjedočenju tamošnjeg stanovništva boreći ISIL-a nestali su preko noći. Svi vitalni objekti u kojima su borci ISIL-a boravili jučer ujutro bili su



DŽIHADISTI Pomiješali su sa civilnim stanovništvom kao i u Iraku

nog Kraljevstva

Škotskog 'da'

Š osam regija unutar EU

Jamie: Na izlazak me motiviraju upozorenja da ne možemo sami

POSLEDNJA ANKETA

52:42

posto vode unionisti protiv zagovornika neovisnosti, pokazala je posljednja anketa uoči referenduma. Razlika je smanjena za jedan posto

očekuju u Kataloniji i još sedam regija unutar EU. Bez obzira na ishod, Katalonci namjeravaju 9. studenog organizirati svoj referendum o nezavisnosti od Španjolske. Bruxelles je nesklon separatističkim težnjama bojeći se domino-efekta u EU. Baski na sjeveru Španjolske čekaju potez Katalonaca. Sjeverna Irska mogla bi već 2016. imati referendum o priključenju Republici Irskoj. Entuzijizam iz Škotske preljeva se na Flandriju, sjeverni dio

Belgije, u zahtjevu za odvajanjem od frankofone Valonije na jugu. Separatističke težnje bujaju na Korzici, Sardiniji, u Južnom Tirolu i Padaniji.

Raspad bi bio šok

Rastuće društvene nejednakosti, korumpirane središnje vlade i mjere štednje stvaraju masovne pokrete za odcjepljenje u kojima više ne sudjeluju samo nacionalisti. Nakon raspada višenacionalnih komunističkih država i europske liberalne demokracije nalaze se pred velikim izazovom. "Europskim kraljevstvima, nekad moćnim državama, a danas zastarjelim uređenjima počeo je otkucavati sat", poručuje McEwan. Aneeka Everard, koja je čitav život lojalna kraljici, kaže: "Raspad bi bio šok. O tome ne želim ni razmišljati".

DEJAN JOVIĆ:

Odcjepljenje bi pokolebalo zemlje koje hoće u EU

Dejan Jović, glavni analitičar predsjednika RH Ive Josipovića, za beogradsku Politiku izjavio je da bi odcjepljenje Škotske pokolebalo druge države koje žele ući u EU. "Zemlje kandidati vjerojatno više ne bi bile toliko sigurne da samo članstvo u EU znači opstanak njihova teritorijalnog integriteta - rekao je Jović. Po njemu, osamostaljenjem Škotske "nestao bi jedan snažan argument koji je dosad korišten kad je bilo riječi o zemljama koje pristupaju EU, a to je da pristupanje EU znači definitivnu stabilizaciju tih zemalja". (T. K.)

Sanjaju nezavisnu Škotsku



potpuno prazni. Najzanimljivije je da su čak ugasi-ili i svoje web-stranice na kojima su njihovi administratori odgovarali na pitanja stanovnicima. Ulice, koje su bile pune njihovih boraca i njihovih oklopnih transportera, koje su sada premjestili izvan grada, osvanule su puste, bez boraca i naoružanja, tako da nije bilo ni njihovih prometnih policajaca. Isto tako, prema svjedočenju stanovništva, borci ISIL-a čak su evakuirali i cijele svoje obitelji iz tog grada. Zbog straha od mogućih američkih zračnih udara trgovine u gradu Raki zatvaraju se prije mraka, a stanovnici se povlače u svoje kuće i skloništa. Analitičari smatraju

je da nakon Obamine prijetnje zavladao panika u redovima boraca ISIL-a te sada primjenjuju istu taktiku kao i u Iraku. Naime, u Iraku su nakon početka zračnih udara ostavili sve svoje teško naoružanje i vojne oklopne transportere te tenkove i integrirali su se među stanovništvo. Analitičari vjeruju da ISIL-ovci sada u Siriji primjenjuju istu strategiju. Zanimljivo je da je i Al-Qa'ida apelirala na ISIL da oslobodi Alana Henninga koji je sljedeći na listi za odrubljivanje glave jer kazuje da je riječ o humanitarcu koji je pomagao muslimanima. "Njegova je otmica korak previse", poručila je Al-Qa'ida ISIL-u. (thd)

ŠTETA 100 MIL. €

Šefovi kineske kompanije s Frankfurtske burze nestali s blagajnom

Predsjednik uprave Qingyong Wu i operativni šef Minghong Wu podigli su sav iznos s računa kompanije Ultrasonic i nestali bez traga. Kineski proizvođač obuce Ultrasonic izlistan je na burzi u Frankfurtu, a na računu je potkraj prošle godine imao 100 milijuna eura, piše Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. (am)



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APPENDIX 4

Ponoš, Tihomir. "POVIJESNA DVOJBA. Škotsko 'biti ili ne biti'," *Novi list*. Sept. 18, 2014.

Ponoš, Tihomir. "POVIJESNA DVOJBA. Škotsko 'biti ili ne biti'," *Zadarski list*. Sept. 18, 2014.

10 **NOVI LIST** Četvrtak, 18. rujna 2014.

svijet

Daljnji razvoj događaja
pratite na portalu novilist.hr

SUDBINA UJEDINJENOG KRALJEVSTVA ■ DANAS ŠKOTSKI BIRAČI ODLUČUJU HOĆE LI NAPUSTITI ZAJEDNO

POVIJESNA DVOJBA Škotsko »biti ili ne biti«

Škotski premijer i najveći zagovornik neovisnosti Alex Salmond uputio je otvoreno pismo biračima. Predstojeći referendum za njega je »najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati«

Tihomir PONOŠ

Zagovornici Škotske neovisnosti i zagovornici njenog ostanaka u uniji uputili su u srijedu svoje posljednje poruke i održali posljednje skupove prije dana na kojemu će birači odlučiti hoće li napustiti zajednicu koja postoji 307 godina. Škotski premijer i najveći zagovornik neovisnosti Alex Salmond uputio je otvoreno pismo biračima. Predstojeći referendum za njega je »najveći i najvažniji trenutak koji ćemo ikada imati«. Biračima je poručio da zanamare »sve očajnije i sve apsurdnije strašne priče« Downing Streeta, odnosno britanske vlade te da vjeruju u sebe. Salmond je biračima poručio i da će neovisna Škotska biti dobrodošla u Europsku uniju.

Da stvari s Europskom unijom nisu ni izbliza jednostavne, još je jednom potvrdio španjolski premijer Mariano Rajoy. On je izjavio da bi neovisnost Škotske i Katalonije torpedirala Europsku uniju, a posljedice bi bile snažnija recesija i povećanje siromaštva. Što u posljednje vrijeme o neovisnosti Škotske govori



Zagovornici škotske samostalnosti vjeruju da će danas uspjeti biti brojniji od sunarodnjaka koji bi radlje ostali u Uniji

Rajoy, ošuškuje se u tom dijelu Velike Britanije, a Rajoy se neovisnosti Škotske protivi zbog toga što bi ona mogla

inspirirati Katalonce na sličan potez. Prije nekoliko dana stotine tisuće Katalonaca na mirnim je demonstracija-

ma podržalo neovisnost, a parlament te regije usvojio je u srijedu rezoluciju kojom je utro put mogućem referendumu u studenom.

Buđenje u boljoj zemlji

Salmond se u svom otvorenom pismu pozvao i na poznatog škotskog ekonomista iz 18. stoljeća Adama Smitha i škotskog pjesnika Roberta Burns. Poručio je »neka ova prilika ne isklizne kroz naše prste, neka nam oni ne kažu da mi to ne možemo, učinimo to«.

– Probudimo se u petak ujutro u boljoj zemlji, poručio je Salmond.

Izglasavanje neovisnosti bi za Alistara Darlinga, koji vodi kampanju protiv neovisnosti, bila tragedija. Po posljednjem istraživanju javnog mnijenja, kojega treba prihvatiti s rezervom, takvu tragediju Darling čini se, neće doživjeti. Anкета pokazuje da će 52 posto onih koji će sigurno izaći na biralište glasovati za ostanak u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a njih 48 posto podržat će neovisnost. Očito

je da je rezultat neizvjestan, a statistička pogreška u obradi rezultata anketa moguća. Pitanje je i u kojoj mjeri će neodlučni izaći na referendum i kako će oni glasati. Uključili se i njih u rezultate anketa, tacla je zagovornika ostanaka 48 posto, protivnika 44 posto, a neodlučnih osam posto.

Britanski premijer David Cameron dan prije referenduma priznao je da je zabrinut zbog toga što je Velika Britanija na rubu podjele. – Svatko tko brine o Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a ja itekako brinem o njemu, je nezavisan, izjavio je Cameron i ponovio da neće dati ostavku u slučaju da na referendumu prevagnu glasovi zagovornika neovisnosti. U kampanji sudjeluje i bivši laburistički premijer Gordon Brown, inače Škot. On je izjavio da zagovornici neovisnosti »ne znaju što čine«. U kampanju se uključio i bivši predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država Bill Clinton, pozvavši Škote da ostanu u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu.

Manja nezaposlenost

Uoči referenduma objavljeno je da je broj nezaposlenih u Škotskoj između svibnja i srpnja smanjen za 15.000, otvoreno je 45.000 novih radnih mjesta, nezaposlenost iznosi šest posto, što je manje od britanskog prosjeka koji iznosi 8,2 posto. Škotska policija odhacila je mogućnost da zbog referenduma mogu izbiti neredi, a tu je tvrdnju ocijenila besmislenom.

U kampanju protiv neovisnosti uključilo se i 14 bivših zapovjednika britanske voj-

ANKETA

Posljednja anketa pokazuje da će 52 posto onih koji će sigurno izaći na biralište glasati za ostanak u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, a njih 48 posto podržat će neovisnost



OPREZ! ■ IRAČKI VELEPOSŁANIK U VATIKANU TVRDI DA RASPOLAŽE S INFORMACIJAMA O PLANOVIMA EKSTREMISTA

Islamisti će pokušati u Albaniji atentat na Papu?

Franjo će Albaniju posjetiti ovog vikenda, a mogao bi biti vrlo ranjiv i tijekom posjeta Turskoj, planiranom za studeni

VATIKAN ➔ Ozbiljno upozorenje o mogućem pokušaju atentata na papu Franju, i to već ovog vikenda, stiglo je Svetoj Stolici od Habeeba Al Sadra, iračkog veleposlanika u Vatikanu, koji raspolaže s informacijama da bi islamski ekstremisti mogli pokušati ubiti Papu tijekom njegova posjeta Albaniji, prenosi *The Telegraph*. Kako je sve bliži dan papina jednodnevnog posjeta Albaniji, irački veleposlanik ističe da su prijete njegovom životu sve vjerojatnije. Čelnik rimokatoličke crkve mogao bi biti vrlo ranjiv i tijekom posjeta Turskoj, planiranom za studeni, ističe veleposlanik, posebice ako se uzme u obzir da su borci islamske države proteklih tjedana isticali kao jedan od svojih ciljeva da žele kalifat

proširiti do Rima. Obecali su i da će crnu zastavu džihada podići na vrh bazilike Svetog Petra. – Islamska država je nedvosmisleno stavila do znanja da želi ubiti Papu i ta prijetnja je u potpunosti realna. Vjerujem da bi ga mogli pokušati ubiti na jednom od njegovih putovanja, planiranih do kraja godine, ali i u samom Rimu. Pripadnici islamske države pripadnika da izvrši atentat na njega na europskom tlu, rekao je Al Sadr za talijanski list *La Nazione*. Veleposlanik je također istaknuo da je Papa od sebe »napravio metu u trenutku kad je počeo govoriti o kršenju ljudskih prava

kršćana u Siriji i Iraku», a posebice nakon što je pozvao namjeru Amerikanaca da vojnim akcijama zaustave džihadiste u svom pohodu u Iraku.

Irački veleposlanik koji se u Vatikanu nalazi već četiri godine rekao je da se tu radi o takvoj kriminalnoj skupini koja »ne prijete u prazno«, već stovise, da su u Iraku sada uništili brojna sveta mjesta te da se rukovode time da ukoliko netko nije uz njih, da je tada protiv njih. Vatikan je upozorenje primio na znanje, no ističu da za sada nema uznemiravajućih izvješća po pitanju sigurnosti te da Papa ne namjerava mijenjati svoju dnevnu rutinu niti odgoditi planirani put za Albaniju.

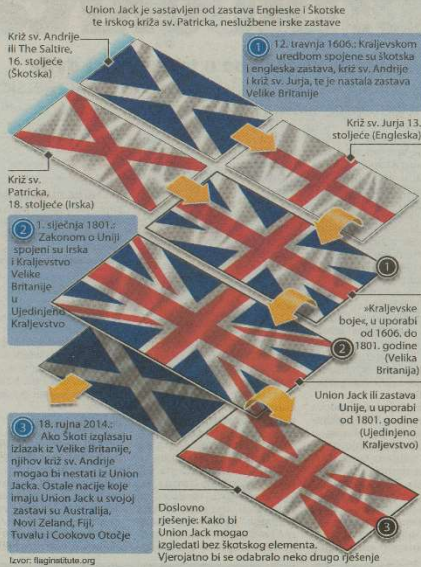
5. BRNČIĆ



Papa Franjo ne namjerava zbog prijetnji mijenjati svoju dnevnu rutinu

ICU KOJA POSTOJI 307 GODINA ILI ĆE U NJOJ OSTATI

Union Jack: prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost



Učinimo to! – škotski premijer Alex Salmond

ške, ratne mornarice i ratnog zrakoplovstva.

– Fikcija je govoriti o regionalnim oružanim snagama. Podjela Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva može ili ne mora biti politički ili ekonomski osjetljiva, ali vojno gledano sve je jasno: ona će nas sve oslabiti, poručuju bivši vojni zapovjednici u zajedničkom pismu. U Škotskoj se dugo očekivalo i kako će se u referendumu izjasniti škotsko izdanje Suna, tamošnjeg najtraženijeg dnevnog lista. Na kraju se Sun nije izjasnio ni za ni protiv i poručio biračima da je riječ o njihovom glasu i njihovom izboru.

UKRAJINA ■ USPRKOS PRIMIRJU, U USTANIČKOM UPORIŠTU SE PUCA Dva civila ubijena u Donjecku

DONJECK ■ Dva civila ubijena su u pucnjavi u Donjecku, proruskom ustaničkom uporištu na istoku Ukrajine, objavilo se u srijedu lokalne vlasti, dok je premijer Arsenij Jacenjuk pozvao vojsku na punu borbenu spremnost. «Dvije civilne osobe ubijene su, a tri ranjene», objavila je gradska uprava, dan nakon što su ukrajinski zastupnici usvojili nacrt zakona koji daje više autonomije proruskim separatističkim područjima u okviru mirovnog protokola što su ga potpisali Kijev i separatisti.

Zračna luka u Donjecku već je nekoliko dana poprište izmjene vatre. Vojska koja kontrolira infrastrukturu optužuje pobunjenike da pucaju na njezine položaje. Po brojkama agencije France presse, ukupno je do sada, otkad je na snagu stupio prekid vatre 5. rujna, poginulo 30 osoba, 14 civila i 16 vojnika. Vojska i pobunjenici međusobno prebacuju odgovornost za žrtve.

Jacenjuk je od ministarstva obrane zatražio da osigura da snage budu u punoj borbeno spremnosti, bez obzira na prekid vatre. «Rusija nam neće dati mir, zato tražim



U Ukrajini je poginulo 30 osoba otkad je primirje na snazi

od ministra obrane punu borbenu spremnost», rekao je Jacenjuk. Mirovni plan predsjednika Petra Porošenkina ne znači «opuštanje u radu ministarstava obrane i unutarnjih poslova, potrebna je puna spremnost». «Ne možemo nikome vjerovati, a najmanje Rusima», naglasio je Jacenjuk. (Hina/AFP)

GLAVOBOLJA ■ PROBLEMI ZA NOVO VODSTVO EU-a

Politika štednje puca po glavnim šavovima, u Francuskoj i Italiji

Francuska iduće godine neće spustiti svoj proračunski deficit ispod tri posto BDP-a, kako je bilo dogovoreno. I Italija traži fleksibilnije tumačenje štednje te veću investicijsku potrošnju



Pravila štednje moraju se poštivati – čelnik Europske središnje banke Mario Draghi

Politika proračunske štednje u Europskoj uniji počela je pucati po glavnim šavovima. Francuska je izvijestila ostale članice da iduće godine neće spustiti svoj proračunski deficit ispod tri posto BDP-a, kako je dogovorila s Europskom komisijom. Italija također traži fleksibilnije tumačenje štednje te veću investicijsku potrošnju, kako bi pokrenula svoje posustalo gospodarstvo.

Povećavanje manjka

To popuštanje discipline izaziva glavobolje novom vodstvu Europske komisije, kao i u Njemačkoj koja je glavni zagovornik neznanja javne potrošnje. Inozemni mediji pišu da se «povećava jaz» između Pariza i Berlina, glavnih političkih stupova EU-a. Njemački Spiegel International je ocijenio da europski partneri «sve više izoliraju kancelarku Angelu Merkel, upravo zbog politike štednje».

DVOSTRUKI STANDARDI

Njemačka je sklona popustiti Francuskoj u mjerama štednje, ali se boji reakcije manjih članica EU-a, jer se uvode dvostruki standardi

Kritika iz Austrije

Postupak Francuske je otvoreno kritizirao austrijski ministar financija Jörg Schelling, koji je upozorio da se Austrija pridržavala pravila štednje i ove godine izazila iz procedure prekomjernog deficita. «Teško je objasniti ljudima zašto se mi toga trebamo pridržavati, a drugi ne trebaju», požalio se Schelling, prema Bloombergu.

Njemačka se vladala još nije otvoreno izjasnila o popuštanju proračunske sterge u Parizu, a ministar financija Wolfgang Schäuble očekuje da se najprije izjasni Europska komisija. Sve članice EU-a, naime, uskoro moraju svoje proračunske planove za iduću godinu podastrijeti Bruxellesu na blagoslov. Spiegel International ustrojio je nedavno da su njemačke vlasti sklone popustiti Francuskoj u mjerama štednje, ali se boje kako će na to reagirati manje članice EU-a, jer se uvode dvostruki standardi.

Zanimljivo je da bi politički pravorijek o francuskom proračunskom popuštanju u Europskoj komisiji trebao dati Pierre Moscovici, bivši francuski ministar financija, koji se svejedno zalagao za popuštanje štednje. Moscovici je u novi sastav Komisije ušao na prijedlog francuskog predsjednika Hollandea, koji je nedavno rekonstruirao vladu, zbog potresa kojeg je izazvao bivši ministar gospodarstva Arnaud Montebourg, tvrdnjom da Francuska neće slijediti politiku njemačkih konzervativaca i njihovu «opsesivju štednjom». Moscovici je dobio portfelj ekonomskih i monetarnih pitanja, čime je naslijedio Ollija Rehna. Jučer je izjavio da će «objektivno ispitati francuski proračun», ma što to značilo.

Branko PODGORNİK



Njemački ministar financija Wolfgang Schäuble još se nije izjasnio o najavama francuskog kolege Michela Sapina

APPENDIX 5

Dearden, Lizzie. "Scottish independence: Full text of David Cameron's 'no going back' speech," *Independent*, Sept. 16, 2014.

Scottish independence: Full text of David Cameron's 'no going back' speech

The Prime Minister delivered an impassioned plea to save the union

- [Lizzie Dearden](#)
- [@lizziedearden](#)
- Tuesday 16 September 2014 13:06 BST



David Cameron addresses No campaign supporters in Aberdeen *Getty Images*

David Cameron made an emotional plea to Scots to save the union by voting "no" in Thursday's referendum, warning there is "no going back" from independence.

Speaking in Aberdeen on Monday, the Prime Minister argued that separation would mean a new currency for Scotland, families separated, pensions sliced up and a border created with England.

It was a key address before the vote and Alex Salmond is expected to issue his own "letter to the people of Scotland" on Wednesday morning.

The debate has focused on the Scottish economy in recent days, with pro-independence politicians accusing Westminster of "scaremongering" over the future of the pound and funding for the NHS and pensions.

Pro-union politicians say they are raising only genuine concerns based on the figures available that must be considered.

David Cameron's full speech

We meet in a week that could change the United Kingdom forever.

Indeed, it could end the United Kingdom as we know it.

On Thursday, Scotland votes, and the future of our country is at stake.

On Friday, people could be living in a different country, with a different place in the world and a different future ahead of it.

This is a decision that could break up our family of nations, and rip Scotland from the rest of the UK.

And we must be very clear.

There's no going back from this. No re-run. This is a once-and-for-all decision.

If Scotland votes yes, the UK will split, and we will go our separate ways forever.

When people vote on Thursday they are not just voting for themselves, but for their children and grandchildren and the generations beyond.

So I want to speak directly to the people of this country today about what is at stake.

I speak for millions of people across England, Wales and Northern Ireland – and many in Scotland, too who would be utterly heart-broken by the break-up of the United Kingdom.

Utterly heart-broken to wake up on Friday morning to the end of the country we love, to know that Scots would no longer join with the English, Welsh and Northern Irish in our Army, Navy and Air Force, in our UK-wide celebrations and commemorations, in UK sporting teams from the Olympics to the British Lions.

The United Kingdom would be no more. No UK pensions, no UK passports, no UK pound.



Alex Salmond and the nationalists reject claims that Scotland's economy would suffer if the UK broke up

The greatest example of democracy the world has ever known, of openness, of people of different nationalities and faiths coming together as one, would be no more.

It would be the end of a country that launched the Enlightenment, that abolished slavery, that drove the industrial revolution, that defeated fascism. the end of a country that people around the world respect and admire the end of a country that all of us call home.

And we built this home together.

It's only become Great Britain because of the greatness of Scotland.

Because of the thinkers, writers, artists, leaders, soldiers, inventors who have made this country what it is.

It's Alexander Fleming and David Hume; J.K. Rowling and Andy Murray and all the millions of people who have played their part in this extraordinary success story, the Scots who led the charge on pensions and the NHS and on social justice.

We did all this together.

For the people of Scotland to walk away now would be like painstakingly building a home – and then walking out the door and throwing away the keys.

So I would say to everyone voting on Thursday, please remember.

This isn't just any old country. This is the United Kingdom. This is our country.

And you know what makes us truly great?

It's not our economic might or military prowess – it's our values.

British values. Fairness. Freedom. Justice.

The values that say wherever you are, whoever you are, your life has dignity and worth.

APPENDIX 6

Wright, Oliver. "Scottish independence: First minister Alex Salmond's letter to voters," *Independent*, Sept. 16, 2014.

Scottish independence: First Minister Alex Salmond's letter to voters

- [Oliver Wright](#)
- [@oliver_wright](#)
- Tuesday 16 September 2014 23:00 BST



On the last day of campaigning before the polling booths open, the SNP leader has written to voters in a final attempt to convince them to vote for independence *Getty*

On the last day of campaigning before the polling booths open, the SNP leader and Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond writes a letter to voters in a final attempt to convince them to part ways with the UK.

"In these final hours of this historic campaign I want to speak directly to every person in this country who is weighing up the arguments they have heard.

I have no doubt people in Scotland will look past the increasingly desperate and absurd scare stories being generated daily from Downing Street.

Those have no place in a sensible debate.

So in these last days of the greatest campaign Scotland has ever seen, I want to ask you to take a step back from the arguments of politicians and the blizzard of statistics.

For every expert on one side, there is an expert on the other.

For every scare tactic, there is a message of hope, opportunity and possibility.

The opportunity for our Parliament to gain real job creating powers, the ability to protect our treasured National Health Service and the building of a renewed relationship of respect and equality with our friends and neighbours in the rest of these Islands.

But for all that, the talking is nearly done.

The campaigns will have had their say.

What's left is just us - the people who live and work here.

The only people with a vote. The people who matter.

The people who for a few precious hours during polling day hold sovereignty, power, authority in their hands.

It's the greatest most empowering moment any of us will ever have.

Scotland's future - our country in our hands.

What to do? Only each of us knows that.

For my part, I ask only this.

Make this decision with a clear head and a clear conscience.

Know that by voting 'Yes', what we take into our hands is a responsibility like no other- the

responsibility to work together to make Scotland the nation it can be

That will require maturity, wisdom, engagement and energy- and it will come not from the usual sources of parties and politicians but from you -the people who have

transformed this moment from another political debate into a wonderful celebration of people power.

Does every Country make mistakes? Yes.

Are there challenges for Scotland to overcome? Undoubtedly.

But my question is this - who better to meet those challenges on behalf of our nation than us?

We must trust ourselves.

Trust each other.

In Scotland we've always had the wealth, the resources and the talent.

We know that with independence we would immediately be in the top twenty of the richest countries in the world.

But what has emerged in this campaign is something very new.

It has changed Scotland forever. I have met it in every community I have been in the last weeks.

Confidence.

Belief.

Empowerment.

An understanding that if we work hard Scotland can be a global success story.

A beacon of economic growth and a champion of social justice.

That's who we are as a nation.

We are the land of Adam Smith who said that no society can flourish and be happy if too many of its people do not benefit from its wealth.

We are the land of Robert Burns who loved Scotland dearly and also celebrated humanity the world o'er.

It's what we can be.

It's why this opportunity is truly historic.

Women and men all over Scotland looking in the mirror and knowing the moment has come.

Our choice, our opportunity, our time.

Wake up on Friday morning to the first day of a better country.

Wake up knowing you did this - you made it happen.

This vote isn't about me, it isn't about the SNP, the Labour Party or the Tories.

It's about you. Your family. Your hopes. Your ambitions.

It's about taking your country's future into your hands.

Don't let this opportunity slip through our fingers.

Don't let them tell us we can't.

Let's do this."