

WHO FRAMED CONRAD BLACK? :
LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION IN PRINT NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this corpus-based research is to reveal how media discourse contributes to the framing and portrayal of public figures, specifically Conrad Black, in French and English print media from Canada, the United Kingdom and France, and in particular, to identify the language and strategies used to do so. A secondary purpose of this thesis is to examine news reports for evidence of assumed translation as defined by Toury (1995). The theories and methodologies drawn on derive from linguistics, discourse analysis, media studies, cultural studies, and translation studies. By applying a multidisciplinary approach and conducting quantitative and qualitative analyses, I produced evidence that Conrad Black was framed and labelled in the English-language and French-language print media, and found evidence of at least one assumed translation among the reports I examined.

Keywords: translation, discourse analysis, media studies, ideology, framing

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and Methodology	7
1.1. Discourse.....	7
1.1.1. Discourse Analysis.....	7
1.1.2. Media Discourse	9
1.2. Translation Studies	11
1.2.1. Assumed Translation	11
1.2.2. Translation as discourse.....	13
1.2.3. Narrative Analysis	16
1.2.3.1. Narratives, Framing and Labelling.....	16
1.2.4. News Translation	18
1.2.5. Ideology	23
1.3. Methodology	24
1.3.1. Corpus	24
1.3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	27
Chapter 2: Corpus Development.....	30
2.1. Structure	31
2.1.1. Database Selection	31
2.1.2. News Report Selection.....	32
2.1.3. Criteria for Selection.....	34
2.2. Publications by Region	35
2.2.1. Canada.....	35
2.2.2. France.....	38
2.2.3. United Kingdom.....	39
2.3. Corpus Details	41
2.3.1. ProQuest English Data.....	41
2.3.2. Eureka English-language Data.....	42
2.3.3. Eureka French-language Data.....	43
2.3.4. Factiva English-language Data	43
Chapter Three: Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis	45
3.1. Quantitative Analysis.....	45
3.1.1. Frequency by Language.....	45
3.1.1.1. English-language Corpus	45
3.1.1.2. French-language Corpus	46

3.1.2. Frequency by Country	47
3.1.2.1. Canada.....	47
3.1.2.2. United Kingdom.....	48
3.1.2.3. France	49
3.1.3. Frequency by Country by English Publication	50
3.1.3.1. Canada.....	50
3.1.3.2. United Kingdom.....	53
3.1.4. Frequency by Country by French Publication	57
3.1.4.1. French Publications in Canada.....	57
3.1.4.2. French Publications in France.....	60
3.1.5. Frequency Summary	61
3.2. Qualitative Analysis.....	62
3.2.1. Unit Comparison: Direct and Indirect Translations, Critical Discourse Analysis	62
3.2.1.1. Legal Status	63
3.2.1.2. <i>Tycoon</i>	64
3.2.1.3. <i>Patron</i>	65
3.2.1.4. Age	66
3.2.1.5. Identity	68
3.2.2. Ideology.....	73
3.2.2.1. Framing	73
3.2.3. Assumed Translation	77
3.2.3.1. Citizen Kane and Citizen Black	78
3.2.3.2. A ruthless tycoon and <i>un tycoon impitoyable</i>	80
3.2.3.3. Convicted fraudster and <i>un condamné pour fraude</i>	81
3.2.3.4. Romina Maurino Reports	82
Conclusion	91
Works Cited.....	96
Appendix A: Primary Sources	101
Appendix B: English Corpus Units	119
Appendix C: French Corpus Units.....	125
Appendix D: Canadian Units in English.....	127
Appendix E: Canadian Units in French	133
Appendix F: United Kingdom Units in English	135
Appendix G: French Units from France.....	138

Introduction

In 2005, Conrad Black, also known as Lord Black or Baron Black of Crossharbour, was charged with a lengthy list of offences relating to his Chicago-based media empire, Hollinger International. A former Canadian media mogul who, in 2001, forfeited his Canadian citizenship in order to accept peerage in Britain's House of Lords, Black was convicted of fraud in 2007, sentenced to six and a half years in a Florida prison, and released in 2012. The case was of great interest to Canadians, as Black had previously owned a number of newspapers in Canada, the United States and Britain, including Toronto's *National Post*, of which he is the founder.

Over the past decade, many narratives on Conrad Black, his fraud conviction and prison sentence, have surfaced. Narratives, defined as storytelling or the method by which an event is relayed, whether it is through a written or oral account (Barthes 1977, 79; Czarniawska 2004, 17), or through representation of real or fictional occurrences by means of books, news reports or conversations (Fulton 2005, 1; Prince 2003, 58-9), can be very effective in influencing public opinion. When disseminated through the media, narratives can be particularly influential. The discourse, that is, language in use, is shaped by, and in turn shapes ideology. Ideology "...can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively 'impose assumptions' upon interpreters *and* text producers, typically without either being aware of it" (Fairclough 1989, 83; emphasis in original). Moreover, when public figures are featured, the media employ a variety of strategies to label and categorize them, specifically through the use of language, which subsequently frames the person in question either positively or negatively.

Drawing on Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), whose work has greatly influenced translation studies, I adopt the term "unit" (21) for the discrete terms and groups of words used to refer to Conrad Black. Vinay and Darbelnet take a three-fold approach to the notion of "unit" with the

understanding that the term can be understood as “[a] unit of thought, [a] lexicological unit [or a] unit of translation” (21).

In this thesis, these units are found in a corpus composed of English and French news reports related to Black that were published between July 6 and July 20, 2007. This is the seven-day period prior to Black’s fraud conviction and the seven-day period after. It is important to address how the media represented Black in this critical time period, and it is equally important to examine how the press constructed their own versions of reality and ideals (Gambier 2006, 9) through discourse. In regards to language use in the media, Gambier explains that “compar[ing] national daily newspapers, [and] study[ing] reports in foreign press could help us to better understand how translators reproduce or change the dominant discourse in their own societies” (10). By looking at media reports in English and French, I hope to discover how the discourse between languages, publications and countries framed Black and contributed to how he was portrayed between July 6 and July 20, 2007.

To source the news reports, I used three electronic databases that allowed me access to reports that had been originally published in print. I manually extracted the units from each report, and electronically catalogued them in Excel. The analysis I perform on these texts is interdisciplinary, and involves both quantitative and qualitative analyses, of which there are several objectives. The objectives of the quantitative analysis are the following:

1. Identify and list the units used to frame Conrad Black and influence reader perception.
2. Compare units used in the reports and attempt to identify relationships between the French and English texts.

The goals of the qualitative analysis are to:

1. Analyze the language used in both English and French language news reports.
2. Make observations regarding the frequency and overall effects of the discursive choices.
3. Establish whether any of the reports can be assumed to be translations of other reports (either French to English or English to French).

The databases from which I sourced the news reports initially yielded over 1,000 reports in the timeframe of study. Considering this, it was necessary to reduce the number of news reports so that proper analysis could be completed. Given this, the focus in this thesis is primarily on discrete units and on their possible function in terms of a variety of strategies, such as framing. Although I do analyze a few of the units in more detail and examine some longer strings of text, the major focus is on units as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (21).

To reveal how media discourse contributed to the framing and portrayal of Conrad Black in the French and English print media, and to identify the language and strategies used to do so, I draw on scholars who have carried out research in linguistics, discourse analysis, media studies, cultural studies, ideology and translation studies. I take a multidisciplinary approach to the methodology, employing strategies from multiple fields of study including translation studies and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Chapter 1 is divided into three sections, each of which is devoted to one of the areas of scholarship on which I draw. The first section focuses on discourse. I provide an overview of how Norman Fairclough (1989; 1995) and Teun van Dijk (1988, 1993, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2014) have both contributed to discourse studies and analysis, and how they both influence my research. The second section deals with translation studies and specifically how the

sub-field of news translation relates to my study in particular. Here, I present the notion of assumed translation (Toury 1995a), in addition to translation processes and strategies as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995). I then introduce narratives, framing and labelling. News translation is also discussed in this section. I introduce translation in news agencies while drawing on theories regarding text production, authorship and cross-cultural communication. The topic of ideology is again raised in the second section, where I present ideology, how it is discussed in relation to the media, and how it is expressed in translation. In the last section of Chapter 1, I discuss the methodologies that I have adopted to construct my corpus and the methods I use to conduct my analysis. To reveal any underlying ideologies in the reports, I look to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as adapted by David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012).

In Chapter 2 I present my corpus development and structure, including criteria for data selection and exclusion. The chapter is divided into three sections: corpus development, publications by region and corpus details. The first section contains some of the background into my research for this study, and the reasons that I chose to study the English-language and French-language reports from Canada, the United Kingdom and France. In this section I also describe the three databases from which my corpus is drawn –*Proquest*, *Eureka* and *Factiva*– as well as the specific publications and their countries of origin. In addition, I provide details on the news report selection, which includes the publications, languages and country of origin. This section also presents the criteria upon which I based my selection of reports. The second section of this chapter presents information regarding each publication, by country. I provide statistics with regards to language in each country, as well as statistics regarding circulation in each market.

Finally, in the third and last section of Chapter 2, I discuss the corpus properties, by database and language. The section is divided by database, then by language, and for the first time, I present the number of reports initially yielded from each publication and the number of units extracted from each. *ProQuest*, which was the source for all English-language reports from Canada yielded 262 news reports. The database that I used for all French-language reports was *Eureka* and it yielded 105 news reports. The third and final database that I turned to was *Factiva*. *Factiva* is the source for all new reports from the United Kingdom. In the initial data pull from *Factiva*, there were 80 news reports. Given that there were still over 400 news reports under consideration overall, it was necessary to further reduce the corpus. The final number of news reports from which I extracted units was 185.

In Chapter 3 I present the results of my analysis in two sections. The first, the quantitative analysis, demonstrates the frequency of the units used to reference Black from four perspectives: by language, which encompasses the overall results of the English-language and French-language units; by country of origin, capturing the results from Canada, the United Kingdom and France; by country for English publications only, including Canada and the United Kingdom; and, by country for French publications only. This last perspective comprises units from Canadian French-language publications and those from France. Each sub-section presents the most frequent units and some others that were unique. I also identify units requiring further analysis. The second section, the qualitative analysis, is where I implement a multidisciplinary approach. Drawing on theories and methodologies presented in Chapter 1, such as Vinay and Darbelnet and Machin and Mayr (2012), I first compare the English and French units, and identify the units that were deemed significant. These units are further analyzed using CDA to reveal some strategies used to represent Black. The titles with which Black was referenced are of

importance and are analyzed in this section as framing to address how the different countries labelled, framed and portrayed Black. In the final section, assumed translation, I analyse a subset of English-language and French-language reports that present features identified by Toury (1995a) as possible evidence of “assumed translation.” Drawing on this notion, I also complete a comparative analysis on a mini sub-corpus of French-language reports written by the same author. The analysis draws on translation strategies as identified by Vinay and Darbelnet.

I am aware that this research is grounded in my own perspectives and belief that the discourse in the media can serve to vilify people, particularly those who are public figures. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), “in language there exists no neutral way to represent a person. And all choices will serve to draw attention to certain aspects of identity that will be associated with certain kinds of discourses” (77). I also realize that complete objectivity is impossible. Baker (2004, 2006) writes that “how a researcher might select features to focus on, and [...] how he or she might interpret what they find in their data” is a challenge in corpus-based research (2004, 183). The qualitative analysis is especially subjective.

Chapter 1: Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This first chapter provides detailed overviews, discussion and conversation on scholars, ideas, theoretical frameworks and methodologies from which I draw for my study. The chapter is presented in two sections: discourse and translation studies. The topic of discourse, discourse analysis and media discourse in particular, is presented first. Following discourse, I present Section 2, which begins with an overview of translation studies, a primary focus for my thesis. Specifically, I discuss the literature, core theories and methodologies involving assumed translation and narratives, news translation and ideology, and their relationships with journalistic translation research. I then explain how the theories and methodologies are implemented into my study and provide a greater picture of how I approach the remaining components of my thesis.

The literature on which I draw is multidisciplinary and, in addition to translation studies, includes linguistics, in particular sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and media studies.

1.1. Discourse

1.1.1. Discourse Analysis

In *Language and Power* (1989), Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995) reviews the power relations existing in language and society through the examples of social institutions and the discourse from and within them. Discourse, Fairclough writes, is “language as a form of social practice” (20) that not only contains power, but is also backed by power (43). To understand it, a person has to “establish a ‘fit’ between text and world” and draw on their own common sense, which is grounded in assumptions (78). Thus, how a text is interpreted becomes “*the interpretation of an interpretation*” (81; emphasis in original). However, texts “constantly and cumulatively ‘impose assumptions’ upon text interpreters *and* text producers” (83; emphasis in original). Fairclough argues that context can be interpreted differently “when different social

orders are being drawn upon” (151). Assumptions are made from the context, “which influence[s] the way in which linguistic features of a text are themselves processed so that a text is always interpreted with some context in mind” (151). In media discourse, while social order may be clear, the discourse is not always so. Fairclough states that in media discourse there are “*hidden* relations of power” (49; emphasis in original). The holders of this hidden power, those “whose perspective is adopted in reports” (51), control “what is included and excluded, how events are represented...” (50). Fairclough stops short of stating that the media manipulates with hidden power (50), but writes that “‘power behind discourse’ is also a hidden power, in that the shaping of orders of discourse by relations of power is not generally apparent to people” (55).

In his more recent work, *Media Discourse* (1995), Fairclough examines language and communication from a media studies perspective. In this case, rather than studying language together with power, Fairclough takes a linguistic approach to media texts to examine their relationships with social identity. He argues that “...the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world...” (12). To analyze this ideological work, “we need to analyse media language as *discourse*, and the linguistic analysis of media should be a part of the discourse analysis of the media” (16; emphasis in original). While a linguistic analysis focuses primarily on texts, combining it with discourse analysis, which also encompasses practices and texts, would reveal “questions of knowledge, belief and ideology [and] questions of social relationships and power” (17). The analysis of the discourse is meaningful because, as Fairclough states, there are various layers in producing a text, such as contributions from several people, and current versions may very well include some text from previous versions (48).

In addition, “the linguistic choices that are made in texts can carry ideological meaning” (25). From the publication side, this shows that the manner in which writers develop a text, and under what circumstances, is important. Yet why and how the texts were interpreted by the public is related to readership and reader demographic. Drawing on Fairclough, I examine the print reports, and the media language in them regarding Conrad Black, as discourse.

One of the scholars that Fairclough’s later work draws on with regards to discourse analysis is Teun van Dijk (1988, 1993, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2014). While Fairclough’s studies focus on discourse and power from the perspective of sociolinguistics, van Dijk explores discourse among the power elites such as journalists. Van Dijk (2008) writes that discourse is “a specific communicative event, in general, and a written or oral form of verbal interaction or language use, in particular” (104). “A theoretical and methodological approach to language and language use” (1988, 24), discourse analysis is a field “that studies text and talk or language from all possible perspectives” (24). Its purpose is to “produce explicit and systematic, descriptions of language use that we have called discourse” (24).

1.1.2. Media Discourse

Like Fairclough, van Dijk also studies the relationships between assumptions, knowledge and understanding, and ideology. Van Dijk’s ground-breaking work in discourse analysis, and more specifically media discourse, critical discourse studies and ideology, has influenced my research as well. In *News as Discourse* (1988), van Dijk examines various discourse styles used in the news industry, stating that “different situations require specific forms of language” (73). In the same vein as Fairclough (1995), van Dijk also writes that “a considerable amount of generally shared knowledge, beliefs, norms and values must be presupposed” in media discourse (74). The news is a persuasive act (82) that “implicitly promotes dominant beliefs and opinions

of elite groups in society” (83). What van Dijk is alluding to, is that media discourse, crafted by journalists who are part of the elite, influence those outside of dominant groups, meaning the readers. Furthermore, van Dijk’s research also indicates that “...style differences [exist] within and among newspapers and among types of newspapers, countries and cultures” (75). Discourse, he adds, is not understood as an ideology “unless we actually refer to collections of talk or text” (104). For van Dijk, ideology is “group or class ‘consciousness’, whether or not elaborated in an ideological system” (33-4), its practices “acquired, enacted or organized through various institutions, such as the state, the media...” (34). These institutions, through text, generate invisible ideologies that control “knowledge, opinions and attitudes...” (34). Some with power, such as journalists, may control discourse through “discursive actions” (van Dijk 1993, 260) and “persuasive moves” (264). They can indirectly express and project editorial, institutional and other ideologies, including their own, resulting in reader influence.

Drawing on Fairclough and van Dijk, whose research focuses on English only, I hope to identify manifestations of ideology in the print reports by examining the structure and style of individual reports (in both English and French) and comparing these across contexts. Where Fairclough examines language and power relations, van Dijk complements this with the addition of the media discourse perspective. I refer to the discourse in the reports as media discourse, and apply their theories to the multidisciplinary approach I take in the analysis of the discourse in English and French. However, what is missing from their theories are perspectives in English and French. To address this, I look to translations studies scholars and research that applies to more than one language. I hope to further contribute to this area of study by examining the links between ideology and the discourse in my corpus of news reports related to Conrad Black.

1.2. Translation Studies

1.2.1. Assumed Translation

The print reports under analysis here were published in English and/or French, originate in several countries and were written by many different authors. Given that Black's entire court proceeding took place in English, it is reasonable to assume that most of the reports were written in English, by journalists or others who were either present or had close knowledge of the events. However, as stated above, there are indeed French reports in the corpus. To determine whether there are relationships between the texts, specifically if any, some or all of the reports are translations, I adopt the notion of assumed translation, as introduced by the late Gideon Toury (1995a). Toury defines assumed translation as "any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded – within that culture – as necessary and/or sufficient" (142). He developed this concept because he found that "when a text is offered as a translation, it is quite readily accepted as a bona fide translation, no further questions asked", but that "this is the reason why it has often been that easy for *fictitious* translations...to pass as genuine ones" (137; emphasis in original). Stating that we cannot assume that translations come from one language or another "just because one sees that language it is formulated in" (140), Toury argues that a set of interconnected postulates can provide clarity on a text assumed to have been a translation.

First, the source-text postulate indicates the assumption that some type of source-text must have existed (1995a, 143). Second, the transfer postulate implies the existence of shared features between the assumed translation and the assumed source-text (144); and last, the

relationship postulate links both the assumed translation and the assumed source-text by implying “that there are accountable relationships which tie it to its assumed original, an obvious function of that which the two texts allegedly share...” (144). The postulates aim to provide guidelines for examining translations when it is impossible to identify the target and the source-text. Toury also suggests examining the “observables” (145), such as “expression in language or labelling” (143), which would be general indicators of “cultural institutionalization” (143), and that would permit acceptance of a translation. Once the observables have been substantiated, then reconstruction of the non-observables can begin (145). Toury’s notion of assumed translation is fundamental to my research, given that the news reports in my study were published within the same timeframe, yet originated in different cultures and geographic locations.

In “Translation as Institutional Facts” (2004), Sandra Halverson (2004, 2008) introduces a compelling argument addressing components of Toury’s assumed translation postulates and Vilen Komissarov’s (1996) perspective that “it is the translator who makes a claim about the text’s status as a translation” (Halverson 2004, 346). Halverson aims to fill a gap left by Toury, namely a discussion of “who is privileged in granting translation status” (346). Whereas Komissarov claims that it is the translator who has this right, for Toury, it is “the culture (or members of it)” (346). Halverson applies John Searle’s (1969) institutional facts theory that “presuppose the existence of certain human institutions” (347), includes languages and are structured with the formula “X counts as Y in C” (348) to reconcile the differences between Toury and Komissarov’s theories. Before reconciling the differences however, Halverson argues that the status of a translation must first be recognized, either by an actual translator, or a member of that particular culture (350). Halverson makes a good point, and demonstrates it well

by describing that if one word does not designate the same concept or is not used in the same context in a different culture, then it cannot be assumed to be a translation. Without knowledge of the context or concept of linguistic labels, which are often grounded in culture, an assumption with regards to a translation cannot be made (350).

Toury's set of postulates and Komissarov's legitimacy claims alone, according to Halverson, are not enough to conclude that a text is a translation, assumed or otherwise; an empirical analysis has to be conducted. If Halverson's use of Searle's "X counts as Y in C" (348) formula is applied to the same labels used in two cultures to convey the same concept, then according to Halverson, it must be a translation (349). Ultimately, Halverson acknowledges that cultural acceptance, as suggested by both Toury and Komissarov, is a decided requirement for acceptance of a translation (353). For my reports, I will not conduct an empirical analysis based on Halverson's study, but rather, I look to Toury and his postulates for assumed translation. The reason I turn to Toury is because assumptions can be made with knowledge of concepts and the cultures in which the assumed translation is alleged to have derived. I believe that Toury's postulates are acceptable and will lead me to achieve some of the objectives of this study.

1.2.2. Translation as discourse

Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1995) have produced ground-breaking work in the area of language and translation, and specifically language and stylistics. *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*, originally published in French in 1958 as *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais : méthode de traduction*, was translated by Juan C. Sager and M.-J. Hamel. The text offers insight into the structure, stylistics and transfer of language. One purpose of *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, is to "study the mechanisms of translation on the basis of clear and searching examples in order to derive

working methods of translation and beyond these methods discover the mental, social and cultural attitudes which inform them” (10). Vinay and Darbelnet propose that knowledge of the structure, stylistics, and transfer of language, or translation methods, used in a text, allows the translator to find “systematic solutions to translation problems beside others for which a solution has already been proposed” (11). They provide discussions and examples of lexicon, meaning all words of a language, syntactic structure, and messaging, “the global meaning of an utterance” (345). These are concepts that the translator must be aware of to understand and evaluate language and translation. While lexicon, abstract and concrete expression form the basis of any text (51), structure, specifically sentence structure, is the placement of the lexicon in sequence (92). The message is the combination of lexicon and structure that delivers a meaning (164).

Vinay and Darbelnet insist that translators are required to “start from the meaning and carry out all translation procedures within the semantic field” (21) and that translators “do not translate works, but ideas and feeling” (21). In that sense, they refer to “unit” for “the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually” (21). With the understanding that the term can be understood as “[a] unit of thought, [a] lexicological unit [or a] unit of translation” (21), the authors take a three-fold approach to “unit.” Each is considered to be equivalent as it “convey[s] the same concept, but with emphasis on different points of view” (21). For example, in my study, the phrases “the media baron Conrad Black” and “*le criminel*” will both be treated as units because they “are lexicological units within which lexical elements are grouped together to form a single element of thought” (21). Additionally, Vinay and Darbelnet propose seven types of translation strategies, which they categorize as either “direct” or “indirect” translation. The strategies may be used either alone or in combination with one another (40). On the one hand, direct translation

strategies, which result in a translation that closely resembles the source text (ST), include borrowing, calque and literal translation. Borrowing, which is using a source language term in the target text without changing its form, “is a matter of style and consequently of the message” (32). Calque, which is a type of borrowing, is taking the source language expression, and translating each part of the expression literally (32). A literal translation is a word for word translation that is grammatically correct and idiomatic (33). Indirect translation, on the other hand, involves transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Transposition, the first of the indirect translation strategies, “involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message” (36). Modulation changes the point of view of the message, but without changing the meaning (36). Equivalence is the strategy where “one and the same strategy can be rendered by two texts using completely different stylistic and structural methods” (38). One example that Vinay and Darbelnet provide is the English proverb “it’s raining cats and dogs” (38). In French, this is translated to *il pleut à seaux*. The last of the indirect translation strategies, adaptation, is the creation of something new in the target language because the situation in the source language is unknown in the target language (39).

After extracting the units for analysis and determining whether there are relationships between the units themselves, I look for evidence of Vinay and Darbelnet’s direct and indirect translation strategies and, specifically instances of borrowing and calque. I do not look for literal translation because, according to Vinay and Darbelnet, literal translation “is most common when translating between two languages of the same family (e.g. between French and Italian), and even more so when they also share the same culture” (34). For analysis on the full reports at the end of Chapter 3, I take all seven strategies into consideration.

1.2.3. Narrative Analysis

1.2.3.1. Narratives, Framing and Labelling

Mona Baker (2004, 2006) defines narratives as “public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour... They are stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people...” (19). To explain the types of narratives and how they function, she draws on work by Somers (1992, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994), but notes that they overlook translation (28). To bridge the gap and relate narratives to translation, Baker elaborates on a type of narrative that is of particular relevance to my study: public narratives. Public narratives are “stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or education institutions, the media, and the nation” (2006, 170).

Another aspect of Baker’s study is the notion of frames in narratives. Baker describes frames as “...structures of *anticipation*, strategic moves that are consciously initiated in order to present a movement or a particular position within a certain perspective” (106; emphasis in original). Furthermore, “the same set of events can be framed in different ways to promote competing narratives” (107).

To analyze the ways in which Conrad Black is framed in these narratives, I draw, as does Baker, on Goffman’s (1974) frame analysis. In particular, I draw on primary frameworks. Goffman explains that primary frameworks render “what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful” (21). These primary frameworks are further divided into natural and social frameworks. Natural frameworks are seen as unguided where “no willful agency causally and intentionally interferes” (22); social frameworks are seen as “guided doings” where “motive and intent are involved” (22). Combining Baker’s definition

of narratives with Goffman's definition of social frameworks, I adopt the view that narratives are social frameworks because they guide our behaviour. To begin a frame analysis, Goffman says that there must be something to which attention is drawn, "a joke, or a dream, or an accident, or a mistake, or a misunderstanding, or a deception, or a theatrical performance, and so forth" (10). These occurrences "of whatever status in reality" are called strips (10). They are "any arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity, including here sequences of happenings, real or fictive" (10). The strips are "not meant to reflect a natural division...or an analytical division" (10). The strips can essentially be any piece of information, but something must draw attention. In my study, I am calling attention to the words or groups of words to reference Conrad Black. These words or groups of words can be referred to as strips as well. However, given that my thesis is multidisciplinary, I use the term "unit", adopted from Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) for what Goffman refers to as "strips."

With respect to narratives, framing and labelling, I also draw on Franca Beccaria et al.'s (2015) "From Criminals to Celebrities: Perceptions of "the Addict" in the Print Press from Four European Countries from Nineties to Today." In their paper, the authors study public perceptions of labelling "the addict" in Italian, Finnish, Polish and Dutch print media with the goal of demonstrating how "the addict" is defined across various cultures, and how the persons suffering from addiction are portrayed (440). In a period when "...most popular perceptions are likely to stem from public representations..." (439), such as the media and "influential stakeholders" (439), their study found that portrayals of "the addict" vary based on the countries' cultures. Whereas in Finnish media "the addict" was personified through the use of celebrities, in Italy and Poland "the addict" was presented as "a social problem" (449). The Netherlands tended to portray "the addict" as a victim. The authors also found that, while each country's respective

narratives reflected “basic beliefs and assumptions that societies hold about addicts” (450), collectively, all made frequent use of the label “the criminal” (443). The news reports in my corpus appeared in various publications originating in several cultures and social environments. I expect to see variation in how Black was portrayed overall.

The above discussions relating to the media, narratives, framing, labelling, and their relationships with discourse are fundamental to my research. In the next section I focus on translation in the media and ideology embedded in discourse and translation

1.2.4. News Translation

The notion of assumed translation as discussed in Section 1.2.1 is a fundamental theory for my study since several scholars (Bielsa 2007; Conway 2010; McLaughlin 2015; Davier 2014; Valdeón 2015) indicate that translation is less visible in the media than in other sectors.

Yves Gambier (2006) states that, with regards to language use in the media and translation, “compar[ing] national daily newspapers, [and] study[ing] reports in foreign press could help us to better understand how translators reproduce or change the dominant discourse in their own societies” (10). It is important, he believes, to examine how the press constructs its own versions of reality and present ideals (9). Gambier finds that news undergoes transformations when it is translated and repackaged for another culture (13). Processes of addition, deletion, and reorganization of information take place in order for the translated texts to be not too culture-specific, and so that the text is accessible to as many readers as possible (14). This may also result in “superficial adaptations” (16) rather than translations. When institutions produce the texts, they are creating their own versions of reality for their own culture. As stated by van Dijk, the media is indirectly expressing ideologies that influence the reader (1995, 34).

News agencies are institutions where translation occurs within text production. Esperança Bielsa's discussion in "Translation and Global News Agencies" (2007) helps to clarify this process. Foreign correspondents or global journalists produce news in the domestic language of their agency, whereas local journalists write news reports in their own language. Journalists also provide translations for their local market (138). Bielsa, like Gambier (2006), finds that transformations such as title and lead changes, and the addition or deletion of information to suit the target culture or publication are processes that occur in the translation of news events (142). Her study confirms Gambier's argument: the source text is not respected in the target culture because the main concern is with transmitting clear information (144). In other words, the structure of the source text does not have to be maintained, and the content may be adapted. In news agencies, several journalists often work on the same text, which makes authorship difficult to establish (148). According to Bielsa, not only is the role of translation in news production invisible, so is the actual news translation itself (151). This invisibility is largely attributed to the integration of translation with journalism: texts are localized, creativity is limited and "faithfulness is due more to the narrated events than to the source text" (151). Bielsa insists that further research in this area is necessary, not only to examine the role of news translators, but also to discover how news translations travel across borders.

Kyle Conway (2010) addresses this process of transformation in translation from the perspective of intercultural communication and translating across borders in journalism. "...Culture", he writes, "as a way of life is irreducible to mere text [...], journalists have to choose which aspects to include or omit, a decision they make with news consumers as their primary concern..." (192). Yet, how journalists transform the texts depends on "their language skills and cultural background" (192). Drawing on Pym (2004), Conway focuses on two points:

the culture of reception, which requires tailoring foreign events to local expectations, and “the resistance of culture as a way of life to being transformed into a text” (189). Journalists make changes to suit the target culture and, as a result, “these transformations become systematic and patterns emerge” (202). Drawing on Conway, I look at the news reports through a cultural lens to understand how the receiving audience might interpret the texts and how the text may have been modified to meet audience expectations. Then, based on the differences between English and French language texts, I attempt to determine whether one is a “source” text and the other a translation.

Lucile Davier’s (2014, 2015) more recent contributions to both translation and media studies are also of value to my research, specifically her article “The Paradoxical Invisibility of Translation in the Highly Multilingual Context of News Agencies” (2014). Similar to studies by Gambier and Bielsa, Davier’s also investigates translation methods and news production in news agencies. She observes “that a news agency item is actually a patchwork of many different sources, many of which were originally in a different language” (58). However, when it comes to production, Davier, drawing on Venuti (1995), writes that, at news agencies, “...all potential source texts are made invisible in the resulting text in the target language” (63). This leads me to hypothesize that print reports regarding Conrad Black that were published in news agencies may lack “visible signs of translation” (66).

To explore this further, I look to Davier’s article titled, ““Cultural Translation in News Agencies? A Plea to Broaden the Definition of Translation” (2015), where she examines portrayals of Switzerland in news agency reports and “transnational news reporting” (536). The study reveals some interesting features of news reporting, such as different cultural strategies that the English and French news agencies adopted (547). The study also raises a question in relation

to my own study: how do news agencies translate what is not known or practiced in the target culture? Davier suggests that there are cultural strategies for navigating this (547). To help identify cultural traces in her corpus, she examines *realia* as defined by Ritva Leppihalme (2010). Leppihalme's definition of *realia* as Davier writes is, "material items, [...] culture-bound notions and phenomena, such as religious or educational concepts, taboos, values, institutions, etc." (126). The culture-specific items Davier extracts help to identify translations and how Switzerland was portrayed. Davier's study shows that where one culture gave "a false impression of cultural similarity" (547), the other was "more careful in preserving cultural differences" (547). Davier's conclusions lead me to believe that there may be culture-specific items in the news reports that would help me to identify any translations. To analyze the language in the print reports and investigate any relationships between the French and English texts with the goal of uncovering translations, I will look for culture-specific items.

To assist with my corpus analysis, I turn to Mairi Louise McLaughlin (2015), who engages in corpus research that aims to "identify instances where lexical items from other languages are used in translated news" (553). Her corpus consists of news translations from the early-modern period of 1631-1789, alongside contemporary news translations from one month in 2005. While her corpus and methodology proved problematic in that she encountered symmetry issues in her corpus structure that she could not solve, she was still able to make some general observations regarding the study. In her conclusion, she states that it is important to "investigate all of the news discourse surrounding one event...because not only do they allow us to identify translated texts in individual publications, but they can also reveal larger patterns in the circulation of news if several publications appear to be translating the same original text" (567). McLaughlin's suggestion to investigate all the news discourse regarding one event can also be

problematic because events can be of various durations, and there can be any number of reports, creating an almost impossible task of gathering each one. I do recognize, however, that McLaughlin's particular method could be applicable to contemporary texts only, such as those regarding Conrad Black.

In contrast to the previously discussed scholars whose research focuses on news translation processes, Roberto Valdeón (2015) provides an historical overview of news translation from the last two decades to present a comprehensive review of the developments in the area. Instead of calling the field news translation, he terms his work journalistic translation research (JTR) (634). "As many of the studies...cover not only informative texts, but also interpretive and argumentative ones" (654), Valdeón includes textual interpretations such as editorials in JTR. Throughout his paper, Valdeón references numerous scholars who have conducted extensive research in the area of translation studies, and JTR in particular. He writes that from very early on, "journalists used to translate and comment on foreign news in order to support their ideological positions" (639), but this was done mostly invisibly (644).

Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett have also collaborated on research in the area of news translation. In *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* (2010), they argue that "mass media enable communication across languages and culture, but in doing so, they can privilege specific information at the expense of other information, and they can also hinder and prohibit information from being circulated" (8). And because "the media play a significant role" (3) in publishing information, there is the risk of greater public influence. Schäffner and Bassnett take similar positions to Bielsa, Gambier, and Davier with regards to the role of the media in translation. All support the argument that transformations take place in journalism translation.

1.2.5. Ideology

Chantal Gagnon (2006) and Jeremy Munday (2007) study the positioning of texts from a translations studies perspective. The focus of their research, however, has primarily been related to politicians and institutional political discourse. In “Ideologies in the History of Translation: A Case Study of Canadian Political Speeches”, Gagnon examines translation shifts, two versions of the same event created in the process of translation, as well as ideology in Canadian political speeches (202). Factors contributing to these shifts include “the historical context of the speech, place of publication, the targeted audience, and the “nationality” of the prime minister” (217). I will look at these factors when comparing the news reports on Conrad Black in English and French.

In Munday’s article “Translation and Ideology”, elements of van Dijk’s definition of ideology are adopted. Perspectives on how ideology is expressed in translation, “a form of intercultural transfer”, are also presented (196), as is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the methodology for revealing the relationship between ideology and discourse, which has focused on English texts only (197). “Opening up a source text to new readers in a new language, where it will most commonly be read as if it were originally written in the target language...is ‘potentially influential’”, writes Munday (196-7). Indeed, shifts in a translated text can essentially be overlooked unless a translation scholar “takes the unusual trouble to compare source and target texts...” (197). Often the writer has drawn on several sources for information and it may not even be clear if there was in fact a single source language (197). To analyze shifts, Munday suggests examining naming strategies in a translation, since positive or negative labelling is often linked to the writer’s ideology (204). The naming, whether it is favourable or negative, shows how texts were recontextualized (204). Furthermore, “the use of synonyms to

refer to a single individual combines with the evaluative political perspective of the authors of the two texts to bring together cohesion and evaluation in a telling way (205). In other words, mediation and intervention may vary, but “the descriptions, epithets and naming strategies employed in the TL texts about the ST that are not the direct translations of the ST” (214), provide the best perspective to identify any “negative ideologically-driven evaluation of other beliefs” (214). This method will enable me to identify relationships between the French and English reports. Moreover, it may help me to establish whether the reports, or parts of the reports, are translations and if so, what ideology was expressed in them.

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Corpus

As demonstrated in the preceding literature review, I draw on several methodological approaches. I look to scholars who have conducted corpora research related to translation studies and to others whose approaches to corpora relate to other disciplines. Similarly, I draw on research methodologies applicable predominantly to translation studies. Given that translation studies is both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, I take a quantitative approach, followed by a qualitative approach to the study.

In their work, *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies*, Gabriela Saldanha and Sharon O’Brien (2013) provide insight into conducting multi- and interdisciplinary research involving translation studies. My research and analysis involve undertaking a mixed-methods approach that involves both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data is “structured data” (21), usually based on the examination of large corpora and presented in the form of statistics and numbers, whereas qualitative data is the “semi or unstructured data” which is produced and analyzed through other methods such as CDA. Saldanha and O’Brien suggest

beginning with the quantitative data because of the “potential advantage of exposing some trends that can then be further proved via qualitative data” (23).

Purposive sampling, a technique that “involves selecting a sample based on pre-defined critical parameters” (34) is a complementary approach I adopt in my work. To ensure my corpus was both significant and small enough to work with given the scope of this paper, I have set the following parameters: timeframes, geographical location and language. I look to English and French print news reports published between July 6 and 20, 2007, seven days prior to Conrad Black’s fraud conviction, and seven days after. The reports originate in Canada, France and the United Kingdom, specifically England. From Canada, there are both French and English reports.

Baker, who has been previously mentioned, brings corpus research and translation studies together, taking a comparative approach to corpora in “A Corpus-based View of Similarity and Difference in Translation” (2004). She discusses the challenges that arise when working with a corpus and argues that these challenges have “rarely—if ever—in the context of corpus-based translation studies” (167) been debated. These challenges lie in the possible subjectivity of the output (183) and “how one arrives at plausible explanations of whatever he or she ‘chooses to find’” (184). For Baker, transparency is just one advantage of corpus work because it allows “other researchers to not only check the validity of the basic claims being made but also to offer different interpretations of the same data” (184). In response to Baker’s view, I have catalogued my corpus so that my study is as transparent as possible and can be examined by others.

Of particular interest is Baker’s methodological approach. She compares collections of translated and non-translated texts to determine if there are patterns of “stylistic variation” (169) between the texts. Yet over the course of her research, she encountered several challenges, including an imbalanced corpus. Baker advises researchers to monitor their “own perspectives,

as a researcher creates the object of research and contextualizes the findings” (183) and states that the “onus of interpretation still lies with the researcher” (184) when it comes to the qualitative analysis. The corpus challenges Baker addresses are ones that I have been confronted with in my study as well. Is my corpus too broad or too narrow to ensure “a reliable basis of comparison” (171)? Will I find the same number of units in the English and French texts, or will the frequency of the same units be higher in one language or the other? Moreover, will the interpretations that I extract from the texts be valid?

Guo-rong Shen (2010) also demonstrates the advantages of using corpora in translation studies. Shen praises corpora work for its flexibility and strength, sound methodology, versatility and comparability (185), and supports the use of such studies because they enable scholars to be “more context-based” (184) and “allow[s] generalizations to be made about language” (185). Shen further states that a corpus-based approach “provides scholars with empirical data which enable them to make objective statements” (185). This is problematic as there are limitations to corpus-based data. The numbers and frequencies are concrete and not open for interpretation. However, what the researcher does with the data and how they qualitatively analyze the data is, I agree, open for interpretation, as Baker suggests (183).

Federico Zanettin (2010) also reviews research methodologies and presents how corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies can be used in tandem. Zanettin’s preferred methodological approach to corpus-based translation closely mirrors the one I use for my study. He suggests that parallel corpus alignment is “demanding and laborious work” (30) and “can only be obtained through manual alignment editing” (30). In addition, news writing language “is often ‘noisy’” (30) and “resistant to automatic alignment” (30). Regarding qualitative analyses, Zanettin writes that “small-scale qualitative studies based on intensive annotation are needed to

confirm the findings from large-scale quantitative studies” (30). This is especially relevant to my research, as my data is from several geographic locations and the texts were published during two distinct one-week periods, the week prior to Black’s conviction and the week after.

Finally, I look to Anna Romagnuolo and the framework she proposes in “Political Discourse in Translation” (2009). Romagnuolo’s study of Italian translations of U.S. presidential speeches uses both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics. When combined she states, CDA and Corpus Linguistics, can be useful in examining “language behaviour in socially relevant communicative situations” (5). Using a diachronic parallel corpus, she isolates repetitive keywords across both languages of study, then groups and ranks the units of analysis based on the frequency and publication language. The units in Romagnuolo’s corpus are isolated by removing key words from the texts. The key words chosen reflect pre-determined criteria. I borrow the isolation strategy she presents in order to extract and reveal keywords among the units and the frequency with which they occur across the English-language and French-language news reports.

1.3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

This study aims to examine not only the lexical choices in the English and French news reports, but also possible ideological motivations behind these choices from the perspectives of Canada, the United Kingdom and France. To this end, I look to CDA scholars and research to provide insight. Fairclough and van Dijk are both important scholars in this interdisciplinary field, as are David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012).

Drawing on Machin and Mayr (2012), for whom CDA “implies a two-way relationship between a ‘discursive event’, and the situation, institution and social structure in which it occurs” (7) I analyze the ideological component of news reports. Well-suited for a small corpus, this

qualitative approach involves analyzing the semiotic choices and “representational strategies” (77).

In *The Language of Crime and Deviance*, Mayr and Machin (2011) investigate media discourse related to crime, ideology and power, and the manner in which “news coverage plays a significant part in shaping people’s perceptions of crime and deviance” (2). Their chapter dealing with discourse on corporate crime is particularly helpful for my research, and the authors state that there is a “lack of coverage [“in terms of ‘crime’ or sentencing”] (200) in both the print and broadcast media. They also point out that white-collar crimes vary, and as a consequence, are “placed into different news frames by reporters” (221). Machin and Mayr, who adopt van Dijk’s (1993) “representational strategies” (2012, 77), describe them as “choices available...for deciding how they wish to represent individuals and groups of people who in CDA are often termed as ‘social actors’ or ‘participants’” (77). I, too, adopt this strategy for the analysis of the units relating to Conrad Black and accordingly, Machin and Mayr’s (2012) strategies for classifying social actors (79). In effect, the classifications that arise from the strategies, may also have “ideological effects” (79) that help with providing observations. Word choices “place people in the social world and highlight certain aspects of identity we wish to draw our attention to or omit” (77), and through analysis “reveal underlying beliefs” (30) such as “broader associations of ideas, values and motives” (103).

To gather the Canadian reports in both French and English, I used *Proquest’s Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies*. To source the international reports, I used the *Eureka* and *Factiva* databases. Publication examples include the *National Post*, *Le Monde*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. In order to be considered, all reports must be attributed to an author.

An initial database search using *Proquest* yielded almost 700 print news reports from Canada in French and English, while searches in both *Eureka* and *Factiva* for English and French reports originating in England and France yielded nearly 500. Excluding duplicates and reports from chain newspapers reduced these initial numbers.

In each article, I isolate units used to refer to Conrad Black, chart the units according to the publication language, then rank the units according to their frequency. To explore assumed translations, I examine the units used in each language and cultural context. Furthermore, I analyze a set of English-language and French-language reports produced by the same author to uncover any culture-specific items that might indicate one is a translation of another. I provide a comparative analysis of the units that were employed the most frequently, those most infrequently, and those deemed unique, i.e. units only used once in either the English or French corpus. I then draw on Vinay and Darbelnet's strategies of direct and indirect translation for a comparative analysis of the units in the French and English texts. Next, I analyze the situations in which the units were typically used and the ways in which they were employed. For this process, I use CDA based on Machin and Mayr (2012). Through the use of CDA, I hope to discover any relationships between ideology and the discourse used in these media reports, and provide some insights into the production of the texts and reader influence.

Chapter 2: Corpus Development

In this chapter, I present the corpus, which is analyzed in Chapter 3. Following an outline of the corpus development, I provide the criteria used to establish it. This includes the structure of the corpus, decisions regarding selection of languages and countries of publication, and database and news report selection. I then present details of the publications by region, including details of each newspaper and statistical information regarding readership and circulation. In the last section I present the corpus: the number of reports in English and French, a breakdown by source, the types of reports and relevant readership information.

I constructed a comparative corpus to establish how Conrad Black was portrayed across the English and French print media. A corpus consisting of all available English-language and French-language units would enable me to compare the units. This process was time-consuming as I was well advanced in my research process when I gained access to the Nvivo software. Since it was not efficient to start anew with a different method, the data for this thesis was manually extracted from the news reports and manually entered into Excel spreadsheets. The integrity of the data, in my opinion, will exceed the quality of any electronic extraction, as I reviewed each report.

The research for this study began in Fall 2014, with a very small corpus of Canadian French and English news reports published between the end of April and middle of May 2012. The reports were all related to Conrad Black's release from prison on May 4, 2012. In order to build a larger, richer corpus, I expanded the timeframe to include news reports between July 6 and 20, 2007 and April 28 to May 13, 2012, that is, the two two-week periods around Black's conviction and his release from prison almost five years later. As the reports on these events occur in both French and English, and as these are two languages in which I not only study, but

also translate, I chose to study the French and English news reports only. As a translation studies scholar, I wanted to observe and study the media discourse present between the French and English, between cultures and between Canada, France and the United Kingdom. To capture the greatest possible quantity and variety of data for analysis, it was necessary to build the corpus employing data not only from Canada, but from other countries as well. The countries other than Canada were chosen to include the United Kingdom, encompassing England, Scotland and Northern Ireland; and France. I chose not to source reports originating in the United States for two reasons: the likelihood of any of the reports being published in French was low and the number of reports published in my pre-determined timeframe would have been high.

2.1. Structure

2.1.1. Database Selection

Three databases were selected: *ProQuest's Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies*, *Eureka* and *Factiva*. These are inarguably three of the most comprehensive databases for academic research. However, with both timeframes included in the search, the search yielded approximately 1,000 news reports relevant to my study. This number was deemed too large to enable me to properly analyze all units referring to Conrad Black. It was at that time that I made the difficult decision to abandon the second group of reports for this research project. I chose to move forward with the reports related to Conrad Black's conviction only because this is the first event that occurred. The reports from the second event, his release from prison in 2012, can be used at a later date to further study the evolution of the units used in French and English. For the remainder of this study then, the only news reports that I analyze are from the first time period: July 6 to July 20, 2007, the two-week period surrounding Black's conviction.

For this timeframe, the same criteria were entered into the search fields on each database's website. "Conrad Black" was the primary keyword. *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies*, yielded reports from 15 Canadian newspapers; the *Eureka* search resulted in reports from nine newspapers in Canada and Europe; *Factiva*, a mostly business-oriented database, included reports from 23 newspapers. Both *Eureka* and *Factiva* included newspapers from major Canadian markets, something I did not expect, as I had explicitly populated information to exclude Canadian publications. As my intentions were to use these two databases for publications outside of Canada, I therefore exclude the Canadian publication results from these two databases, and present the results from the United Kingdom and France reports only. Additionally, there were a significant number of duplicate news reports, that is, identical reports published within several publications, and in order to create less confusion, I decided that *ProQuest's Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies* would be the only database from which I would draw on for the Canadian English-language reports. *Factiva* and *Eureka* are the databases from which I draw for the English articles from the United Kingdom and France. *Eureka* is the only database that yielded French reports within the timeframe of my study. I therefore use those reports for my French-language analysis. A total of 1,017 articles were pulled with the keyword "Conrad Black" from all three databases.

2.1.2. News Report Selection

According to *ProQuest's Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies*, this database, is "the core of Canadian Newsstand. Included are national and leading regional papers..." (*ProQuest* 2016). Interestingly, even though I specified both English and French in the search criteria for this database, the search yielded only English reports, 406 to be precise. Additionally, and surprisingly, the search did not pull from certain Canadian dailies, mainly those in the East Coast

provinces. This raises questions regarding *ProQuest*'s criteria for identifying "leading regional papers" (*ProQuest*). Nevertheless, the English newspapers that *ProQuest* drew from are those I use for the Canadian English portion of the study. They include: the *Calgary Herald*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Province*, *The Windsor Star*, the *Toronto Star*, the *National Post*, the *Telegraph-Journal*, the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Leader Post*, the *Star-Phoenix*, the *Gazette*, the *Times-Colonist*, the *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *Vancouver Sun*.

Eureka on the other hand, pulled French reports from Canadian newspapers although I specified United Kingdom and France for the countries, along with English and French as the languages. Although I had not excluded Canadian newspapers from the search, this was unexpected. The search results for *Eureka* yielded 91 English reports, primarily from the United Kingdom, and 106 French-language reports from Canada and French-speaking countries within Europe. Initially, I had planned to use *ProQuest* only for all Canadian news reports, both English and French. However, since *ProQuest* did not yield any French-language articles and *Eureka* is the only database that yielded any, including 74 from Canada, I use *Eureka*'s search results for the French-language publications. The following publications from this source are, in English, *The Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, and *The Chronicle-Herald*, *The Sunday Herald*; and, in French, they are *La Presse*, *Le Devoir*, *Le Droit*, *Le Monde*, *Le Soleil*.

Factiva, a product of Dow Jones, is "the world's leading source of premium news, data and insight..." (*Factiva*). My search in *Factiva*, using the same search criteria and keywords yielded 255 news reports, of which 152 originate in Canada. As is previously mentioned, *ProQuest* is the main source for the English reports from Canada. I therefore removed the Canadian news reports from the *Factiva* list and was left with a list of 102 articles, all of which originate in the United Kingdom. Most of these articles were published London, with four

articles originating in Scotland and two in Ireland. The publications included are: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Herald*, *The Times*, *The Scotsman*, *The Irish Times*, *The Observer*, the *Sunday Express*, and *The Sunday Telegraph*.

It should be mentioned that in addition to owning the *National Post*, Conrad Black is also a former owner of *The Daily Telegraph*. Analysis of the news reports from these two publications is given particular attention in Chapter 3.

2.1.3. Criteria for Selection

The objective of my study is to analyze the units referring to Conrad Black in reports published in daily newspapers in English and French. Thus, I removed all weekend publications, such as those from *The Observer*, the *Sunday Express* and *The Sunday Telegraph*, from my database. News agencies have also been a frequent source for news reports on Conrad Black and many database searches yielded news reports published online from news agencies. I have struggled with the notion of keeping these publications in my database. What might be the consequences of including these sources? If I did not keep them, would I have enough news reports in both languages? In the end, I decided to preserve any news reports attributed to a news agency as a part of my corpus. However, they would subject to the following criteria: they must have been available in print format in a daily newspaper, they would be from France only (in order to increase the number of French reports), each must be attributed to an author, or at least bear initials at the end of the article indicating authorship; and, no article could be a duplicate of another source in Canada.

Neither illustrations nor captions from illustrations accompanying any of the news reports are considered. Editorials, informative and op-ed pieces from the pre- and post-conviction

timeframes constitute a large portion of the news reports published during this period. These are considered and, in fact, together, provide the majority of the data for the corpus.

The units to be analyzed are the terms that can be substituted for the proper name “Conrad Black”. The units were carefully extracted after reading each news report and were catalogued by source database and language, followed by date.

2.2. Publications by Region

2.2.1. Canada

Canadian news reports were the initial source of information for this thesis and have yielded the largest amount of data, by far. The Canadian market, with the largest geographic span of the three countries, yielded news reports from 15 English-language publications and four French-language publications. The latter originate in Eastern Canada, which are areas with the highest population of French speakers. These communities include Ottawa (*Le Droit*), Montreal (*Le Devoir* and *La Presse*) and Quebec City (*Le Soleil*).

According to the 2011 Statistics Canada Census 14.2% of Ottawa’s population identify French as their mother-tongue and the language most-spoken at home.¹ As the only Francophone daily published in Ontario, *Le Droit* may be the primary source of print news for this French-speaking population. Montreal, on the other hand, has a much higher French-speaking population with 63.3% of respondents indicating French as their mother-tongue and 66.1% indicating that only French is spoken at home.² *La Presse*, Quebec’s newspaper of record, and *Le Devoir*, are

¹ “Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census.” *Statistics Canada*, last modified September 21, 2016. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-csd-eng.cfm?LANG=Eng&GK=CSD&GC=3506008>.

² “Census Profile.” *Statistics Canada*, last modified May 31, 2016. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2466023&Geo2=CD&Code2=2466&Data=Count&SearchText=montreal&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Language&Custom=&TABID=1>.

the two major daily publications that target the French-speaking community in Montreal.³ In Quebec City, 93.8% of respondents identify French as their mother-tongue and 95.8% indicate that French is the language spoken at home.⁴ *Le Soleil* is Quebec City's largest newspaper. *Le Droit*, *Le Soleil* and *La Presse* are owned by the same umbrella company, Gesca Limitée, a holding group which focuses on publishing. Gesca Limitée is a subsidiary of Power Corporation of Canada, the holding company that acquired Hollinger Inc. from Conrad Black in 2001. *Le Devoir* is the only Canadian French-language publication in this study that is independently owned. Of the four Canadian French-language publications in this study, in 2008, *Le Devoir* had the lowest circulation, with only 26,000 during the weekdays.⁵ *Le Droit*, had a circulation of just over 35,000 daily, while *La Presse* and *Le Soleil* had circulations of 203,022 and 81,820 respectively. The circulation numbers in Table 1 indicate that on a daily basis, almost 350,000 people had access to the news reports written regarding Conrad Black.

Table 1: French-Canadian Publication Circulation (2008)

Province	City	Publication	Circulation
Ontario	Ottawa	Le Droit	35,292
Quebec	Montreal	La Presse	203,022
		Le Devoir	26,658
	Quebec City	Le Soleil	81,820

³ Smith, Corinne. 2008. "Endorsements, opinions flourish in Quebec." *CBC.ca*, Oct 10. Accessed July 20, 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/endorsements-opinions-flourish-in-quebec-1.710688>.

⁴ "Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census," *Statistics Canada*, last modified September 21, 2016, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-csd-eng.cfm?LANG=Eng&GK=CSD&GC=2423027>.

⁵ "Daily Newspaper Circulation Data." *Newspapers Canada*, accessed July 20, 2016. <http://newspaperscanada.ca/about-newspapers/circulation/daily-newspapers/>.

The 15 English-language publications in this study form a greater representation of the geographic regions in Canada. They cover readership from coast to coast and most provincial capitals in between. Circulation in Table 2 was calculated by totalling the Monday to Friday circulation, then dividing that number by five.

Table 2: Canadian English Publication Circulation (2008)

Province	City	Publication	Circulation
British Columbia	Vancouver	The Vancouver Sun	169,307
		The Province	160,739
	Victoria	The Times-Colonist	70,521
Alberta	Edmonton	The Edmonton Journal	120,985
	Calgary	The Calgary Herald	124,552
Saskatchewan	Regina	The Leader Post	86,339
	Saskatoon	The Star-Phoenix	55,325
Manitoba	Winnipeg	The Winnipeg Free Press	121,150
Ontario	Ottawa	The Ottawa Citizen	128,919
	Toronto	The Toronto Star	308,115
		The Globe and Mail	321,109
		The National Post	194,795
	Windsor	The Windsor Star	67,503
Quebec	Montreal	The Gazette	150,159
New Brunswick	Saint John	The Telegraph-Journal	33,080

To further reduce the Canadian data from each province, the news reports published in newspapers with circulation levels under 150,000 have been eliminated, with the exception of the French and Toronto news reports. This allows me to examine the news reports where the markets have the highest readership across Canada.

The news reports, and thus the units to be examined in Canadian reports, derive from the following: *Le Droit*, *La Presse*, *Le Devoir* and *Le Soleil*, in addition to the *Vancouver Sun*, the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, and the *Montreal Gazette*.

It is important to consider the ownership of these publications. The majority of the print publications in Canada are owned by the same companies. As mentioned above, only *Le Devoir*

is an independent publication. The remaining publications fall under four different owners. In 2007, *CanWest* was the largest, owning all the Canadian English newspapers in my corpus, with the exception of *The Telegraph Journal*, which was, and is currently, owned by Brunswick News Inc. *Canwest*, now a defunct company, acquired these newspapers from Conrad Black's Hollinger Inc. in 2000. Conrad Black acquired these newspapers when he bought the Southam Newspaper chain in 1996 and the *National Post* was founded in 1998. When Hollinger sold its publishing interests to Canwest in 2000, it sold only 50% of the *National Post*. Not long after the initial sale though, Canwest acquired the remaining 50%. The news reports and subsequent units to be analyzed are from reports published in 2007, thus, the subsequent sale of Canwest in the late 2000s is not relevant. Analysis of the units published in these newspapers requires special attention though, because they had the same ownership, and may have had the same editorial board conditions, such as what is acceptable to write or publish and what is not.

2.2.2. France

With the limited number of French-language news reports published in Canada, it was necessary to expand the scope of my study to include other areas publishing in French, hence my decision to include France in this study. However, having extracted the data, I discovered that only four daily newspapers in France had published reports on Conrad Black and his conviction that fit my criteria: *Le Monde*, *Libération*, *Les Échos* and *Le Figaro*. Reports from *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *Le Tribune* have been removed because these publications are weeklies. To complete a comparative analysis, it is ideal to have a corpus of a relatively equal amounts, so to resolve this, as mentioned above, I decided to include news agency reports from France only. The agency and the final daily publications from France are: *Le Monde*, *Libération*, *Les Échos*,

and *Agence France-Presse (AFP)*, the third largest news agency in the world, after the *Associated Press (AP)* and *Reuters*. All of the reports included from *AFP* have an author. *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* are two of France's most respected and widespread dailies, as shown in Table 3. In 2007, *Le Monde* had a circulation of 358,655 and *Le Figaro* had a circulation of 338,618. Collectively they reach well over half a million people daily. *Les Échos* and *Libération*, which both had much lower circulation in 2007, 119,000 and 132,356 respectively, are both excluded from analysis as they do not meet the circulation threshold of 150,000.⁶ The reports from *Le Figaro*, to my dismay, were not attributed to an author and were also subsequently removed from the corpus.

Table 3: France Publication Circulation

Country	City	Publication	Circulation
France	Paris	Le Monde	358,655
		Le Figaro	338,618

2.2.3. United Kingdom

Finally, the print publications under analysis from the United Kingdom, while slightly less numerous than those in Canada, still outnumber the publications originating in France. Two of these newspapers are slightly problematic as they are published for international audiences. The *Financial Times* is a daily newspaper focusing on business and economics, and targets an international audience. The same applies to the *International Herald Tribune*, which is affiliated with the *New York Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal Europe*. No reports published in either of these publications are included in my corpus, as the focus of my research is not American-affiliated publications. The two publications from Scotland, *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* are

⁶Chris Tryhorn, "Les Echos strike on hold," *The Guardian*, June 20, 2007. Accessed July 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/jun/20/pearson.pressandpublishing1>.

also eliminated because their circulation falls under 150,000. Circulation in 2007 for the publications undergoing analysis appears in Table 4.

Table 4: United Kingdom Publication Circulation

Country	City	Publication	Circulation
United Kingdom	London	Financial Times	439,104
		The Daily Telegraph	911,454
		The Guardian	384,070
		The Independent	263,503
		The Times	670,054
		Daily Express	739,000 ⁷
		The Daily Mail	2,167,000 ⁸

Another factor I considered was the format of the print publications: tabloid or broadsheet. I decided to use newspapers that were printed in broadsheet, tabloid or Berliner formats.

The most widely-circulated of newspapers in the United Kingdom, the *Daily Mail* is also one of the youngest. Founded in 1896, it is conservative in its editorial stance. Of the most popular newspapers originating in London, *The Guardian* is centre-left but maintains that it is free from political influence.⁹ *The Times* on the other hand, is a centre-left newspaper owned by Rupert Murdoch and Times Newspapers UK. While it is published in a tabloid format, *The Times* is not considered a tabloid newspaper. The youngest newspaper in Britain is *The Independent*. Founded in 1986, it is considered to be a liberal publication, like *The Guardian*,

⁷ “Circulation of the Daily Express in the United Kingdom from 1st half 2003 to 2nd half 2015.” *Statista*, accessed July 20, 2016. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/288227/circulation-trend-of-the-daily-express-newspaper-uk/>.

⁸ “Circulation of the Daily Mail in the United Kingdom from 1st half 2003 to 2nd half 2015.” *Statista*, accessed Jul 20, 2016. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/288261/circulation-trend-of-the-daily-mail-newspaper-uk/>.

⁹ “The Scott Trust: values and history,” *The Guardian*, Jul 26, 2015, accessed July 20, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/the-scott-trust/2015/jul/26/the-scott-trust>.

The Independent maintains it is free from political influence. In March 2016, *The Independent* shifted to an online only presence, ceasing all printing. With the lowest circulation of the United Kingdom newspapers in this study, the newspaper ceased publication in March 2016. Finally, *The Daily Telegraph*, a centre-right, mostly conservative newspaper, is the most closely examined of the British newspapers in this study.¹⁰ Formerly owned by Conrad Black, it was bought by the Barclay Brothers in 2004.

The articles from all above sources were electronically catalogued and sorted by timeframe using a database extraction tool. The extracted units to undergo analysis are also electronically catalogued.¹¹

2.3. Corpus Details

The corpus is divided into English and French and the details provided encompass the source database, region, publication, number of articles, type of report and number of units extracted for analysis. I did not track the length of every report or the word count, but rather the number of reports and the number of applicable units in each. That said, it is likely that a report with 35 units of interest for analysis will be longer than an article that contained only two units.

2.3.1. ProQuest English Data

Altogether, *ProQuest* yielded 262 articles. However, after having applied the criteria for analysis, I was left with articles from Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, the three largest cities in the country. *The Globe and Mail* had the highest number of units for analysis: 512. It also printed the highest number of articles in the timeframe: 43 news reports, seven letters to the editor and six articles that have been designated as “comments”. The *Toronto Star* is the

¹⁰ “The UK’s ‘other paper of record’.” *BBC News*, last modified Jan 19, 2004, accessed July 20, 2016. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3409185.stm.

¹¹ All data can be made available to interested readers in Excel format.

newspaper with the second highest number of units used to refer to Conrad Black, with 496. It printed 32 articles in the timeframe: 28 news reports and four letters to the editor. In the Toronto market, surprisingly¹², the *National Post* referred to Conrad Black the least: only 434 times throughout the 39 articles. There were 31 news reports, seven Op-Ed pieces and one letter to the editor.

Table 5: ProQuest English Data

Region	City	Publication	# of articles	Type	# units
Canada	Vancouver	The Vancouver Sun	7	6 news reports 1 editorial	124
	Toronto	National Post	39	31 news reports 7 Op-Ed 1 Letter	434
	Toronto	The Globe and Mail	43	30 news reports 7 Letters 6 comments	512
	Toronto	Toronto Star	32	28 news reports 4 letters	496
	Montreal	The Gazette	21	13 Op-Ed 8 news reports	189

2.3.2. Eureka English-language Data

The English data from the *Eureka* database is somewhat surprising, as I had expected to see many more publications. Most of the results come from three sources: *Agence France-Presse*, *The Financial Times* in London and the *International Herald Tribune*. As explained above, I have removed the *International Herald Tribune* from further analysis because it does not meet the criteria. The two remaining publications are presented in Table 6.

¹² This was surprising because Black, in 1998, founded the *National Post*.

Table 6: Eureka English Data

Region	City	Publication	# of articles	Type	# units
France	Paris	Agence France-Presse	7	7 news reports	113
UK	London	The Financial Times	31	30 news reports 1 comment	400

2.3.3. Eureka French-language Data

After removing the publications that did not meet the criteria, I was left with 104 articles produced by 10 publications. As is seen in the chart below, about 50% originate from Canada and about 50% from France. In total, there are 105 articles.

Table 7: Eureka French-language Data

Country	City	Publication	# of articles	Type	# units
Canada	Quebec City	Le Soleil	22	22 news reports	192
	Montreal	La Presse	26	25 news reports 1 editorial	222
		Le Devoir	10	10 news reports	136
	Ottawa	Le Droit	16	16 news reports	138
France	Paris	La Tribune	2	2 news reports	17
		Le Figaro	4	4 news reports	6
		Le Monde	2	2 news reports	15
		Les Échos	2	2 news reports	9
		Libération	3	3 news reports	12
		Agence France-Presse	17	17 news reports	149

2.3.4. Factiva English-language Data

Table 8 below shows the results from the *Factiva* search, which yielded 80 articles from nine publications. All articles were published in newspapers based in London.

Table 8: Factiva English Data

Country	City	Publication	# of articles	Type	# units
UK	London	Daily Express	5	5 news reports	109
		Daily Mail	4	4 news reports	78
		The Daily Telegraph	10	10 news reports	177
		The Financial Times	18	18 news reports	237

		The Guardian	18	18 news reports	235
		The Independent	8	8 news reports	149
		The Telegraph	3	3 news reports	5
		The Times	4	4 news reports	70

From the data yielded by all three databases combined, I kept a total of 354 reports: 250 English-language articles containing 2,869 units for analysis and 104 French-language articles containing 896 units. For the scope of this study, the numbers were still very high. To proceed with the analysis without significantly changing my initial criteria, it was necessary to further reduce the number of news reports. To do this I decided to eliminate all unattributed reports from news agencies, keeping only French-language news reports that identify an author.

To significantly reduce the number of English-language news reports, I also removed news reports from *The Financial Times* because of its international focus, as well as letters to the editor and comments columns. Finally, I reduced the corpus further by eliminating news reports with multiple authors. There are consequences to this though, because as Gambier (2006) says, significant information can be omitted when multiple journalists are working on a text, contributing to a translation's invisibility (148). These two decisions eliminate all of the English reports from *Eureka* and leave this study with 148 English texts and 37 French texts, which are analyzed in the next chapter.

The next steps consist of a comparative analysis of the units, specifically CDA, and framing and labelling strategies. This will lead to an examination of the reports in English and French with a view to determining if some of the articles presented in this research were translations from English into French or French into English.

Chapter Three: Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

In this final chapter I present the analysis of my data, demonstrate my application of the theories and methodologies introduced in Chapter 1, and describe how I arrived at the results. The chapter consists of two sections central to the analysis: quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative section demonstrates the frequency of units in both French and English reports. Frequency is presented not only by language, but also by country, and publication. Section 2, the qualitative analysis, presents the comparison of units, the Critical Discourse Analysis and exploration of framing and ideology. In addition, in Section 2 I also introduce several reports, including a mini sub-corpus of French news reports by Romina Maurino that is analyzed to establish whether any are translations or assumed translations.

3.1. Quantitative Analysis

3.1.1. Frequency by Language

In this section I present the overall results of the French and English units used to reference Conrad Black. The units were isolated and extracted based on the criteria I selected and presented in the previous chapter, and charted borrowing from Romagnuolo's (2009) Corpus Linguistics methodology. The tables in this section show the most frequent units by country and publication.

3.1.1.1. English-language Corpus

The 148 English-language reports in my corpus (from all countries) contain 2,127 units referencing Conrad Black, 249 of which are unique units. In other words, there is substantial repetition. The most frequent units refer to Conrad Black by his last name. They are listed in Table 9 below.

Table 9: English-language Corpus Units¹³

Unit	Frequency
Black	957
Lord Black	406
Conrad Black	220
Conrad	120
the peer	26
Mr. Black	22
Lord Black of Crossharbour	20
the press baron	12
a flight risk	8
the former press baron	8

The most frequent unit is *Black*, with 957 occurrences out of 2,127. This is followed by *Lord Black*, *Conrad Black*, *Conrad* and *the peer*, with 406, 220, 120 and 26 occurrences respectively.

The units *Black*, *Lord Black*, *Conrad Black* and *Conrad* make up almost 80% of all English-language units.

3.1.1.2. French-language Corpus

The 37 articles in the French-language corpus, contain 420 units referencing Conrad Black, of which 67 are unique. Similar to the English-language corpus, the units in Table 10 most frequently refer to Conrad Black by some variation of his name.

Table 10: French-language Corpus Units¹⁴

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	162
Black	90
M. Black	44
C. Black	12
l'ex-magnat	5
Lord Black	5
coupable	5
l'ancien magnat de la presse	5
l'homme d'affaires	4

¹³ For full results, see Appendix B.

¹⁴ See Appendix C for full results.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • l'ancien magnat de presse canadien • Citizen Black • le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black • Lord Black of Crossharbour • le magnat de la presse • un propriétaire modèle • le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black 	3
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The units *Conrad Black*, *Black*, *M. Black* and *C. Black* make up almost 70% of the French units, with 162, 90, 44 and 12 occurrences respectively.

3.1.2. Frequency by Country

3.1.2.1. Canada

3.1.2.1.1. Canadian Reports in English

The English-language corpus originating in Canada, comprises 102 articles containing 156 unique units, and 1,321 units overall. The units listed in Table 11 represent just over half of the entire corpus of English-language units.

Table 11: Canadian Units in English¹⁵

Unit	Frequency
Black	515
Lord Black	363
Conrad Black	134
Conrad	76
Mr. Black	18
Lord Black of Crossharbour	9
the former press baron	8
convicted felon	7
a flight risk	6
the press baron	6

The units in the English corpus from Canada demonstrate that there is little variation between the units employed in the overall English-language articles in Table 9.

¹⁵ See Appendix D for full results.

3.1.2.1.2. Canadian Units in French

The French-language units in the 33 Canadian articles, as shown in Table 12, show results similar to the overall French-language articles in Table 11. Of the 377 units; the most frequent are *Conrad Black*, *Black*, *M. Black* and *C. Black*.

Table 12: Canadian Units in French¹⁶

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	146
Black	90
M. Black	41
C. Black	12
Lord Black	5
l'ancien magnat de la presse	4
coupable	4
l'homme d'affaires	4
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• l'ex-patron de presse canadien• l'ex-magnat• Lord Black of Crossharbour• le magnat de la presse	3

3.1.2.2. United Kingdom

3.1.2.2.1. English Reports from the United Kingdom

There are 48 articles in the United Kingdom corpus. These articles contain 116 units, and overall, make up 801 of the 2,127 English-language references to Conrad Black. The most frequent units are, again, similar to the units used in the English articles from Canada and are listed in Table 13.

Table 13: English Units from the United Kingdom¹⁷

Unit	Frequency
Black	438
Conrad Black	84

¹⁶ See Appendix E for full results.

¹⁷ See Appendix F for full results.

Conrad	44
Lord Black	43
the peer	26
Lord Black of Crossharbour	11
the press baron	6
the former Telegraph owner	5
Mr. Black	4
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the former owner of The Daily Telegraph the 62-year-old Canadian-born Black the media mogul 	3

3.1.2.3. France

3.1.2.3.1. French Reports from France

The data for this part of the corpus consists of a much smaller number of units compared to the French-language articles from Canada; this dataset is significantly smaller than any of the English-language datasets. Table 14 shows that, together, the four French news reports originating in France contain 43 units and only 18 unique units.

Table 14: French Units from France¹⁸

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	16
M. Black	3
le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> l'ex-magnat l'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black Citizen Black très aristocratique Black un propriétaire modèle le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black Black l'arrogant 	2

¹⁸ See Appendix G for full results.

3.1.3. Frequency by Country by English Publication

In this section, I present number of times in which a unit appears in each publication. I divide this section into the countries followed by publication.

3.1.3.1. Canada

3.1.3.1.1. *National Post*

Of the 148 English-language news reports selected from Canadian publications, 31 were published in the *National Post*, these news reports contain 356 units. Table 15 shows the most frequently occurring units.

Table 15: Units from the *National Post*

Unit	Frequency
Lord Black	162
Black	56
Conrad Black	39
Conrad	38
Mr. Black	7

The unit results from the *National Post* show that Conrad Black was overwhelmingly referred to as *Lord Black*. Given that Black founded this publication in 1998, this is not necessarily a surprising editorial decision. However, since he was dismissed from the board of Hollinger in 2004, referring to Black by his title of nobility could be the *National Post*'s attempt at objectivity. Further analysis on the use of the above units is presented in sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2.

3.1.3.1.2. *Toronto Star*

The *Toronto Star* represents 26 of the 148 English-language news reports, and these reports contain 468 units.

Table 16: Units from the *Toronto Star*

Unit	Frequency
Black	323
Conrad Black	39
Conrad	29
Lord Black of Crossharbour	4
the fallen media baron	3

Compared to the top units from the *National Post*, the frequency of the unit *Black* in the *Toronto Star* is almost equal to that of units used throughout all *National Post* news reports, even though the *Toronto Star* has five fewer news reports. There are 323 occurrences of *Black*, followed by 39 *Conrad Black* and 38 occurrences of *Conrad*. Two units in the corpus from the *Toronto Star* that did not appear in the most frequent units from the *National Post*, are in the top five: *Lord Black of Crossharbour* and *the fallen media baron*. I analyze these unit choices in the Critical Discourse Analysis in Section 3.2.1.

3.1.3.1.3. *The Globe and Mail*

The Globe and Mail published the smallest number of news reports in the Toronto area. In the timeframe of study, there were 22 reports containing 288 units referencing Conrad Black.

Table 17: Units from *The Globe and Mail*

Unit	Frequency
Lord Black	195
Conrad Black	27
Mr. Black	9
Conrad	6
Black and the press baron	4

Like the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* frequently referred to Conrad Black as *Lord Black*. Other frequent units include *Conrad Black*, *Mr. Black*, *Conrad*, *Black and the press baron*, although none of these occur as frequently as *Lord Black*.

3.1.3.1.4. *Vancouver Sun*

There were only five news reports printed in the *Vancouver Sun* in the given timeframe. They contain 78 units referencing Conrad Black.

Table 18: Units from the *Vancouver Sun*

Unit	Frequency
Black	54
Conrad Black	7
Lord Black	3
member of the House of Lords, convicted felon, a flight risk	2

Three units that have not been among the most frequent in other publications make their appearance in the *Vancouver Sun*: *Member of the House of Lords, convicted felon* and *a flight risk*.

3.1.3.1.5. *Montreal Gazette*

The *Montreal Gazette* yielded 16 news reports that contain 127 references to Conrad Black.

Table 19: Units from the *Montreal Gazette*

Unit	Frequency
Black	76
Conrad Black	22
convicted felon	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conrad• member of the House of Lords• Lord Black of Crossharbour• the most feared man in the Canadian establishment• a flight risk	2

Like all English-language news reports from Canada, *The Montreal Gazette* had some variation of Conrad Black's name in the top two spots in terms of frequency.

3.1.3.2. United Kingdom

Within the United Kingdom, 48 news reports meet the criteria for unit analysis. These reports were produced by six different publications. Together, they contain 801 units referencing Conrad Black, and 116 unique units.

3.1.3.2.1. *Daily Express*

The *Daily Express* printed five news reports containing 109 references to Conrad Black.

Table 20: Units from the *Daily Express*

Unit	Frequency
Black	66
Conrad Black	5
Lord Black of Crossharbour	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lord Black• Canadian-born Black• the former Daily Telegraph owner and once-powerful chief executive of the Hollinger newspaper empire• a merciless businessman with a love of suing anyone who crossed him• Baron Greed• millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black• the disgraced 62-year old British peer;• the man who raided his company's coffers to fund a lavish style• a businessman who through Hollinger Internationals once controlled Britain's Daily Telegraph, the National Post of Canada and the Jerusalem Post• the arrogant tycoon• the flamboyant larger-than-life character with a ruthless business mind	2

As with other publications, the *Daily Express* also has a variation of Conrad Black's name in the three most frequently used units. The units occurring twice are only found in the *Daily Express*. These units merit further analysis to explore whether there were ideological motivations, framing, or even interference as Goffman (1974, 22) proposes. This analysis is presented in section 3.2.1. below.

3.1.3.2.2. *Daily Mail*

The *Daily Mail* published only four news reports on Conrad Black between July 6 and July 20, 2007. These reports contain 78 units, and none of the top five units are different from those listed thus far.

Table 21: Units from the *Daily Mail*

Unit	Frequency
Black	33
Conrad	14
Conrad Black	5
the peer	4
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lord Black• the press baron• Lord Black of Crossharbour• tycoon	2

The top units from the *Daily Mail* are consistent with most of reports presented previously.

However, this publication contains one occurrence of each of the following: *a thief, the man who once controlled 600 newspapers and entertained the cream of London society, a white-collar criminal and a low crook.*

3.1.3.2.3. *The Daily Telegraph*

Conrad Black once owned *The Daily Telegraph*, also known as *The Telegraph*.

Therefore, it is important to pay special attention to the units in the news reports published by this newspaper. Like Canada's *National Post*, this publication's editorial decisions may have been motivated by factors relating to this previous ownership. *The Daily Telegraph* published 11 news reports related to Conrad Black, containing 177 units.

Table 22: Units from *The Daily Telegraph*

Unit	Frequency
Black	130
Conrad Black	13

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lord Black 	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conrad 	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the peer 	3

The most frequent units in news reports from *The Daily Telegraph* are similar to those seen in the *Daily Mail*. However, *The Daily Telegraph* also had some interesting and unique units suggesting ideological motivation; they are analyzed in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

3.1.3.2.4. *The Guardian*

The Guardian is the UK newspaper that published the most news reports concerning Conrad Black between July 6 and 20, 2007. There are 18 reports containing 218 units.

Table 23: Units from *The Guardian*

Unit	Frequency
Black	115
Conrad Black	27
Lord Black	15
the peer	13
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conrad • the former Telegraph owner 	5

The most frequent units extracted from *The Guardian* news reports do not vary from the other UK publications. A few unique units occurring with less frequency include: *big and bellicose, a rich man who ran with the super-rich and needed to find the funds to do it and convicted fraudster Conrad Black.*

3.1.3.2.5. *The Independent*

In 2007, *The Independent* had the lowest circulation of the UK publications in the corpus. During the timeframe of analysis, it published seven news reports containing 149 units. This number is almost double that of the *Daily Mail*, which had a circulation of more than two million

and published only four reports. However, the units are strikingly similar to those of the other publications from the UK.

Table 24: Units from *The Independent*

Unit	Frequency
Black	48
Conrad Black	26
Conrad	21
Lord Black	20
the peer	5

Some of the more interesting unique units that occur less frequently, but which I do not analyze, include *the crook, a good proprietor, an intellectual and a serious, published historian, the sophisticated fraudster, a bank robber [in a] suit and tie and the rebellious Toronto schoolboy*. I do not analyze these units because, while they do suggest ideological motivation, this research focuses on units where there is the possibility of equivalence between English and French units, and on possible translations.

3.1.3.2.6. *The Times*

The last of the UK publications, *The Times*, published only four reports during the two-week period under study. They contain 70 units, the fewest of all the UK publications.

Table 25: Units from *The Times*

Unit	Frequency
Black	46
Conrad Black	8
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lord Black of Crossharbour 	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the former Telegraph chairman 	2

Considering that *The Times* yielded so few articles, it is not surprising that there are very few units, and that the top units are all repeated throughout the other UK publications. Again, as was

seen in all the other publications, there are unique units that should be mentioned: *a pompous figure known for his domineering manner and flowery vocabulary, the swaggering press baron, and a notorious late riser*. Analysis of these units is outside of scope of this study because I am focusing on units where there is possible equivalence and translation.

3.1.4. Frequency by Country by French Publication

To return to Baker (2004) with regards to the composition of corpora, she says that imbalances “are not specific to corpus-based studies [...] It is in the nature of any type of comparison, any attempt to look for similarities and differences, that what is being compared can never be totally balanced in every respect” (171). Indeed, I encountered a significant imbalance in my own study. The French-language units originating in Canadian publications are much more numerous than the units originating in publications from France. I feared that this might compromise the integrity of my cross-cultural research. With a greater number of French units in Canada than in France, I also feared that I would not have a sufficient amount of data from France to make sound conclusions in the qualitative analysis. However, how the results are contextualized and interpreted continues to lie with the researcher (183). Baker states that “the question of how one arrives at plausible explanations of whatever he or she ‘chooses to find’ is just as complex and elusive in corpus work as it is in all research” (184). In section 3.2.1, I compare the French and English units, keeping in mind that the qualitative analysis may pose challenges, just as the corpus has with the imbalances.

3.1.4.1. French Publications in Canada

3.1.4.1.1. *La Presse*

La Presse, one of two French-language from publications Montreal, yielded 17 news reports with 183 units.

Table 26: Units from *La Presse*

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	85
Black	25
M. Black	19
C. Black	12
Lord Black	4
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• arrogant, excentrique, suffisant, sans scrupules, suprêmement méprisant pour tous ceux qui ne partagent pas ses opinions,• un des plus brillants historiens et biographes de sa génération• un homme qui a toujours frayed avec les puissants de ce monde	1

The most frequent units were *Conrad Black*, *Black* and *M. Black*.

3.1.4.1.2. *Le Devoir*

The second of the two French-language publications from Montreal, *Le Devoir*, yielded eight news reports containing 94 units.

Table 27: Units from *Le Devoir*

Unit	Frequency
Black	37
Conrad Black	25
M. Black	10
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• l'ancien baron de la presse• l'ancien magnat de la presse• Lord Black of Crossharbour• l'homme d'affaires• le magnat déchu	2

The unit *Lord Black* did not appear once among the seven news reports.

3.1.4.1.3. *Le Soleil*

Le Soleil, the only French-language publication from Quebec City, published six news reports on Conrad Black between July 6 and July 20, 2007. These contain only 75 units, four of which are repetitions. (See Table 28).

Table 28: Units from *Le Soleil*

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	27
Black	23
M. Black	6
coupable	2

Several of the less frequent units, however, are present in news reports from both *Le Soleil* and *La Presse*: *arrogant, excentrique, suffisant, sans scrupules, suprêmement méprisant pour tous ceux qui ne partagent pas ses opinions, un des plus brillants historiens et biographes de sa génération* and *intelligent*.

3.1.4.1.4. *Le Droit*

Le Droit, an Ottawa-based French-language newspaper, published two reports on Conrad Black. These reports contain 25 units and only three are repeated.

Table 29: Units from *Le Droit*

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	9
M. Black	6
Black	5

None of the individual units from *Le Droit* are analyzed in detail because they are among the most frequently used units in both the English and French-language data.

3.1.4.2. French Publications in France

My search yielded only four French-language news reports originating in France. Three derive from *Agence France-Presse (AFP)*, the only news agency from which I draw, and one was published in *Le Monde*. Together, they contain 43 units, 10 of which are repeated. (See Table 30).

3.1.4.2.1. Agence France-Presse

The majority of the units in the corpus from France are from the three reports published by this agency.

Table 30: Units from *Agence France-Presse*

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	13
M. Black	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• l'ex-magnat• l'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black• Citizen Black• très aristocratique Black• un propriétaire modèle• le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black• Black l'arrogant	2

3.1.4.2.2. Le Monde

Le Monde is the only French print daily originating in France that published a news report fitting the criteria for this study. The report contains eight units, and only one is repeated.

Table 31: Units from *Le Monde*

Unit	Frequency
Conrad Black	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black• l'homme• l'ex-magnat Conrad Black• un tycoon impitoyable• Conrad-le-menteur	1

While the majority of the units appear in reports from other countries, the last two are unique in the corpus; the word *tycoon* in the unit *un tycoon impitoyable* is an English borrowing and the compound unit *Conrad-le-menteur* is not found in any other report. The author of the *Le Monde* report also uses the unique unit *Conrad-le-menteur*, not seen in any other report in the corpus. This unit is marginally slanderous. I would argue it achieves not only both nomination, but also serves to label. Not only is the author calling him out by his name (nomination), but at the same time Black is being labelled a liar. In section 3.2, Table 33, I present an analysis of *tycoon*.

3.1.5. Frequency Summary

Analysis of the unit frequency shows that the units most often present in the English corpus are *Conrad Black*, *Black* and *Lord Black*. In the Canadian English-language publications, the five most frequent units are *Black*, *Lord Black*, *Conrad Black*, *Conrad* and *Mr. Black*. In the UK English-language publications, the five most frequent, in descending order, are: *Black*, *Conrad Black*, *Conrad*, *Lord Black* and *the peer*. If the five most frequent units in each English corpus are removed, there are fewer similarities. The Canadian corpus is left with *Lord Black of Crossharbour*, *the former press baron*, *convicted felon*, *a flight risk* and *the press baron*. In the UK reports, the next most frequent units include: *Lord Black of Crossharbour*, *the press baron*, *the former Telegraph owner*, *Mr. Black* and *the former owner of the Daily Telegraph*, *the 62-year-old*, *Canadian-born Black* and *the media mogul*.

Like the English-language corpus, the French-language corpus also contains units that have a high frequency and occur across all publications: *Conrad Black* and *Black*. In fact, these make up more than half of the 420 units in the French-language corpus. The next most frequent units in the French-language reports are *M. Black*, *C. Black* and *l'ex-magnat*. In Canadian French-language reports, the most frequent units are *Conrad Black*, *Black*, *M. Black*, *C. Black*

and *Lord Black*. In the reports originating in France, the most frequent units are *Conrad Black* and *M. Black*. When the most frequent units are removed from each corpus, greater variation is revealed among the publications. For example, the next most frequent units in the Canadian French-language corpus are: *l'ancien magnat de la presse* (4), *coupable* (4), *l'homme d'affaires* (4), *l'ex-patron de presse canadien* (3), *l'ex-magnat* (3), *Lord Black of Crossharbour* (3), and *le magnat de la presse* (3). In the news reports from France, *le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black*, *l'ex-magnat*, *l'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black*, *Citizen Black*, *très aristocratique Black*, *un propriétaire modèle*, *le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black* and *Black l'arrogant* are all found twice.

3.2. Qualitative Analysis

3.2.1. Unit Comparison: Direct and Indirect Translations, Critical Discourse Analysis

The first part of the qualitative analysis focuses on the unit comparison, where I examine the units for equivalence in English and French. In other words, I seek to establish whether the units have the same meaning in both languages. The other focus of this section is the analysis of units that I have deemed not neutral, primarily those that occur less frequently. The reason I target the less frequent units over those occurring more frequently is that there may be underlying ideologies embedded in them. This, to me, is essential, especially with regards to framing, and also translation, as I look for culture-specific items and other units that might not normally be found in the English or French-language. However, I do conduct analysis on some frequent units, such as those referring to Conrad Black's names and titles. How Black was addressed across the countries could reveal very different framing and ideologies.

Throughout most of the research and drafting of this thesis, I explored different methods of comparison to present the results most effectively. Even though all along I had been listening

to Toury (1995) say, “begin with the observables” (145), it was not until I began to write this chapter that the most effective method for comparing the French and English units became clear. I searched for units that were not only repeated, but also appeared in both the English-language and French-language corpus. Given the large number of units, I created sub-categories. The units are categorized and compared across publications and across languages in the following manner: units that contained legal terms or legalese, units that contained *tycoon* or *patron*, units that referred to his age, and units that referred to Black’s identity, such as those containing *Conrad* or *Black*, references to citizenship and titles. Categorizing the units across languages also facilitates the exploration for direct or indirect translation strategies.

3.2.1.1. Legal Status

Table 32: Units Related to Legal Status

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalents	
convicted fraudster Conrad Black	un condamné pour fraude
No Equivalents	
convicted felon	coupable
convict	
Convict Conrad Black	
the most prominent Canadian executive to be convicted as a white-collar fraudster	
a convicted criminal	
the four-time convicted felon	
a felon	
the felon	
newly minted felon Conrad Black	

With the English-language reports relating to legal terms, Black was referred to as either a “convict” or a “felon”, and the French units, both from French-language publications in

Canada, labelled him as either guilty (*coupable*) or a convicted fraudster (*un condamné pour fraude*). Since the latter unit occurs only once in the English-language reports, but several times in the French, I further analyze the reports to determine whether there are relationships between the reports. This analysis is presented in Section 3.2.3.3. Two other units, in English: *tycoon*; and in French: *patron*, are worthy of analysis. *Tycoon*, which means “a business magnate”¹⁹, was widely used across the English-language news reports both in Canada and the UK. As is shown in Table 33 below, *tycoon* was also used once in the French-language corpus.

3.2.1.2. *Tycoon*

Table 33: Comparison of Units Containing *tycoon*

English Corpus	French Corpus
tycoon	
the tycoon	
a ruthless tycoon	un tycoon impitoyable
a wunderkind tycoon in the 70s	
the fallen media tycoon	
the former media tycoon	
former media tycoon Conrad Black	
Corrupt media tycoon	
disgraced newspaper tycoon	
disgraced tycoon	
the newspaper tycoon	
media tycoon	
millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black	
the arrogant tycoon	
the fraudster tycoon	
former newspaper tycoon	

¹⁹ “Tycoon.” *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* 2004, edited by Katherine Barber. Oxford University Press. Accessed February 16, 2017. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195418163.001.0001/m_en.

The word *tycoon* within the unit *un tycoon impitoyable*, shows borrowing, a direct translation procedure as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, 31). Borrowing occurs when a word from a foreign language, in this case from English, is used in another language without changing its form. Given that no other French-language report contained this unit, it is possible that the author chose it for effect. Vinay and Darbelnet suggest that there are times when an English expression might be best reproduced in French, rather than trying to find an equivalent that might be less satisfying (32). This appears to be one of those moments. In English, the equivalent of the unit, *a ruthless tycoon*, is used only once in the English-language corpus. This unit is analyzed in section 3.2.3.2.

3.2.1.3 *Patron*

The French unit *patron*, when translated into English has two possible equivalents: *employer*²⁰ and *boss*.²¹ One definition of *boss* is, “a person who controls or manages an organization, e.g. a political party, union, organized crime syndicate, etc.”²²

Table 34: Analysis of *patron*

English Corpus	French Corpus
former boss	l'ex-patron de presse canadien
mob boss	l'ex-patron de Hollinger
the brewery boss's son from Montreal	cet ambitieux patron de presse
former Telegraph boss	le patron de presse déchu Conrad Black

²⁰ “Patron”, *TermiumPlus*, last modified Feb 9, 2017, accessed February 16, 2017. http://www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca/tpv2source?lang=eng&srchtxt=patron&i=1&index=alt&src_id=CNV-41972&rlang=en&titl=employer&fchrcrdnm=1#resultrecs.

²¹ “Boss”, *TermiumPlus*, last modified Feb 9, 2017, accessed February 16, 2017. http://www.btb.termiumplus.gc.ca/tpv2source?lang=eng&srchtxt=patron&i=1&index=alt&src_id=P270990&rlang=en&titl=boss&fchrcrdnm=10#resultrecs.

²² “Boss”, *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* 2004, edited by Katherine Barber. Oxford University Press. Accessed February 16, 2017. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195418163.001.0001/m_en_ca0008171?rskey=Mk4hzU&resul=8141.

	l'ex-patron de presse
	l'ex-patron de presse canadien Conrad Black

Ironically, the English corpus, in fact, employs the unit *boss* to refer to Black, and more specifically employs *mob boss*. While use of the unit *boss* is common in English, it is colloquial and informal. The context in which the English unit is employed is similar to that of *a white man in his 60s*; it occurred in quoted speech. Journalists often have more than one quotation to choose from, so that the author of this news report chose to publish the quote with *mob boss*, in particular, conveys disrespect. It is consciously and strategically framing Black as a criminal (Baker 2006, 106). The purpose was not to bury the unit in the text, but to highlight it, by employing it in a quote. This suggests that there was motivation and intention involved, therefore creating a social framework (Goffman 1974, 22). The French unit *patron* can be used both formally and colloquially. The French-language units containing *patron* are more numerous than the English-language units with *boss*, but also more generic and less descriptive. When translated into English, the French units describe Black as the former Canadian media boss or the former head of Hollinger.

3.2.1.4. Age

A number of units also underscore Conrad Black's age.

Table 35: Units Related to Age

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalent	
the 62-year-old	l'homme âgé de 62 ans âgé de 62 ans cet homme de 62 ans
No Equivalents	
the 62-year-old Lord Black	le sexagénaire en complet beige

the 62-year-old former media magnate	
the 62-year-old Black	
the 62-year-old fraudster	
62-year-old Canadian-born businessman	
the 62-year-old peer	
the 62-year-old British peer	
the disgraced 62-year-old British peer	
a white man in his 60s	

The English units beginning with *the 62-year-old* and those in French ending with *62 ans* are personalizing Black. Personalization, a representational strategy foregrounded in CDA, characterizes a person (Machin and Mayr 2012, 79). The strategy is revealing more personal details, such as *the 62-year-old Lord Black* and *the 62-year-old Black*, and allowing the reader to individualize him from other people of the same age. The unit *a white man in his 60s*, is an effective example of genericization (Machin and Mayr 2012, 80), another representational strategy used to categorize a person as a type. The fact that Black is portrayed as a white man, and not a person of colour, is foregrounded. Machin and Mayr suggest that these types of terms in the media “give a newspaper story a ‘racialised’ slant” (88). When a person’s race is explicitly mentioned in a news report, often it has to do with a crime. I therefore went back to the original report and discovered that the unit appeared in a direct quote, and was used in a discussion of the difficulties that Black might encounter in prison as a white man in his 60s.

In the French corpus, Black’s identity as a *62-year-old* is downplayed. The unit *sexagénaire en complet beige* is the only French-language unit related to age that does not provide specifics regarding Black’s actual age, but provides a generic description instead. The word *sexagénaire* within the unit denotes that he is a 60-something year old. The unit is also unique in that it describes Black’s fashion choice: a beige suit, a beige suit in a courtroom.

This part of the unit is a contradiction of *sexagénaire*, which generalizes. In formal contexts, such as the courtroom, the norm would be to wear a dark suit. This indicates Black's intention to deviate from cultural norms and the colour of his suit is certainly highlighted in the French news report.

3.2.1.5. Identity

When I compared the units in Table 37, containing *Conrad*, there were 19 in the English corpus and eight in the French.

Table 36: Comparison of Units Containing *Conrad*

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalents	
Conrad Black	Conrad Black
disgraced Conrad Black disgraced media mogul Conrad Black disgraced press baron Conrad Black fallen media mogul Conrad Black fallen peer Conrad Black shamed media baron Conrad Black	le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black le patron de presse déchu Conrad Black
former newspaper baron Conrad Black former Daily Telegraph owner Conrad Black former media tycoon Conrad Black former press Lord Conrad Black	l'ancien magnat de la presse Conrad Black l'ex-patron de presse canadien Conrad Black l'ex-magnat Conrad Black
No Equivalents	
Conrad	Conrad-le-menteur
media mogul Conrad Black	
millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black	
Conrad Moffat Black	
the Hon. Conrad Moffat Black	
Convict Conrad Black convicted fraudster Conrad Black newly minted felon Conrad Black	

Several of the units, both in French and in English, can be considered equivalents as they convey the same denotative and connotative meaning in both languages. For example, *fallen press baron*

Conrad Black and *le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black*, have the same meaning. As is shown, when a publication uses the unit *Conrad Black*, it is often accompanied by units indicating that he was either no longer involved in the media, or that he was once a figure of authority in the newspaper industry, but is no longer powerful, indicated by *former*, *disgraced*, *fallen*, *shameful* and *l'ex-* in the French-language texts.

When the English and French units containing *Black* are examined, there is some overlap with the unit *Conrad*. Moreover, there is one unit in both English and French –the same one, in fact– that stands out: Citizen Black.

Table 37: Comparison of Units Containing *Black*

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalents	
Conrad Black	Conrad Black
Black	Black
Lord Black	Lord Black
Mr. Black Messr. Black	M. Black
Lord Black of Crossharbour	Lord Black de Crossharbour Lord Black of Crossharbour
the "swaggering" Black	Black l'arrogant
Citizen Black	Citizen Black
No Equivalents	
the 62-year-old Lord Black the 62-year-old Black	C. Black
CON-rad Black	très aristocratique Black
the normally voluble Black	
the teenaged Black	
young Black	
Canadian-born Black	

In one English report from the UK, Black is referred to as *Citizen Black*, and in the French corpus, there is one report in which Black is referred to as *Citizen Black*, and in another as *Citizen Kane*. These are references to the Orson Welles film *Citizen Kane*, the fictitious story of an American media publisher who gradually builds his empire in pursuit of power. The units in my corpus that refer to Black as *Citizen Black* compare him to the main character of the film. What is more, the unit is present in the title of the English report, ensuring that all who read the report, and who know of *Citizen Kane*, will immediately recognize the reference. This is an example of intentional framing and subjective involvement, as understood by Goffman (1974). In the French-language reports, both *Citizen Kane* and *Citizen Black* appear in the body of the reports. When I explored these French units further, I discovered that while the reports had different titles, they were written by the same author. The question arose: were these French reports translations of the English reports containing the unit *Citizen Black* or were the English reports translations of the French? This is explored further in section 3.2.3.1, where I compare these reports for culture-specific items and context, ultimately attempting to determine whether any of the reports is a translation.

In Tables 38, 39 and 40, I present the results of the comparison of the units referring to identity, for example, *Canadian* or *canadien*, *British* or *britannique* and also Conrad Black's title of Lord. The use of titles, including those of civility and nobility, to refer to Black may be strategic. I analyze this as framing in Section 3.2.2.1.

Table 38: Comparison of *Canadian* and *canadien*

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalents	
former Canadian newspaper baron	le magnat canadien de la presse l'ex-patron de presse canadien

No equivalents	
Canadian-born Black	l'ex-patron de presse canadien Conrad Black
Canadian-born press baron	
the Canadian-born peer	
the most prominent Canadian executive to be convicted as a white-collar fraudster	
62-year-old Canadian-born businessman	
the Canadian-born businessman who regarded just about everyone as a social inferior	

There is little variation between the French and English units referring to Conrad Black. The most relevant representational strategy from CDA that can be used to classify these units is nomination, a strategy that represents a social actor as who they are (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81). In the English units listed in Table 39, Black is identified as having been born in Canada, and the units that do not state he was born in Canada imply that at some point in time he was a Canadian.

The second identifying units presented in the corpus in both languages are *British* and *britannique*. While there are fewer occurrences of these units, none of the English units have the same meaning as the French and vice versa. The units are found across cultures though, from Canadian news reports in English and French to British news reports in English.

Table 39: Comparison of *British* and *britannique*

English Corpus	French Corpus
the 62-year-old British peer	lord britannique
a British citizen	
the disgraced 62-year-old British peer	

The majority of these units were found in the Canadian English-language corpus, and not in the units from the UK. This reveals that those writing about Black from the UK perspective possibly do not want to focus on the fact that he is British. The Canadian reports that employ the units identifying Black as British present him as someone who is *not* Canadian. This is a representational strategy which, by suppressing this information, actually serves to emphasize it instead.

The final unit related to identity is *Lord*. (See Table 42). I intentionally left this unit for last as the news reports took several approaches, and I also found the equivocalness and ambiguities to be interesting in both the English-language and French-language reports. I start with the units deemed to be equivalent. The frequency of units *Lord Black* and *Lord Black of Crossharbour* used in both languages, suggests to readers that Conrad Black remains important as a social actor (Machin and Mayr 2012, 82).

Table 40: Comparison of *Lord*

English Corpus	French Corpus
Equivalents	
Lord Black	Lord Black
Lord Black of Crossharbour Lord of Crossharbour	Lord Black de Crossharbour Lord Black of Crossharbour
No equivalents	
member of the House of Lords	Lord
member of Britain's House of Lords	un lord
the 62-year-old Lord Black	grand lord
the Lord Almighty	lord britannique
his Lordship of Lies	gros lard
powerful press lord	
former press lord Conrad Black	
a man once dubbed the Lord of Excess	
Lord Greed	

His Lardship	
--------------	--

The unique units containing Lord in the English-language reports occur infrequently, with the exception of *member of the House of Lords* and *member of Britain's House of Lords*. The units *the Lord Almighty*, *his Lordship of Lies*, *Lord Greed* and *His Lardship* all negatively present Conrad Black based on the functional honorifics adapted by Machin and Mayr (2012, 82).

Two of the French units present Conrad Black in opposing manners, even though they originate in the same news report. *Grand lord* meaning either “big lord” or “great lord” and *gros lard*, which translates as “fatso” are also used in the same sentence. The context in which the units appear describe how Black, once a *grand lord*, is now a *gros lard*. It is both a play on words and a denigration of Black.

3.2.2. Ideology

3.2.2.1. Framing

To better understand how Conrad Black was framed and portrayed by the print media, and by drawing on Baker (2006) and Goffman (1974), I analyzed the framing from the three perspectives. Marked and unmarked titles, and titles of civility and nobility, can serve to portray someone very differently. I began by examining the differences between the English-language news reports and French-language news reports, then the differences between the English-language news reports from Canada and those from the UK. Finally, I reviewed the units used in the *National Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*, two publications that were previously owned by Hollinger International.

In the English-language corpus, as was shown in Table 10, the most frequently used units were *Black*, *Lord Black*, *Conrad Black* and *Conrad*. In journalism, it is common to initially refer

to a subject by their full name, and in subsequent references, use their last name only. This could explain the high frequency of the units *Black* and *Conrad Black*. However, *Lord Black* was a unit used almost 25% of the time in the English-language reports. Honorifics “suggest a degree of seniority or a role that requires a degree of respect” (Machin and Mayr 2012, 82). *Mr. Black*, while used far less than the other marked titles, and unusual in news writing, was also employed in some reports. Specific use of his title of nobility was suppressed, but given that he was still referred to with a title of civility shows respect that is not typically given to those who are in criminal proceedings. With the use of the unit *Conrad*, alone with no other units, a tremendous amount of disrespect is being shown and demonstrates that a conscious decision was made to frame Black.

There is only one unit frequently used in the French corpus that refers to Black with a title. On 44 occasions the unit *M. Black* was used. If French journalism follows the English-language standards of first and second references to a subject, it makes sense that the most frequent units are *Conrad Black* and *Black*. The unit *M. Black* continues to convey respect as it did in the English-language corpus. There were very few instances of Black being referred to as *Lord Black* or *Lord Black of Crossharbour*.

With regards to identity, the English-language units convey that Black was Canadian-born, but none of the French-language units offer any indication that Black was born in Canada. The French units incorrectly identify him as a current Canadian, when in fact, Black forfeited his Canadian citizenship in 2001, so when these news reports were printed, Black was a British citizen. The absence of references to Black’s British citizenship in the French-language corpus is significant because the units all derived from Canadian French-language publications. None of the French publications from France made any reference to Black being Canadian and there is

only one reference to Black's British citizenship and nobility in the French-language news reports. It is the unit *lord britannique*. The framing then, between the English-language and French-language units shows that Black continued to be portrayed respectfully, but framed incorrectly as a Canadian. The most frequent references in both languages followed journalistic standards of using the given and family names first, then using the last name in subsequent references.

The next set of units I look at for framing, with regards to Black, involve those from Canada and the UK. With Black having been born a Canadian, then accepting British citizenship, I was curious to see how the portrayals differed between the two countries. The most frequent units did not vary from the overall English-language units. In fact, the four most frequent units in English-language Canadian and UK reports are exactly the same: *Black*, *Conrad Black*, *Conrad*, and *Lord Black*. The only difference is in the frequency. *Lord Black* was the second most frequent unit in Canadian English-language reports and in the reports from the UK, it was fourth. That the UK reports referred to Black with his title of nobility far less than the Canadian-English reports demonstrates that perhaps he was less highly-regarded there. Still, a number of the UK reports referred to Black by his title of nobility or a unit that specified his significance, such as *the peer* or *the press baron*, showing that he is someone who deserves respect, framing him in a positive light. The complete title of *Lord Black of Crossharbour* though, was infrequently used. This full title of nobility is seen as the most respectful. Overall, between Canadian English-language and UK units, most publications preferred to present neutral and unmarked units such as his full name or family name only. It is possible that these publications so frequently used *Black* because they adhere to the Canadian Press Style Guide²³ which advises against "using

²³ "Whom We Serve." *The Canadian Press*. Accessed 2 Nov 2014.
<http://www.thecanadianpress.com/home.aspx?ID=60>.

courtesy titles *Mr., Mrs., Miss or Ms*” (Canadian Press 299). This does not mean that all the units used in Canadian English-language and the UK reports showed respect. The units *His Lordship of Lies* and *Lord Greed*, both from Canadian-English publications are a vulgar and ironic use of the honorific of *Lord*. They border on slanderous. I would argue that these are some of the most powerful and ideologically-motivated units seen in the entire corpus as they portray Black in a very negative light and strategically frame him in the same manner. These are social frames and if I turn back to Goffman (1974), it is clear that motive and intent were involved.

Another interesting aspect among the units from these two countries is that the UK reports identify Black as having been *Canadian-born*, but only reference him once as a British citizen with the unit *the disgraced 62-year-old British peer*. The Canadian reports contain units that identify Black as having been born in Canada, and also identify him as British. The framing difference here is that it appears, in the reports in this study, that the UK reports are attempting to frame Black as someone who is not truly British. The Canadian English-language reports make it clear that Black is affiliated with both countries.

Finally, I compare the units employed in the *National Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*, two publications that Conrad Black formerly owned through Hollinger International. The most frequent unit found among the *National Post* news reports was that of *Lord Black*. This same unit was only found three times among the units from *The Daily Telegraph*. The most frequent unit in this publication was *Black*. This already shows a significant difference in how the two publications regard Black. The *National Post*, even though Black was dismissed from its board in 2004, still saw it necessary to present him in a respectful manner. *The Daily Telegraph*, perhaps attempting to disassociate themselves, did not aim to frame Black in the most positive manner. *The master of bombast*, was used in a context that described how Black was defiant

throughout his trial. It is framing Black in a way that suggests he was impressing upon people his importance rather than showing sincerity. Black was also referred to as *a convicted criminal* and *the fraudster tycoon* by *The Daily Telegraph*. Through the repeated use of the unit *Lord* in various forms, *The National Post* continued to present Black as someone of a higher status and frame him as someone deserving of respect. *The Daily Telegraph*, did not go to the same lengths, framing Black primarily negatively, with a few exceptions of *the peer* and *Lord Black*.

The framing used in the Canadian English-language units does not produce a scathing image of Conrad Black, as I had hypothesized. In fact, with the frequent use of his title of nobility, the framing in the English-language reports presents a more favourable and respectful image of Conrad Black. The French-language reports also maintained respectful portrayals of Black; however, the Canadian-French-language reports framed him as not British. In the comparison of Canadian-English and English reports from the UK, Black was framed more favourably in the Canadian reports, often with the use of title of nobility. Across all three countries and cultures, while negative portrayals of Conrad Black are present, the portrayals of Black being someone who is respected appear in greater frequency. Black was frequently referred to by his title of nobility across all publications in both English and French.

3.2.3. Assumed Translation

In this last section I present an analysis of news reports that present evidence of translation. I have chosen to analyze these articles specifically because of similarities not seen among other French-language and English-language reports. I analyze them drawing on Toury's (1995a) notion of assumed translation.

The three pairs of reports I analyze are those containing the units *Citizen Kane* and *Citizen Black*, those containing *un tycoon impitoyable* and *a ruthless tycoon*, and the reports with

the units *a convicted fraudster* and *un condamné pour fraude*. I also focus on all reports by written by journalist Romina Maurino.

3.2.3.1. Citizen Kane and Citizen Black

The units *Citizen Kane* or *Citizen Black* appeared in four reports. Though only one French-language report used the unit *Citizen Kane*, *Citizen Black* was found in two French-language texts, and one in English. The three French-language reports are from *Agence France-Presse* and the English-language appeared in the *Guardian*. I began the analysis by looking at the date of publication and determined that the French report with *Citizen Kane* was printed first, on July 13, 2007. An English report containing the unit *Citizen Black* was printed on July 14, 2007. I then looked at the titles. The French title *L'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black reconnu coupable de fraudes* is not equivalent to the English title of the comparison report, *Downfall of Citizen Black: Conrad Black facing up to 20 years in prison: Peer convicted of fraud and obstruction of justice: Former Telegraph boss embezzled \$6m from firm*. I then proceeded to look at the number of paragraphs: 13 in the French report and 12 in the English. The lead sentences also begin with an equivalent unit:

Le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black,
accuse d'avoir détourné des millions de dollars, a été reconnu coupable vendredi de fraudes et d'obstruction à la justice par un jury américain, des chefs d'inculpation passibles de plusieurs dizaines d'années de prison.

Disgraced media mogul Conrad Black
faces a lengthy stretch in a US jail after a court convicted him of looting millions of pounds from his Hollinger empire by embezzling funds from shareholders.

The second paragraph in the French report, which speaks of Black's age, and the crimes of which he was accused, is not present in the English report. The third paragraph, however, presents some similarities to the second paragraph in the English report.

Paragraph 3

A l'issue d'un peu plus de deux semaines de délibérations, l'ex-magnat a été reconnu coupable par un jury de Chicago (nord) de trois chefs d'inculpation lié à l'obstruction faite à la justice pouvant lui valoir 20 ans de prison.

Paragraph 2

After more than 70 hours of deliberation, a Chicago jury delivered verdicts of guilty charges of fraud and one charge of obstructing justice – although the former Telegraph owner was cleared of a further nine charges, including tax evasion and racketeering.

The fourth paragraph in French speaks of Black's lack of emotion and the fourth paragraph in the English report also speaks of emotion, but it is in regard to an emotional scene, not Black himself.

Paragraph 4, Sentence 1

Conrad Black a montré peu d'émotion à l'énoncé du verdict.

Paragraph 4, Sentence 1

In a charged, emotional scene, Black's family used a brief adjournment to hurry to his side.

To further verify if there is evidence of direct or indirect translation strategies within the reports, I also examined direct quotations. There were three direct quotations: one in the English report, and two in the French, though none was found to be equivalent or a translation of the other. I was also not able to find any culture-specific items or other evidence that would indicate that the English article was a translation of the French article. No other English reports contained the unit *Citizen Black*, and none of the other French reports with the unit *Citizen Black* was similar to the English. This is not to say that the reports are not related. The English report may have been written based on the French report, which implies translation. There are many parallels between *Citizen Kane* and Black and between both reports, as they are providing similar information. Gambier (2006) says that when news is translated, it is being repackaged for another culture, and undergoes transformations that include addition, deletion and reorganization of information (13-14). I believe that this is the case with these two articles. The French report, published on the day that Black was convicted, is likely the source text for the English report,

published one day later. Based on Toury's postulates, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the English report is a translation of the French. First, I assume that the French report existed. Second, there are features that both reports share, and finally, I have identified a relationship between the two reports in that they highlight the same events, using the same metaphor for the same person.

3.2.3.2. A ruthless tycoon and *un tycoon impitoyable*

A clear indication that the units *a ruthless tycoon* and *un tycoon impitoyable* required further exploration is that *tycoon* is not a French word. It is borrowed from English, which borrowed it from Japanese²⁴. While used far less often in French than its equivalent *magnat*, *tycoon* can nonetheless be found as a borrowing in French texts. Three English-language reports, two from the United Kingdom and one from Canada, used the unit *a ruthless tycoon*. All three English reports were written by the same author, David Litterick, and the content of each news report is also exactly the same. I use the English report that was published first to compare with the French report. The English report is from the UK's *The Daily Telegraph* and was published on July 14, 2007. The French-language report was published in *Le Monde* three days later, on July 17, 2007. When the titles are placed side by side for comparison, it is obvious that neither is a translation of the other.

The Daily Telegraph

THE PRESS BARON

A ruthless tycoon brought down by greed and arrogance
David Litterick looks at the life of the media mogul who yesterday lost the biggest battle of his audacious career

Le Monde

PRESSE EN ATTENTE D'UN JUGEMENT

DÉFINITIF

L'ex-magnat Conrad Black reconnu coupable de fraudes

²⁴ "Tycoon." *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* 2004, edited by Katherine Barber. Oxford University Press. Accessed March 24, 2017. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/tycoon>.

In fact, while *a ruthless tycoon* is in the subtitle of all three English reports, it is in the first paragraph of the French report with a citation from an English-language report from *The Daily Telegraph*.

The Daily Telegraph

Paragraph 1

Every day of his fraud trial, Conrad Black sauntered into a Chicago courtroom with the disdainful air of a man who had seen it all. The attacks on his character, the carping at his business dealings and the outrage – tinged with envy – at his lavish lifestyle; Lord Black has made a career of taking on his critics and winning.

Le Monde

Paragraph 1

Après avoir été reconnu coupable de fraudes et d'obstruction à la justice, le magnat déchu des médias, Conrad Black, n'a plus beaucoup de supporters. « Un tycoon impitoyable que la cupidité et l'arrogance ont mis à terre », indique le Daily Telegraph, dont ce fils de brasseur québécois avait été le propriétaire entre 1986 et 2004.

There are no other occurrences of the unit *a ruthless tycoon* or *un tycoon impitoyable* in any of the reports. As I am not able to link these reports to others and have found no evidence of translation (except for the translated quote), I conclude that the French report did draw on the information in the English reports. There is no evidence to support an assumption that it is a translation.

3.2.3.3. Convicted fraudster and *un condamné pour fraude*

I analyzed the news reports containing the units *convicted fraudster* and *un condamné pour fraude* because these two units have the same meaning and are unique, as they appear only once in each language. In this case, it is the French report from *Le Soleil* that was published first, on July 14, 2007, one day after Black's fraud conviction. The report from *The Guardian* was published three days later, on July 17, 2007. I began by comparing the titles which, as shown below, are dissimilar.

Le Soleil**CONRAD BLACK COUPABLE**

Jusqu'à 35 ans de prison

Le financier déchu pourrait verser des millions en amendes

The Guardian

Comment & Debate: Diary

After further exploration of both reports, I was able to determine that the French report was not a translation of the English report, but may have drawn on information from the English.

The Guardian report is a summary of events that had occurred on July 17, in the UK, whereas the French report deals with the Conrad Black verdict. There are no specific language relationships between the two reports containing the units *a convicted fraudster* and *un condamné pour fraude*.

3.2.3.4. Romina Maurino Reports

I discovered that nine reports French-language reports had been written by Romina Maurino (see Table 42 below). This provided me with a mini sub-corpus that I considered worthy of specific attention. Each of Maurino's articles originates in Canada. They were also published in all three French-language publications. I read and analyzed each report and found only one report that provided any evidence of translation.

Table 41: News Reports Written by Romina Maurino

Report	Date	Publication	Title
1	06/07/07	Le Soleil	Les avocats de Black n'ont pas encore de stratégie en cas de culpabilité
2	06/07/07	La Presse	Les avocats de Black n'ont pas de stratégie en cas de culpabilité
3	06/07/07	Le Devoir	Procès Black : toujours pas de stratégie en cas de culpabilité
4	07/07/07	Le Devoir	Procès Black : les jurés ajournent sans s'être entendus sur un verdict
5	11/07/07	Le Droit	Black : les jurés n'arrivent pas à faire l'unanimité
6	11/07/07	Le Devoir	Procès Black : les jurés ne s'entendent pas sur un verdict La juge leur ordonne de poursuivre leurs délibérations

7	12/07/07	Le Soleil	Procès de Conrad Black : La juge refuse le dépôt d'un verdict partiel
8	12/07/07	Le Devoir	Procès Black : la juge refuse un verdict partiel Les experts s'attendent à une décision partagée
9	20/07/07	Le Devoir	Black prisonnier de Palm Beach L'ex-magnat de la presse est remis en liberté jusqu'à sa sentence, avec déplacements limités

Two reports from the United Kingdom were published on July 11, and cover the same events as the Maurino Reports 5 and 6, which are, in fact, the exact same text, with slightly different titles. I will use Maurino Report 5 for comparison against the English reports. Maurino Report 5 was published in *Le Droit* on July 11, 2007 with the title “*Black: les jurés n’arrivent pas à faire l’unanimité.*” I scanned all English news reports from the same day and discovered that two had been published on July 11, 2007: one each from *The Daily Express* and *The Guardian*. The report from *The Daily Express* has the title “Black jury still deadlocked, 9 days on” and was written by Joanna Walters. It is this last report that I compare with the French report. A comparison of the French and English titles appears below:

Maurino French Report 5

Black : les jurés n’arrivent pas à faire l’unanimité

Walters English Report

Black fraud jury still deadlocked, 9 days on

The titles of both English reports convey the same information as that of Maurino Report 5: the jury has not agreed on a verdict. When I examined the structure of the two remaining reports, Maurino Report 5 and the report from *The Guardian*, I found that the former contained 14 paragraphs whereas the latter comprised 15 paragraphs. I will assume that the English report, which originates in the UK, was published first, as there would have been a time zone difference of five hours. Similarities in content between the two reports are outlined below:

Maurino French Report**Paragraph 1**

La juge qui préside au procès pour fraude de Conrad Black a ordonné au jury de poursuivre ses délibérations, hier, après avoir été informée par les jurés qu'ils étaient incapables d'en venir à un verdict unanime sur tout les chefs d'accusation.

Walters English Report**Paragraph 1**

The jury in the trial of fallen media mogul Conrad Black told the judge they were still deadlocked last night.

While not direct translations, these two paragraphs provide examples of addition and modulation. In the English report, the jury, who is the subject of the sentence holds agency, but in the French-language report, the agency shifts to the judge, who is the grammatical subject of the sentence. These shifts, change the point of view, but not the meaning (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 246). It is the judge who told the jury to continue deliberating in the French, whereas in the English report, the *jury* told the judge that they were still deliberating. With the shift in agency, additional text is introduced in the French report. This additional text clarifies that it was the judge who ordered the jury to continue deliberating and is introduced at the beginning of the paragraph.

Maurino French Report**Paragraph 2**

La juge Amy St. Eve leur a demandé de reprendre leurs délibérations peu de temps après qu'ils eurent déclaré se trouver dans une impasse.

Walters English Report**Paragraph 2**

On the ninth day of their deliberations, the 12 jurors sent a note to Judge Amy St Eve. In it, the nine women and three men admitted they were unable to reach a unanimous decision on the racketeering and fraud charges facing the former owner of the Daily and Sunday Telegraph.

In the second paragraph of the English report, there is additional information, but it is not an addition since the English report is assumed to be the source text. Both the French and English texts make mention of the judge and the jury's inability to reach a unanimous decision. The message remains the same.

Maurino French Report**Paragraph 3**

« Nous avons discuté et délibéré sur toute la preuve et nous sommes néanmoins incapables d'en arriver à un verdict unanime sur un ou plusieurs chefs d'accusation, disait la note transmise à la magistrate. SVP vos conseils.
 P.S. : Nous avons soigneusement lu les instructions au jury. »

Walters English Report**Paragraph 3**

It read: "We have discussed and deliberated on all the evidence and are still unable to reach a unanimous verdict on one or more counts. Please advise." Black, who had been smiling and talking with his defence team before the hearing, frowned when he heard the jurors' note.

Both paragraphs contain a direct quotation: the jury's note, which was originally written in English. This is obviously a translation, perhaps by Maurino, and a rather literal one. While Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) suggest that literal translations are "most common when translating between languages of the same family", they also recognize that they can occur between French and English because common metalinguistic concepts also reveal physical coexistence..." (34). The quote appears in the same location in the English text. The only difference between these two paragraphs is that the "P.S." in the French-language report is absent in the English. Instead, the English report has an additional sentence with regards to Black's reaction to the note that the judge was given.

Maurino French Report**Paragraph 4**

Les avocats de la poursuite et de la défense ont discuté de ce qui devrait maintenant se produire.

Walters English Report**Paragraph 4**

The lawyers spent around 10 minutes forming their opinions on what should happen next.

The fourth paragraph of each report, again, presents the same information: the lawyers discussed. The French-language report states that the discussion occurred between the prosecution and the defense, whereas the English-language report mentions only "lawyers", which creates ambiguity because readers cannot identify which lawyers were "discussing". The French report makes it clear, as the next two paragraphs present the wishes of the defense and the prosecution, in that order. These two paragraphs do not appear in the English report.

Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the French-language report realign with the sixth paragraph in the English report. While there is only one paragraph here in the English report, I have aligned it with paragraphs 7 and 8 from the French-language report.

Maurino French Report

Paragraphs 7 and 8

La juge a convoqué les jurés, a reconnu avoir pris connaissance de leur note et leur a relu les instructions concernant la manière dont une impasse doit être gérée.

Elle les a ensuite renvoyés à leurs délibérations, moins de cinq minutes après qu'ils furent revenus dans la salle d'audience.

Walters English Report

Paragraph 6

The judge then called the jury back into court. She told them she knew they were following the court's instructions carefully but added:

"I'm going to read you this one instruction again and have you go back in there." Lord Black of Crossharbour faces 13 criminal counts, including mail fraud, wire fraud and racketeering.

Both reports refer to the same situation and the first paragraph in each report begins with the same agent. The English report establishes that the judge called the jury "back into court", where the French report elides this since the judge's action of "convoquer" implies the location. The remainder of the text in the French-language report is not equivalent in the English. The English text cites the judge, whereas the French does not, but instead reports that the judge read the instructions again.

Paragraph 9 in the French report describes Black's reaction when the abovementioned note was read. In the English, it is in Paragraph 3.

Maurino French Report

Paragraph 9

Black semblait optimiste quand il s'est présenté pour prendre connaissance du contenu de la note, souriant à ses avocats et paraissant détendu. Il est ensuite demeuré impassible après une rencontre entre tous les avocats et tous les accusés, pendant qu'il attendait une décision sur la suite des événements.

Walters English Report

Paragraph 3

It read: "We have discussed and deliberated on all the evidence and are still unable to reach a unanimous verdict on one or more counts. Please advise." Black, who had been smiling and talking with his defence team before the hearing, frowned when he heard the jurors' note.

These two paragraphs have a few similarities, but I would argue that if the French-language report is found to be an assumed translation, that Paragraph 9 in the French report is not a translation of Paragraph 3 of the English report. Some of the information from the English report is captured, but other information has been omitted and new information added.

The next paragraph in the French report, again, realigns with the content in the seventh paragraph of the English report.

**Maurino French Report
Paragraph 10**

La poursuite prétend que Black et les trois coaccusés ont mis sur pied un stratagème pour empocher quelque 60 millions \$ US en paiements de non-concurrences versés dans le cadre de la vente, par Hollinger International, de certains journaux, des sommes qui auraient dû être remises aux actionnaires de l'entreprise. Ils affirment que Black a refilé à Hollinger International environ 20 millions \$ US en dépenses personnelles.

**Walters English Report
Paragraphs 7, 10 and 11**

He and other Hollinger International executives are accused of stealing £30million from the company's shareholders at a trial which began at the Chicago court on March 20.

The court heard that the £30million mainly came from the sale of hundreds of Hollinger-owned US and Canadian newspapers between 1998 and 2001.

Buyers are alleged to have paid large sums in return for agreements that Hollinger would not compete with the new owners.

The information contained in paragraphs 7, 10 and 11 in the English report appears in the French report, which also includes additional information not included in the English. For example, the French-language report specifies that Black had paid Hollinger about \$20 million USD for his personal expenses. The English report also includes information that was excluded in the French-report, namely the date on which the trial began.

Towards the end of the French-language report, there are two paragraphs that do not appear in the English report. They state that Black and his co-defendants have not yet been convicted of any crime and maintain their innocence.

The second last paragraph in the French-language report matches that of the English in that both describe what the defense is trying to claim.

Maurino French Report

Paragraph 13

La poursuite réclame la confiscation de biens dont la valeur totale pourrait atteindre 92 millions \$ US si les hommes sont reconnus coupables, faisant valoir qu'il s'agit des fruits de la criminalité.

Walters English Report

Paragraph 14

The US government wants Black and his three codefendants to forfeit £34.9million of assets – including the 21,000sq ft Colonial-style mansion at Palm Beach worth an estimated £17.5million – if they are convicted of all charges.

Here, in the French-language report, details of the assets to be confiscated if the accused are convicted have been omitted.

The final paragraphs in each report are unlike. The French report simply states that the defense can leave the amount of the monetary penalty up to either the judge or the jury, and the English report provides further information on the assets that Black could lose.

Given the number of similar occurrences, in almost the same locations in the reports, I believe there is sufficient evidence to assume that the French report is a translation of the English. The author of the French report does appear to have drawn on information from the report published a few hours earlier in the UK. The units and sentences that are equivalent are not always literal or direct translations, but the same information is conveyed, and the same concepts and context are understood. From the English report to the French report, there are visible transformations to meet the expectations of the audience. For example, the currency in the English report is in British pounds and in the French report it is converted into US dollars.

To further support this initial claim of assumed translation, I will turn to Toury's (1995) postulates to further analyze the two reports. On the grounds that the language of Black's trial took place in English, I assume that there was an English report in the first place. This provides

for the source-text postulate. According to Toury, there must also be shared features between the two texts (144). In the above reports, these features include legal terms, equivalent titles, similar report structure, quotations, and reporting on the same event. The preceding analysis had demonstrated this to some extent. Finally, the third postulate is that the assumed translation and the assumed source text are linked and that “upon examination, relationships actually tying together pairs of texts, or *parts* thereof, may well be found to differ from the postulated one” (144; my emphasis). Not every part of the assumed source text is included in the assumed French-language translation. However, the correlation between the two texts is sufficient to fulfill Toury’s three postulates and support my assumption that Maurino’s French-language report from July 11, 2007, with the title “Black : les jurés n'arrivent pas à faire l'unanimité” is a translation of the English report written by Joanna Walters on July 11, titled, “Black fraud jury still deadlocked, 9 days on.”

In this final chapter, I presented the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of my thesis. In the quantitative analysis, I demonstrated the frequency of units used to refer to Conrad Black in English-language and French-language reports from Canada, English-language reports from the United Kingdom, and French-language reports from France. I then presented the units by publication by country. When comparing the French and English units, I found that there were equivalents in both languages, and also unique units that portrayed Black negatively, such as *mob boss* and *un tycoon impitoyable*. Overall, I found that the majority of the units and publications, from Canada, the UK and France, in English and French tended to portray Conrad Black with respect, referring to him either by his name or his title of nobility. With regards to translation, I found that, by drawing on Toury, one report from *Le Droit* can be

assumed to be a translation, texts that appear to be translations because of cultural indicators, structure, content and context.

Conclusion

This research had two objectives. The first was to reveal how media discourse contributed to the framing and portrayal of Conrad Black in the French and English print media, and more specifically, to identify the language and strategies used to do so. The second purpose was to identify whether any of the news reports could be assumed to be a translation of another report, either French to English or English to French. To achieve my objectives, it was necessary to take a multidisciplinary and comparative approach since some of the fundamental theories and methodologies used to study language were meant for one language only; it was also necessary that I conduct an analysis that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. In doing so, I produced evidence that Conrad Black was framed and labelled in the English-language and French-language print media and found evidence of at least one assumed translation.

I began Chapter 1 by presenting a cross-section of theories and methodologies from disciplines such as discourse and media studies, Corpus Linguistics, translation studies and CDA. I looked to Fairclough for discourse studies and van Dijk for both discourse and media studies. As both influenced my research, I drew on both scholars for perspectives related to ideology. For the notion of assumed translation, a central focus of this thesis, I drew on Toury's (1995a) postulates before turning to Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) for translation processes and strategies. I introduced Baker (2004, 2006), Goffman (1974) and Beccaria et al. (2015) for theories related to narratives, framing and labelling respectively. With regards to news translation, I presented theories and methodologies from Gambier (2006), Davier (2014) and Conway (2010), and reintroduced ideology, its relationships with, and how it is expressed in,

news translation. To reveal underlying ideologies, I looked to CDA as adapted by Machin and Mayr (2012).

In Chapter 2, I presented my corpus development and structure, and the criteria for the selection and exclusion of the data, and the processes performed to complete the quantitative portion of this thesis. The process included sourcing the news reports from the *ProQuest*, *Eureka* and *Factiva* databases and drawing on a framework proposed by Romagnuolo (2009), isolating and manually extracting the units from each news report based on the pre-determined criteria selected. This yielded 185 news reports, 148 in English and 37 in French. From these reports, I extracted 249 unique units in English and 67 in French.

In Chapter 3, which was comprised of two sections, I performed the quantitative and qualitative analyses, and introduced analysis on a subset of news reports that presented possible evidence of “assumed translation” as defined by Toury (1995a). In the quantitative analysis, I demonstrated the frequency of the units and also determined that a large number of the units were found in both the English-language and French-language corpus. *Conrad Black*, *Black* and *Lord Black* were the most frequent units in across the English-language publications and *Conrad Black* and *Black* were the most frequent units in the French-language publications. *Black*, *Conrad Black*, *Conrad*, *Lord Black* and *Mr. Black* were found to have been used most frequently in both Canadian-English language news reports and those from UK publications. However, in the UK, *Mr. Black* was replaced with *the peer*. In Canadian French-language publications, *Conrad Black*, *Black*, *M. Black*, *C. Black* and *l’ex-magnat* were the most frequent units, whereas in the publications from France, the most frequent units were *Conrad Black*, *M. Black*, *l’ex-magnat*, and *le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black*. Examining the units in this manner also enabled me to isolate the units that were deemed unique, or significant, meriting further analysis

and reveal, in the second section, that there were a number of units that could be considered equivalent in both English and French. Some unique units and those referring to legal terms or Conrad Black's identity were further analyzed for equivalence, and translation strategies and procedures, and were analyzed using CDA to reveal strategies used to represent Black. Other units, such as those referring to Black's titles of civility or nobility were analyzed as framing. I looked at framing and Black's representation from three perspectives: by identifying the differences between the English-language and French-language use of titles; by examining the differences in how he was regarded between the Canadian English-language and UK news reports; and by examining the way in which he was portrayed by the *National Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*, two publications with which he had affiliations. A ruthless tycoon. A fallen media baron. *Conrad-le-menteur*. *Un tycoon impitoyable*. These were just some of the labels used to "frame" Conrad Black in the English-language and French-language news reports, published between July 6 and July 20, 2007. My study found that in general, Black was represented respectfully in publications from Canada, the UK and France, frequently being referred to by his title of nobility, and being portrayed him as someone who was respected and of a higher status. The French-language publications from Canada framed Black incorrectly as a Canadian. In one English-language publication, Black was represented negatively with the unit *Lord Greed*, and in another, he was referred to as *the fraudster tycoon*. These units show strategic framing and an attempt to portray Black as someone who is not meritorious of a title of any sort, civil or noble.

In the last part of the chapter, I examined several news reports that shared observable features in English and French and warranted analysis for evidence of assumed translation. I was able to present evidence of assumed translations in one report that metaphorically referred to

Conrad Black as *Citizen Black*. In this same section, I also presented a mini corpus of nine French-language reports from Canada written by Romina Maurino. I examined her reports against English-language reports published on or around the same days and was able to determine that one of Maurino's reports can be assumed to be a translation. Sufficient evidence, based on Toury's (1995a) notions of assumed translation, that a source text existed (144), that the assumed translation shares features with the source text (144), and that there "are accountable relationships which tie it to original" (144), was found.

Over the course of my thesis, I encountered a few technology challenges that are worth mentioning. First, when working with the databases to pull news reports, even though I had populated specific fields to capture the reports I was looking for, the databases continued to pull reports from different regions. For example, it was my intention to use the *Eureka* database for Canadian French-language reports only, but *Eureka* also pulled English reports from both Canada and the UK. This was also the case for *Factiva*. In the end, I managed to manually sort through the news reports to eliminate duplicates. Once the cataloguing was finalized, the Canadian English-language reports were all captured from *Eureka* and the UK reports from *Factiva*.

With regard to the units, I initially had two sets of two-week timeframes and over 1,000 news reports to analyze: pre- and post-conviction and pre- and post-prison release. I was quite far along in the extraction and cataloguing process when I discovered Nvivo, a data analysis software. Had I had knowledge of Nvivo much earlier in my thesis process, it definitely would have facilitated unit extraction and perhaps enabled me to analyze the datasets from both timeframes. However, I had to set the second and later set of reports aside as it was beyond the scope of what I could accomplish in this thesis.

The research I have conducted has been both innovative and challenging. News translation and journalism translation research are two of the translation studies disciplines where I think my research could contribute since both are relatively recent research topics.

As my analysis focused on discrete units as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, 21), it is entirely possible for me to commence another study and begin from a discourse perspective and apply a more rigorous analysis. The multidisciplinary approach to theories and methodologies that I applied in my study could contribute to other bilingual or multilingual studies, both in the field of translation studies and in other disciplines.

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Appendix B: English Corpus Units

English Corpus Units
Conrad Black
Black
Lord Black
former chairman of newspaper publisher Hollinger International Inc.
the man with the most to lose
former Canadian newspaper baron
former chief executive and chairman of Hollinger International Inc.
Conrad
the CEO
the former press baron
former media baron
member of the House of Lords
member of Britain's House of Lords
the media baron
the press baron
hobbyist
one of the most skilled biographers of dead politicians
erudite
funny
charismatic
well-read
well-rounded
proficient raconteur
too old
too tarnished
too disliked
the businessman
arch-conservative
Mr. Black
a special guy
the fallen media baron
former chairman and CEO of Hollinger International Inc.
Lord Black of Crossharbour
one of the most powerful media moguls on the planet
the peer
convicted felon
tycoon
patrician
imposing
son of a Montreal restaurateur
friend and business associate

English Corpus Units
Conrad Moffat Black
the media mogul
convict
very rich
foreign citizen
deportable alien
corrupt executive
colourful character
one of a kind
conservative author, publisher and accused racketeer
extraordinary personality
the tycoon
Moor
larger than life
gentleman
the main attraction
the 62-year-old British peer
Canadian-born press baron
disgraced press baron
former media mogul
the 62-year old
the newspaper mogul
a serious historian
the most feared man in the Canadian establishment
an international newspaper mogul
a major player in the Canadian newspaper market
the newspaper baron
Messr. Black
an eloquent defender of capitalist democracy as the best system of government
the most entertaining person to have dinner with that I know
a great person
a friend
a superior person in many ways
"thief"
former boss
a globetrotting press baron
the businessman so many Canadians loved to revile
a corporate David
a bully
the bullied
financier
the former newspaper magnate
a flight risk
the 62-year-old Lord Black

English Corpus Units
one of the most powerful media moguls on the planet
a ruthless tycoon
ex-media mogul
the 62-year-old former media magnate
a white man in his 60s
the normally voluble Black
hyper-articulate
husband No. 4
self-ruined titan
a felon
the felon
Convict Conrad Black
her DP husband
former owner of the Jerusalem Post
the didactic writer and professional biographer
a man utterly disgraced
a British citizen
a self-ruined man
a crook
The teenaged Black
youngest director in Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce history
"cunning and calculated"
former Hollinger International CEO
a 15-year-old child of privilege
young Black
the fallen press baron
a wunderkind tycoon in the 1970s
the fallen media tycoon
the former media tycoon
an easy guy to dislike
this man
media magnate
Canadian-born Black
an exact parallel of Melmotte
newly minted felon Conrad Black
the most prominent Canadian executive to be convicted as a white-collar fraudster
the 62-year-old Black
a historian
a thief
a corporate swindler
former newspaper executive
"a crook from the cradle who has sailed under the skull and crossbones ever since"
"dilettante"
"a bad man but not an evil man"

English Corpus Units
ruined
former media tycoon Conrad Black
"Corrupt media tycoon"
a man of principle and intelligence
a man who insisted on his innocence
the Lord Almighty
the victim of an "extremely complex" case
a soldier conscripted for a foreign war
the Canadian-born peer
former CEO of Hollinger International
master of bombast
former newspaper baron
a man whose fierce intelligence was widely recognized
a convicted criminal
the 62-year-old fraudster
disgraced newspaper tycoon
mob boss
a CEO of a major corporation
the "swaggering" Black
a well-known conservative
a fierce devotee (and biographer) of Franklin Delano Roosevelt
his Lordship of Lies
CON-rad Black
His Lardship
Citizen Black
a millionaire whose wealth would generally allow him to have his heavy lifting done by servants
smart
the greatest living example of how crazy people can be as smart as anything
no longer a Canadian citizen
Lord of crossharbour
disgraced tycoon
a very good proprietor
villain
the Hon. Conrad Moffat Black
media mogul Conrad Black
charming, informed, companionable
former newspaper baron Conrad Black
the newspaper tycoon
a free man
62-year-old Canadian-born businessman
the Montreal-born businessman
the four-time convicted felon
one of the richest men in the world
an arrogant crook with a huge appetite for ego gratification

English Corpus Units
the disgraced newspaper baron
disgraced Conrad Black
the former Telegraph owner
former owner of The Daily Telegraph
powerful press lord
the 62-year-old
fallen media mogul Conrad Black
the former owner of the Daily and Sunday Telegraph
the former owner of the Telegraph newspapers in the UK
the 62-year-old peer
former Daily Telegraph owner Conrad Black
the wealthy newspaper executive
the former Daily Telegraph owner and once-powerful chief executive of the Hollinger newspaper empire
former press lord Conrad Black
a merciless businessman with a love of suing anyone who crossed him
media tycoon
one of the world's most powerful media figures
the bombastic baron
Baron Greed
millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black
the disgraced 62-year-old British peer
the man who raided his company's coffers to fund a lavish lifestyle
a businessman who through Hollinger International once controlled Britain's Daily Telegraph, the National Post of Canada and the Jerusalem Post
the arrogant tycoon
the flamboyant larger-than-life character with a ruthless business mind
the former Telegraph chairman
a pompous figure known for his domineering manner and flowery vocabulary
the swaggering press baron
a peer of the realm
a non-American
a leading figure in conservative circles
a notorious late riser
the former chairman of the Daily Telegraph
the Canadian-born businessman who regarded just about everyone as a social inferior
a non-US citizen
the fraudster tycoon
shamed media baron Conrad Black
a man who once influenced world events
the man who once controlled 600 newspapers and entertained the cream of London society
a white-collar criminal
a foreign national
a man once dubbed the Lord of Excess

English Corpus Units
the famously arrogant chief executive
a low crook
the proprietor of Telegraph newspapers
a remarkable author
a man used to the high life
the Conservative peer
wealthy, titled, erudite
a man who became addicted to luxury
the brewery boss's son from Montreal
an intellectual and a serious, published historian
the proprietor and unchallenged master of the Daily Telegraph
a good proprietor
the sophisticated fraudster
the brilliant businessman
the rebellious Toronto schoolboy
the son of an embittered Toronto businessman ousted from the family firm
an aggressive operator
the networker
former newspaper tycoon
a man who has repeatedly thumbed his nose at the US justice system
a bank robber [in a] suit and tie
former Telegraph boss
disgraced media mogul Conrad Black
big and bellicose
a rich man who ran with the super-rich and needed to find the funds to do it
disgraced press baron Conrad Black
the Montreal-born entrepreneur
Lord Greed
liar
disgraced press baron
destitute
fallen peer Conrad Black
Montreal-born newspaper baron
convicted fraudster Conrad Black

Appendix C: French Corpus Units

French Corpus Units
Black
Conrad Black
M. Black
l'ancien baron de la presse
l'ex-patron de presse canadien Conrad Black
l'ex-patron de presse canadien
l'ancien magnat de la presse
ex-magnat de la presse
le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black
ce fils de brasseur québécois
agé de 62 ans
l'ex-magnat
l'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black
Citizen Black
l'ancien magnat de la presse Conrad Black
Lord Black
coupable
le financier déchu
Lord Black de Crossharbour
le flamboyant homme d'affaires
un condamné pour fraude
Lord Black of Crossharbour
le jeune homme d'affaires déjà millionnaire
l'ancien franc-maçon converti à la religion catholique
la tête de la troisième plus grande entreprise de presse du monde
le magnat de la presse
l'homme d'affaires
le magnat de la presse déchu
le magnat déchu
l'ancien président de Hollinger International
l'homme âgé de 62 ans
auteur de biographies respectées de Maurice Duplessis et de Franklin D. Roosevelt
fondateur du quotidien <i>National Post</i>
le magnat canadien de la presse
arrogant, excentrique, suffisant, sans scrupules, suprêmement méprisant pour tous ceux qui ne partagent pas ses opinions
intelligent
un des plus brillants historiens et biographes de sa génération
l'accusé
le sexagénaire en complet beige
le biographe de Roosevelt, de Nixon et de Duplessis

French Corpus Units
Lord
un homme qui a toujours frayed avec les puissants de ce monde
ce fêru de stratêgie militaire
un vulgaire voleur
un lord
Montréalais d'origine
C. Black
grand lord
gros lard
très aristocratique Black
un propriétaire modèle
le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black
le baron déchu
l'ex-patron de Hollinger
cet ambitieux patron de presse
l'homme
l'ancien magnat de la presse originaire de Montréal
lord britannique
cet homme
cet homme de 62 ans
le patron de presse déchu Conrad Black
l'ex-patron de presse
le "Citizen Kane"
Black l'arrogant
l'ex-magnat Conrad Black
un tycoon impitoyable
Conrad-le-menteur

Appendix D: Canadian Units in English

Canadian Units in English
Conrad Black
Black
Lord Black
former chairman of newspaper publisher Hollinger International Inc.
the man with the most to lose
former Canadian newspaper baron
former chief executive and chairman of Hollinger International Inc.
Conrad
the CEO
the former press baron
former media baron
member of the House of Lords
member of Britain's House of Lords
the media baron
the press baron
hobbyist
one of the most skilled biographers of dead politicians
erudite
funny
charismatic
well-read
well-rounded
proficient raconteur
too old
too tarnished
too disliked
the businessman
arch-conservative
Mr. Black
a special guy
the fallen media baron
former chairman and CEO of Hollinger International Inc.
Lord Black of Crossharbour
one of the most powerful media moguls on the planet
the peer
convicted felon
tycoon
patrician
imposing
son of a Montreal restaurateur
friend and business associate

Canadian Units in English
Conrad Moffat Black
the media mogul
convict
very rich
foreign citizen
deportable alien
corrupt executive
colourful character
one of a kind
conservative author, publisher and accused racketeer
extraordinary personality
the tycoon
Moor
larger than life
gentleman
the main attraction
the 62-year-old British peer
Canadian-born press baron
disgraced press baron
former media mogul
the 62-year old
the newspaper mogul
a serious historian
the most feared man in the Canadian establishment
an international newspaper mogul
a major player in the Canadian newspaper market
the newspaper baron
Messr. Black
an eloquent defender of capitalist democracy as the best system of government
the most entertaining person to have dinner with that I know
a great person
a friend
a superior person in many ways
"thief"
former boss
a globetrotting press baron
the businessman so many Canadians loved to revile
a corporate David
a bully
the bullied
financier
the former newspaper magnate
a flight risk
the 62-year-old Lord Black

Canadian Units in English
one of the most powerful media moguls on the planet
a ruthless tycoon
ex-media mogul
the 62-year-old former media magnate
a white man in his 60s
the normally voluble Black
hyper-articulate
husband No. 4
self-ruined titan
a felon
the felon
Convict Conrad Black
her DP husband
former owner of the Jerusalem Post
the didactic writer and professional biographer
a man utterly disgraced
a British citizen
a self-ruined man
a crook
The teenaged Black
youngest director in Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce history
"cunning and calculated"
former Hollinger International CEO
a 15-year-old child of privilege
young Black
the fallen press baron
a wunderkind tycoon in the 1970s
the fallen media tycoon
the former media tycoon
an easy guy to dislike
this man
media magnate
Canadian-born Black
an exact parallel of Melmotte
newly minted felon Conrad Black
the most prominent Canadian executive to be convicted as a white-collar fraudster
the 62-year-old Black
a historian
a thief
a corporate swindler
former newspaper executive
"a crook from the cradle who has sailed under the skull and crossbones ever since"
"dilettante"
"a bad man but not an evil man"

Canadian Units in English
ruined
former media tycoon Conrad Black
"Corrupt media tycoon"
a man of principle and intelligence
a man who insisted on his innocence
the Lord Almighty
the victim of an "extremely complex" case
a soldier conscripted for a foreign war
the Canadian-born peer
former CEO of Hollinger International
master of bombast
former newspaper baron
a man whose fierce intelligence was widely recognized
a convicted criminal
the 62-year-old fraudster
disgraced newspaper tycoon
mob boss
a CEO of a major corporation
the "swaggering" Black
a well-known conservative
a fierce devotee (and biographer) of Franklin Delano Roosevelt
his Lordship of Lies
CON-rad Black
His Lardship
Citizen Black
a millionaire whose wealth would generally allow him to have his heavy lifting down by servants
smart
the greatest living example of how crazy people can be as smart as anything
no longer a Canadian citizen
Lord of crossharbour
disgraced tycoon
a very good proprietor
villain
the Hon. Conrad Moffat Black
media mogul Conrad Black
former newspaper baron Conrad Black
the newspaper tycoon
a free man
62-year-old Canadian-born businessman
the Montreal-born businessman
the four-time convicted felon
one of the richest men in the world

Canadian Units in English
an arrogant crook with a huge appetite for ego gratification
the disgraced newspaper baron
disgraced Conrad Black
the former Telegraph owner
former owner of The Daily Telegraph
powerful press lord
the 62-year-old
fallen media mogul Conrad Black
the former owner of the Daily and Sunday Telegraph
the former owner of the Telegraph newspapers in the UK
the 62-year-old peer
former Daily Telegraph owner Conrad Black
the wealthy newspaper executive
the former Daily Telegraph owner and once-powerful chief executive of the Hollinger newspaper empire
former press lord Conrad Black
a merciless businessman with a love of suing anyone who crossed him
media tycoon
one of the world's most powerful media figures
the bombastic baron
Baron Greed
millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black
the disgraced 62-year-old British peer
the man who raided his company's coffers to fund a lavish lifestyle
a businessman who through Hollinger International once controlled Britain's Daily Telegraph, the National Post of Canada and the Jerusalem Post
the arrogant tycoon
the flamboyant larger-than-life character with a ruthless business mind
the former Telegraph chairman
a pompous figure known for his domineering manner and flowery vocabulary
the swaggering press baron
a peer of the realm
a non-American
a leading figure in conservative circles
a notorious late riser
the former chairman of the Daily Telegraph
the Canadian-born businessman who regarded just about everyone as a social inferior
a non-US citizen
the fraudster tycoon
shamed media baron Conrad Black
a man who once influenced world events
the man who once controlled 600 newspapers and entertained the cream of London society
a white-collar criminal
a foreign national

Canadian Units in English
a man once dubbed the Lord of Excess
the famously arrogant chief executive
a low crook
the proprietor of Telegraph newspapers
a remarkable author
a man used to the high life
the Conservative peer
wealthy, titled, erudite
a man who became addicted to luxury
the brewery boss's son from Montreal
an intellectual and a serious, published historian
the proprietor and unchallenged master of the Daily Telegraph
a good proprietor
the sophisticated fraudster
the brilliant businessman
the rebellious Toronto schoolboy
the son of an embittered Toronto businessman ousted from the family firm
an aggressive operator
the networker
former newspaper tycoon
a man who has repeatedly thumbed his nose at the US justice system
a bank robber [in a] suit and tie
former Telegraph boss
disgraced media mogul Conrad Black
big and bellicose
a rich man who ran with the super-rich and needed to find the funds to do it
disgraced press baron Conrad Black
the Montreal-born entrepreneur
Lord Greed
liar
disgraced press baron
destitute
fallen peer Conrad Black
Montreal-born newspaper baron
convicted fraudster Conrad Black

Appendix E: Canadian Units in French

Canadian Units in French
Black
Conrad Black
M. Black
l'ancien baron de la presse
l'ex-patron de presse canadien Conrad Black
l'ex-patron de presse canadien
l'ancien magnat de la presse
ex-magnat de la presse
agé de 62 ans
l'ex-magnat
Citizen Black
l'ancien magnat de la presse Conrad Black
Lord Black
coupable
le financier déchu
Lord Black de Crossharbour
le flamboyant homme d'affaires
un condamné pour fraude
Lord Black of Crossharbour
le jeune homme d'affaires déjà millionnaire
l'ancien franc-maçon converti à la religion catholique
la tête de la troisième plus grande entreprise de presse du monde
le magnat de la presse
l'homme d'affaires
le magnat de la presse déchu
le magnat déchu
l'ancien président de Hollinger International
l'homme âgé de 62 ans
auteur de biographies respectées de Maurice Duplessis et de Franklin D. Roosevelt
fondateur du quotidien <i>National Post</i>
le magnat canadien de la presse
arrogant, excentrique, suffisant, sans scrupules, suprêmement méprisant pour tous ceux qui ne partagent pas ses opinions
intelligent
un des plus brillants historiens et biographes de sa génération
l'accusé
le sexagénaire en complet beige
le biographe de Roosevelt, de Nixon et de Duplessis
Lord
un homme qui a toujours frayed avec les puissants de ce monde
ce fêru de stratégie militaire

Canadian Units in French
un vulgaire voleur
un lord
Montréalais d'origine
C. Black
grand lord
gros lard
un propriétaire modèle
le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black
la baron déchu
l'ex-patron de Hollinger
cet ambitieux patron de presse
l'homme
l'ancien magnat de la presse originaire de Montréal
lord britannique
cet homme
cet homme de 62 ans
le patron de presse déchu Conrad Black
l'ex-patron de presse

Appendix F: United Kingdom Units in English

United Kingdom Units in English
Conrad Black
Black
Lord Black
Conrad
member of the House of Lords
the press baron
Mr. Black
Lord Black of Crossharbour
one of the most powerful media moguls on the planet
the peer
tycoon
patrician
imposing
son of a Montreal restaurateur
friend and business associate
Conrad Moffat Black
the media mogul
very rich
former media mogul
"thief"
a flight risk
the 62-year-old Lord Black
a ruthless tycoon
a crook
the former media tycoon
Canadian-born Black
a historian
a thief
"a bad man but not an evil man"
former media tycoon Conrad Black
"Corrupt media tycoon"
the Canadian-born peer
master of bombast
former newspaper baron
a man whose fierce intelligence was widely recognized
a convicted criminal
Citizen Black
disgraced tycoon
a very good proprietor
the newspaper tycoon
disgraced Conrad Black

United Kingdom Units in English
the former Telegraph owner
former owner of The Daily Telegraph
powerful press lord
the 62-year-old
fallen media mogul Conrad Black
the former owner of the Daily and Sunday Telegraph
the former owner of the Telegraph newspapers in the UK
the 62-year-old peer
former Daily Telegraph owner Conrad Black
the wealthy newspaper executive
the former Daily Telegraph owner and once-powerful chief executive of the Hollinger newspaper empire
former press lord Conrad Black
a merciless businessman with a love of suing anyone who crossed him
media tycoon
one of the world's most powerful media figures
the bombastic baron
Baron Greed
millionaire media tycoon Conrad Black
the disgraced 62-year-old British per
the man who raided his company's coffers to fund a lavish lifestyle
a businessman who through Hollinger International once controlled Britain's Daily Telegraph, the National Post of Canada and the Jerusalem Post
the arrogant tycoon
the flamboyant larger-than-life character with a ruthless business mind
the former Telegraph chairman
a pompous figure known for his domineering manner and flowery vocabulary
the swaggering press baron
a peer of the realm
a non-American
a leading figure in conservative circles
a notorious late riser
the former chairman of the Daily Telegraph
the Canadian-born businessman who regarded just about everyone as a social inferior
a non-US citizen
the fraudster tycoon
shamed media baron Conrad Black
a man who once influenced world events
the man who once controlled 600 newspapers and entertained the cream of London society
a white-collar criminal
a foreign national
a man once dubbed the Lord of Excess
the famously arrogant chief executive
a low crook

United Kingdom Units in English
the proprietor of Telegraph newspapers
a remarkable author
a man used to the high life
the Conservative peer
wealthy, titled, erudite
a man who became addicted to luxury
the brewery boss's son from Montreal
an intellectual and a serious, published historian
the proprietor and unchallenged master of the Daily Telegraph
a good proprietor
the sophisticated fraudster
the brilliant businessman
the rebellious Toronto schoolboy
the son of an embittered Toronto businessman ousted from the family firm
an aggressive operator
the networker
former newspaper tycoon
a man who has repeatedly thumbed his nose at the US justice system
a bank robber [in a] suit and tie
former Telegraph boss
disgraced media mogul Conrad Black
big and bellicose
a rich man who ran with the super-rich and needed to find the funds to do it
disgraced press baron Conrad Black
the Montreal-born entrepreneur
Lord Greed
liar
disgraced press baron
destitute
fallen peer Conrad Black
Montreal-born newspaper baron
convicted fraudster Conrad Black

Appendix G: French Units from France

French units from France
Conrad Black
M. Black
l'ancien magnat de la presse
ex-magnat de la presse
le magnat déchu des médias Conrad Black
ce fils de brasseur québécois
l'ex-magnat
l'ex-magnat des médias Conrad Black
Citizen Black
très aristocratique Black
un propriétaire modèle
le baron déchu de la presse Conrad Black
l'homme
le "Citizen Kane"
Black l'arrogant
l'ex-magnat Conrad Black
un tycoon impitoyable
Conrad-le-menteur