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## Cultural context in parliamentary discourse with examples of parallel speeches in the Polish Sejm and the German Bundestag – reflections from a translator’s perspective

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The article presents examples of cultural references made by Polish MPs speaking in the Polish Sejm and German MPs speaking in the German Bundestag. The term “cultural context” will be used as defined by Boniecka (1994). There will be presented two examples of parliamentary speeches given in the Polish Sejm and the German Bundestag from a larger corpus of collected data for the purpose of the research on the appellative function of the word “wish”. The starting point for compiling texts was the minutes of the parliamentary debates of the Polish Sejm which contained the word “zyczyć” (“wish” in Polish) and the minutes of parliamentary debates in the Bundestag which contained the word “wünschen” (“wish” in German) in the first person singular and plural. The topic of the speeches had a secondary meaning. On the basis of the examples it discussed will be shown that parallel texts of MP’s speeches are a valuable teaching material in specialised language lessons.

**Keywords:** wish, cultural context, MP, parliamentary discourse, Sejm, Bundestag

### 1. Theoretical background

The article will present examples of cultural references made by Polish MPs speaking in the Polish Sejm and German MPs speaking in the German Bundestag. Such cultural references which refer to historical and literary contexts understood in a very broad sense, as well as to pop culture or current events in a given country may constitute a challenge for interpreters working for example for political commentators. This is so because in the situation described above, what counts is not only the specialist terminology but also, widely understood, the situational context of a speech, since this context modifies the possible meaning of the speech. Moreover, what matters for the translator is also the means used by MPs to mock/ridicule and deprecate political opponents since such means have strong cultural referents and concern the current situation in the country. The right

understanding of an MP's attitude to other MP's, for example the ability to detect irony expressed not only verbally but also para-verbally or non-verbally as a form of aggression, helps to situate the MP not only in a parliamentary context but also to anticipate his/her behavior in other meetings, for instance international ones, EU meetings included. The term "cultural context" will be used in the way it was defined by Boniecka, who situates cultural context above all situations and above all single participants of the utterance that have influence on the meaning of that utterance (see Boniecka 1994: 45). Cultural context in a parliamentary debate plays a key role in understanding the speeches delivered by MPs, and its links with a particular cultural and linguistic area are shown in numerous references to historical events, literature, and quite often to current events and elements of pop culture. Following Laskowska (2002, 2004, and 2008) parliamentary discourse must include political topics. It must appear in the media (Laskowska 2002). Laskowska (2004: 15) also sees parliamentary discourse as part of political discourse. Bearing in mind Laskowska's categorization presented above a parliamentary debate belongs to politicians' discourse. Laskowska came to this conclusion (2004: 16) by classifying parliament as the most typical place for political action. Parliamentary discourse defined in this way involves all kinds of communicative activities performed by MPs which result from the functions ascribed to them. These activities comprise parliamentary speeches; work in parliamentary committees and subcommittees and performance in investigative committees. A disputable issue here is the categorization of back room talks and whether they can be seen as parliamentary discourse, too, since such talks are informal but they may also refer to political issues. On the other hand, the criterion indicated by Laskowska, namely that any political discourse must appear in the media, excludes this kind of talk from political discourse (after Filipczak-Białkowska 2016: 26). The presence of political discourse in the media is essential for the interpretation and possible translation of texts which bear the characteristics of specialist texts. Texts whose first function is to inform, but which are also a form of self-presentation and may be both regarded as expressive and appellative ones since indirectly these texts may exhort potential voters to vote for a given party. As it was already mentioned a real challenge for an interpreter is to express the speaker's attitude as shown in his/her speech. Attitude is a special kind of belief which contains both emotional and judgmental elements, in a sense an attitude is a compact assessment – good or bad – of a given object (see Aronson 2009). According to Pratkanis and Greenwald, people are inclined to use heuristics based on attitude (attitude heuristics) as a way of making decisions and solving problems (see Pratkanis 1989; Pratkanis & Greenwald 1989). Attitudes can help to classify an object as positive (when the following strategies are used: approving, praising, caring and protecting) or as negative (where the following strategies are used: avoidance strategy, chastise strategy, neglect strategy or harm strategy). In consequence, the attitude of a given person to a large extent conditions what this person regards as true (Pratkanis 1989: 257-263; after Gładzewski 2015: 19). This attitude towards the discussed events or people that an MP is talking about or addressing may be positive or negative. The attitude is primarily seen in non-verbal behavior, but a verbal analysis of a speech gives clues on how this speech should be read. These clues are sometimes very clear (for example the use of derogative words),

but on the other hand the clues can be very subtle, especially when they refer to culture or pop culture or even current events in a given country.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Examples

Below two examples of parliamentary speeches given in the Polish Sejm and the German Bundestag will be presented. The examples were taken from a larger corpus of the collected data for the purpose of the research on the appellative function of the word “wish”. The corpus consists of speeches that include wishes in the Polish Sejm and the German Bundestag during two terms of office, which overlap in time. The speeches are available as session minutes on the websites of both parliaments. According to the principles of a qualitative analysis, the number of texts analyzed was limited:

1. In the Polish Sejm the speeches from the 5th and 6th terms of office were selected (the years 2005-2007 and 2007-2011). This selection makes it possible to take into account the speeches of members of the parties who are present in the parliamentary party once in the fifth parliamentary term and in the next period as the opposition party (PiS) and vice versa, POs in the fifth parliament sat as an opposition party in the Sejm, and then became the governing party.

2. In the Bundestag the speeches were selected from the 17th and 18th terms (the years from October 27, 2009 to October 22, 2013 and from October 22, 2013 to July 2016, on which date the compilation of the corpus was completed). In the case of the German Bundestag, the CDU/CSU were the ruling parties in the seventeenth parliamentary term, and in the eighteenth parliamentary term, the CDU/CSU formed a coalition with the SPD, which in the 17th parliament was an opposition party in the Bundestag. Search engines from both parliaments were used to find wishes in the Polish and German parliament, and since texts are presented in PDF format on the pages of the German Bundestag, the computer program Text STAT2 allows the selection of utterances in a specific body of text. Text STAT2 also allowed for quick orientation in the extensive text corpus and also quick access to the smaller (about 30 lexical units) and the larger context (about 120 lexical units) of the verb stem “-wünsch-”. This made it possible to distinguish who was the author of the statement, whether it was a text of the deputy of the ruling party or the opposition party and whether the desire was ironic. In the case of the Polish Sejm, the forms of the first person singular and plural of the verb “życzyć” were typed in, whereby in a selection procedure only the form “życzyć komuś czegoś” was considered.

The starting point for compiling texts was the minutes of the parliamentary debates of Polish Sejm which contained the word “życzyć” (“wish” in Polish) and the minutes of the parliamentary debates in the Bundestag which contained the word “wünschen” (“wish” in German) in the first person singular and plural. The topic of the speeches had a secondary meaning. Both examples come from the period covering one term of office for the Polish Sejm and one – for the German Bundestag. The terms of office partly

<sup>1</sup> See also Kujawska-Lis (2008), who underlines the role of cultural references in nonliterary texts.

overlap in time. They are respectively the 6th term of office of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the 17th term of Office of the Bundestag. These speeches are available in the minutes of the parliamentary sittings in pdf form on the websites of both parliaments. The cultural references we are talking about here can be seen in these speeches and are crucial in understanding the messages correctly.

### 2.1. Example one

Carsten Schneider (Erfurt/SPD): “Ich will Ihnen einmal die Zahlen nennen. Neben dem, was in der mittelfristigen Finanzplanung schon beschlossen wurde, was also die Vorgabe für die Kreditaufnahme ist, ist im Finanzplanungszeitraum noch eine Globale Minderausgabevon insgesamt 40 Milliarden Euro eingeplant. Dieses Geld müssen Sie aufbringen. Sie haben in Ihren Koalitionsverhandlungen nicht beschlossen, wie Sie diese Lücke decken. Sie haben vielmehr beschlossen, diese Lücke zu vergrößern, nämlich um noch einmal 38 Milliarden Euro. Das macht zusammen etwa 80 Milliarden Euro in vier Jahren. Nicht schlecht! Ich frage mich nur: Wie wollen Sie dies abtragen? Wie kann man sich dieser Notwendigkeit zu Beginn einer Koalition nicht stellen und stattdessen mit Schattenhaushalten arbeiten, obwohl doch alles auf den Tisch gehört?In der FAZ warrichtigerweise von “Schwarz- Geld” die Rede. Von diesem Schwarzgeld hört man zwar nichts mehr, aber das steht immer noch im Koalitionsvertrag. Jetzt ist es an der Zeit, die Fakten auf den Tisch zu legen, Maßnahmen zu besprechen, sie durchzusetzen und der Bevölkerung zu erklären. All das tun Sie nicht. Ich wünsche Ihnen viel Erfolg in Ihrem Amt. Ich glaube aber, dass Sie Ihrer Aufgabe auf dieser Grundlage nicht gewachsen sein werden. (Beifall bei der SPD) Die Frage ist: Wer wird die Zeche bezahlen? Alles, was Sie bisher vorlegen, führt zu neuen Schulden. Ich will Ihnen nicht den Titel des Schuldenkönigs anhängen. Neue Schulden hätte es so oder so gegeben. Die FDP war ja immer für ein Verbot von Schulden. Ich frage mich, wie Sie das hätten durchsetzen wollen. (Deutscher Bundestag – 17. Wahlperiode – 5. Sitzung. Berlin, Donnerstag, den 12. November 2009).

### 2.2. Discussion

MP Carsten Schneider from the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) in her speech when using the phrase “Schwarzgeld” is referring to an unspecified article in the newspaper “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” (FAZ). If we turn to the internet to 2009 sources to find more about this article, we find an article in FAZ from August 11th 2009.<sup>2</sup> In this article a treaty between Lichtenstein and Great Britain is being discussed, where both countries commit themselves to controlling British citizens’ bank accounts in Lichtenstein banks in order to prevent setting up bank accounts where dirty money can be saved,

<sup>2</sup> Vaduz und London unterzeichnen Steuerab kommen (Aktualisiert am 11.08.2009) <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/schwarzgeld-vaduz-und-london-unterzeichnen-steuerabkommen-1649716.html>.

hence the phrase “Schwarzgeld” (which means black (dirty) money). The problem of sharing the information about the bank accounts of citizens of Western Europe by so called tax havens, which had been discussed many times, also concerned Germany. The very definition of “Schwarzgeld” is not clearly specified in German law. Although, as Goetzenbergera claims (2009: 47), German law does not provide one definition of this concept, it might be inferred that the concept means a part of wealth which was accumulated through illegal activities, in this case through not paying taxes in the country where this tax should have been paid, the so called Welteinkommensprinzip. The rule of “a global tax on income” (Welteinkommensprinzip) stipulates that people who live in a given country and are obliged to pay taxes there need to pay a tax on all economic activities including those outside the country. Countries sometimes sign bilateral agreements in order to avoid being double taxed. This does not change however the general rule of Welteinkommensprinzip.<sup>3</sup>

So, the translator’s first association might refer to illegal money which was not taxed in a given country, despite the fact that it was subject to taxation. However, the juxtaposition of the word “Schwarzgeld” with the word “Schattenhaushalt”, where the latter one means parallel or side budgets<sup>4</sup>, and which was used by the MP in a preceding sentence does not allow us to translate the concept Schwarzgeld as “dirty money”. In the article “Wie Schulden zu Vermögen werden” dated Oct 23 2009 (<https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/schattenhaushalt110.html>) we find an explanation of Schattenhaushalt – side budget<sup>5</sup>, which euphemistically is also called “Sondervermögen” (though according to the authors of the article it should be called “Sonderschulden”). Sondervermögen in other words means additional state expenses which are pushed from the state budget into areas to which there is no easy access.

“Sondervermögen” serves to finance special state tasks, such as family support, or rescuing banks threatened with bankruptcy. Such expenses may constitute part of the state budget or may be financed through specially created target funds. The MP was referring, however, to a different article entitled “Schattenhaushalt für 2009 vom Tisch<sup>6</sup>” printed in FAZ<sup>7</sup>, and dated October 22, 2009, where the phrase ‘Schwarzgeld’, at least in the Internet version, does not appear. This peculiar confusion of both articles may be of special difficulty for a translator, even for the one who is very familiar with public debate in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> See Dautzenberg, Norbert: Welteinkommensprinzip, in: Gabler Wirtschaftslexikon (<http://wirtschaftslexikon.gabler.de/Definition/welteinkommensprinzip.html>), „*Universalitätsprinzip*. 1. *Term: the principle/rule that* in the context of unlimited tax liability, all income, whether domestic or foreign, is taxed. The world income principle is necessary because the sole liability of domestic income (territoriality) for taxation would be an incentive to relocate capital and economic activities to more favorably taxed foreign countries.”

<sup>4</sup> See <https://www.linguee.de/deutsch-polnisch/search?source=auto&query=Schattenhaushalt>.

<sup>5</sup> See <https://www.linguee.pl/polski-niemiecki/search?source=auto&query=bud%C5%BCet+poboczny>.

<sup>6</sup> Vom Tisch sein vorüber / erledigt / geklärt / abgeschlossen / nicht mehr im Gespräch **sein**; nicht weiterverfolgt / nicht verwirklicht werden.

<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/wahljahr-2009/bundestagswahl/verfassungsrechtliche-bedenken-schattenhaushalt-fuer-2009-vom-tisch-1871679.html>.

The real nature of the problem shown in example one and discussed by MP Schneider lies in the fact that the CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)/CSU (Christian Social Union in Bavaria) and FDP (Free Democratic Party) coalition did not specify how they were going to finance special expenses. From the point of view of the then coalition it was crucial that special expenses be not charged to the federal debt, and so not considered as new debts. The government wanted to avoid new debts, since 2011 it had been obliged to keep the debt in check within *Schuldenbremse* (“debt brake”)<sup>8</sup>. In this context the translation of the term *Schwarzgeld* requires an additional explanation from a translator, who should translate “*Schwarzgeld*” as “non-transparent state expenses”, and not “dirty money”.

In the given example there is a clear attempt to discredit the ruling coalition, this can be seen in the use of pejoratively marked lexemes, and this discrediting is emphasized by an insincere wish expressed by the MP towards the Minister of Finance in the meaning: “I wish you success in the new position”. This insincerity is visible also in the

<sup>8</sup> See Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland Art 109

(1) Bund und Länder sind in ihrer Haushaltswirtschaft selbständig und voneinander unabhängig.

(2) Bund und Länder erfüllen gemeinsam die Verpflichtungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus Rechtsakten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft auf Grund des Artikels 104 des Vertrags zur Gründung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zur Einhaltung der Haushaltsdisziplin und tragen in diesem Rahmen den Erfordernissen des gesamtwirtschaftlichen Gleichgewichts Rechnung.

(3) Die Haushalte von Bund und Ländern sind grundsätzlich ohne Einnahmen aus Krediten auszugleichen. Bund und Länder können Regelungen zur im Auf- und Abschwung symmetrischen Berücksichtigung der Auswirkungen einer von der Normallage abweichenden konjunkturellen Entwicklung sowie eine Ausnahmeregelung für Naturkatastrophen oder außergewöhnliche Notsituationen, die sich der Kontrolle des Staates entziehen und die staatliche Finanzlage erheblich beeinträchtigen, vorsehen. Für die Ausnahmeregelung ist eine entsprechende Tilgungsregelung vorzusehen. Die nähere Ausgestaltung regelt für den Haushalt des Bundes Artikel 115 mit der Maßgabe, dass Satz 1 entsprochen ist, wenn die Einnahmen aus Krediten 0,35 vom Hundert im Verhältnis zum nominalen Bruttoinlandsprodukt nicht überschreiten. Die nähere Ausgestaltung für die Haushalte der Länder regeln diese im Rahmen ihrer verfassungsrechtlichen Kompetenzen mit der Maßgabe, dass Satz 1 nur dann entsprochen ist, wenn keine Einnahmen aus Krediten zugelassen werden.

(4) Durch Bundesgesetz, das der Zustimmung des Bundesrates bedarf, können für Bund und Länder gemeinsam geltende Grundsätze für das Haushaltsrecht, für eine konjunkturgerechte Haushaltswirtschaft und für eine mehrjährige Finanzplanung aufgestellt werden.

(5) Sanktionsmaßnahmen der Europäischen Gemeinschaft im Zusammenhang mit den Bestimmungen in Artikel 104 des Vertrags zur Gründung der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zur Einhaltung der Haushaltsdisziplin tragen Bund und Länder im Verhältnis 65 zu 35. Die Ländergesamtheit trägt solidarisch 35 vom Hundert der auf die Länder entfallenden Lasten entsprechend ihrer Einwohnerzahl; 65 vom Hundert der auf die Länder entfallenden Lasten tragen die Länder entsprechend ihrem Verursachungsbeitrag. Das Nähere regelt ein Bundesgesetz, das der Zustimmung des Bundesrates bedarf.

See also an article about “debt brake” posted on the internet site <http://biznes.onet.pl/wiadomosci/ue/niemcy-hamulec-deficytu-panaceum-na-wysoki-dlug-publiczny/hf2zl>: (access 30.10.2017), where the problem of high public debt in the German Federal Republic is discussed, which significantly exceeds the EU criteria designated for member states in the Maastricht Treaty. In 2010, the public debt increased to the level of 82.4% of GDP. After a slight decrease in 2011, the debt rose again to 81.9% of GDP in 2012. A spokeswoman for the German finance minister, Baerbel Schneider, said in a statement to the PAP that there is no limit in Germany, which determines the acceptable ratio of debt to GDP, because Germany is guided by EU standards (according to these criteria, the budget deficit cannot exceed 3% of GDP; public debt 60% of GDP). Germany has repeatedly violated the Maastricht arrangements in the past. But since 2009 there is a so-called “deficit brake”, a principle adopted by the parliament and introduced into the German constitution, which provides that from 2016 the central budget deficit of the state cannot exceed 0.35 per cent annually of GDP.

sentence following the wishes, where the MP shows her doubts whether the Minister is able to perform his tasks. The above example shows how specialist vocabulary is involved in a current political debate (here a debate about the budget), and a translator needs to be especially careful, as MPs do not feel obliged to provide exact quotations from the press. Elements of pop culture in parliamentary debates are also very popular. This can be seen in an example from the Polish Sejm, where the Polish MP Ludwik Dorn invokes a well-known Polish comedy series from the 1970s.

### 2.3. Example two

VI term, item 1 on the agenda:

Petition for a vote of no confidence against the Minister of Infrastructure Cezary Grabarczyk (forms no 4597 and 4617). MP Ludwik Dorn: “[...] However, as follows from the economic rationality, these shippers will calculate what brings them bigger profits. In the summer high season three factors coincided. This coincidence did not result from the spots on the Sun, or protuberance or hurricane Irene. It was caused by the fact that minister Grabarczyk did not see it coming and did not foresee its simple consequences, that is that for many Poles getting to their holiday destinations will take at least 1/3 longer. Prime Minister Tusk and the Civic Platform say: Poland under construction, there may be inept contractors and they need to be replaced. But the most inept contractor is sitting right here. (Applause) Is this message of the Civic Platform and the Prime Minister credible while Minister Grabarczyk is still in a ministerial position? Aren’t there right candidates in this ruling team, in this government who could manage? I will myself give a candidate’s name. For a couple of years Minister Graś has been a conscientious janitor at his German benefactor’s (applause) (MP Niesiołowski: “watch your mouth, you pleb”) and he must have done his job well as he knew when to remove the snow or when to dust (a voice from the auditorium: “what boorishness”). Every dutiful janitor would be a better minister than minister Grabarczyk because a janitor would know that when three factors coincide in the summer high season it would be a torment for millions of people. (a voice from the auditorium: “This is the only way you can talk”) Madam Speaker of the Sejm! Members of the Upper House! The situation has arisen that Mr Tusk, the Prime Minister, has been paying this inept contractor. And the entire message of the Civic Platform amounts to nothing. Poland really is under construction. And I am happy about this. And I am referring to the experience of millions of Poles. Every one of us adults at one moment either was building a house or was renovating their flat and knows that this situation entails terrible problems, and it causes a lot of stress, yet one needs to go through it since when it all finishes it can only be better. Everyone also knows that a conscientious professional crew of contractors is a gift from God, and knows how it is with a crew of sluggish and incapable “professionals”. (Ringing tone to signal the end of speaking time) Well, here we have an example of such a professional from a cabaret. (Applause) I am finishing now. Madam Speaker! Minister Grabarczyk and especially Mr Tusk both remind me of characters from the TV series “Czterdziestolatek” (about a man in his forties), a technician called Maliniak (Mr Raspberry) – the iconic role played

by Roman Kłosowski, who always pretended to be the boss and used to say that one day he would be the alpha and omega. Upper House! Electors! My Constitutional Sovereign Polish Nation! October 9th is coming, the time to make a decision is coming and this decision needs to be obvious – Maliniaks into raspberry bushes. (Merriment and applause).

#### 2.4. Discussion

In the example that is of interest to us at the end of the motion for a vote of no confidence to Poland's Minister of Infrastructure in 2007-2011, Cezary Grabarczyk there appears a sentence "Maliniaks into 'raspberry bushes'." An MP is making here a clear reference to the above mentioned popular comedy series "Czterdziestolatek" (broadcast in 1975-1978) in the times of the PRP (the Polish People's Republic) featuring a characteristic, incompetent, and nosy foreman called Maliniak. The wishful tone of the utterance is indicated through its context, i.e. wishing Poles would make an obvious choice. At the same time the phrase "into raspberry bushes", which, if supplemented with the verb "show in somebody" (wpuścić w maliny), is a Polish idiom that means "to fool sb", and according to Krystyna Długosz-Kurczabowa can have two meanings. Firstly, it may refer to another popular idiom (wywieść w pole) "cross somebody up", which means to cheat since "pole", a Polish word for a "field", also means an open space, plain or a very large area, and if somebody is brought to such a place, the person may lose track and can be easily manipulated. Hence, the metaphorical meaning of the idiom of being conned. Secondly, raspberries are not only a botanical phrase denoting a plant and fruit but a term used in a card game called Preferans. It describes a situation when a player gets rid involuntarily of all the cards, and the idiom "na malinach" (in raspberry bushes) means to have nothing or to lose everything. Consequently, one can be in raspberry bushes or one can be sent into raspberry bushes, so if a person is sent there, they are deprived of something, or put in a difficult situation (see: Długosz-Kurczabowa). MP Dorn could use this idiom as a tool to emphasize the semantic link between the words "cheating" and "losing" (in Polish alliteration in this idiom). Both explanations point to a negative course of events for "Maliniaks" (when using the phrase MP Dorn has in mind the members of the ruling party whom he is criticizing in his speech): either they can be cheated (which seems a not very likely interpretation) or they can be put on the streets to beg, which means that they will not have lucrative MP positions in the next government.

Although a wish can be understood as an act of good will by the addressees of the wish (the electorate) since everybody wants to have competent professionals in the government and not Maliniaks, at the same time the phrase Maliniaks used in the wish by the MP is also very offensive to the members of the ruling party since the MP uses the phrase to describe people presently in power. In this case we have a shift in addressees, namely people in the auditorium are not the addressees of the wish, but the addressees of the whole speech, hence they constitute the recipients of the offensive comparisons, which serve as their critique and discredits them.



In the case of translating the above speech into German an idiom needs to be found with a similar meaning, but this requires from a translator perfect knowledge of pop culture in Poland. One might be tempted to translate functionally: “die frechen Oskar überrümpelnor”, if we wanted to emphasize associations with popular comedies of the 1970s it could be: Polen, lass die Lümmel von der ersten Bank<sup>9</sup> sitzenbleiben!”.

### 3. Conclusions

On the basis of the examples discussed above the following conclusions for teaching specialist translation can be drawn. Parallel texts of MP’s speeches are a valuable teaching material in specialist language lessons. On the one hand, elements referring to almost every field of specialist knowledge relevant for the existence of a given country can be found there (see a section on a budget debate shown in example one or think about a parliamentary speech discussing education, health service, etc.). On the other hand, MP’s speeches include typical phrases connected with parliamentary culture such as formulas used to run the proceedings of the house or forms of address used by MPs. In the case of translating texts of parliamentary speeches both the knowledge of specialist vocabulary as well as the knowledge of a public debate of a given period in a particular country is required. This knowledge involves knowing press articles on a given subject, which might be useful in clarifying the context for a term used in a fragment that is being translated. As it has been shown in example one specialist vocabulary referring to budget planning is not precisely defined nor is it always precisely used by MPs and requires some extra interpretation by the translator.

Even in the texts of debates devoted to some specific topics, which undoubtedly can be classified as informative and specialist texts, there may appear some ironic elements which express an MP’s attitude towards some people. In practice irony is expressed by means of the key elements in a given speech as these elements serve self-promotion. Other forms of expressive language found in speeches are used for self-promotion. Since ironic elements may refer to pop culture, they often constitute an extra concern for the translators of specialist texts.

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<sup>9</sup> In reference to a well-known German comedy series about a rebellious youth contesting traditional teaching methods (*Die Lümmel von der ersten Bank*. Directed by Werner Jacobsa (7 Filme auf 7 DVDs). Remastered. StudioCanal. 2014. EAN: 4006680070261).

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