

Translating Ideologies in Arabic News: Textual Alterations in Al-Arabiya and Aljazeera's Discourses

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ABSTRACT

This article explores how the institutional and ideological practices of news media can impact on translating news articles by focusing on the ideological representations in media discourse. It tests the hypothesis that hidden ideologies in news texts are changed/re-presented in the process of reformulation, taking into account the translation practices followed by news institutions. The study applies a Critical Discourse Analysis model to analyse issues relayed to representing people and events in a range of media texts. To do this, it uses a corpus of 63 news articles collated from Aljazeera and Al-Arabiya websites to identify the textual, ideological, and institutional representations and alterations happening through translation. It shows that it is possible for a news translator to carry out minor or major alterations to a news story under translation for the purpose of ideologically reorienting their message or text-focus.

INTRODUCTION

Fawcett (1998, p. 107) states that “throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions have applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation”. Ideology, with its various definitions, has been frequently linked to media and media studies. Price and Nicholas (1998) state that the Glasgow Media Group established that the media tend to promote the ideological slant of powerful groups or the dominant classes in society. The way a news story is presented by a press organisation reflects the ideologies buried underneath its stated lines. That is, readers will form ideas from this story which echo the implicit ideologies of the news media outlets. The narrative of a news item by a media institution portrays the attitudes and ideologies of that institution regarding its conception of reality. The term ‘media’ in this study is used only to refer to news dissemination – online news articles. The focus on media ideology in this study is mainly associated with Aljazeera and Al-Arabiya, with reference to the concepts of CDA, media and ideology in general.

Media play an influential and prominent role in societies by selecting news stories they wish to communicate to the public. Wall and Rayner (2007) state that the consumption of media texts allows people to make sense of the world as well as the events happening in it. News organisations have

different views on how they represent events, and they hold opinions and beliefs which may vary considerably in terms of ideological representation (Bell and Garrett 1998). These ideologies influence news production and the discourse of news agencies. In fact, the ideologies of the media are hidden in their discourses. Discourse, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), is the study of language use, that is the study of speech and writing in relation to their social contexts taking into account the practices of institutions involved. The ideology of institutions regarding translation practices is a subject of interest to Translation Studies. This fact is stressed by Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002, p. xiii) arguing that translators, in social institutions, governments and the like, “had at their disposal to “manipulate” a given society in order to “construct” the kind of “culture” desired” (emphasis in original). Translation in news organisations is an important component in the process of news production (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) and it is ideologically-laden with the views of the institution at hand. The above quote by Fawcett (1998) suggests that institutions such as media organisations, which make considerable use of translation, convey their ideological stances through translation. The paper will endeavour to demonstrate that by analyzing the corpus.

Media ideology can be defined as a system of beliefs or practices (Thompson, 1990) held by different media organ-

isations in order not only to reflect, but to represent and to shape the world and the events taking place in it according to their fostered beliefs. The media can be used not only for marketing a product, propagandising a belief, making sure an idea is taken for granted, or advocating a party, it can also be one of the primary tools in warring countries and conflicts to exterminate political opponents. Castells (2009, p. 164) provides evidence that during the Iraq War the press in America, the UK, Sweden and Germany “tend[ed] to marginalize dissenting voices” and privilege the political consenting voices that meet their ideology or their set of ideas. Such practices discussed by Castells (2009) can also be applied to Arab news channels in this research from a translational perspective. Boyd-Barrett (2009, p. 296) claims that media, undoubtedly, “provide cover for war on false pretexts and at crippling expense”. This argument about the influence of the media is significant to this research, which deals with the impact of the media ideology on the translation process – more specifically the influence of the Arab media in post-revolution Egypt from a translation point of view.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis grew out of Critical Linguistics, a field which finds its roots in Hallidayan Functionalist Linguistic Theory. CDA addresses the role of the audience in the exploration of texts as well as their intertextual and contextual elements. CDA is said to aim “to isolate ideology in discourse” (Fowler et al. 1979, as cited by Cremades, 2007, p. 17). News discourse is one of the main areas that CDA is concerned with. In this respect, van Dijk (1985) argues that the formulaic nature of news texts cannot be investigated and analysed with negligence of the surrounding social context. In his approach, the process of media text production, which involves text structure and comprehension with its social and contextual frameworks, needs to be analysed in correlation with two identifiable levels. The first is the microstructure level, which examines the semantic relations of the text, the syntax, lexis and cohesion and coherence. The second is the macrostructure level, which deals with the general thematic/topic structure and organisation of news stories. News texts are characterised in terms of themes and topics narratively presented in the manner of a headline, lead paragraph(s) and superstructure.

Fairclough (1995, p. 103), on the other hand, notes that the focus in the representation of a text lies in the way “events, situations, relationships, people, and so forth are represented”. He goes on to argue that the way the media represent events, relationships between two or more people or institutions or infer a conclusion from people does not actually “mirror realities” as some may “naively” assume. Media texts, according to Fairclough (1995), represent realities in different forms to match their own interests and objectives as shown in this example from Aljazeera:

Exclusive – Egypt’s Sisi asks for U.S. help in fighting terrorism

السيسي: نحتاج دعم أميركا وعلاقتنا بإسرائيل مستقرة

[Sisi: we need the support of America and our relationship with Israel is stable] (My translation)

This headline offers a good example of the media practices underlined by Fairclough: Aljazeera steers the reader’s attention to a particular point – Egypt’s relations with Israel. According to Fairclough (1995), CDA analyses media texts within not only their textual and structural frameworks but also by analysing and explaining three levels of texts: structure, production and comprehension. In this paper, the level of text is used in the analysis as it encompasses the elements needed for the analysis framework. However, the institutional settings and practices also have a crucial role in the outcome of the translation. The concept of institutional setting is stressed by Wodak (1996). She states that it is important to consider the setting of institutions where an interaction is taking place, i.e. hospital, school, police station, etc. Furthermore, this view has also been adopted by Richardson (2007), who mentions that CDA has been used to make a connection between linguistic analysis and social analysis. In this sense, social analysis means the settings in which the interaction takes place.

CDA approaches have not explored translation within news media and news organisations. Although the main concern of CDA is to investigate the buried ideology in news texts which are hidden by a dense linguistic foliage, it has not focused on translation when writing and producing news stories within global contexts. However, Translation Studies is in a dynamic flux and there are attempts in using the same CDA tools to reflect on the ideological work done by news translators, specifically. While the processing of a foreign language in international news is not commonly termed “translation” by journalists or media professionals, the data collated and analysed in this study suggested otherwise as some news articles have been translated from start to finish. The heavy reliance on translation in news makes this an important topic of investigation. Journalists tend to perceive their work, based on translation, as editing or rewriting. This attitude of denial of translation is partly connected to prestige. Editing or rewriting involves elements of “active decision-making and creativity”, whereas translation is perceived as “passive or even slavish imitation” (Vuorinen 1995, p. 196). On the other hand, news production involves manipulative practices usually triggered by the ideological and political edifice of the news institution. Therefore, CDA and Translation Studies have the potential to unmask the ideological work carried out by news organisations through their social agents – the news translators.

A more important ideological point of view that should be addressed here is the idea that some ideological practices may become background knowledge as a result of a naturalisation process in a society (Fairclough, 1995). The public rarely look at news critically, they take them for granted as facts. Fowler (1991) asserts that, first, readers of news are generally not trained to read critically. Second, audiences in general interpret news texts as per their background knowledge and information that they previously consumed regarding a topic in question (van Dijk, 1993). Interestingly, and as van Dijk (1993, p. 242) puts it “[...] the news media are the main source of information and beliefs used to form an interpretation framework”, for social or political events. In other

words, audiences count on news to understand political or economic events which in turn shape the way they think or understand some social events. This background knowledge is then used to interpret further news texts, which makes such an interpretation unreliable as after all they are not used to read or analyse critically.

Critical Discourse Analysis assists researchers of media texts to make assumptions and to analyse the impact of media ideology on audiences (Cremades, 2007). Journalists produce news stories in a biased way, which may shape their negative attitude towards an event which is then taken in by the public who may trust it as a fact (van Dijk, 1995). That said, society is a key element in CDA, as it is the environment where people acquire social habits and culture. As a result, media institutions find discourse an inevitable place to imply ideological elements, and this led van Dijk (1995) to see discourse analysis as ideological analysis. Notwithstanding, with the arrival of the Internet and technology, media text readers can immediately express their opinion at the end of the news text as many websites provide space for viewers and readers to have their say about what they have read. The comments section at the end of each news article is an interactive virtual sphere that gives people the chance to discuss and debate their opinions which reflect the impact of the news on the audience and their comprehension of the text (on online comment domain, see Al-Saggaf, 2006).

This study uses CDA to analyse the implicit ideology in the news articles collated for this research. Language, in the light of CDA, is not seen as only a means of communication or persuasive use, but more a means of "social construction and domination" (Machin & Mayr 2012, p. 24). Critical Discourse analysts claim that all language use is ideological. Translation is also a process performed on language use which, in turn, will ultimately harbour an ideological engagement (Calzada-Pérez, 2003).

METHODOLOGY

This research focuses on news broadcasting following the events of the so-called *Arab Spring* in relation to post-revolution Egypt. It examines the way in which Aljazeera and Al-Arabiya spread news concerning Egypt during the period of army intervention that overthrew president Morsi and eventually placed Sisi in power in the events known as the *30 June uprising*. The process of collecting the news articles, which were produced between June 2013 and June 2014, began by counting the number of articles published each day in order to have a broad understanding and comprehensive ideas of the themes published on Aljazeera and Al-Arabiya Arabic webpages regarding Egypt. Then, it mainly focused on political news such as *protests* that erupted throughout the country and news regarding Presidents *Morsi* and *Sisi*. This is so because this study is exploring the repercussions of the Arab Spring in Egypt particularly from a news reporting point of view.

The next step is to find out which news articles come from non-Arabic sources. An essential observation shows that Aljazeera, for instance, has been reporting from several news agencies, meaning they translate from foreign news

wires but they do not state it was a translation. Aljazeera always mentions the source at the end of the article albeit in rather a vague way. It states the source in seven forms:

- The news article is written by Aljazeera staff themselves, i.e. (Source: Aljazeera)
- The news article is written by a journalist, i.e. (Source: Ahmed Faraj)
- The news article is written by another known media outlet, i.e. (Source: agencies)
- The news article is written by both Aljazeera and another unknown news agency, i.e. (Source: Aljazeera and agencies)
- The news article is written by foreign unknown agencies, i.e. (Source: British Journalism or American Journalism)
- The news article is written by both Aljazeera and another known news agency, i.e. (Source: Aljazeera and AFP)
- The news article is written by a known foreign news agency, i.e. (Source: Reuters)

With regards to Al-Arabiya, the form of mentioning the source is quite similar:

- The news article is written by Al-Arabiya staff themselves, i.e. (Source: Al-Arabiya or a staff writer)
- The news article is written by a journalist, i.e. (Source: Ahmed Faraj)
- The news article is written by both Al-Arabiya and another known news agency, i.e. (Source: Al-Arabiya and AFP)
- The news article is written by a known foreign news agency, i.e. (Source: Reuters)

The main objective of this research is to deal only with non-Arabic-origin articles. This category is divided into two subcategories. The first is the news article which is written in Arabic by non-Arabic news organisations, such as Reuters, for example. Reuters has offices in a number of Arab countries and it publishes news in Arabic. Thus, when Aljazeera or Al-Arabiya republish a news story in the same language from Reuters, it is not included in the data of this research and such news articles were disregarded. The second subcategory is when the news article is a translation by Aljazeera or Al-Arabiya from a non-Arabic news outlet – this is the main subject and concern of this research.

Having conducted the said procedures in selecting the news articles to be used in this study, it can be seen that Al-Arabiya translated 45 news articles, whereas Aljazeera translated 18 news articles. However, only segments of concern to the research were selected. This is not all translated news items have issues of ideological complexity. Thus, the data used in the research is segments taken from Reuters (8 news reports), The Guardian (3 news reports), AFP (3 news reports), and The Washington Post (1 news reports). These segments include headlines as the examples provided examine 4 news headlines (Ethelb, 2016). These are the corpus data collated for this research study. This outcome of the corpus data is a result of the strategies followed to reach translating news articles. As it appears, there is a wide difference between the Al-Arabiya's amount and Aljazeera's, but the analysis of segments is the most important in the study.

In each of the analysis units conducted, both news organisations assigned almost equal number of examples. In fact, the corpus data outcome is a necessary vehicle to the segments of the analysis; it is not the analysis itself. Presentation of examples include the ST, then the TT and a back translation by the author.

This study employs a CDA model for the analysis of data, as shown in Table 1 below. It emphasises social practices of recontextualising the discourse of news texts from one language into another, with special focus on the way people and events are represented when translation takes place in news agencies. More specifically, the analysis follows van Leeuwen (1996) and Machin and Mayr's (2012) studies, which focus on the manipulation of people and events in news reports. The study relies particularly on these two studies due to their relevance to translating news. The conceptual categories bring new insights to translating news and suggest tools in understanding the ideological work that news translators carry out while translating.

CDA DEVICES TO REPRESENT PEOPLE/ EVENTS IN NEWS THROUGH TRANSLATION

News writers may consciously employ different representational strategies to represent people or social actors in a given society. The choices of representation invoke the associations of values, beliefs or ideologies that the news text producer, or the institution, uphold. It is argued that the representational strategies of social actors may serve 'ideological ends' intended by the producer and may also 'evaluate the participants negatively or positively'; they are also more likely to align readers to events or actions in a way that is not directly or evidently stated in the news text (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 100). Table 1 illustrates the analytical tools of the data used in manipulating news texts as a result of translation.

Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Theo van Leeuwen (1996, p. 59) states that personalisation is used to represent social actors as human beings with the use of proper nouns, personal or possessive pronouns, or elements whose meanings include "humans". Nevertheless, participants in news text can also be socially impersonalised, for example, by means of abstract nouns whose features do not include 'human' characteristics such as metonyms (van Leeu-

wen, 1996). Metonymy is a general feature of news reporting and is always used when the agents are unknown (Richardson, 2007) or concealed for ideological purposes. For instance, in Example 1, the term *prosecutors* was replaced by the *The Egyptian Public Prosecution*. This sentence has undergone radical textual alterations in its structure. In fact, the subject *Egypt* and the dependent clause beginning with *with prosecutors* have been integrated in the impersonalised subject النيابة العامة المصرية (The Egyptian Public Prosecution):

Example 1: *Egypt* announced a criminal investigation on Saturday against deposed Islamist President Mohamed Morsi, with *prosecutors* saying they were examining complaints of spying, inciting violence and ruining the economy (Reuters, 2013a).

أعلنت النيابة العامة المصرية، اليوم السبت، تلقيها بلاغات ضد الرئيس السابق محمد مرسي وقادة آخرين في جماعة الإخوان المسلمين بتهم التخابر مع دول أجنبية والتحريض على قتل متظاهرين والإضرار بالاقتصاد (Al-Arabiya 2003a).

[*The Egyptian Public Prosecution announced, on Saturday, that it received reports against former President Mohamed Morsi and other leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood with charges of collaborating with foreign countries and inciting the killing of protesters and damaging the economy.*]

The use of impersonalisation is said to suggest that the actions of a particular person are not as important as the whole institution – meaning that instead of focusing on the sayer or the doer of the action, a news reporter may impersonalise the participant by using the name of the institution he/she is working for (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Example 2 explains this by replacing the phrase *interim leaders* by النيابة المصرية (Egyptian authorities). Of course, the use of the phrase *Egyptian authorities* could expunge the concept of interim-ness, intensifying the significance of the role of the new authority that toppled and arrested President Morsi:

Example 2: Morsi has been held in a "safe place", according to the *interim leaders*, and has not been seen in public since his ouster July 3 (AFP, 2013a).

وأعلنت السلطات المصرية الجديدة أن الرئيس المعزول "في مكان آمن ويتلقى معاملة حسنة"، علماً بأنه لم يظهر علناً منذ توقيفه في غمرة عزله (Al-Arabiya 2013b).

[*And the new Egyptian authorities announced that the isolated president is "in a safe place and receives a good treatment", noting that he has not been seen in public since his apprehension in the midst of his isolation.*]

The source text in Example 3 below employs impersonalisation via the term *the group* said. The translator of Al-Arabiya avoids this feature by naming the sayer (the subject) جهاد حداد (Jihad Haddad). This could be interpreted as if the group has become non-functional as a result of the clampdown by the Egyptian army. Therefore, to say *the group* said means that it was still operating; in contrast, personalisation in this case would favour Al-Arabiya since it devalues the group's function:

Example 3: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and its allies suffered a heavy blow from the state security crackdown, their central coordination has been lost and the bloodshed means anger is now "beyond control", *the group* said on Thursday (Reuters, 2013b).

Table 1. The analytical tools of corpus data

| No. | CDA tools used to manipulate news texts |
|-----|---|
| 1 | Personalisation and impersonalisation |
| 2 | Individualisation vs. Collectivisation |
| 3 | Aggregation |
| 4 | Specification and genericisation |
| 5 | Nomination or functionalisation |
| 6 | Anonymisation |
| 7 | Suppression |
| 8 | Nominalisation |

قال جهاد الحداد، المتحدث باسم جماعة الإخوان المسلمين في مصر، الخميس، إن الجماعة وحلفاءها تلقوا ضربة قوية من حملة أجهزة الأمن ضدّهم، وإنهم فقدوا قدرتهم على التنسيق المركزي، وإن العنف معناه أن "خرج عن نطاق السيطرة" الآن (Al-Arabiya, 2013c).

[*Jihad Haddad, a spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, said, on Thursday, that the Group and its allies had received a heavy blow from the campaign of the security forces against them, and they lost their ability of central coordination, and the violence means that anger is "beyond control" now.*]

Impersonalisation is also "used to give extra weight to a particular statement" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 79), and it could result in concealing contesting issues. In Example 2 above, the term *السلطات المصرية* (Egyptian authorities) connotes legitimacy and power, whereas *interim leaders* does not necessarily mean high-ranking power, it could refer to individuals who occupy transient positions.

Generally, participants in a news article could be impersonalised to confuse readers by obscuring their actual role or camouflaging the truth.

Individualisation Versus Collectivisation

In this representational strategy, participants are described as individuals – such as "two soldiers were wounded" – or as collectives – "militants were killed". Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that when participants/social actors are individualised, they become closer to the reader than when they are collectivised, especially when other referential information is included to identify them, such as adding modifying adjectives or nouns from their family (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In Example 4 below some participants have been individualised (president Morsi, eight figures including leaders and Mohamed Badie, and others). However, the translation has collectivised them by saying *المبلغ ضدّهم* (those who had been reported on):

Example 4: The public prosecutor's office said in a statement it had received complaints against Mursi, eight other named Islamist figures including the Brotherhood's leader, Mohamed Badie, and others it did not identify (Reuters, 2013a).

وأضافت النيابة في بيان صدر عنها أنها تستكمل عناصر هذه البلاغات تمهيداً لتولي أعضاء النيابة استجواب المبلغ ضدّهم، ولم تعلن النيابة عن هوية المبلغ (Al-Arabiya, 2013a).

[*The Prosecution added in a statement issued by it that it is finishing the elements of these reports in preparation for the Prosecution members to interrogate those who had been reported on, the Prosecution did not declare the identity of those who made the reports.*]

Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that close analysis of individualisation and collectivisation reveals which category is humanised, and what is making text receivers sympathise with those individualised. When participants are depicted as a group they are *homogenised*, they look like one. Al-Arabiya's strategy in rendering this segment could be interpreted as a move away from the fact that President Morsi was charged so soon after his internment. It could also be seen as blurring the identity of the accused so as to not gather sympathy from the public.

According to van Leeuwen (1996, p. 62), collectivisation involves "mass nouns" denoting groups of people, such as in the Arabic translation below by Al-Arabiya in Example 5 with 'إسلاميون متشدّدون' (extremist Islamists). The term 'militant' in the source text was used as an adjective modifying 'attack' and denoting use of force. Although the doers of the attacks are not clearly alluded to, it is understood that they were carried out by militants. Al-Arabiya rendered this with the same strategy used in the source text. It used collectivisation, but in different lexis. The term 'إسلاميون متشدّدون' (extremist Islamists) also denotes a group of people, but from a translation point of view, this particular group of people are absent from the source article:

Example 5: The number of militant attacks has risen since the army deposed President Mohamed Mursi of the Muslim Brotherhood on July 3, following mass protests against his rule.

Most of the attacks on the army have been limited to the relatively lawless Sinai, near Israel and the Gaza Strip, which is ruled by Hamas, an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood (Reuters, 2013c).

وتصاعدت الهجمات التي يشنها إسلاميون متشدّدون على أهداف للجيش والشرطة بمحافظة شمال سيناء منذ عزل الرئيس السابق محمد مرسي، الذي ينتمي لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين في الثالث من يوليو 2013d).

[*And the attacks, which extremist Islamists launch on army and police sites in North Sinai Governorate since the isolation of former President Mohamed Morsi, who belongs to the Muslim Brotherhood, in the third July, have escalated.*]

News organisations use translation to express their ideologies and attribute it to another source. Example 6 below is another instance of the use of the term 'militants', which has been rendered into 'المتشدّدون' (Extremists) in this case. Collectivisation strategy is indeed used in both texts, but with different connotations. Theo van Leeuwen (1996) explains that when social actors are collectivised they are assimilated to and placed in conformity with a group, but the example discussed here involves two clearly dissimilar groups. In addition, Example 6 shows another case of collectivisation in the acronym "SITE", which stands for *Search for International Terrorist Entities* (Aydinli, 2010, p. 126). Al-Arabiya rendered the phrase 'SITE Monitoring organisation' into 'موقع "سايته" الذي يتابع مواقع الإسلاميين على الإنترنت' (by SITE website, which follows *Islamist* websites online). Al-Arabiya rendered the word *Terrorist* into *إسلاميين* (Islamists). Although both words indicate collectivisation, they have different connotations. The conflict on 30 June uprising in Egypt was between the Brotherhood, represented by the media as Islamists and the anti-Brotherhood, represented by the media as liberals, seculars and independents.

Example 6: Ansar al-Shariah in Egypt said it would gather arms and start training its members, in a statement posted on an online forum for militants in the country's Sinai region on Friday and recorded by the SITE Monitoring organisation (Reuters, 2013d).

وقالت جماعة "أنصار الشريعة" في مصر إنها ستجمع أسلحة، وتبدأ تدريب أعضائها في بيان وضع على موقع إلكتروني للمتشدّدون في سيناء، الجمعة، وأذاعه موقع "سايته" الذي يتابع مواقع الإسلاميين على الإنترنت (Al-Arabiya, 2013e).

[The “Ansar al-Sharia,” Group in Egypt said that it will collect weapons and begin training, its members in a statement posted on a website for extremists in the Sinai, on Friday, as stated by SITE website, which follows Islamists websites online.]

Aggregation

Aggregation is another representational strategy used in news reporting related to collectivisation (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 50) which occurs when participants in a news article are quantified or treated as numbers, such as “scores of ...” or “many thousands of ...”. In fact, news networks use this strategy to suggest professionalism. Teun van Dijk (1991) explains that this kind of numerical representation of people can be used to suggest “objective research and scientific credibility” (cited by Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 84). One major factor for the use of aggregation is that it gives the impression of truth presented in the shape of facts, and this in turn could be taken for granted by the receptors of news even if numbers and statistics are not always accurate. Example 7 below illustrates this feature, which becomes more complex in translation. The statistics are shown both in the ST and TT, but differently: Aljazeera turns hundreds into tens and keeps claiming that the police was oppressing protesters. It could be argued that when the number is low, the general idea – that the police and the army are oppressive – is easily digested by the public:

Example 7: Hundreds of Egyptian police rallied on Sunday to demand higher wages, in a rare act of defiance of a new protest law which they themselves have been enforcing to quell unrest on the streets (Reuters, 2013e).

وفي تحد نادر لقانون التظاهر الجديد الذي يفترض أن يطبق لاحتواء المظاهرات في الشوارع، شارك عشرات من أفراد الشرطة المصرية في احتجاج (Aljazeera, 2013a).

[In a rare challenge to the new protest law, which is supposed to be applied to contain the demonstrations in the streets, tens of Egyptian police officers took part in the protest on Sunday, demanding higher salaries.]

Specification and Genericisation

Theo van Leeuwen (1996) states that the choice between specification and genericisation can be important in representing social actors. News organisations, in general, tend to make use of both representational strategies. Participants could be referred to as specific individuals such as in Example 8 in ‘anti-Mursi protests’. In this example, the source text indicates that the insurance costs went up after a *specific* group of protesters took to the street. However, the translation purports that this surge in insurance costs is a direct result of *generic* protests:

Example 8: Egypt debt insurance costs hit record high after anti-Mursi protests (Reuters, 2013f).

الإحتجاجات ترفع كلفة التأمين على ديون مصر لمستوى قياسي (Al-Arabiya, 2013f).

[Protests raise the insurance cost of Egypt’s debt to a record level]

One important matter that should be taken into consideration is that Al-Arabiya went for a generic strategy where

specification is still an option. One explanation for this could be that this was in the heading and they did specify the protest in the news text by using “مظاهرات احتجاج على الرئيس” (Protests against the Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi). Another explanation could be that this was at the start of the second uprising in Egypt and most of the protests were against Morsi, who had not begun organising rallies for himself.

In Example 9 below, Al-Arabiya adopts a specification strategy in representing the situation. The source text by Reuters employs the generic term of ‘killings’, but the translators used his/her background knowledge to give a more specific headline to associate the term ‘killings’ with specific events, those concerning the Republican Guard:

Example 9: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood calls for more protests after killings (Reuters, 2013g).

الإخوان يدعون لمليونية جديدة بعد أحداث الحرس الجمهوري (Al-Arabiya, 2013g).

[The Brotherhood calls for new Million-Man protest after the Republican Guard events]

Machin and Mayr (2012, pp. 80-81) state that a generic category such as *Muslim* is arguably represented in Western culture as extremism and “otherness”. Thus, participants in news reporting and articles are sometimes represented as specific individuals by using their names or as generic figures such as *Muslims* or *Christians*. However, the term ‘Muslim(s)’ in the Arabic version of Example 10 refers to a specific group of people as it is used as an adjective modifying the noun الإخوان ‘Brotherhood’. *The Guardian* newspaper in the source text states that the *violent crackdown* was on a specific group: the supporters of President Morsi. Interestingly, Al-Arabiya uses the same specification strategy in its narrative, but for another group: the Muslim Brotherhood.

Example 10: Egypt’s army chief, Abdel Fatah al-Sisi, has called for millions of citizens to go out on the streets on Friday to back the military and police, prompting concerns that he is seeking a popular mandate for a violent crackdown on supporters of the overthrown president, Mohamed Morsi (The Guardian, 2013a).

قالت صحيفة “الغارديان” البريطانية إن خطاب الفريق الأول عبدالفتاح السيسي، الذي وجهه للشعب المصري، الأربعاء، يثير مخاوف من إمكانية سعى الجيش لاكتساب شرعية شعبية لشن حملة قمعية ضد جماعة الإخوان المسلمين (Al-Arabiya, 2013h).

[The British newspaper “The Guardian” said the speech of General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to the Egyptian people, on Wednesday, raising fears of the possibility that the army seeks to gain popular legitimacy to launch a crackdown against the Muslim Brotherhood.]

This shift in refocusing the readers’ attention could be ideologically interpreted in a way that implies that the military crackdown is not aimed at supporters of Morsi – who might include non-Brotherhood members – but at the Brotherhood itself, which the military clearly state is a terrorist organisation.

Nomination or Functionalisation

Machin and Mayr (2012) state that nomination in news texts is used to refer to people as who they are, focusing on per-

sonal qualities, while functionalisation is used to indicate what participants do, flagging up their function. For instance, in Example 11 below the use of a nomination strategy of 'Chuck Hagel' would consequently have different effects from the functionalisation strategy in the Arabic version of 'وزير الدفاع الأمريكي' (The U.S. Secretary of Defence):

Example 11: Chuck Hagel holds talks with Egypt's Sisi on political roadmap (AFP, 2013b).

وزير الدفاع الأميركي يبحث وضع الأقباط مع السيسي (Al-Arabiya, 2013i).

[The U.S. secretary of defence discusses the status of the Copts with Sisi.]

Such change could be attributed to stylistic conventions and variety of expressions more than ideological motivation. However, the use of functionalisation strategy: 'The U.S. secretary defence' would have a different effect on the news consumers who usually read uncritically. Functionalisation strategies offer a more official status, connoting legitimacy and representing people's occupation (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Theo van Leeuwen (1996) states that nomination is usually done with the use of proper nouns – whether formal or informal. Participants are considered to be ideologically represented when they belong to a social institution, and then are represented not as per their rank, post or function, but their personal identity. Although Example 11 above represents them by their rank and post, Examples 12 and 13 below show news translators do in fact partake of these two strategies and represent presidents Sisi and Morsi in nomination strategies.

Example 12: Egypt's commanding general suggested that if the United States wants to avoid further bloodshed in Egypt, it should persuade the Muslim Brotherhood to ... (The Washington Post, 2013).

وقالت الصحيفة إن السيسي دعا الولايات المتحدة إلى الضغط على جماعة الإخوان المسلمين في مصر ... (Aljazeera, 2013b).

[The newspaper said that Sisi called on the United States to pressurise the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt ...]

Example 13: Egypt's president signs Islamic bond bill into law (Reuters, 2013h).

مصري يوقع قانون الصكوك لإنقاذ اقتصاد مصر المتعثر (Al-Arabiya, 2013j).

[Morsi signs bond bill to rescue Egypt's ailing economy.]

However, the use of these two strategies can vary to the point of being interchangeable – that is, one strategy can be used for different purposes and employed in a way that serves the news organisation's ideology. The Washington Post in Example 14 uses the phrase 'two presidents', but Aljazeera finds it more important to unwrap the identity of these two presidents. Although President Mubarak and President Morsi are in disharmony, Aljazeera stresses that they have been shoved aside by the military:

Example 14: Sisi is widely considered the most powerful man in Egypt, wielding more control than anyone over the country's direction after a tumultuous 2½ years in which the military has shoved aside two presidents following popular uprisings. He denied interest in running for president but did not rule it out (The Washington Post, 2013).

وقالت الصحيفة إنه ينظر إلى الفريق أول السيسي في مصر على أنه الرجل الأقوى في البلاد، مشيرة إلى أن الجيش المصري أسهم في الإطاحة

برئيسين اثنين هما الرئيس المصري المخلوع حسني مبارك والرئيس المصري المعزول محمد مرسي، وذلك منذ الثورة الشعبية في 2011، وأضافت الصحيفة أن السيسي نفى رغبته الترشح لرئاسة مصر ولكنه لم يستبعد ذلك في نفس اللحظة (Aljazeera, 2013b).

[The newspaper said the General Sisi is seen in Egypt as the most powerful man in the country, pointing out that the Egyptian army has helped in the overthrow of two presidents: they were the ousted Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and the ousted Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi, since the popular revolution in 2011, the newspaper added that Sisi denied his desire to run for the presidency of Egypt, but did not rule it out at the same time.]

Both nomination and functionalisation portray a dynamic representational flux in news reporting. It could be argued that news organisations nominate and functionalise participants as a part of the journalistic style of writing news stories, but these strategies can also carry an ideological evaluation that can slip into the text and serve the intended discourse by the news organisation. In this regard, translation is one of the viable tools that journalists, as news translators, can use.

Anonymisation

Participants in news articles may be anonymised with expression such as "a source said", or "some people believe" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 83). In Example 15, for instance, 'security officials' in the source article has been anonymised by 'وأضافت المصادر' (the sources added) and 'وقال المصدر' (the source said). In addition, the Arabic version has been structurally reformulated to include background information and foregrounding the killing incident:

Example 15: Tuesday's attack, which also wounded an army officer and a soldier, took place in Sharkia province in the Nile Delta. The assailants, who were in a vehicle, opened fire with automatic weapons, security officials said (Reuters, 2013c).

وأضافت المصادر أن ضابط صف قتل كذلك في الهجوم، وأصيب ضابط ومجنّد ونقلا إلى مستشفى عسكري للعلاج.

وقال مصدر إن مسلحين في سيارة أطلقوا نيران البنادق الآلية على السيارة أثناء وقوفها في مدخل مدينة الصالحية إحدى مدن محافظة الشرقية. ولم تذكر المصادر مزيداً من التفاصيل (Al-Arabiya, 2013d).

[The sources added that a non-commissioned officer was also killed in the attack, and an officer and a conscript were injured and they were taken to a military hospital for treatment.]

The source said that gunmen in a car opened fire on the car by automatic rifles while standing at the entrance of Salehia city, one of the eastern province cities. The sources did not give further details.]

Anonymisation can be used to avoid specification or when certain social groups or organisations may not have "equal access" to international news agencies (Machin & Mayr 2012, p. 83). Although the use of anonymisation may determine that the identity of the social actor is irrelevant to the readers (van Leeuwen, 1996), it can be an indication for concealing an agent or a public figure from the readers. However, this strategy can also be used for stylistic matters, this happens when the translator cites a source just once at the beginning of the news story and then continue to refer to

it with the *definite article*, such as in Example 16. In this case, the phrase ‘the police in the Mediterranean city said in a statement’ was mentioned in the previous paragraph and then replaced by ‘البيان’ (the statement) in the following paragraph:

Example 16: The student was killed when pro-Mursi protesters clashed with their opponents at Alexandria University, the police in the Mediterranean city said in a statement (AFP, 2014).

وقال البيان إن، طالباً قتل خلال اشتباكات وقعت في جامعة الإسكندرية
وبين طلاب من جماعة الإخوان ومعارضين لهم (Al-Arabiya, 2014).

[The statement said that “a student was killed during clashes took place in Alexandria University between students from the Brotherhood and their opponents.”]

Suppression

Suppression refers to linguistic elements that have been excluded from the text. As pointed out by Fairclough (2003), what is excluded from the text is as important as what is included. Suppression is usually done by nominalisation and abstract nouns, which indicate that people are represented naturally in the running text, but, in fact, there are hidden elements excluded by nominalisation and this exclusion should be questioned. Put simply, certain elements are absent in the text, but by the use of nominalisation they appear to be present (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Theo van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) state that whenever actual details are replaced by abstractions it can be assumed that some kind of ideological work is taking place. The suppression of the role of social actors by nominalisation in a news article is evident in Al-Arabiya’s translation from *Reuters* of Example 17. Al-Arabiya uses the noun ‘اشتباكات’ (clashes), while the source text claimed that ‘the army opened fire on supporters of.’. The direct involvement of the army in the shooting was subdued by the use of ‘clashes’, which in turn hides the presence of army officers:

Example 17: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood and its Islamist allies called for more protests on Tuesday, after 51 people were killed in Cairo on Monday when the army opened fire on supporters of ousted Islamist President Mohamed Mursi (Reuters, 2013g).

دعت جماعة الإخوان المسلمين وحلفاؤها الإسلاميون إلى مزيد من
الاحتجاجات الثلاثاء، بعد مقتل 51 شخصاً في اشتباكات أمام مقر الحرس
الجمهوري بالقاهرة فجر الاثنين (Al-Arabiya, 2013h).

[The Muslim Brotherhood and its Islamist allies called for more protests on Tuesday, after 51 people were killed in *clashes* in front of the Republican Guard headquarters in Cairo on Monday morning.]

Indeed, suppression can be a potential area for ideological work in translation. Example 18 seems to exhibit this strategy. In this example, the ST metaphoric phrase ‘building blocks’ refers to officials of Mubarak’s regime who are coming back after the revolution. However, Aljazeera’s translation seems to delude readers into thinking that the blocks are military people led by Sisi. The reader will understand that the military – or more specifically Sisi – is controlling the presidential palace.

Example 19 is the following paragraph of Example 18 in the source article. In this example, the plural pronoun ‘They’

also refers to the blocks, not the military nor Sisi. However, Aljazeera’s translation indicates again that it is ‘Sisi’ who is ‘ويحاول الآن بناء الجسور مع المؤسسة الأمنية التي هو بحاجة إليها لقمع’ (trying now to build bridges with the security establishment, which he needs to quell the opposition ...). My argument here is that the translation suppressed the active role of high rank officials of the Mubarak regime to draw the attention of the public towards Sisi’s actions:

Example 18: Now the building blocks are morphing into a new arrangement. The military have been voted into the presidential palace (The Guardian, 2014).

ومن جانبها، كتبت غارديان أن ترتيباً جديداً بدأ يتشكل في مصر دخل
بموجبه الجيش إلى قصر الرئاسة (Aljazeera, 2014).

[From its part, the *The Guardian* wrote that a new arrangement began forming in Egypt, under which the army entered the presidential palace]

Example 19: They are trying to build bridges with the security establishment; they need them to quell dissent. They’ve made themselves the channel through which Gulf money will come into the country, and they’ll use it to establish a network of business cronies (The Guardian, 2014).

ويحاول الآن بناء الجسور مع المؤسسة الأمنية التي هو بحاجة إليها
لقمع المعارضة وجعل من نفسه القناة التي ستمر عبرها أموال الخليج إلى
مصر وسيستخدمها لترسيخ شبكة من رجال الأعمال المقربين (Aljazeera, 2014).

[He is trying now to build bridges with the security establishment, which he needs to quell the opposition and make himself the channel through which the Gulf money passes through to Egypt and he will use it to establish a network of business cronies]

Suppression is a complex linguistic device that allows journalists to make textual alterations through translation. News translators can exclude certain lexical items from a paragraph under translation in order to shift one ideological point of view and replace it with another. In Example 20, the clause ‘when the Mubarak regime was brought down by an unprecedented series of public protests in 2011’ has been omitted by the translator in order to suppress the ‘public protests in 2011’, which might remind readers of Morsi’s rule. The translation immediately links ‘hoped for’ with ‘democracy’, ‘compromise’, and ‘the dismantling’. The span of time from 2011 to the date of publishing this news article by *The Guardian* has been omitted, and therefore the preceding history will be absent from the target reader’s mind. Consequently, the reader will immediately connect these hopes ‘lying-in-the-dust’ with the current actions of the military and Sisi:

Example 20: Everything that was hoped for when the Mubarak regime was brought down by an unprecedented series of public protests in 2011 – democracy itself, the chance that Islamic, liberal and conservative political tendencies could reach a historic compromise, the dismantling of the swollen security state – now lies in the dust (The Guardian, 2013b).

وقالت الصحيفة إن كل ما كان مأمولاً من ديمقراطية وتفكيك الدولة الأمنية
المنتفخة والتوصل إلى تفاهم تاريخي بين الأطياف السياسية المختلفة من
الإسلاميين والليبراليين والمحافظين، ذهبت كلها الآن أدراج الرياح (Aljazeera, 2013c)

[The newspaper said that everything that was hoped for from democracy and the dismantling of the swollen security state and reach a historical compromise between the various political factions of Islamists, liberals and conservatives are now lying in the dust]

Nominalisation

Nominalisation is one of the linguistic means of suppression. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), nominalisation occurs when verb processes are replaced with a noun construction enabling concealment of agency and responsibility. While in passivisation the agent may be backgrounded or deleted completely, in nominalisation the active agent is turned into a noun construction in order to create ambiguity, perhaps intentionally. In Example 21, the verb 'clashed' has been turned into the plural noun 'اشتباكات' (clashes) and 'pro-Mursi protesters' has been backgrounded and lexically transformed into 'طلاب من جماعة الإخوان' (students from the Brotherhood Group):

Example 21: The student was killed when pro-Mursi protesters clashed with their opponents at Alexandria University, the police in the Mediterranean city said in a statement (AFP, 2014).

وقال البيان إن "طالباً قتل خلال اشتباكات وقعت في جامعة الإسكندرية
بين طلاب من جماعة الإخوان ومعارضين لهم (Al-Arabiya, 2014).

[The statement said that "a student was killed during clashes in Alexandria University between students from the Brotherhood Group and their opponents."]

Such textual alteration in nominalisation results in a different representation. In short, Machin and Mayr (2012, pp. 140-144) explain that nominalisation may have effects that include:

- Removing people means concealing responsibility and blame – such as in Example 17.
- It can delete any sense of time – such as in Example 20.
- Nominalised participants may have different functions in new constructions – such as in Example 21; 'pro-Mursi protesters' are not the same as 'students from the Brotherhood group'.

CONCLUSION

This study employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) devices to explore the representation of people and events. Each of these devices includes a number of tools which help to understand the implicit ideologies in news texts. These tools have been used to explore the ideology in translated news texts and show how media institutions manipulate news through textual representation.

The representational tools outlined above offer insights to discourse analysis studies in terms of the text act or focus, particularly in considering the fact that the concept of 'context' has been given greater attention in Translation Studies. CDA also sees the 'context' as an element of highest importance and priority in the analysis of media texts. This study has analysed news items by taking CDA tools and employing them into translation.

The contextual factors, for instance, enable text users to identify a given text element or sequence of elements (Hatim

& Mason, 1997). For example, the term 'militant' may be translated into non-European languages as 'valiant' or 'extremist' depending on the semiotic perspective one holds. In Examples 5 and 6, Al-Arabiya interpreted the term 'militant' as 'extremists' and 'extremist Islamists'. This concept is relevant to the investigation of the language of news reporting as textual alterations are made on an ideological basis, leading text receivers to commonsensically build on contextual factors not necessarily stated overtly in the text. In a similar vein, CDA devices allow us to observe how written texts are translated and show us how the semiotic resources have been used and what meaning potential has been formed in the text (Machin & Mayr, 2012, pp. 10) – i.e.: the range of meanings which are activated in context by manipulating some textual elements in the translation. Hence, news organisations imply and naturalise ideological practices in form of presuppositions and taken-for-granted assumptions to create such contextual factors (Fairclough, 1992).

Another important point that has to be stressed in this analysis is related to the *lexical choices* of the news of the news institutions. Halliday (1978; 1985) notes that words in a text do not have a meaning on their own, but their meaning is a part of a network of meanings. Therefore, the meaning a word carries is best to be examined contextually. The words used in texts, for example, usually make distinctions between classes of concepts. This is exemplified in the work undertaken by Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 39); as they state that if a particular person in a news article is described as 'militant' or 'extremist', it can be fathomed that such person acts in the opposite manner to what a normal 'citizen' is expected to react to events in his/her society. This concept will be created in the readers' mind. The text receiver, in this case, has not explicitly been told what to think, believe or judge, but they will implicitly be forced make an evaluation as to what is the opposite of a good manner.

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