Translating Interpersonal Meaning in Political News Discourse from English into Arabic:
A Case Study of the *BBC*, *The Guardian* and *Newsweek* discourse (2009-2014)

Amira Ali Mohamed Abdalla

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Acknowledgements

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to

the living bittersweet memory of my uncle,

Jamal El-Ashroubi,

for inspiring me, believing in me, loving me and praying for me

and

To my mother and my father

To my sister and my brothers

Thank you for everything

Abstract

This study is broadly concerned with discourse semantic and critical discourse analysis (CDA) of interpersonal meaning in political news discourse. More specifically, it investigates the role played by engagement, graduation and invoked attitude in construing hidden ideologies in English and Anglo-American global news discourse and its Arabic translations. To achieve this objective, Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework and van Dijk's (1998) CDA triangle of discourse-cognition-society and his ideological square are used to analyse interpersonal meaning from the systemic functional linguistic perspective of language as a semiotic system of meaning-making choices and the critical socio-cognitive view of discourse as a social practice with its own political stance, i.e. social change or reform of unequal relations of power and dominance. This study also shares van Dijk's neutral view of social group ideology as axiomatic and general.

A corpus of 68 authentic news and opinion texts from *the BBC*, *The Guardian* and *Newsweek* were analysed in this light ultimately contributing to the study of evaluation and ideology in media discourse and in translation across cultures. The combination of the appraisal toolkit as a lexicalization of the ideological square has provided insights into the role played by evaluative meaning in representing in-/out-group ideologies, and constructing and imposing realities from in-/out-group perspectives.

The study's major contribution is to highlight the complexity of in-group vs out-group distinctions. It demonstrates that the differences between appraisals in and/or between both the original and translated texts are not only a matter of different cultural tastes as argued by a number of previous accounts; but they also reflect the more general ideological representations that are reproduced by different discourses including news discourse.

Transliteration Table

ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	Sh	غ	Gh	ن	N
ب	B	د	D	ص	ṣ	ف	F	هـ	H
ت	T	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	Q	و	W
ث	Th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	K	ي	Y
ج	J	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	L		
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ	م	M		

Short Vowels	
َ	a
ِ	i
ُ	u

Long Vowels	
ا + َ	ā
يْ + ِ	ī
وْ + ُ	ū

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Scope of the Thesis

Driven by CDA's aim to change unfair socio-political practices, in order to help those suffering from discrimination, the current thesis seeks to explore dominant elite discourse practices and their ideological reproduction or resistance in news discourse and its translation.

The study is also motivated by the main tenet of discourse analysis, namely, understanding meaning in naturally occurring interactions and the idea that discourse is orderly and can, thus, provide useful data for linguistic and translation research studies. The Appraisal Model (Martin and White, 2005) can be used to analyse meaning from a systemic-functional point of view and has inspired this study to take the issue of meaning across languages and cultures a step further, both at the textual level (beyond the clause) and at the discourse-semantic level (interpersonal meaning), using this to analyse modality, graduation, ideational tokens, and their rhetorical purposes in news texts and their translations. At the context level (beyond discourse), these meanings are examined across genres (mainly news reports and opinion articles), across news discourses (those of the *BBC*, *The Guardian*, and *Newsweek*), and across cultures (Islamic-Arab and Western-European and North-American ideologies). This is one of only a few studies to date to have tackled evaluative meaning (Mansour, 2013; Shunnag, 2014) and the relation between modality and ideology (Jarjour, 2006; Badran, 2008) focusing on English/Arabic translation.

In translating between the different cultures under examination, the issue of conveying meaning remains critically sensitive due to the 'conflicting' political and religious ideologies that each social and discourse community holds and views as true or false and good or bad. The so-called ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998, 2006), is used to account for differences in the how these social groups evaluatively represent themselves and others as well as their interpretations of in-group versus out-group ideologies in the process of translation. The overall aim in this thesis is to reach a better understanding of *how* these cultures 're/construe' these meanings and, at least partially, to account for *why* the interpersonal lexico-grammatical patterns are chosen in translation as "a meaning-making process"

(Manfredi, 2008, p.49). This meaning-making perspective is underpinned by the functional view of Systemic Functional Linguistics in which language is seen "a resource for making meaning" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, p. 23). That is, as Halliday (1992) suggests, translation is a "guided creation of meaning" (p.15). Moreover, looking at translation as a product allows us to observe translation as a process, by comparing translator decisions both within individual texts and across different texts and discourses.

Ultimately, this analysis will provide the necessary research evidence of socio-political bias in media discourse, serving CDA's ultimately political stance of achieving socio-political change and equality to help minorities suffering from discrimination, racism, domination, and injustice. Minorities can be stereotyped in media discourse and readers can be manipulated towards specific readings serving certain socio-political strategies such as legitimising Western intervention in the Middle East, the United States' war on Iraq, its administration's local and foreign policies, and its system, overthrowing Islamist and Arab governments and 'regimes', and containing a nuclear Iran. The evaluative representations of these dominated groups (Arab and Islamic governments and their peoples, and Islamists/Islamist groups) in news discourse may reveal the hidden ideologies beyond these political strategies of global superpower media mouthpieces. This research, thus, builds on Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal apparatus and van Dijk's (1998, 2006) in-group/out-group ideological square polarisations as complementary means of reaching this research aim. This thesis will analyse the extent to which interpersonal meaning prosody is crucial in the decision-making process in English-Arabic translation.

1.2 Research Questions

According to Eggins (2004, p.20), there are two main questions SFL (henceforth Systemic Functional Linguistics) researchers may ask, namely:

> What are the possible choices people can make?

> What is the function of the choice they made?

The study, then, attempts to answer the following questions. The first is the main question which will be answered by addressing questions a-c.

- How are inscribed and invoked attitude employed to represent in-group and out-group ideologies in the source texts and their translations and to what extent can translation choices be attributed to socio-cultural or ideological factors?

  a. What choices are made by translators when translating modal meaning and graduation between different socio-political contexts? What functions do these choices play in these contexts?

  b. What are the possible sources of difficulty that the Arab translators encounter when rendering resources of modality, graduation, and invoked meaning from English into Arabic?

  c. What are the differences between the choices of modality and graduation in the selected corpus of English source texts and their Arabic translations?

1.3 Corpus

The corpus consists of 69 news texts covering news, opinion and editorial articles from three sources, namely, the *BBC*, *The Guardian*, and *Newsweek,* and includes STs and TTs for each item. This selection was made to account for the diverse cultures of the Western and Eastern world, i.e. British, American and Arab. It includes online and hard-copy material from news providers produced in the period 2009-2014. These sources have been selected due to their popularity, reputation and wide-ranging readership both locally and globally.

The corpus timescale was restricted by accessibility. BBC articles were available for the whole of the chosen timespan (2009-2014). *Newsweek* ceased publication of its Arabic version in 2010, meaning that the selection is restricted to the period 2009-2010. *The Guardian* offered the smallest quantity of material as Arabic TTs are only available online for 2011. This study focuses on this time period (2009-2014), since it covers prominent issues and events, e.g. the Obama administration period, the US exit strategy from Iraq and Afghanistan, and its containment strategy towards Iran, the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (commonly referred to in Western media as ISIS), the Arab Spring events, and the rise of the Islamists.

1.4   Method

As conveyance of author engagement with the readership, group ideology, and ideological representation are mainly targeted, the thesis combines two methods, namely the engagement and graduation subsystems of Appraisal apparatus and van Dijk's (1998) ideological square of social group representation. The former provides the lexical toolkit whereas the latter is used to expose in-group/out-group ideological bias in media discourse (see Chapter Seven for further details on methodology).

The study focuses on specific subcategories of the engagement subsystem, particularly the category of 'entertain', as modality is one of its core expressions and it usually occupies the middle ground between assertion (yes) and denial (no), facilitating the investigation of those grey areas of writer/translator ideological re/positioning in the media discourse community. Occurrences of unmodalised bare assertion are important, as the absence and presence of modality enables the comparison between entertain and this maximum degree of the engagement scale. The modal and unmodalised degrees can reflect authorial engagement re/positioning, making the analysis of this ideological re/positioning possible.

1.5   Positioning the Study within SFL and Translation Studies

This study is mainly concerned with the macro- and micro-level of language in SFL. The macro-level refers to the socio-cultural context of language (ideology, genre and register) which determines discourse semantics and lexico-grammatical resources. The micro-level covers discourse semantics and the targeted lexico-grammatical resources of appraisal. These are arranged in the ST to construe interpersonal meaning at the level of discourse semantics which, in turn, realizes ideological stances and rhetorical functions in the wider socio-cultural context of political news discourse. As Matthiessen (2001, p.74) points out, "these different dimensions all define environments of translation and are related to one another in a successive series of contextualisations." In SFL, language is viewed as a meaning-making system and translation is seen as a meaning-making process (Halliday, 1985; Matthiessen, 2001; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; 2013). In both of these cases, meaning is a choice; hence, the choices of both speaker/writer and translator are significant.

As this study aims to investigate the translation of engagement and graduation resources from English and American English into Arabic in political news texts, it would be positioned within both theoretical and descriptive Translation Studies as suggested in Holmes's framework map of this discipline (cited in Toury, 1995, p.10).

From the methodological perspective, the study is medium restricted (written political news discourse), area restricted (English into Arabic translation), time restricted (2009-2010, 2011, and 2013-2014), and text-type restricted (news reports, opinion and editorial articles).

As for descriptive studies, this study is product-oriented, as it describes and compares STs and TTs. In particular, the comparison involves choices of modality and graduation in both sets of texts. Finally, as the study focuses on the socio-political and ideological aspects of this media discourse community, it can also be located in function-oriented studies.

1.6   The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The theoretical background forms the focus of Chapters Two, Three, and Four while the empirical part of the study is tackled in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight.

Chapter Two introduces the linguistics theories underpinning this study, namely Hallidayan SFL theory and its extension, i.e. the Appraisal model. **Chapter Three** overviews the study of modality in English and Arabic. **Chapters Four** sets out brief accounts of the concepts of discourse, ideology, and CDA, and discusses previous endeavors to investigate modality and appraisal respectively in Translation Studies.

Chapter Five details the research methods adopted and the corpus material covered in this study. **Chapter Six** sets out to provide the point of departure from which the discourse-based data analysis in Chapter Seven proceeds, showing how the appraisal apparatus can be utilised to analyse a representative controversial text from the BBC (an opinion piece) and reflecting on the insights it provides into applying this methodology. **Chapter Seven** is devoted to the results of the appraisal analysis of a selection of 12 STs and their TTs (four STs and their respective TTs from each of the three data sources). It highlights the relevant shifts and problems that may be encountered when translating entertain (probability and inclination), graduation

(intensity and quantity infusion), and ideational tokens in the respective STs. **Chapter Eight** discusses the major findings from the analysis of the Arabic TTs focusing on specific Arabic modal patterns (particles and verbs) and ideational tokens (lexical choices, labels and non-core words) occurring in the TTs. It provides more detailed insights into understanding how these modals work in Arabic and whether they reflect the authorial position and social group ideology of the STs and the TTs. **Chapter Nine** presents the overall conclusions from the study in relation to the original research questions and highlights the contribution of the current research to the fields of evaluation and Translation Studies. It also discusses the limitations of the study and considers directions of future research.

2   Chapter Two: Theoretical Overview: Linguistic Theories of Interpersonal Meaning

2.1   Introduction

Firstly, this chapter will explore the model of language as a social semiotic which has been developed within systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1970; 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). This model views language as a stratified and metafunctional system. It is also based on the interdependency of language and social context. While the social context has two strata, namely, genre and register, language consists of three strata embedded within the social context. These are discourse semantics (metafunctions/meaning), lexicogrammar (wording), and phonology and graphology (sounds and letters). In addition, it will examine the system of appraisal, since interpersonal meanings form part of the discourse semantics of language. Appraisal is divided into attitude, engagement and graduation, with modality being considered one of the resources of engagement. Finally, the chapter will shed light on evaluation in journalistic discourse.

2.2   Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL) views grammar from a functional-semantic perspective and the SFL model of functional grammar has been developed accordingly (Eggins, 2004, pp.20-21). SFL is a field of study that is concerned with developing "a theory about language as social process *and* an analytical methodology which permits the detailed and systemic description of language patterns" (Eggins, 2004, p.21; original emphasis). Accordingly, this theory views language as a stratified semiotic system, i.e. a system of making meaning by choosing (ibid.). This system includes a hierarchy of strata or levels: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar and semantics (where the lexicogrammar realizes the semantics/meaning). In other words, in SFL, grammar is not seen as a set of formal rules; instead it is seen as a set of meaningful choices (Halliday, 2004, pp.46-49). The term 'functional' suggests that "language construes meaning (i.e. creates) meaning, rather than *represents* meaning which is already there, waiting to be conveyed through language in terms of a given one-to-one relationship between the world and word" (Norgaard, 2004, p.171, original emphasis). Meaning is, therefore,

equated with function (Chenguang, 2009, p.3). The term 'systemic' suggests that the construal of meaning depends on a system of choices, i.e. "what could go instead of what" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.22). In Halliday's (2013) view, "The system is the underlying potential of language: its potential as a meaning-making resource" (p.27). Halliday (1985) used the term 'meaning potential' to represent language as a meaning-making resource/system, in which sets of choices/meanings (potential) form systemic networks. Thus, function refers to 'what language is' and functional grammar is then considered to be 'natural grammar' because it construes three kinds of reality: social, experiential and semiotic (Eggins, 2004). The construal of these realities is facilitated by the interface of the three main functions of language, namely, the interpersonal, the experiential and the textual (ibid.).

Take, for instance, the following clause from a *Newsweek* article entitled "Make it stop: How Obama can fix our runaway government":

> How might a Democratic president go about establishing himself as a limited-government liberal?

This rhetorical question does not only represent experience (experiential), but also gives information in the form of advice/suggestion about the size of government (interpersonal: the writer is engaged with the alternative voices in discourse). It also seems that modality, conditionality and reference play a significant role in connecting the writer's argument logically throughout the text (textual). This question is, therefore, related to the suggestions found at the beginning of the paragraphs that follow it in the article:

> If they hope to avoid a repeat of Clinton's 1994 fate in 2010, the president and his party might think about setting a long term upper limit on the size of government […]. Beyond endorsing smaller government, Obama could identify himself with wiser government by developing the responsibility theme he sounded in his Inaugural Address.

Moreover, some words and phrases such as 'Democratic', 'liberal', 'Clinton's 1994 fate' and 'Inaugural Address' belong to the cultural context and ideologies of the American political discourse community. This is in line with Halliday (1978, p.122), who observes that "it [the text] is a continuous progression of meanings." In other words, the meaning choices in the text are related to prior and future choices (Munday, 2012, p.15). This is crucial in translation, and instead of focusing only on

the ideational function, functional text analysis involves the three interfacing meanings, in order to enable the translator, who is mainly engaged with meaning, to convey "meaning in its entirety" (Manfredi, 2000).In the same vein,, Munday (2012, p.13) also argues that "the question of how to analyse selected and unselected forms is complex, but it relates quite closely to the concept of 'meaning potential' in SFL."

Therefore, function is regarded as an integral part of SFL theory. Halliday and Matthiessen (2013, p.31) explain this functional orientation of SFL as follows:

> Systemic analysis shows that functionality is ***intrinsic*** to language: that is to say, the entire architecture of language is arranged along functional lines. Language is as it is because of the functions in which it has evolved in the human species (original emphasis).

2.3   The Stratified Model

As a complex stratified semiotic system, language has a content plane and an expression plane and both are divided into several strata/levels, known as realizations. The content plane of language consists of semantics and lexicogrammar, whereas the expression plane includes two analogous levels: phonology/graphology and phonetics. The relationship between the strata is that of realization. Thus, semantics is realized through lexicogrammar which is, therefore, the expression of semantics with its three major meanings. Moreover, lexicogrammar occupies a central position in the strata of language between the levels of phonology and semantics. The term implies the combination of lexis and grammar in realizing ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. According to Matthiessen (1995), while grammar is the more general realization of meaning, lexis is the more specific one. That is, grammar and lexis represent lexicogrammatical choices and both work together to construe the metafunctions of language which, in turn, construe the social context.

Furthermore, as SFL views language as "a social process", language and social context are modelled as "semiotic systems in a relationship of realization" (Martin, 1997, p.4). The relationship between these systems is that of semiotic construal, since the main tenet of SFL is that the stratified semiotic system of language constantly construes (creates and expresses) the stratified semiotic system of social context (Halliday, 1978). Martin (1997) summarizes how SFL views this relation between language and social context as follows: "Realization also entails that

language construes, is construed by, and (over time) reconstrues social context"
(p.4). This stratified model of language is illustrated in Figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1 Stratified model of language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.25)
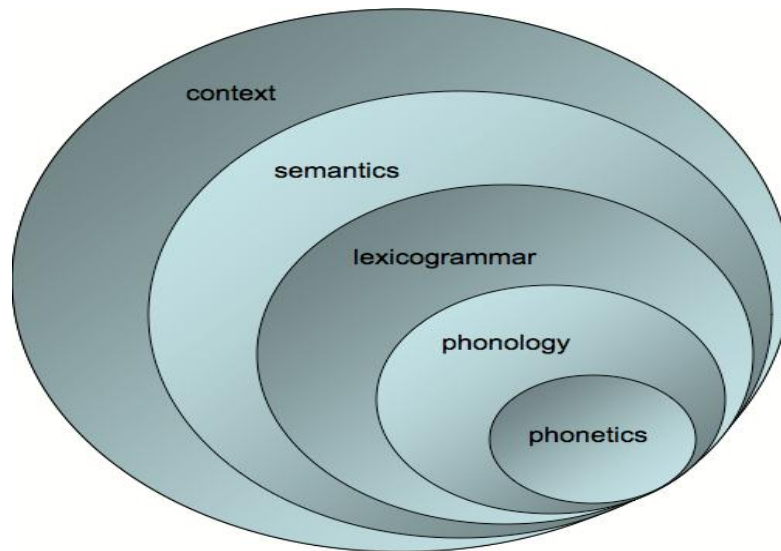
2.3.1   Language, text and context in SFL

For Halliday, language and social context are constantly related. All human
experiences and relationships are embodied in the semiotic system of language
(Halliday, 1998, p.2). From the SFL perspective, this means that language

> is functional in the sense that it is designed to account for how the language
> is **used**. Every text—that is, everything that is said or written—unfolds in
> some context of use; furthermore it is the uses of language that, over tens of
> thousands of generations, have shaped the system. Language has evolved to
> satisfy human needs; and the way it is organized is functional with respect to
> those needs [...]. A functional grammar is essentially a 'natural' grammar, in
> the sense that everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to
> how language is used (Halliday, 1994, p.xiii; original emphasis).

This interdependence of linguistic system and social context, which is based on
meaning making, gives rise to an additional analytical level in the Hallidayan
stratified model of Systemic Functional Grammar (hereafter SFG), namely, social
context. This determines linguistic choices but, at the same time, the context is
affected by language (Achugar and Colombi, 2008, p.38). Accordingly, systemic
analysis takes this interrelation into consideration.

In SFL social context consists of register and genre (Martin, 1997). Register or the
context of situation (what is outside language) is closely related to the three

metafunctions/meanings of language (ideational, interpersonal and textual) (ibid.). The context of situation also consists of three variables that correspond to the major meanings of language: field, tenor, and mode. Field refers to 'what is happening', the types of activity or subject matter of the interaction, "including descriptions of the participants, processes and circumstances these activities involve" (Martin, 2002, p.56). Tenor is related to 'who is participating'—the social relations of power and solidarity. Mode consists of the medium or channel of communication, such as speech, written text, or visual modality (ibid.).

At the context stratum, the more abstract register variables represent patterns of the less abstract semantic level patterns of the metafunctions. At the semantic level, the metafunctions represent patterns of the less abstract lexicogrammar level features. Thus, the ideational metafunction realizes field at the semantic level and it is realized by transitivity in the lexicogrammar; the interpersonal metafunction realizes tenor at the semantic level and its lexico-grammatical resources are mood, modality, and appraisal systems; the textual metafunction realizes mode at the semantic level and its lexico-grammatical realizations are theme/rheme, identification, and periodicity systems. The relationship between metafunctions and social context, namely register or context of situation is illustrated in table 2.1.

Reality construal		Contextual variable
Interpersonal	social reality	Tenor
Ideational	logical, experiential	Field
Textual	semiotic reality	Mode

Table 2.1 Types of meaning in relation to social context (Martin, 2002, p.56)

As mentioned earlier, the linguistic system construes three kinds of complementary meanings or realities: interpersonal (social reality), ideational (logical/experiential reality), and textual (semiotic reality). Similarly, the register variables are simultaneous. That is, according to Martin (2002), "Mode is concerned with semiotic distance, as this is affected by various channels of communication through which we undertake activity (field) and simultaneously enact social relations (tenor)" (p.56).

In SFL the social context is considered to be "a stratified system" (Martin, 1997, p.6). Thus, genre (context of culture) is the contextual level "above and beyond" register variables (context of situation) (Martin, 2002, p.56). Genres are patterns of register choice which is itself a pattern of linguistic options (texture) (ibid, p.57).

Thus, genre is concerned with "texture, that is, the ways in which field, mode and tenor are phased together in a text."(ibid, p.56). In SFL genre is defined as "a staged, goal-orientated, and purposeful social activity that people engage in as members of their culture" (Martin, 1984, p. 25). It involves steps; it has a purpose, and it is addressed to other social participants (Martin and Rose, 2003, pp.7-8).

Following the Danish linguist Louis Hjelmslev's (1961) distinction between content and expression plane, SFL treats genre and register as the connotative semiotics and language as the denotative semiotics. In other words, language is the expression/realization of the social context, as genre and register are semiotic parasites that depend on another semiotic system, language, as their expression form (Martin, 2001, p.155).

While SFL micro genre studies concentrate on smaller text types, such as narratives, reports, or arguments, macro genre studies focus on larger text types including news stories, academic research and classroom talk (Martin, 1997; 2002). Hood (2004) notes that in SFL genre studies, which are mainly concerned with texts, texts are considered both to reflect and construct discourse community practices (p.42). Academic texts as a genre, for example, reflect the knowledge content of the academic discourse community and construe its social relations (ibid.). According to Hood (2004), "An analysis of texts is therefore seen as an essential aspect of understanding the nature of the discourse communities within which they are constructed" (p.42). In the current study it is argued that the journalistic-political genres of magazine news and opinion articles will reflect the knowledge content of the journalistic-political discourse community and construe the writer-reader social relations. Newspapers, magazines and other types of news outlets, for example, may represent the socio-political opinions of journalists in relation to the political attachments of their institutions, and in relation to their targeted audience.

In SFL, a text is seen as "an instance of the system" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.27). System and text represent the "two poles of […] the cline of instantiation", and there are "intermediate patterns" which can be viewed as subsystems of the system pole or instance types of the instance pole (ibid.). However, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, pp.28-29) make the point that when dealing with a corpus of large instances (spoken or written), researchers should

observe from the perspectives of the system as well as the instance, taking into careful consideration the perspective from which they are observing each time.

Reviewing SFL genre analysis studies, Martin (1997) points out that the appraisal system is one of the analytical tools that has been employed in the field of SFL to provide a detailed and systemic description of texts.

In conclusion, SFL theory has provided important insights into the analysis of text, text type and genre as it unfolds in the space and time of discourse. Its insights have also given rise to the formulation of the appraisal model as a systemic analytical method. Thus, we will conduct an appraisal analysis of journalistic-political discourse in a selected corpus of English texts and their Arabic translations. Following Martin (2000a; 2002; 2003), Martin and Rose (2003), and Martin and White (2004; 2005), this thesis will focus on the use of resources of evaluation (namely, graduation and engagement) in journalistic-political discourse. Consequently, the text will form the unit of analysis taking into consideration the socio-political context in which it unfolds.

2.3.2   The metafunctions

As mentioned previously, in functional grammar, three metafunctions interface and complement one another, namely, the ideational (experiential), the interpersonal and the textual. The ideational metafunction is the use of language to represent human experience and consists of clause/text experiential meaning and clause/text logical meaning (Eggins, 2004, p.206). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) argue that "there is no facet in human experience which cannot be transformed into meaning."(p.30) Hence, this metafunction represents language as a reflection of all human experience, but it is not a simple reflection, it is rather a natural one (ibid, pp.30-31). In other words, experience does not precede language—rather, it is language that 'construes' experience (ibid.). The experiential metafunction is realized by the system of transitivity (actions, relations, participants, and circumstances) (ibid.).

The interpersonal metafunction, however, enacts the speaker/writer's personal and social relationships with other interlocutors. Therefore, this function is regarded as "language as action" and the term is short for "both interactive and personal" (ibid, p.30). That is to say, language is a social interaction in which speaker/writer inter/subjective stances are positioned with regard to actual/idealised addressee

inter/subjective stances. This is also regarded as "the rhetorical strategy of language" (Hood, 2004, p.32). In other words, this function can be employed by the speaker/writer to persuade and/or challenge other social interlocutors.

It is worth mentioning that the ideational and interpersonal functions are considered to be simultaneous in that "every message is both about something and addressing someone, and [...] these two motifs can be freely combined—by and large, they do not constrain each other" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.30).

Finally, the textual metafunction is considered to be "the enabling or facilitating function", since it organizes the discourse for the other two functions (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.30). These three meanings interact and combine in a text in such a way that interlocutors can make sense of and interpret the text.

The three metafunctions are located in the level of (clause) semantics in SFL (Halliday, 1994; 2004). Halliday's model of systemic functional grammar consists of a clause by clause analysis in which the interpersonal grammar of mood (declarative, interrogative, and imperative) and modality (modalization and modulation) in the clause realize the speech functions of information, and goods and services. This model expanded the traditional view on modality into an interactive view of 'negotiation' of speech functions/roles. This view is elucidated by Halliday's definition of modality (modalization) as "the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. It is external to the content, being a part of the attitude taken up by the speaker: his attitude, in this case, towards his own speech role as 'declarer'". (Halliday, 1970, p. 349). It also goes beyond the clause by looking at clausal interrelations across the text i.e. cohesion.

2.4   Modality in Language and Discourse

In SFL, modality is viewed as a system network and has "a kind of" relationship of delicacy and it is ordered paradigmatically into more delicate or specific options (Halliday, 2014, p.23) as follows: modalization and modulation are kinds of modality; probability and usuality are kinds of modalization; and obligation and inclination are kinds of modulation.
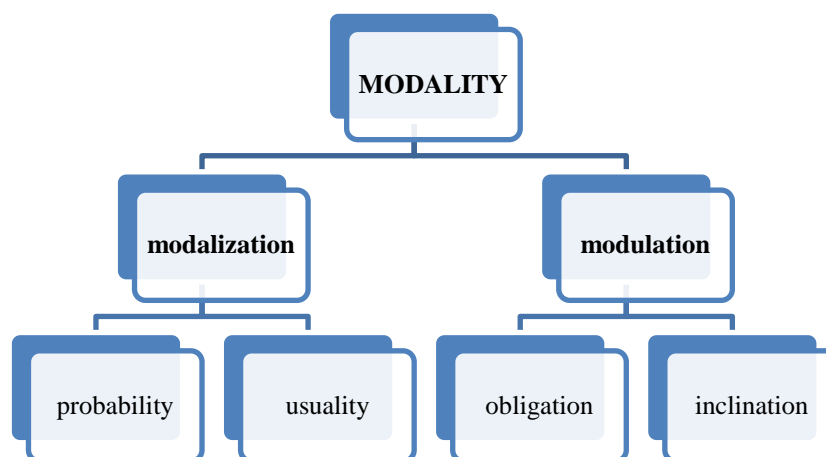
Figure 2.2 System network of modality

The system is regarded as SFL's major contribution to the study of language, as it is viewed as complementing the traditional view of language as structure.

The study of modality in language developed gradually from a narrow static view, in which modality was centred on a small set of modal auxiliary verbs, into a broad dynamic discourse-oriented view, in which the diversified modal expressions share semantic rather than formal characteristics.

In its broad sense, modality (see section 3.2.1.2) is related to the notions of possibility and necessity (Palmer, 1986, p.120) and, for this reason, the following distinctions have been adopted in the literature: epistemic and root (traditional distinction) (Coates, 1983); propositional and event (typological distinction) (Palmer, 2001), and modalization or modality and modulation (functional grammar distinction) (Halliday, 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). These distinctions represent different perspectives on modality: semantic: polysemy and indeterminacy (Coates, 1983); typological: shared semantic features within and across languages (Palmer, 2001), and functional grammar: speech functions/exchange types (Halliday, 1985; 2004).

According to Halliday (1985), modality refers to the "speaker's judgment of the probabilities, or the obligations involved in what he is saying" (p.75). Probability is external to the content, being the speaker's attitude towards or comment on the ideational content of the clause (Halliday, 1970) Obligation, however, represents 'events' or 'possible actions' by the speaker and/or the other interlocutors (Palmer, 1986, p.70).

Halliday (1970, p.335) states that modality is relevant to "speaker's comment", i.e. it is a semantic area in which ideational and interpersonal metafunctions overlap. Modality represents the speaker's comment (interpersonal) on the ideational content of the clause, whereas modulation is an ideational component of the clause, but it is viewed only through the speaker's comment (interpersonal). That is, modalization is viewed essentially as subjective speaker attitude—the speaker's "intrusion" (Halliday, 1970, p.335), through which he takes an interpersonal stance towards his message, while modulation is treated as ideational content. Halliday (1976, p.179) explains modality (modalization in particular) from an interpersonal perspective as follows:

> Modality is a participation by the speaker in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of the status and validity in his own judgment [...] This, we are suggesting, is not a minor or marginal element in language, but one of its three primary functions, that concerned with the establishment of social relations and with participation of the individual in all kinds of social action.

However, there is not only an overlap between the metafunctions, but also an overlap (or merger) between modality and modulation. Therefore, Halliday regards both modality and modulation to be part of the interpersonal metafunction (language as action) at the semantics stratum of language in the Hallidayan (1985; 1994; 2004) SFG model.

Lyons (1983, p.111) expands 'attitude' into subjectivity which is "the subject/speaker's involvement of himself in the utterance." He indicates that by means of epistemic modality the speaker communicates his knowledge or beliefs whereas the speaker's use of deontic modality represents his authority or power over his interlocutors. Therefore, the speaker's involvement or subjectivity includes knowledge or beliefs, and authority or power which represent the main types of modality: propositional and event.

Similarly, Palmer (2001) has contributed to the study of modality by providing a broad definition of modality based on semantic features shared between a wide range of lexicogrammatical items. His view expands the narrow definition of modality which is based on a set of modal verbs sharing formal criteria. Palmer (2001, p.7) defines the subtypes of propositional modality (epistemic and evidential) and event modality (deontic and dynamic) as follows:

> Epistemic and evidential modality are concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth value or factual status of the proposition. By contrast, deontic and dynamic modality refer to events that are not actualised, events that have not taken place but are merely potential.

More precisely, using epistemic modality, the speakers commit themselves to their claims to knowledge in the past, present or future (language as information), but in the case of deontic modality, speakers commit themselves or others to act in the future (language as action) (ibid.).

Halliday (1985; 2004) confirms that social interaction, particularly dialogue, also involves an exchange of modality and modulation between speaker and addressee. In the same vein, Fairclough (2003, p.167) relates modality to "exchange types" such as "knowledge exchange", which corresponds to modality/modalization and "activity exchange" which corresponds to modulation. Interpersonal modality is then concerned with the interpersonal relations between the speaker/writer and listener/reader and it is not merely a matter of speaker commitment towards the content of his message. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.108), speakers/writers communicate in order to give or demand two commodities: information (statement and question) and goods and services (offer and command). Modality is then viewed in terms of the speech functions/exchange types. That is, information, and goods and services are exchanged through the basic speech functions of statement and question, as well as offer and command.

Accordingly, SFG distinguishes between two main types of modality: modalization and modulation which are based on the speech functions of the clause: information and goods and services respectively (Halliday, 1985, p.335). These two types are also realized by the indicative and the imperative respectively (ibid, pp.335-336).

Halliday (1985; 2004) has drawn two more distinctions which determine how modality is expressed, and refers to these as values and orientations. Halliday (1985; 2004) distinguishes between three modality values with regard to speaker's judgment, namely, high, median and low. Unlike the median value in which negation is transferred freely between the proposition and modality, the other values of modality change from high to low or vice versa when the negation is transferred between the proposition and modality. The two main types, their value and orientation distinctions reflect Halliday's (2014, p.691) definition of modality as "the area of meaning that lies between yes and no—the intermediate ground between

the positive and the negative polarity." Halliday (1970) argues that it is through these values that modality, such as the high value modal 'certainly', enables the speaker, for example, to say he is certain when he is not. That is, vagueness is a communicative strategy in which one "can say something without having to say something precisely" (Rowland, 2000, p.67). Modality, in this respect, corresponds to indeterminacy, hedging and vagueness.

Palmer (2001, p.51) suggests that the declarative should, therefore, be regarded as "the unmarked (unmodalized) member of modalization or epistemic system." However, these values are not restricted to modalization. Modulation also has high, median and low scales—the intermediate degrees of obligation and inclination between the positive and negative poles.

Modality is essentially subjective. In Lyons' (1982, p.102) view, modality communicates the "subject's or speaker's attitude" while subjectivity refers to "the way in which natural language [...] provides for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs." Thus, another important SFG distinction has been made between orientations of modality in terms of speaker subjectivity/responsibility, i.e. objective or subjective, implicit or explicit combinations. The speaker/writer uses these combinations of modality in order to manipulate the listener/reader. There are restrictions, however, on usuality and inclination because they are always covert, allowing for less speaker intrusion (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p.692).

Another interpersonal dimension of the interactive modal meaning is captured in appraisal theory, in which modality is viewed not only as part of a clause by clause exchange, but also as a dialogistic communicative strategy which is employed by speakers/writers to negotiate meaning in the unfolding discourse in space and time. It is a rhetorical strategy that enables the speaker to comment on his message and, at the same time, take a stance, in order to persuade and/or challenge his interlocutors, who may accept or resist this stance. In this case, modality can be seen as one of the ways in which speakers/writers negotiate solidarity with other interlocutors (Martin, 2003, p.321).

Moreover, both modality (grammatical) and evaluative meaning (lexical) belong to the interpersonal metafunction which is located at the discourse semantics level in SFL (Martin, 2003). Hunston and Thompson (2000) consider modality to be a

subcategory of evaluation, focusing on their similarities. They assert that one of the functions of evaluation is "to express the speaker's or writer's opinion and in doing so reflect the value system of that person and their community" (p.6). Since value systems reflect ideologies, then, investigating modality will help reveal ideologies (Stenbakken, 2007, p.36). Actually, modality is associated with engagement: using modality the speaker/writer involves himself with his message as well as his community, and engagement evaluates the attitudinal value positions/stance positioning in discourse. In conclusion, as in the case of evaluation, modality can be used by the speaker/writer to attend to an additional attitude not from "the truth functional perspective", i.e., degrees of commitment, but from the "social semiotic perspective", that of accommodating the audience (Fuller, 1998 and White, 2000 cited in Martin, 2004, p.331).

From a discourse-oriented view, Fairclough (2001) relates speaker authority and power relations to the texturing of identities in discourse (pp.105-106). Fairclough (2003, p.166) also states that as personal and social identities are relational, speakers identify themselves in relation to their interlocutors and this is reflected in their choices of modality. That is, according to Fairclough (2003), choices in "modality can be seen as initially to do with 'commitments', 'attitudes', 'judgments', 'stances', and therefore with identification" (p.166).

From a dynamic discourse oriented approach to modality, Garcia (2000) suggests that to avoid the inconsistencies of traditional static monolithic approaches, the analysis of modal meaning should be targeted at "two separate, though closely connected layers of meaning"—a contextual-linguistic and an interpersonal-pragmatic layer (p.125). The first layer consists of systematic meaning, which is concerned with "the meaning present in all the uses of a modal" and contextual-linguistic meaning, which is concerned with "the reinforcing or cumulative modal nuances introduced by other satellite elements in the neighbouring sentential or (discourse) environments" (ibid.). The second layer is concerned with interpersonal-pragmatic meaning which basically depends on extralinguistic factors (ibid.). The former corresponds to the "illocutionary resources of modality" whereas the latter corresponds to the interpersonal function performed by modality which is relevant to "politeness and face-saving strategies" (ibid.). Despite the similarities between these two layers and the SFG model dimensions of analysis, the SFG model is more

comprehensive with its context of situation and context of culture and its other stratifications. Besides, from the SFL perspective, meaning is not only cumulative, but also prosodic, as texts unfold in their social context (Martin and Rose, 2003).

2.5   Evaluation and Stance Research

Linguists have been concerned with studying the expression of speaker opinion since the 1980s. A set of overlapping labels have been adopted in order to define, describe and analyse this area of interpersonal meaning. These include affect (Ochs, 1989); modality (Palmer, 1986; 2001); evidentiality (Chafe, 1986; Chafe and Nicols, 1986); point of view (Simpson, 1993); attitude (Halliday, 1994); hedging (Hyland, 1996); epistemic modality (Hyland, 1998); stance and engagement (Hyland, 2005); evaluation/evaluating entities and propositions (Hunston, 1994; Hunston and Thompson, 2000); subjectivity (Lyons, 1981, 1994); stance (Biber and Finegan, 1988;1989; Biber et al., 1999; Hyland, 1999; 2005; Conrad and Biber, 2000; Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009), and appraisal (Martin, 2000a; White, 2003; Martin and Rose, 2003; Martin and White, 2005). The study of speaker opinion departed from subjectivity, the most general concept of these alternatives which is derived from logical (Aristotelian) notions of possibility and necessity, to which Lyons (1977, 1981) subscribed. Subjectivity is another alternative term for evaluation (Englebrestson, 2007, p.16). According to Lyons (1994 p.13), this is "quite simply, self-expression in the use of language."

Stance and evaluation are the closely related broad cover terms for the above mentioned categorizations, since they refer to ''the expression of speaker or writer's attitude towards, view point on, feelings about the entities and propositions that he or she is talking about'' (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p.5). In addition, Hunston and Thompson's (2000) preferred broad cover term, evaluation, has been considered to be the most comprehensive, and syntactically and morphologically flexible, as it requires a source and evaluates entities and propositions (Bednarek, 2006).

Stance has been defined as "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments" (Biber et al., 1999, p.966). Thus, stance is viewed as ''comparative, subjective value laden'' (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p.13). Likewise, evaluation has been broadly defined in terms of subjectivity, i.e. as "being concerned with *self-expression* of the speaker's attitudes, beliefs, feelings, emotions, judgments, will, personality, etc." (Lyons, 1982, pp.103, 110 quoted in Bednarek, 2006, p.20,

emphasis added). This definition also clarifies that, like stance, evaluation is both evaluative and subjective (Englebrestson, 2007, p.17).

Like evaluation, stance is also related to speaker engagement, i.e. it has an interactive dialogic (inter/subjective) dimension. This view is held by Hyland (2005), who states that evaluation includes stance, which refers to a 'textual voice' or a 'personality' recognized by a community of readers, i.e. the writer's involvement, or engagement which refers to writer's positioning in relation to other voices. In this way, evaluative stance is viewed as "a *dynamic* process of positioning throughout the text" (Hood, 2004; original emphasis) in which the writer depends on a value system of "restricted subsets of options/standards/parameters" (Hyland, 2005, p.175). That is, as Hyland (2018) argues, "Personal judgments are only convincing, or even meaningful, when they contribute to and connect with a communal ideology or value system concerning what is taken to be normal, interesting, relevant, novel, useful, good, bad, and so on" (p.136). This dynamic discourse process involves "the strategic deployment of resources of interpersonal meaning" (Hood, 2004, p.10). Writers persuade their readers by "making rhetorical choices which evaluate both their propositions, and their audience" (ibid.). For example, the speaker/writer chooses from the engagement system options, in order to negotiate social relations of power and solidarity to align with the value system of their community. The meaning choices may contract or expand the discourse for existing or expected views. Therefore, these two theoretical concepts refer to interpersonal meaning which is not only a subjective self- expression as illustrated by Lyons' (1981) definition of subjectivity, but also intersubjective/ dialogic resources from the stance and evaluation researchers point of view.

The literature on evaluation research generated further distinctions approaching the question of studying interpersonal meaning from theoretical and methodological perspectives. Evaluation is viewed as "subjectivity with a focus" (Englebrestson, 2007, p.15). Echoing Hunston and Thompson's (2000, p.5) definition of evaluation, Englebretson (2007) indicates that this focus is related to the main distinction between two types of interpersonal meaning (affect/attitude and modality) with regard to what is evaluated, "entities or propositions." Linguists, accordingly, adopt either a "separating approach", emphasising differences, or a "combining approach",

emphasising partial similarities between the two types of opinion (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p.4).

The former includes the approaches adopted by Halliday (1994), namely, modality (modalization and modulation) which is separated from attitudinal meaning; Bybee and Fleischman's (1995) distinction between modality (epistemic and deontic) and evaluation (speaker viewpoint); Martin's appraisal (2000a) which includes three subcategories of attitudinal meaning, viz. affect, judgment, appreciation (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p.4). The latter includes Biber and Finegan's (1988, p.3) six semantic categories of stance adverbials (labelled manner of speaking, approximation, conviction/certainty, actuality/emphasis, possibility/likelihood and attitude); Hunston and Thompson's (2000) supercategory, 'evaluation' with modality as a subcategory; Martin and White's (2004,2005) system of appraisal with its subsystems of attitude, engagement and graduation; and Bednarek's (2006) parameter-based approach to evaluation in media discourse which includes nine parameters or sub-values, namely, comprehensibility, emotivity, expectedness, importance, possibility/necessity, reliability, evidentiality, mental state, and style (ibid).

In addition, the research on interpersonal meaning has adopted "complementary methodologies" which involve either detailed analysis of a single sample of text or empirical investigation focusing on generalizations in large computer-based corpora (Biber, 2006, p.88). Some researchers (Bednarek, 2006) complement their quantitative corpus analysis of stance with manual qualitative analysis of representative texts. This complementarity of quantitative (multi-dimensional analysis of stance) and qualitative (Martin and White's (2004) appraisal) approaches has been suggested when researchers are aiming to overcome issues such as the intractability of (implicit) stance and appraisal (Martin, 2003, p.172). These research complementarities provide more practicality in tracing both explicit and implicit evaluation, giving more insights into the co-text, context and development of evaluation.

More importantly, Martin (2003, p.172) points out that appraisal analysis (qualitative) has been formulated to answer two important research questions. One has to do with the systematicity of affect/attitudinal meanings and has been solved by organizing attitude into three systems: affect, judgment and appreciation (ibid,

p.173). The second is concerned with 'hedging' (also evidentiality/epistemic stance), and this has been tackled by organizing hedging into engagement (origins and positioning of attitude) and graduation (how feelings are graded) (ibid, p.174). Finally, although Halliday's interpersonal metafunction options are important, they are not enough and, as a result, analysis has been expanded to consider axiological or value-laden meanings (Lemke, 1998).

2.6   Appraisal Theory

Appraisal belongs to the interpersonal metafunction of language. Thus, appraisal is located in Halliday's (1985; 2004) SFL as one of the realizations of tenor at the level of discourse semantics (Martin and Rose, 2004, p.31). It also offers an influential contribution to the literature on evaluation, as it "provides the only systematic, detailed, and elaborate framework of evaluative language" (Bednarek, 2006, p.32).

The place of the appraisal system at level of discourse semantics has been suggested by Martin (2004), and Martin and White (2005) owing to the following three aspects: attitude is expressed as texts unfold at the discourse phase, the intersection of semantics and lexicogrammar in the area of grammatical metaphor, and the need for a systematic arrangement of the diversified lexicogrammar into sets of evaluative categories (Florencio and Scotta-Cabral, 2013, p.485). That is to say, appraisal originates grammatically and interacts with the discourse semantics (ibid.). As Martin indicates, there is a close relationship between judgment values (veracity, propriety, tenacity, and capacity) and the subcategories of modality (probability, obligation, inclination and ability). Modality can be represented metaphorically (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.626). The grammatical metaphor expands the semantic domain of the modal lexicogrammar into 'explicit' subjective modal expressions (mood adjuncts) such as 'I think'/'I urge' (ibid). This "expansion of the meaning potential" of modality into new patterns/structures, "extends beyond modality" into the domain of "interpersonal assessment of modality" such as 'I regret', 'it is regrettable that', in addition to other explicit appraisal expressions (adverbs, nouns, etc.) (ibid,). Owing to this interaction, the appraisal system is more lexically than grammatically realized (Thompson, 2004, p.75).

Appraisal theory has been developed by Martin and White (White, 1998; 2002; Martin, 2000a; 2000b; 2002; 2003; 2004, and Martin and White, 2005) as a framework for analysing evaluation from the SFL discourse semantics standpoint.

According to Martin and Rose (2003, p.22), "Appraisal is concerned with evaluation—the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned." The definition refers to Martin and White's (2005) classifications of evaluative meaning in the appraisal system: attitude, graduation and engagement. Attitude is organized into three groups: (1) affect—expressing feelings towards things, people and situations/events (emotions); (2) judgment—assessing people's behaviour (ethics i.e. proposals about what we should and should not do), and (3) appreciation—evaluating the worth of things (aesthetics). While attitude is central to the appraisal system, graduation is concerned with the amplification of attitude and engagement is concerned with both the attribution (source of attitude) and positioning of attitude (taking stances).

Thus, affect is the central system of attitude while the two other systems are regarded as "the institutionalizations of feeling" (Martin, 2003, p.275). Martin argues that "attitudinal systems, affect, judgement, and appreciation are all concerned with feeling" (ibid.) As humans are born with the affect system, they develop this system of feelings into judgment and appreciation for "prescribing behaviour" and "assessing the social value and significance of things" in the social context (ibid.). In Figure 2.3 (Martin, 2000a, p.147) shows how appreciation and judgment as affect are "recontextualized to control behaviour (what we should or should not do) and to control taste (what things are worth)" respectively (Martin, 2000a, p.147):
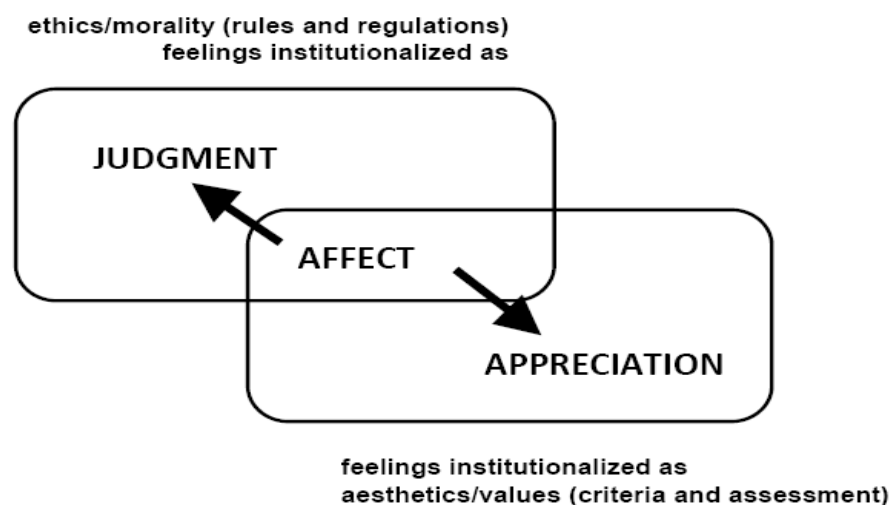
Figure 2.3 Institutionalization of affect (Martin, 2000a, p.147)

Appraisal has been also defined as "the global potential of the language for making evaluative meanings, e.g. for activating positive/negative viewpoints, graduating force/focus, negotiating intersubjective stance" (Martin and White, 2005, p.164). This definition reflects the basic characteristics of this kind of interpersonal meaning. First, appraisal is a system of choices and despite the enormous range of the appraisal lexical choices which construe evaluation, the variable lexis can be systematically arranged into a small number of basic sets of choices, namely, attitude, engagement and graduation as well as their subsystems (Martin 2000a, p.143). Therefore, viewed in lexical terms, appraisal "is given full value both as a central aspect of evaluation and as a vital part of the meaning negotiation that is at the heart of all communication" (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p.143). Besides, engagement or "negotiating intersubjective stance" emphasizes the interpersonal nature of attitude "in that the basic reason for advancing an opinion is to elicit a response of solidarity from the addressee" (ibid). The speaker/writer's stance is positioned in a response to earlier, present and anticipated responses challenging and/or supporting this stance. Attribution, a subsystem of engagement, for example, plays an important role in the negotiation of attitude, as writers/speakers usually report a number of voices and engage with them, either aligning with them or challenging the competing voices. This makes the speaker/writer's stance a dynamic rather than a fixed action. Finally, graduation can be employed as a hedge which either raises or lowers the volume of attitudes (force) or blurs the boundaries between attitudes (focus). Therefore, it may reduce the cost of face in interaction.

2.6.1 Attitude Choices

The three subsystems of attitude (affect, judgment and appreciation) refer to ways of feeling (Martin and White, 2005, p.42). The first of these, affect, consists of three main sets of positive and negative feelings: (1) happiness/unhappiness, (2) security/insecurity, and (3) satisfaction/dissatisfaction (ibid.). In the case of judgment, behaviour is measured by parameters of social esteem and social sanction. Social esteem parameters are sub-divided into normality (is the person unusual/special/customary?), capacity (is the person competent/capable?), and tenacity (is the person dependable/well disposed?), while social sanction parameters include veracity (is the person honest?) and propriety (is the person ethical/beyond reproach?) (Iedema, Feez, and White, 1994). Social esteem values are shared to

form social bonds such as those with colleagues, family or friends, while the social sanction reflects "civic duty and religious observances" (Martin and White, 2005: 52). These proposals regarding behaviour can be positive or negative, thus we can admire or criticize (social esteem), praise or condemn (social sanction).

Martin and White (2005) argue that the judgment parameters and types of interpersonal modality are closely related. For instance, capacity, normality and veracity reflect ability, usuality and probability, respectively, while propriety and tenacity reflect obligation and inclination, respectively. This is further exemplified by the propriety cline below. The lexical parameters of judgment and the interpersonal grammar of modality represent "a cline, with *grammaticalized* realization at one end and *lexicalized* realizations at the other—and with Halliday's modality metaphors construing meaning in between" (Martin, 2000b cited in Martin and White, 2005, p.56; original emphasis). Take for instance the following modulation and propriety cline:

> Go.
> You **should** go.
> You're **supposed** to go.
> It is **expected** you'll go.
> It'd be **unfair** for you to go.
> It'd be **corrupted**, **insensitive**, **arrogant**, **selfish**, **rude**, etc.
> [judgment: propriety] (Martin and White, 2005, p.55)

Finally, appreciation can be positive or negative and it is divided into reactions (the quality and impact of things), composition (the balance and complexity of things), and value (how worthwhile they are) (ibid, p.56).

2.6.2 Engagement Choices

From a dialogistic view, "all utterances are stanced or attitudinal" (Martin and White, 2005, p.92). Engagement is concerned with how attitudes are sourced and positioned to open or close the space for other/alternative voices in discourse. Engagement is divided into two values: monoglossic and heteroglossic. The former allows no other voices, while the latter opens the discourse space for alternative voices in two ways, namely, dialogic contraction and dialogic expansion. Contraction and expansion are viewed by Martin and White (2005, p.97) as "those meanings which in various ways construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses." Contraction is divided into disclaim and proclaim. While disclaim introduces the opposing voices

in the text in order to overrule or counter them (e.g. denial, counter-expectation and concession), proclaim overtly acknowledges alternative voices (e.g. concur, pronounce and endorse). Heteroglossic expansion, however, is divided into entertain and attribute. Entertain includes modal meanings which open the dialogic space for other voices while attribute includes projections by which other voices are reported during the dynamic positioning of speaker/writer stance in relation to other competing and supporting voices in discourse. Figure 2.4 below provides an overview of the appraisal system:
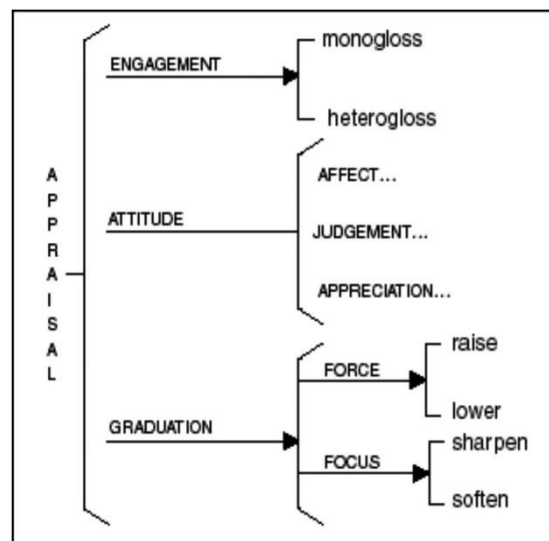
Figure 2.4 Overview of appraisal system (based on Martin and White, 2005)

2.6.3. Graduation Choices

Graduation, which is central to the other attitudinal subsystems of Appraisal, refers to the grading system of attitude and engagement. It has two main categories: *Focus* and *Force* (Martin and White, 2005, p.140). *Focus* facilitates the grading of non-scalable 'experiential' categories in terms of *prototypicality*. It is either *sharpened*, (a *true* friend), or *softened* (an apology *of sorts*) (ibid, p.137).Nevertheless, Focus is not restricted to the scaling of experiential categories (ibid, p.138). Naturally scalable categories can be graded with reference to either intensification (a *very* red carpet) or prototypicality (a *genuinely* red carpet) (p.138).

Force, in turn, has further subcategories: intensity (*intensification*) and amount (*quantification*). *Intensification* is the upscaling and downscaling system of qualities, processes, and modality (modalization and modulation), e.g. ''*slightly*

foolish, *slightly* hindered us, *just* possible'', respectively (ibid). *Quantification*, on the other hand, applies to entities' number, size, distribution, and proximity, e.g. ''*a few/many* miles, *a small/large* amount, *a nearby/ distant* mountain'' (ibid, p.141).Both Focus and Force degrees are demonstrated by the following figure:

Figure 2.5 Focus and Force degrees (Martin and White 2005)

FOCUS	FORCE
sharpen	upscale
soften	downscale
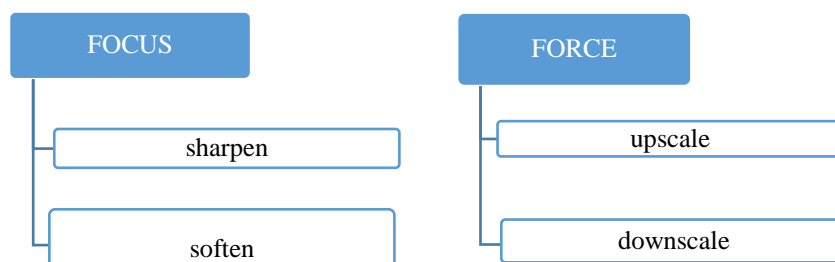
Degrees of intensity can be realized by two distinct lexicogrammatical formuations: *isolation* and *infusion* (Martin and White, 2005, p.141). That is, isolated intensification is upscaled or downscaled by a separate form which modifies adjectives, adverbs, processes or modality. Isolations can also be realized by delexicalizations (Sinclair, 1994, p. 23) i.e. items which ''are partly delexicalized'' and, thus, lose part of their independent lexical meanings when they functionas intensifications, e.g. deliriously happy (ibid, p.143). Other lexical instances include figurative expressions such as crystal clear (ibid).

Infused intensification upscales or downscales assessments via a single item- quality (contented, happy, joyous), process (disquieted me, startled me, frightened me, terrified me) or modality (possible, probable, certain) (Martin and White, 2005, p.143). Other possible forms of infusion may include repetition of the same word, alliteration, and lists of semantically related words (immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading) (Martin and White, 2005, p.144).

Both Isolations and Infusions can be upscaled or downscaled according to vigor. The former includes manner adverbs, similes, and metaphors while the latter involves noncore words including delexicalized metaphors such as skyrocket (Martin and White, 2005, pp. 147-148).

2.7 Evaluation as Grammar, Lexis, Genre and Discourse

SFL has developed discourse models of negotiation of speech functions or exchange moves in dialogues. These grammar-based models have been founded on clause rank interpersonal systems of mood and modality (Halliday, 1994; 2004). Appraisal theory, a discourse analysis model within SFL, developed as "a complementary perspective based on 'evaluative' lexis, which [evolved] during the 1990s in the metropolitan Sydney region" (Hunston and Thompson, 2003, p.145). Earlier SFL work with educational discourse attracted the researchers' attention to this complementary view of 'negotiation' and 'appraisal' (Martin, 2004, p.272). Speakers/writers do not only exchange information or goods and services, they also share evaluation and in doing so they negotiate solidarity and construct personae (ibid.).

Martin (2004) has addressed the role of evaluation in *texturing* discourse and confirmed that "it plays a powerful role in organizing texts—a role which is perhaps the most transparent in texts relating to highly charged political issues" (p.270). He also conducted a discourse analysis of appraisal of a single text—a written report entitled *Bringing Them Home* that focused on the controversial policy of removing aboriginal children from their families carried out by Australian governments in the past. He found out that interpersonal meaning is 'prosodic', that is, it depends on a range of implicit and explicit resources which are interwoven in the text and co-text. These interpersonal meanings (attitudes) tend to "colour phases of discourse" with either positive or negative "splashes of stance for emotions, ethics and aesthetics", i.e. "prosodic realizations" (ibid, p.274). Hood and Forey (2005, p.295) also confirm that the expression of attitude is not limited to "specific grammatical or lexical instantiations" or "discrete generic stages", but that instead it tends to "spread across the discourse." Interpersonal meaning, according to Halliday (1994) and Martin (1992), is expressed prosodically in texts (ibid.). It is this view of interpersonal meaning from a discourse semantic perspective that fills the gap in the "missing middle ground between genre and grammar" (Martin, 2002) and allows researchers to explore "the distributions, positioning and co-articulation of interpersonal meaning resources across phases of texts" (Hood, 2004, p.10)

2.7.1   Inscribed and Evoked Attitude

Attitude systems are also connected by "redundancy" (Hunston and Thompson, 2003, p.142). For example, appreciation may overlap with affect covering the same semantic area using different lexical items, as the ideational (ideological) resources can be employed to 'amplify' or 'multiply' interpersonal (axiological) meaning (Martin, 2004a, p.298). Therefore, a significant distinction has been drawn by Martin (2003) between 'inscribed' (explicit) evaluation and 'evoked' (inviting/provoking evaluative response) evaluation. Thus, as Martin (2004a, p.288) indicates "attitude may be inscribed using evaluative lexis, or evoked by experiential meaning that invites evaluation." In other words, sense (ideational/ideological meaning) is treated as "a backdrop to sensibility" (interpersonal/axiological meaning) (ibid.). The resources construing sensibility employed in *Bringing Them Home* include a prosodic realization of "inscription x metaphor x image" (ibid, p.298). These resources "amplify one another" or "multiply meaning" in such a way that experiential meaning invites an evaluative reader response while at the same time image and imagery provoke an evaluative one (ibid.).

Conducting an appraisal analysis of another single text, entitled "Mourning", dealing with the events of 9/11 in an editorial in a Hong Kong lifestyle magazine, Martin (2004b, p.321) makes the point that evaluation plays an important rhetorical role in constructing "sociality/solidarity"—sharing feelings—"in order to belong." His article focuses on "feelings and the negotiation of communities of readers" (ibid, p.337), as the editorial shares feelings (mainly affect and judgment), which are intensified (graduation), with a complex readership and integrates multiple voices in texture (engagement). Martin (2004b) also insists that ideational (ideological) and interpersonal (axiological) meanings are complementary and interface with the texture of texts. He illustrates this complementarity, echoing Bakhtin's dialogic view as follows:

> In Bakhtin's terms, any text is both ideological and axiological; sense bonds dynamically with sensibility […] In these terms, ideologically speaking a text unfolds as rationality—a quest for 'truth'; axiologically it unfolds rhetorically—an invitation to community (Martin, 2004a cited in Martin 2004b)

Therefore, every text is about experience (rational: logical/experiential), addressed to a discourse community in order to belong (rhetorical: social/interpersonal) and its

phases unfold through this dynamic relation between sense and sensibility (textual). Martin (2004b) goes on to illuminate the interplay between the three meanings in the unfolding of texts as follows:

> Texts have texture. They map logic into rhetoric. In so doing they challenge *discourse analysts* to understand ideational meaning in relation to interpersonal meaning in relation to textual meaning. And if we are social linguists to understand this *triangulation* in relation to the social system it enacts (Martin 2000c cited in Martin 2004b, p.341; emphasis added).

It should be noted that the analysis of a single text can uncover this social complexity and the texture contingencies through which the text unfolds (ibid.). Works on appraisal in media texts are cases in point.

Exploring journalistic voice and ideational content in media texts, Iedema, Feez, and White (1994) note that judgment can be explicit (a direct judgment) or tokenized (a judgment token). The former represents explicit subjective assessment such as "'shamefully', 'courage', 'remarkable', 'genius', etc.'", while the latter is "indirect judgment" in which the writer provides description of "events, actions and participants", in order to elicit an evaluative reader response (p.19). The ideational (factual) tokens of judgment may invite many interpersonal reading positions. According to Iedema, Feez, and White (1994), these tokens are "determined by the system of social attitudes in which the communication takes place and will vary from person to person and time to time" (p.20). Non-core vocabulary (Carter, 1982; 1987) is another way in which ideational tokens may receive interpersonal readings determined by the judgment value system (Iedema, Feez, & White, 1994, p.23). Non-core wording, such as 'the mum-to-be', is specific and may reveal bias and trigger emotional reader responses whereas core words such as 'pregnant woman' are more general and unspecialized (ibid).

Using the attitude subsystem of appraisal, Liu and Stevenson (2013) have analysed stance in disaster news reports on the 2008 Sichuan earthquake in three newspapers: Chinese one, an Australian-Chinese one, and an Australian one. They found differences in the type of attitude patterns employed in the three newspapers reporting on the same event. They associated these differences with "the stances taken towards the disaster in the three newspapers" (ibid., p.213). The Chinese newspaper reports include positive judgments of the behaviour of the participants (i.e. the Chinese leaders and rescuers) and the Chinese leaders' emotions (affect).

However, the Australian reports were mainly concerned with the impact of the disaster. Therefore, their attitude patterns comprised negative appreciation of the disaster and its impact on the victims. The Australian-Chinese report lies mid-way between the Chinese and the Australian one: it expresses positive judgments of the leaders' behaviour and less overt affect towards the Chinese leaders.

2.8. Concluding Remarks

The current chapter introduced the theoretical arguments and advantages of the main linguistic approaches of relevance to the current research on modality and evaluation, namely SFL and Appraisal. Both were developed to solve the theoretical questions pertaining to approaching modality and evaluation in language.What distinguishes SFL from other approaches is that it provided a system network of modality. However, this system is separated from attitude. Therefore, Appraisal took the metafucntional SFL account a step further by incorporating the modal system into the appraisal system (the combined approach), starting at the discourse level in which the text unfolds rather than confining the clause- level analysis, i.e both co-text and context are taken into consideration. The modal system is part of the engagement subsystem of entertain which expands the discourse for other attitudinal responses. Thus, the engagement system details and construes dialogic discourse functions of modality and goes beyond the SFL speech functions. In order to avoid the potential intractablility of evoked meaning, stance and evaluation research adopted discourse based (single-text or corpus-based), complementary (quantitative and/or qualitative) appraisal and stance analyses. The Appraisal model also resolves the debate raised in the literature regarding the organization of attitude by providing three subsystems of attitude. Moreover, the chapter addressed the ''double coding'' (Martin and White, 2005) of explicit and implicit attitude and their prosodic realizations which may invoke attitudinal reading responses and may guide and aid the interepretion of evoked meaning in discourse.

3   Chapter Three: Modality in English and Arabic: An Overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a comparative overview of modality in English and Arabic. It begins by seeking to explain the general and divergent conceptualizations of modality as speaker attitude in English (section 3.2). It then considers how the same issue has been approached in Arabic linguistics (section 3.3).

3.2 Modality in English: Philosophical, semantic and discourse semantic considerations

In linguistics, the general meaning of modality as a qualification of the truth-factual component of the clause (Quirk, 1985) is attributed to logical possibility and necessity. As van der Auwera and Aguilar (2016, p.2) explain, "the linguistic sense immediately relates to logical and philosophical uses, which concern the qualification of a proposition as necessary or possible."

Modality is "a central topic in linguistics" (Stubbs, 1996, p.202). Therefore, numerous definitions of modality have been introduced by linguists. One mainstream approach refers to modality as having to do with 'speaker attitude' or 'subjectivity' (e.g. Lyons, 1977; Coates, 1983; Palmer, 1986), while the other, like Quirk's (1985) above mentioned definition, relates it to "factivity", "factuality", "actuality", or "reality" (Narrog, 2012, p.5). Although both have been influenced by Lyons' (1977) definition and the binary distinction of modality originating from conceptualizations of Greek modal logic, they differ in the corresponding range of modal formulations and categories, and accordingly, in the methodologies used by the various linguistic schools. As Perkins (1983, p.10) observes, "the number of modalities one decides upon is to some extent a matter of different ways of slicing up the same cake".

The plethora of studies on modality and the diverse range of approaches reflect the significance of this topic and the challenges it has posed to linguists. As Facchinetti (2009, p.54) points out, owing to the vagueness and complexity of modality and the need to categorise this, numerous distinctions have emerged. Scholarly works on modality such as Lyons (1977; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1995); Quirk (1985); Coates

(1986; 1991); Perkins (1986); Palmer (1979a; 1979b; 1986; 1990; 2001; 2003); Hyland (1996; 1998; 2005), Nuyts (2005), Fachinetti et al. (2009), Halliday (1978; 2004; 2013; 2014), and Martin and White (2003; 2004; 2005), to name but a few, have approached the question of modality definition, formulation and categorization from perspectives that can be described as traditional/formal, semantic, pragmatic, corpus and discourse-based, cognitive-pragmatic, discourse semantic, and functional.

3.2.1   Modality as the semantics of speaker attitude

3.2.1.1 Lyons (1977): Semantic account

Following Von Wright's (1950) four categories of modal logic (alethic, epistemic, deontic and existential), Lyons (1977) distinguishes between two main types of linguistic modality, namely, epistemic and deontic, derived from the Greek words *episteme* (knowledge) and *deon* (duty) respectively. These modalities represent modal 'super-categories' in the literature, as Lyons' contribution provided a point of departure for later studies which adopted a range of terms due to borderline issues (Vincent, 2013).

Lyons (1977, p.452) highlights the subjective (personal) meaning of modality which he defines as "the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes". He further refers to this subjectivity as "the way in which natural language [...] provides for the luctionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs" (Lyons, 1982, p.102). This subjectivity, which is derived from 'subject' in the Bernsteinian sense (Facchinneti, 2009), is an essential feature intrinsic to natural language which has motivated researchers in different branches of linguistics, such as pragmatics and sociolinguistics, to concern themselves with modality.

It is this speaker orientation (subjective reality) which distinguishes linguistic (semantic) modality from logical modality (Khomutova, 2014, p.396). That is, modal logic is concerned with the relationship between the proposition and objective reality depending on modes of existence (possibility, factuality, and necessity) or on the truthfulness or falseness of a proposition (ibid).

The subjectivity of linguistic modal meaning is also reflected in Lyons' (1983, p. 111) description of epistemic and deontic meanings as a way of "communicating

speaker knowledge or belief and *speaker* authority or power over their interlocutors respectively" (emphasis added).

3.2.1.2 Palmer (1979; 1986; 1990; 2001)

Palmer (1990) notes that the question of modality typology has been approached from two perspectives, i.e. at the level of formal distinction and at the level of semantics. The classification of English modal auxiliaries into one formal system sharing grammatical features, for example, increases the risk of including members such as 'used to' which do not share their meanings (ibid). The treatment preferred by Palmer is, therefore, one based on semantic commonalities. However, this may yield categorizations which do not share formal features or are either marginal (e.g., dare) or non-modal (e.g., ability, volition, and futurity) (ibid). Nonetheless, in Palmer's (2001) later publication *Mood and Modality*, these are referred to as 'dynamic modals' and an additional category referred to as 'evidentiality', which is closer to epistemic modality, is distinguished.

The membership of the modal system is based on four formal properties of the modal auxiliary verbs characterised according to Huddleston's (1976, p.333) NICE (Negation, Inversion, Code, Emphasis), to which Palmer (1990, p.4) adds three more as follows:

[v]   No-s form of the 3rd person singular   (No *mays, etc.)

[vi]   No non-finite forms (infinitives, present, and present participles, etc.)

[vii]   No co-occurrence   (No *He may will come etc.)

However, Palmer (1990) acknowledges that there are exceptions and these restrictions do not apply to all modal verbs, e.g., the second criterion does not apply to 'may', and co-occurrence has been found in some English spoken varieties and other languages. Apart from the six core modals (can, may, must, will, shall, ought to) and the tentative forms of some of them (could, might, would, should), some (such as dare and need) are considered to be 'quasi-modals', as they do not conform fully to these grammatical distinctions. Others (e.g., 'be able to' and other 'be […] to' constructions) are situated outside the modal class, since they do not fit into the meaning distinctions, i.e. epistemic or deontic categories.

However, corpus-based studies suggest that the latter forms are modals due to their unified grammatical behaviour. These marginalized modals are believed to have emerged as grammaticalizations of modal meaning to supplement the core modals in

syntactic environments in which they cannot be used. Also, evidence of the diachronic evolution of marginal or quasi-modals like 'have to'—as shown in their extensive use later in contemporary British and American spoken discourse—is believed to result from and result in 'democratisation' of discourse in these cultures. The corpus-based evidence reflects the shift in the line of investigation in linguistics from linguists' intuition (which is not to be underestimated) to empirical investigation of naturally occurring interaction patterns.

In earlier accounts of modality more weight is given to grammatical criteria, resulting in a narrower definition focusing on the so-called closed system of modal auxiliaries. However, Palmer (1986; 2001) diverts attention to his broader typological-functional definition based on semantic features which he refers to as "the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions" (Palmer, 1986, p.16). Owing to the grammaticalization of the modals in English and other languages, he stresses the necessity of studying modality at the level of semantics cross-linguistically, since it constitutes a cross-linguistic "grammatical or grammatical-semantic" category (Palmer, 1990, p.1). In this notional perspective, modality or the semantics of 'speaker attitude', is generally viewed as "a notion, meaning or function" (Palmer, 1990, pp.1-2). Modality is also seen as pertaining to "the status of the proposition" in comparison to tense and aspect which have to do with events and actuality (Palmer 2001, p.1).

This cross-linguistic approach makes a distinction between two main notional systems: propositional modality (epistemic and evidential) and event modality (deontic). Epistemic modality is related to factuality: the speaker's commitment to the factual status (truth value) of the proposition. Deontic and dynamic modality, on the other hand, are connected to actuality: events which are not actualized. In Palmer's (2001) cross-linguistic data, three grammatical features (form) that express the notional categories (function) of modality in language predominate: verb affixation, modal verbs, and modal particles. This notional account is clause-based. That is, modality is one of three closely related clause categories: tense, aspect, and modality "which are generally, but not always marked by the verbal complex" (Palmer, 2001, p.1).

3.2.1.3 Halliday: Sociosemiotic functional approach

Halliday's (1970) systemic functional account of modality shares a similar conceptual/semantic outlook to that of Lyons and Palmer, as he defines epistemic modality as "speaker intrusion/participation" (p.335) in the speech event. However, his semiotic model of language in the social context (described in Chapter Two) is not purely semantic or philosophical like these approaches. It is systemic functional as well as social. The systemic orientation of his model justifies the vagueness problems of modality membership in terms of both meaning and form; since system networks are related, they can overlap because they are similar and different at the same time. Both subsystems of interpersonal meaning, for instance, qualify the ideational content of the clause. Hence, the similarities and differences between modalization and modality can be explained in terms of overlapping interpersonal and ideational metafunctions, i.e., "through the primary functions of language" (ibid.).

The functional element, in turn, means that these two semantic categories (modalization and modulation) realize and construe the interpersonal metafunction of language. Thus, according to Halliday (1994) modality represents "the intermediate degrees between the positive and the negative poles […] the region of uncertainty between yes and no" (p.356) and establishes the relations of social participants. The social element concerns the social stratum (genre and ideology) of the model and reflects the orientation of the model itself. Halliday (1970) argues that it is aimed at social change (e.g. in education) like CDA and other socially oriented approaches (p.335).

Given the broad definition of modality underpinning the sociosemiotic model of language, modality is not restricted to a small set of modal auxiliaries. Other expressions may include modal adjuncts (probably, certainly etc.), mental verbs (think, believe, etc.), and modal verbs (seem, appear, etc.). Halliday (1970) summarises both the social role of modality and the wide range of its realizations as follows: "modality represents a small but important part of these [interpersonal] resources—*the semantics of personal participation*; and the means whereby we express modalities are *strung throughout the clause*, woven into a structure, with other elements expressing different functions" (p.336, my emphasis).

3.2.1.4 Martin and White (2004): Dialogic/rhetorical discourse functionalities

Inspired by Halliday (1978; 2004), Martin and White (2004; 2005) pioneered the formulation of a discourse-functional analytical framework, known as the appraisal model which has been adopted in this study. Modality is seen as one of the resources at the discourse semantic stratum of the Hallidayan model and expresses distinct (epistemic and deontic) and related (overlapping) meanings. As noted in the previous section, this is possible thanks to the idea of meaning choices and metafunctional system networks. The appraisal model takes Halliday's definition of modality as one of the key linguistic resources for the semantics of speaker participation as a point of departure. Therefore, the uses of modality are captured in the system of the appraisal subsystem of engagement, outlined in Chapter Two. Here modality is part of the linguistic means of the dialogic expansion subsystem (entertain and attribute) of engagement. What matters is the rhetorical/communicative functionality of modality in discourse.

Martin (2003) distinguishes between different types of heteroglossic dialogism in which even the authorial unmodalised bare assertion is classified as a modal (the highest degree on the modal continuum), especially when it contains positive or negative evaluative assessments. He notes that rhetorical questions are also modalised and display rhetorical functions in journalistic texts. The various engagement resources, including entertain and attribute, were found to serve the ideologies of British Conservative discourse (e.g. in *The Spectator*) and, simultaneously reflect the same discourse identities of the author and most of the addresses(ibid). That is to say, Martin and White's (2004; 2005) engagement subsystem explains how the writer engages (aligns and/or dis-aligns) with the other compatible and divergent voices in discourse. Hence, the unmodalised bare assertion, entertain and attribute choices can be seen to be among other possible choices which could have been selected by the writer.

The current research aims to analyse choices of modal meanings for similar purposes, i.e., in order to uncover the underlying conflicting discursive ideologies in the journalistic texts in question, viz. Self/Us vs Other/Them ideological square representations.

3.3 Modality in Arabic

3.3.1 Anghelescu (1998): A philosophical semantic account

Inspired by Perkins' (1983) philosophical approach to modal expressions (which was in turn based on Rescher's (1960) modes of truth), Anghelescu (1998) divides what she calls 'Arabic modalities' into six types: certainty, doubt and certainty, alethic, deontic, evaluative, and boulomaic. The first three of these could be classed as epistemic, one of the traditional 'supercategories' in modality research, while the latter three can be grouped under deontic, the other 'supercategory' (Vincent, 2014). These modalities and their typical/representative but not exhaustive array of realizations are exemplified in Table 3.1 which was adapted from Anghelescu's (1998) types of Arabic modalities including *nawāsikh* and other formulations.

Table 3.1 Arabic modalities (adapted from Anghelescu, 1998)

EPISTEMIC	DEONTIC
Certainty (Anghelescu, 1998) Emphatic Particle *inna* (for oaths and responding to any possible objections) Presenting the sentence as true adjectival and prepositional constructions	**Deontic** (Anghelescu, 1998) Obligation Verbs (*yanbaghi, yajib*) Negative particles (*la, budda, an*) Prepositional constructions (*min al-…*) Prepositions + *an (alayka an, laka an)* Permission Verbs Prepositions Prepositional structure Interdiction Adjectives (*mamnou', mahdhhour*) Passives *yumna', yuhdhar* NB. closely related to imperative
Doubt and Certainty (Anghelescu, 1998) *qulub* verbs derivations from roots *q-r-b* and *m-y-l*	**Evaluative** (Anghelescu, 1998) It is good that or bad that NB: closely related to exclamatives
Alethic (Anghelescu, 1998) Necessity Prepositional Particle Possibility Prepositional (*min almumkin*) *tahqiq* and *taqleel* particles *qad* + imperfect *takthIr* and *taqlil* particles *rubba* *rubba+ma* *qad+ rubbama* Frozen verbs (*la'alla* (sister of *kana*) and *a'sa*)	**Boulomaic** (Anghelescu, 1998) desirable that… regrettable that prepositional particle (sister of *inna*) *layta* part of *nawāsikh* but with a dynamic meaning of volition/inclination

Like their English counterparts, the prepositional constructions, attributes, adjuncts, particles (e.g. *qad and rubbama*) and mental projections emerge via

grammaticalization to supplement *nawāsikh* (modalities) in grammatical environments in which they are not allowed (Anghelescu, 1998).

In other words, the modal system expands via grammatical metaphor (Halliday, 2014) into these modal expressions to satisfy formal as well as pragmatic and functional purposes which cannot be attained by using modal auxiliaries alone. These patterns occur freely in different environments that are usually restricted for *nawāsikh* or modal auxiliaries in Arabic and English. Moreover, the expanded system facilitates different modal orientations (Halliday, 2014) or modal responsibility (Thompson, 2014) from those of modal verbs, e.g. subjective explicit, such as I think or objective implicit such as probably.

3.3.2   Islamic ideology and Greek logic traces

The term 'modalities' was coined by Anghelescu (1998) to refer to Arabic modal markers, especially the class known as *nawāsikh*. Like the class of English modal auxiliary verbs, *nawāsikh* are considered by Arabic grammarians to be a unified class (groups of sisters) sharing certain syntactic properties that can change the grammatical status of the sentence. The meaning of the Arabic root '*na-sa-kha*' is to replace, remove or change (*Lisan Al-Arab Dictionary*, p.121). The term *nawāsikh* was established by grammarians of Arabic, who apart from Sibawayh from the Basra school, are believed to have been influenced by Islamic and philosophical scholarship (*fiqh*) (Ammar, 2009, pp.7-10), as the root *na-sa-kha* also means to remove the ruling of one Quranic verse or replace it with that of another verse (*Lisan Al-Arab Dictionary*, p.121). This categorisation of *nawāsikh* is based on their syntactic function as ʿ*wāmil* (sentence governors/operators) and, thus, in traditional Arabic grammar, these modalities have been defined in terms of their formal rather than their functional distinctions (AlQarooni, 1983; Ali, 1994; Al-Talaq, 2006; Althawab, 2014).

The same apparent untidiness that exists for formal modal distinctions in English also applies to Arabic *nawāsikh*, as they generally express epistemic meanings but some exceptions display overlap. These include the particle *layta,* sister of the emphatic particle *inna-* expressing an impossible wish; the frozen verbs *laʿlla* and ʿ*asa,* sisters of *ẓanna*-expressing a possible hope, and the negative polarity particle *laysa* (not). Thus, no separate syntactically based distinction existed in traditional

grammar for deontic meanings, which, unlike *nawāsikh* lack a homogenous grammatical class and, hence, have not been classified as modals in traditional grammar books (Althawab, 2014).

The theoretical basis of these *nawāsikh* distinctions is ʿ*āmil* (governor/operator), an Arabic grammar theory which describes the ʿ*amal* (governance) of these markers, as they change the status of nominal and/or verbal sentences (equational sentences consisting mainly of two parts: subject and predicate) (Ryding, 2005). Like the English syntactic-semantic distinctions, this Arabic syntactic distinction has its traces in logic since the Abbasid Caliphate (Ammar, pp.2-3). It has been argued that Western logic (Aristotelian) influenced early Arab grammarians' thinking (ibid). This reached both cultures through translations of Aristotle, which inspired Muslim philosophers such as Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Al-Farabi, and Ibn Rushd (Averroes).

The impact of Islamic scholarship was manifested in the technical coinage of the term *nawāsikh* from the context of the Quran. It is also noteworthy that Islamic scholars like Al-Ẓāhiri, who is known for his methodology of treating the text literally without relating them to rules or extra reasons (*fiqh*), influenced Andalusi grammarians such as Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Qurṭubī, who called for ʿ*āmil* (governor) and other grammatical rules to be removed in his work *Kitāb a-RRadd ʿalā a-NNuḥāt* (A Reply to the Grammarians) (Versteegh, 2013, p.226).

In reality, Al-Ẓāhiri and his proponents such as Ibn Hazm and Ibn Maḍāʾ represent the '*Thawrat Al-Muwaḥḥidīn*' (Almohad State Revolution) of the Maghrib Schools (Islamic and linguistic Schools of Morocco and Al-Andalus) against the *taqlīd* (tradition) of the Islamic schools of *Mashriq* (Islamic and linguistic schools of the East) (Versteegh, 2013, p.217; *Kitāb a-RRad* introduction by Ḍayf, 1982, pp.3-4). The scholars and students of the Eastern Islamic schools adopted the practice of *istishhād* (quoting) Quranic texts and prophetic sayings as sources in their Islamic *munāẓarāt* (scholarly debates) and, consequently, Arab grammarians also deployed *istishhād* in their grammar books. Therefore, although Ibn Maḍāʾ's controversial book is seen as an attack on Arabic grammar, it can also be seen as an attack on the *fiqh* schools of the East. In addition, it could also be viewed as a resistance movement against the hegemony of the *Mashriq* schools which also adopted *istishhād* of the speech of six Arab tribes located away from urban areas ignoring the rest of the Arab tribes' speech (Dabbas, 2008, p.92). However, it could be viewed as

a reform movement with the educational development purpose of "reducing the burdens of Arabic grammar" on learners as suggested by Ibn Maḍāʾ in *Kitāb a-RRadd* (revised by Ḍayf, 1982).

This revolution was pedagogically, politically, and even religiously motivated. It aimed to "*tafsīr annaḥw al-ʿarabi*" (reduce the complexity of Arabic grammar) for non-Arab learners of Arabic, the Quran, hadith and even *fiqḥ*, and to spread the language of the Quran in the multinational community of Al-Andalus (Versteegh, 2013, p.216). It has been compellingly argued that many factors motivated Ibn Maḍāʾ's demands, including conflicting opinions on *ʿāmil*, neglecting the rhetorical/pragmatic meanings of grammar, isolating markers of similar meanings (*tafrīq al-mutashābihāt*), among others (Dabbas, 2008, pp.89-92). Importantly, Ibn Maḍāʾ's criticism of *ʿāmil* is due to the logical rather than linguistic factors underpinning some of the scholarly endeavours of early Arabic grammarians, as evidenced in the logical nature of Ibn Khalil's *taʿlīl* (reasoning/rational arguments about linguistic facts) which is the source of *ʿāmil* and other rules of Arabic grammar (Versteegh, 2013, p.218). Thus, for these revolutionary grammarians, *nawāsikh* are simply devices, particles, or even references to relations between the subject and the predicate rather than *ʿawāmil* (factors/governors/operators) removing and replacing an underlying original factor's operation on the subject and predicate (ibid, p.217).

Moreover, the traditional schools' philosophically driven *ʿāmil* account has been refused on theological grounds (ibid, p.225). The Ẓāhiryya school (e.g. Ibn Maḍāʾ) rejected *ʿāmil* theory altogether, since it postulates that the interpretation of the language of the Quran and Hadith depend on God as the speaker and ultimate authority (Annajjar, no date). For *Al-Muʿtazila* (the Separate/Segregate) Islamic school (e.g. Ibn Jinni) the *ʿāmil* is the speaker, as this school believes that the meaning lies in the intention and will of the human speaker in the creation of his actions rather than some underlying factors affecting each other (Ashshāfiʿi, 2015).

In Arabic, three sets of sisters resemble the formal class of English modal verbs. These are (1) emphatic *inna* (I confirm that) and its sisters (semi-verbal particles), (2) *ẓanna* (I think) and its sisters, namely, *afʿāl alqulūb* (mental state and perception verbs) or *afʿāl ashshak wa alyaqīn* (verbs of certainty and doubt); and (3) *kāna* and its sisters, known as *afʿāl naqiṣa* (incomplete verbs). All of these are verbs or verb-

like/semi-verbal particles which show some of the syntactic properties of English modals e.g., they are emphatic and finite. Moreover, they change the status of a whole sentence, a nominal sentence with two parts (subject and predicate) or a verbal sentence (with one or two objects). In other words, they affect the relation between subject and predicate (*nisba*), so that they themselves become the subject and predicate of *nawāsikh*, the cases of the subject and/or predicate changing in turn.

3.3.4 *Kāna* and its sisters: Temporal modals

kāna and its cognates (*kāna, aṣbaḥa, amsa, ṣāra, laysa, mā-fati'a, mā-dāma, mā-zāla, ma-infakka,* and *mā-bariḥa*) share a number of syntactic features. They change the nominal sentence subject and predicate into the nominative and subjunctive case respectively. The Basra and Kufa schools of grammar were divided on whether it is this class that affects the subject's case or the implicit ʿāmil that produces this change as a result of *isnād* (the relation between the subject and predicate). However, both schools agreed that the predicates of these quasi-verbs are changed, as if they are their objects. Grammarians of Arabic argue that they should be considered to be incomplete-verbs because they refer to *zamān* (time) rather than *ḥadath* (event/predication) and, thus, they require a predicate to complete their meaning by expressing the event or the predication (cf. Zabarah, 2012). However, there are instances of *kāna* as a real verb that can stand with no predicate. Therefore, they are classified as temporal modalities, with the exception of *laysa* which is the only negative semi-verb in the set. However, the negative particle, *mā* forms part of four others, namely *mā-dāma, ma-infakka, mā-bariḥa* and *mā-zāla*. A time reference is implied in another three (*amsa*, *aṣbaḥa* and *aḍḥa*) as shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Arabic incomplete-verbs and their meanings (Ḥasan 1975 cited in Zabarah, 2012, p.123)

INCOMPLETE-VERBS	MEANING
Kāna	it was
Laysa	it is not
ṣāra	it became/it changed
aṣbaḥa	it became (in the morning)
aḍḥa	it became (before noon),
Amsa	it became (in the evening)
Bāta	it became (overnight)
mā-zāla	it did not cease
mā-dāma	it continued
mā-fati'a	It did not refrain
ma-infakka	it did not stop doing
mā-bariḥa	it did not depart from doing

3.3.5 *Kāda* and its sisters: *af'āl muqāraba* (proximity verbs)

Kāda and its sisters differ from *kana* and its sisters in that they require verbal predicates. They are also further divided into three subtypes: (1) *muqāraba* (time proximity), (2) *rajā'* (hope) and (3) *shurū'* (commencing). Al-Ahdal (2017, p.235) states that despite these subdivisions, these modal verbs share a common feature, namely, that of the proximity of the predicate of the three subtypes, since *muqāraba* is derived from the verb root *q-r-b* (to become close) as summarised in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3 Arabic proximity verbs and their English meanings

CLOSE PREDICATE		WISHED PREDICATE (POSSIBLE: HOPE)		ON-GOING PREDICATE	
kāda, awshaka, karuba	was about to	*'asa*	May	*j'ala, ansha'a, akhadha, shara'a, ṭafeqa, 'akafa, wahaba, bada'a. ibtada'a*	started to/ embarked on
		ḥara, ikhlawlaqa	had better, should have		

Ibn Hishām (1980, p.215) agrees with Al-Ahdal (1884, p.98), arguing that the generalized term '*muqāraba*' was chosen by Arab grammarians to name the whole set of verbs after one of its parts, in the same way '*kalima*' (word) can refer to '*kalām*' (speech). This overarching term is still in use in modern grammar books. Ibn Hishām (1980, pp.301-304) agrees with Ibn 'Aqīl (1964, p126), Al-Ashmūni (1955, p.491), Alkhudari (2002, p.23) and Al-ṢṢabān (1997, p.258) on the number of verbs in each subtype: three for *muqāraba* (*kāda, awshaka, karuba,*), three for *raja* (*'asa, ḥara, ikhlawlaqa*), and six for *shurū'* while Al-Sīyouti (1975, p.215) distinguishes six verbs for *muqāraba*. In Ibn Malik's (672/1967, p.59) view, there are six *af'al almuqāraba* and seven *af'aāl a-shshurū'*. However, the most famous traditional Arab grammarian, Sibawayh, offers no distinctions between these verbs, but has referred to them when discussing predicates attached to *an* [that].

These are incomplete-verbs like *kāna* and its sisters, but they carry a time reference and they require predicates. They are similar to *kāna* and its sisters because they change the cases of their subjects into nominative and accusative respectively, and they reveal that their predicate is about to occur in relation to their subject (Ibn Ya'īsh, 2001, p.115). Ibn Hisham, Ibn 'Aqīl, Al-Ashmūni, and Al-ṢṢabān all agree that the predicate of such verbs must be a verbal sentence, and predicates of *kāda* and *'asa* could scarcely be realized by a single word.

These modals take the past tense form with the exception of four— *kāda*, *awshaka*, *ṭafeqa* and *karuba*—that also have present tense forms as well (Ibn Hishām, Ibn ʿAqīl, Al-Ashmūni, and Al-ṢṢabān). Al-Khuḍari, however, identifies a fifth verb *ʿasa* with a possible present tense form (*yʿsa*) and others (*kāda, awshaka, ṭafiqa*) in bare forms (*kawdan, kiddan, makādan, ishākan, ṭafiqa*).

Al-Siouti contends that these types of verbs have frozen past forms and never occur in other forms, with the exception of *kāda* and *awshaka*. More importantly, owing to their hyperbolic meanings, i.e. extreme proximity, they remain fixed in the past forms like *ni'ma* and *bi'sa*, the exclamative verb, and any verbs used for hyperbole. Thus, there is a general consensus among grammarians that only some of these verbs can take forms other than the past.

There are also instances in which *ʿasa, awshaka,* and *ikhlawlaqa* occur as *af'āl tāmma* (complete verbs), i.e. they do not need the predicate due to the word-order changes as shown in the following examples:

Arabic:	*Al-waladu **awshaka an** yaḥḍura.*
Literal translation:	The boy **was/is about to** come.
Arabic:	***Awshaka an** yaḥḍura al-waladu.*
Literal translation:	The boy **was/is about to** come.
Back Translation:	**was/is about to** come the boy.

Other non-modal *rajā'* and *shurūʿ* verbs become complete verbs due to their meaning (complete) rather than time reference such as *ḥara* (decreased), *ṭafiqa* (overcame) and *kāda* (wanted).

3.3.6 *Ẓanna* and its sisters: Verbs of doubt and certainty

These verbs need two objects, meaning that they are followed by *an* (that) and verbal sentences. They can be further divided into two types: mental state and perception verbs (*af'āl al-qulūb*) and change of state verbs (*af'āl taṣyīr and taḥwīl*). The mental verbs express different degrees of epistemic modal meanings ranging from *yaqīn* (certainty) to *rujḥān* (probability). These degrees are demonstrated below (See Zabarah, 2012).

Table 3.4 Yaqīn (certainty) to rujḥān (probability) values

YAQĪN	←	→	*RUJḤAN*[1]
(**certainty** of the predicate)	***yaqīn* + *rujḥān*** (but closer to ***yaqīn***)	***yaqīn* + *rujḥān*** (but closer to ***rujḥān***)	(**probability** of the predicate)
wajada (found) *alfa* (found) *taʿalma*(found/learned) *aʿlama* (informed) *dara* (knew)	*ra'a* (saw) *ʿalima* (learned)	*zanna* (thought) *ḥaseba* (reckoned) *khāla* (envisaged)	*jʿala* (thought) *haja* (thought) *waʿada* (promised) *hab* (thought) *zaʿama* (claimed)
High certainty	**Low certainty**	**High probability**	**Low probability**

In current usage, the most commonly used mental state verbs are *zanna, dara, ra'a, ʿalima* and *zaʿama* (ibid).

3.3.7   Emphatic *inna* and its sisters

Inna [indeed] and its set consists of just six verbal particles, namely, *anna* [that], *lākinna* [but], *ka'ana* [seems like], *layta* [wish] and *laʿalla* [might]. They are grouped together despite their different meanings since they share the same function. They introduce a nominal sentence and change the cases of their subject and predicate into accusative and nominative respectively. The two parts of the nominal sentence then become subjects and predicates of *inna* and its sisters.

These verbal particles have five meanings: emphasis (*inna, anna*), similarity (*ka'ana*), counter expectation (*lakinna*), wish (*layta*) and hope (*laʿalla*). Arab grammarians agree that these particles express verb-like meanings. Firstly, for example, *inna* is considered to be equivalent to the verb 'confirm' (I confirm that). It is possible to use *lam u-ttawkīd*, another emphatic particle with *inna,* for emphasis (high certainty) when it is used to introduce the predicate of *inna* (harmonic modal synergy). Secondly, *layta* and *laʿalla* refer to different kinds of possibility, i.e. impossible: wish (*layta*), and possible: hope (*la'alla*). Tellingly, *la'alla* conveys two evaluative/dynamic nuances in addition to possibility: fear/undesirable and hope/desirable.

The famous *khutbatu al-wadāʿ* (farewell sermon) by Prophet Mohammad made during his *hajjatu al-wadāʿ* (last pilgrimage) includes one instance of un/desirable expectation effect of *laʿalla*. It shows the overlap between epistemic and dynamic meanings or an apparent ambiguity, since for his Muslim followers his death was an

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[1] The term '*rujḥān'* implies two sides of a scale (possibility), only one of which is more probable.

undesirable expectation, but for him it was desirable, since having completed his mission he desired the company of his Creator. The ambiguity, therefore, is nothing but a rhetorical function of *la ʿalla,* attending to both the speaker and his discourse interlocutors' communicative purposes.

Arabic: فإني لا أدري *لعلي* لا ألقاكم بعد عامي هذا في موقفي هذا.
Literal translation: ...,as- I- indeed –do not- know- I–might–not–meet (pres. simple)-
                                      you-(pl.) –after –my–year – this-in – my- place-this.
Back translation: ...,as I indeed do not know whether I *might* meet you after this year
                                      in this place.

The same function is also captured by the phrase "*la ʿalla wa ʿasa*" used normally by native Arabic speakers to express their hope for a positive possibility/expectation. The same devices are still used in supplications derived from Quranic discourse. However, they are only similar to the human agents' use of *la ʿalla* and *ʿasa* in the Quran, as the same two devices have categorical meanings if the speaker is Allah (God). Interestingly, though, even the categorical ones express God's *advice* on, for instance, gaining God's *promised* (desirable) blessings such as mercy, success, etc.

It is to be noted that the meanings of the five particles are not totally discrete. They all centre on a general meaning of emphasis, though, with different degrees. *Inna*, *anna, ka'anna* and *lakinna* express a different degree of emphasis from that of *la ʿalla* which can add positive and/or negative shades.

3.3.8   Other emphatic particles: *qad, la-qad, rubba/ma, lām* and *nūn*

Grammarians treat the two particles *qad* and *rubba* in similar ways as both express emphasis or reduction of emphasis. The two meanings of *rubba* (*takthīr* [increase] and *taqlīl* [decrease]) are closer to the quantifications 'many' and 'some'. These grammatical terms signal an overlap between graduation and modality as encapsulated in Halliday's (2014) previously mentioned definition of modality as "the area of meaning that lies between yes and no" (p.691).

In the view of traditional grammarians, *la-qad* is similar to an oath or an answer to a question that requires a higher degree of emphasis. However, research by other contemporary scholars (see Dickens, 2014) shows that *la-qad, inna* and *anna* also serve some discursive functions.

Emphatic *lām u-ttawkīd* and *nūn u-ttawkīd* can be used together to increase the emphasis of the sentence (modal degree enhancement). *Lām u-ttawkīd* tends to introduce the predicate of *inna* as mentioned previously (see 3.3.7). These particles

can also be combined with a verb, i.e. the suffix *nūn u-ttawkīd* is usually attached to the present simple verb (the imperfect) while *lām* is prefixed to the same verb. However, when attached to the imperfect, *lām* and *nūn* express a mixture of other communicative nuances, conveying a similar meaning to an oath/promise/threat, in addition to a future time expectation. Moreover, the same meanings are expressed by emphatic *lām* when prefixed to the future particles *sa/sawfa* or to the predicate of *inna*.

Despite being addressed from various perspectives in comparative studies, this area of meaning is still an intriguing and challenging research area. Previous comparative research indicates that the main point is that this area of meaning (probability) is less varied than its English counterpart (Aziz, 1996; Abunowara, 1998). Mansour (2013) agrees, contending that this is one of the reasons why Arabic modality may create problems in translation. Althawab (2013) holds a similar view, suggesting that there are no differences between possibility modals such as *qad* and *rubba/ma*, and they are in a free variation. However, the focus has been on the description of morpho-syntactic features of decontextualized modality while semantic and pragmatic properties remain under-studied.

3.3.9   Modal particles *sa* and *sawfa*

Traditional Arabic grammar distinguishes between the near/immediate future (*sa,*) and the far/distant future (*sawfa*) references of these particles—probably due to the shorter form being *sa* and the longer one being *sawfa.*

Alkhawalda's (2000) study on futurity in Modern Standard Jordanian Arabic STs and TTs reached similar conclusions to those of Arab grammarian norms. It revealed that unlike 'will', *sa* (*sa* + the imperfect) is a pure future time reference due to the limited number of futurity choices (*sa, sawfa* + the imperfect, and the imperfect) in Arabic compared to the corresponding English ones (namely, 'will', 'be going to', the present simple, and the present progressive), in addition to the significant frequency of the occurrences of *sa* in his data (some 91% of the Prime Minister's statement and 97% of TV series subtitles). The percentages for the remaining modal forms (*sawfa* + the imperfect and the imperfect) were marginal in Alkhawalda's study.

Abunowara (2006) contends that *sawfa* (will/shall) also serves other social/communicative meanings, functioning as either a promise or a threat

depending on the speaker's intention. Therefore, like all *nawāsikh* and their sisters, *sawfa* is not a mere tense indication. In fact, in the traditional grammar sense *sa* functions is like the immediate decision 'will', while *sawfa* conveys a more carefully planned action sense as in 'be going to'. Later functional-oriented research added the promise/threat equivalent to and observed for 'will' and 'shall'.

Bahloul (2008) has convincingly argued that the significant discrepancy between the frequency of *sa* (94%) and *sawfa* (6%) in three discourse genres of MSA (journalistic, academic, and literary) reveals that *sawfa* is the marked form of Arabic futurity. Therefore, the syntactical environment of *sawfa* is restricted in comparison to *sa* (p.121). In addition, while *sa* means 'to inform' (weaker form), *sawfa* means 'to confirm' (stronger form) (ibid). He goes on to argue that Arabic futurity (*sa* and *sawfa*) is independent and distinct from the imperfect form used as future referent in four ways (p.113): Firstly, *sa* ('ll) is the elided form of *sawfa* (will) (ibid). Secondly, the imperfect occurs in complementary distributions with time adverbials that are less likely to co-occur with *sa* and *sawfa* (ibid¸ p.118). Thirdly, unlike the imperfect and the perfect, *sa* and *sawfa* have "a predictive nature," belonging to the realm of uncertainty (ibid, p.113). Finally, *sa* carries a mixture of temporal (future time) and modal ("predictability, intentionality, and factuality") features (ibid, p.121).

Van Mol (2003) argues that this observed higher frequency of *sa* compared to *sawfa* results from the evolution of MSA. He hypothesizes that s*awfa* lost some of its significance which has been taken over by its complementary particles, *sa*, since the function of complementary particles with only a small difference of meaning "can evolve more easily" over time (ibid., p.144). He classified *sa* and *sawfa* as complementary particles after investigating them together with other complementary particles in a large randomly chosen corpus of MSA broadcast news from Algeria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, consisting of news, reports, political commentaries and sports news. He also stresses that *sa* and *sawfa* "are not arbitrarily switchable," summarising the problem of complementary *sa* and *sawfa* as follows:

> The difficulty, however, is that in some domains particles hold a similar function, while in other domains they hold a unique function. Since some particles hold a complementary function, as time goes by the language user may confuse the two functions, which might lead to internal language evolution or shifts in language use. We assume that internal language evolution and shifts in language use most easily occur in particles with a similar function (van Mol, 2003, p.141).

Traditional Arab grammar, contemporary Arab grammarians (such as Al-Yaqubi, 1988 and Al-Umari, 1993) and western grammarians' descriptions of complementary particles are unable to account for the trends revealed in van Mol's empirical research, which found no difference between *sa* and *sawfa* with regard to the near and far future distinction, as both occur freely with both time references (van Mol, 2003). Parkinson (2003) reached the same conclusion i.e. that there is no time distinction between the use of *sa* and *sawfa* in MSA.

Like van Mol (2003), Parkinson (2003) stresses "the poverty" of grammatical approaches which do not match the actual and interesting constraints on apparently free variants such as *sa* and *sawfa* (pp.211-212). Parkinson analysed a corpus consisting of two years' publications of four Arabic newspapers (*Ahram, Watan, Tajdid* and *Hayat*) testing three variables on the overall choices of *sa* and *sawfa*, namely effect of country, genre and word. He found that *sawfa* usage was lower than *sa* in all four papers, as was the case with Classical Arabic data from the Quran. With regard to the country effect, the Egyptian *Ahram* (19.7%) and Lebanese *Hayat* (2.0%) newspapers represent the extremes in the use of *sawfa*, with the other two newspapers lying between these extremes (Moroccan *Tajdid*: 5.6% and Kuwaiti *Watan*: 9.0%). In terms of genre, *sa* and *sawfa* prefer news and non-news items respectively, possibly due to information packaging as *sa* is shorter than *sawfa*. In terms of collocation, content verbs such as *yastamir* prefer *sawfa*, whereas generic verbs such as *yatim* favour *sa*. However, this conclusion needs further investigation, as it was based on results for only two verbs co-occurring with *sa* and *sawfa* (ibid). Parkinson's genre effect results are interesting, since they also reflect the evolution of the word *sawf* (patience) into the future particle *sawfa* which in turn developed into the shortened form *sa* (van Mol, 2015,p.60). These grammaticalization processes occur for reasons of economy (ibid).

Hence, observation and investigation of real language usage may provide insights into the small differences between the meanings of specific lexico-grammatical patterns. Evidence from the literature shows that *inna, qad* (Dickens 2014; Jarjour 2006), *sa* and *sawfa* (Abunowara, 2006) are multifunctional, and the problem lies not only in the limited number of Arabic possibility meanings per se, but also in the evolution of modal functions and the multifunctional nature of possibility modals,

which is in turn affected by contextual and co-textual factors, in addition to the simplification of MSA.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter examined the definitions, underpinnings, and orientations of some mainstream accounts of modality. Accounts of modality in Arabic are fewer than their English counterparts. Besides, monolingual studies of Arabic modality have approached it from even fewer dimensions (formal, morpho-syntactic, or syntactic-semantic) than those covered by their corresponding English modality studies. Still, the functional, the discourse- semantic, and ideological dimensions of Arabic modal meaning are hardly addressed even in cross-linguistic or comparative translation studies that will be tackled in the next chapter.

Power and ideology played a role in the way modality was classified and studied by traditional Islamic Schools. That is, the dominant schools imposed their classifications and the Arabic language varieties involved. Importantly, the significant findings of previous studies on the MSA apparently free variants of modal particles such as *qad*, *rubba/ma*, *sa* and *sawfa* encourage further investigation into their use in discourse

The philosophical nature of the formal distinctions of modality made by scholars of both English and Arabic as well as the gap in later comparative accounts of probability suggest that functional accounts, i.e. Halliday's (1994; 2014) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model of language and Martin and White's (2004; 2005/2007) later extension of this as the appraisal system (attitude, engagement, graduation subsystems), are much more natural, linguistic, functional and social accounts which more fully capture the complexity of modal meaning. As Halliday (2014) notes, the grammar of language is complex and needs a complex model like SFL which studies, interprets and explains language as a natural/ecological environment of meanings and a complex system of meaning networks. Semantics is one of the two content strata which interfaces with context which is, in turn, stratified. The appraisal model gives more detailed description based on a dialogic perspective on interpersonal meanings in general and modal meanings in particular, in addition to the empirical literature evidence of its detection of culture-specific appraisals.

4   Chapter Four: Modality, Appraisal, and Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies

4.1 Introduction

The current chapter explores the approaches and the findings of previous translation research on modality between English and Arabic, in addition to other languages from contrastive pragmatic, ideological, textual and discourse perspectives (section 4.2). Additionally, it looks at how translation studies approached appraisal across various genres and discourses and between English and other languages including Arabic (section 4.3).

Then, this chapter seeks to spell out how discourse and ideology are defined within discourse studies and the ways in which they are analyzed (sections 4.4 & 4.5), with a view to locating these concepts within their respective theoretical fields and examining how discourse is linked to ideology and power. This is followed by a survey of a number of translation discourse studies which have applied discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis (section 4.6). While Chapters Two and Three focus on the individual theories that form the basis of the methodology of this study and Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight present the results of analysis of texts using these theories, the present chapter aims to provide an overview of the key arguments underpinning both the methodological and analytical parts.

4.2 Modality in Translation

The contrastive translation study of modality in natural language can be approached taking into account the various features that are central to the literature on modality in natural language (syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, pragmatic-cognitive, or systemic functional). As previously mentioned, scholarly work on modality has been logically oriented and formal (e.g. Quirk, 1985), truth functional and typological (Lyons, 1977; Palmer, 1986), or socio-semiotic (Halliday, 1970, 1994, Martin and White, 2005), adopting either a narrow (formal) or broad (grammatical-semantic) definition of modality (see Chapter Three). Some of the existing syntactic and semantic-oriented translation studies of modality (El-Hassan, 1990; Aziz, 1998; Farghal and Shunnag, 1998; 2011; Abdel-Fattah, 2005) neglected contextual factors by drawing on 'de-contextualised' or 'supposedly contextualised' instances of modals' (Abdel-Fattah, 2005) while pragmatic and discourse-oriented studies have taken corpus-

based discourse evidence into consideration. These include political texts (Badran, 2001), news text (Jarjour, 2006), United Nations texts (Al-Qinai, 2008), English and Spanish corpora (Ramon, 2009), English and German corpora (Kranich, 2009,2011), English scientific articles and their Arabic translations (Eades, 2011), a corpus-based case study of two English novels and their Arabic translations (Shunnag and Farghal, 2012), and literary texts (Moindjie, 2015). Also, of central interest in the majority of these translation studies is the pragmatic interpretation of modality as "the degree and type of involvement of the speaker with regard to his message and his audience" (Badran, 2001: n.p.) According to Al-Qinai (2008, n.p.), "the only valid arguments for comparison are […] the semantic-pragmatic ones".

However, such studies share the terminology of the Greek logical dichotomy such as epistemic and deontic, and possibility and necessity. Other sociosemiotic studies, such as Vandepitte et al. (2011), Qian (2012), Xiapong (2013), Mansour (2013), Al-Shunnag (2014), Munday (2012; 2015) and Karnich (2016) have all employed appraisal analysis of the engagement subsystem (Martin and White, 2005). The major contributions and overall findings of these studies will be described synoptically below.

Farghal and Shunnag (1998) used both constructed and authentic data to examine modal auxiliary verbs in the Arabic translation of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952). Modality is considered to be one of the translation grammatical voids (together with Arabic evaluative accusative cognate and English passivation) which are usually overlooked by translators and the message may, then, be distorted (p.88). Translation grammatical voids represent "gaps" (Ivir, 1973; 1977) or missing choices in the target language (TL) (Farghal and Shunnag (1998, pp.80-82). The authors summarise this translation problem as follows: "one cannot assume a one-to-one correspondence between modals in different languages in translation. Therefore, a translator may sometimes use an inappropriate translation equivalent because of a grammatical void" (ibid., p.86).

These voids may produce both unnatural translations and mistranslations. A couple of authentic sentence-level examples are provided by Farghal and Shunnag (1998) as evidence of the mistranslation of modality from English into Arabic. The first extract marks a shift from the epistemic 'must' in English into the deontic *'yajubu'* in Arabic instead of the epistemic *'labudda'* while the second shows another shift from

the epistemic 'must' into a higher unmodalised choice. However, both context and co-text are ignored in this formal-oriented research (i.e. it is restricted to modal auxiliaries at the level of the sentence).

Abdel-Fattah (2005) conducted a sentence-level analysis of "supposedly contextualised" English deontic modals (must, should, have to, may, and can) and their Arabic counterparts (*wajaba, inbagha, taʿayana, wasiʿa, qadira, jaza, amkana,* and *istaṭāʿa*) (p.5). The reason for focusing on deontic modality is not justified but the English deontic modal auxiliaries and Arabic verbs are chosen because, according to Abdel-Fattah (2005, p.5), they are considered to be "the most problematic", in comparison to the less problematic periphrastic modal phrases and expressions in both languages. Although the verbs and phrases are clearer, the assumption that they do not pose a translation problem is challenged by Badran's (2001) findings on the distortions of modal meaning and intended message in the translation of Arabic modal verbs into English (see section 4.2.1). The challenges of translating modal adverbs are also discussed by Ramon (2009) in his corpus-based translation study. Despite being restricted to sentence level, the samples presented by Abdel-Fattah (2005) are naturally occurring textual patterns, as they are extracted from feature films and TV interviews. Even so, the discourse and ideological dimensions are not taken into account in this analysis.

The major contribution of Abdel-Fattah's (2005) analysis is the four techniques suggested for solving the problem of translating modal auxiliaries into Arabic: (1) classification, (2) rephrasing, (3) retranslation, and (4) utilizing ambiguity. These techniques are instrumental in analysing and disambiguating modal meanings in their context of use. The fourth technique, for instance, is very effective in accounting for the ambiguity and indeterminacy of modal meanings. Thus, *yajib* can be used to convey the overlapping epistemic, deontic and dynamic nuances of 'must' whereas *fi wus'i* (may) is a useful substitute for *istata'a* (can) to account for the politeness nuance of 'may'.

However, in addition to its narrow and sentence-based focus, there are other limitations in the analysis. Abdel-Fattah (2005) acknowledges that the pragmatic dimension is beyond the scope of his study despite acknowledging the role of the pragmatic aspect in modal translation (pp.10-11). Moreover, his own native speaker judgment/intuition about the 'appropriate' translation of modals is occasionally

imposed on the interpretation of the results of the analysis. For example, the fact that *yajib* (must) and its lower modal counterparts are used interchangeably in his data does not necessarily mean that they are deemed equivalent for native speakers in real life usage. He rightly argues, however, that the modality translation problems encountered are partly due to the diglossic nature of Arabic, since translators, as native speakers of Arabic dialects, are more acquainted with slightly different modals from those of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

4.2.1 Contrastive pragmatic, ideological and textual/discourse-based perspectives

Badran (2001) investigated how ideology is transmitted through epistemic and deontic modal choices by comparing an American English translation of a political letter originally written in Arabic by Jubran Tweini (the late editor of *Al-Nahar*, a leading Lebanese newspaper). This was addressed to the current Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad. Although other modal expressions are considered, the modal auxiliary verbs are central to his analysis because of their indeterminacy in English. The original letter (AT), the translation (ET), and Badran's own translation are compared to detect modal meanings discrepancies and their effects on ideological stances. The contrastive textual analysis is based on (1) the two main types of modality (epistemic and deontic) and (2) the degree of speaker involvement-*a continuum.* That is, the main types of modality are placed on a scale from low (possibility and permission) to high (factuality and command). The highest points of the scale are the unmodalised options (factuality and command) which are included in the analysis, in order to spot any unmodalised to modalised shifts. Badran (2001) argues that the degree and type of authority and subjectivity shifts will determine "the speaker's position or ideological stance" (p.50).

The main finding is that despite the similarities between Lebanese and American ideological stances with respect to freedom and democracy, the investigated shifts from the source text (ST) modality do cause unsystematic translation, and reversal of power relations between the addresser (Tweini) and the addressee (Al-Assad). The discrepancy patterns involve shifts to both stronger and weaker forms of modality, as well as shifts between the two types of modality. For example, on the epistemic scale, AT uses necessity, prediction, and factuality patterns to express the Lebanese position, while ET opts for weaker forms of possibility, probability and

necessity, weakening the Lebanese ideological positions in the American English text. On the deontic scale, however, the AT writer selects weaker forms of permission, duty and few obligations, while ET utilises stronger forms of duty and obligation. Additionally, the repeated addition of the deontic modal 'must' with verbs like 'realize' and 'understand' to replace AT's '*taʿrif*' reverses the power relations, distorts the intended political message and alters the original ideological stance.

Badran's (2001) qualitative analysis concentrates on semantic (epistemic and deontic) and pragmatic (type and degree of involvement, and power relations). The pragmatic dimension facilitates the inclusion of not only the closed set of modal auxiliaries, but also other political modal verbs as in the AT's '*ismaḥ li'*, which is polite but gives the speaker the right to proceed with his message, in comparison to the ET's 'forgive me', which undermines the speaker's rights in the letter's opening words. More interestingly, '*yaʿtabirūn*' (factuality) in the AT is replaced in the ET by the lower degree verbs 'feel' and 'believe' weakening the Lebanese people's feelings and position towards the undesired Syrian presence in their country while "*taʿrif*" (factuality) in the AT, which is supposed to reflect shared knowledge about the Lebanese state of affairs between the addressee and addresser, is strengthened by 'must' (obligation) in the ET and replaced by the intensified verbs 'realize' and 'understand', thus transforming the AT's shared background knowledge (factual) into an (obligatory) lesson in Lebanese history for the current Syrian president and, reversing the power relations and ideological orientations in the ET. In other words, while the AT uses cautious, polite and, thus, political and systematic language, the ET employs more aggressive, and, thus, less political and unsystematic language (ibid.).

It is to be noted that this individual text analysis of the translation of Arabic modality into American English and its ideological effects is centred on what Badran (2001) termed "the degree and type of speaker involvement in the content of the message" (p.47) which was chosen as an alternative to "engagement" since, in the author's view, the former suggests both conscious and unconscious involvement whereas the latter is exclusive to the speaker's conscious intervention in the message (p.49).

Applying a relevance theory framework to the analysis of modality in English and Arabic parallel and comparable corpora, Jarjour (2006) investigated the relevance of modal choices in both STs and translations. The notions of relevance and context are essential in this theory. The "principle of relevance" is illustrated in terms of communicative cost and benefit as follows:

> Central to this theory is the basic notion of cost and benefit, in other words, relevance theory argues that by cognitively processing information human beings seek primarily to make the smallest possible processing effort while at the same time achieving the greatest possible cognitive benefit, i.e. communicative effect. This principle is what Sperber and Wilson call 'the principle of relevance' (Jarjour, 2006, pp.88-89).

Context is defined simply as "a subset of the ideological assumptions about the world" (ibid., p.89). As information presented in news articles is relevant to the context of the readers, the communicator can use modals to prompt readers to cognitively process the message according to their own ideological assumptions available from their own context, achieving "the greatest communicative effect" (ibid., p.89). The relevance of any new ideological assumption assimilated to this subset will, of course, vary in strength from one group of people to another (ibid.). Therefore, different news sources are expected to hold different ideological stances.

Jarjour's (2006) analysis is carried out in terms of the degree (maximum or minimum) of evidence of the modal (epistemic and deontic) and the relation of this evidence (compatibility or entailment). For example, the epistemic modal 'may' denotes "maximum evidence compatible with at least some propositions available from the context" while the deontic modal 'should' denotes "maximum evidence entailed by at least some propositions available from the context" (Jarjour, 2005, pp104-105).). In a nutshell, the proposition introduced by modality is analysed with reference to the relevant propositions available in the text (co-text) and derived from the context (social context).

Although this analysis provides valuable insights into the relation between modality and writer/reader ideological orientations in the communicative context, it is limited to the study of a small number of English modal auxiliaries (can, may, must, should, might, could) and Arabic verbs (*yastaṭiʿ, youmkin, yaqdir, yuḥtamal, yajib* and *yanbaghi*) and particles (*ʾinna, qad, la-qad,* and *lā-budda*). Moreover, only the portions of text which included modality were considered rather than the whole text.

Ramón (2009) focused on identifying trends in translation of English epistemic modal adverbs, in order to examine their semantic functions in texts. Her detailed corpus-based analysis of three English epistemic adverbs—*possibly*, *probably* and *certainly*—and their Spanish translations shows that the deletion of some of these adverbs results from their degree of grammaticalization in English and that this type of analysis of modality can provide invaluable insights for both translation and descriptive linguistics. Both 'possibly' and 'certainly' have developed via grammaticalization into pragmatic markers, as their tendency to be deleted in translations shows. For example, 'possibly' was omitted in 50% of its occurrences and it also collocates with modal verbs (50%) indicating that it is highly grammaticalized and, as a result, functions as a pragmatic marker. The frequency of translation omissions of these adverbs is, therefore, instrumental in detecting the extent of their grammaticalization.

Following Baker (1998; 2004), Ramón (2009) argues that these omissions, which constitute a general trend in translation, are part of the simplification process of the ST. That is, the translation does not reflect the peculiarities of the TL itself; these shifts neither reflect pure translationese nor original texts of the TL. In general, the degree of epistemic modality also seems to be somewhat raised in the translations.

Despite its insights and contributions, Ramon's (2009) study is restricted to a very small number of adverbs and it is more focused on co-text, neglecting other contextual and ideological factors. However, this quantitative analysis substantiates the results on this particular set of adverbs and provides empirical evidence about the difference between a translation as well as an original written in both the source and target languages, i.e. comparable and parallel corpora.

In a similar vein, it has been argued that hedging or reader orientedness in English motivates a greater number of lower epistemic choices. Kranich (2011) collected a corpus of English popular scientific articles and their German translations, as well as a parallel corpus of original German popular scientific articles from 1978 to 1982 and 1999 to 2002, in order to examine the actual usage of modal markers (e.g. may, might, perhaps) and any differences in genre conventions over two specific time frames. The author's intention was to investigate all the English modals thereby extending the previous study of only four English modals (Kranich, 2009). The

translations are analysed in terms of modal graduation (higher or lower degree of commitment).

Results of the study reveal that there is less epistemic modality in the German popular scientific articles than in their English counterparts and while German utilises higher epistemic modals (e.g. probability), English opts for the lower ones (e.g. possibility). These discrepancies are attributed to different communicative purposes, in particular, "content orientedness and directness" in German and "addressee orientedness and indirectness" in English (Kranich, 2011, p.77). The choice between either lower epistemic modality or higher epistemic modality and factuality is thus made through a "culture filter" (Kranich, 2011, p.77).

Similar to Ramón's (2009) findings, the translated modalizations in German are higher than the English STs and the translations tend to be situated between the source language (SL) and TL originals. In Kranich's (2011, p.77) words, "The German translated texts are situated in-between English and German originals, i.e., they exhibit some degree of adaptation to German textual conventions as well as some degree of 'shining-through' of the English conventions." At the same time, over the later time span (1999-2002) and contrary to the German popular scientific texts, the English-German translations frequently utilise much lower degree epistemic modals. That is, the 'shining through' increases over time.

Additionally, adopting a contrastive pragmatics approach to translation, Kranich (2016) studies epistemic modality as well as evaluation in English and German based on the contrasts between them: English is subjective and addressee oriented whereas German is objective and content oriented. Kranich focuses on how contrasts between the SL and TL influence translation and how translation in turn influences other texts written in the TL. One of the study's objectives was to study "translation as a type of language contact and change with the potential to trigger language variation and change in the target language" (ibid., p.3). This is achieved by observing 'shining through' and adaptation to the TL in translation practice. This empirical cross-genre study investigated two genres, namely, business letters to shareholders and popular scientific texts. Results showed that 'shining through' was found in German translation of English evaluative adjectives (ibid., p.291). In letters to shareholders, American English utilises epistemic modality to downplay the positive evaluative adjectives to reduce boasting while in popular science

adaptations are applied to modal verbs rather than the other modal expressions (p.292). In other words, the epistemic modal choices display both linguacultural ('shining through' and adaptation) and generic contrasts of modal frequency and the latter are even more significant (Kranich, 2016, pp.292-293).

Eades (2011) conducted an error analysis of university trainee translations of both modal auxiliaries and modal expressions (e.g. adverbs and nouns) in a 260-word edited excerpt from a *Guardian* (2003) argumentative text, in order to determine the difficulties encountered by the translation trainees. The translation errors are determined according to their type and frequency following Almijrab's (2005) three-error assessment criteria: frequency, interpretation and naturalness. The second criterion is concerned with the accurate choice of modals (lexical), the scope of modification of modals (structural), and deletion of modals (missing).

As was the case in previous studies (El-Hassan, 1990; Badran, 2001; Abdel-Fattah, 2005), ambiguity and indeterminacy of modality are viewed as the main source of difficulty in translation in Eades' (2011) study. However, analysis shows other potential sources. First, neglecting the macro-textual level, the trainees tend to process the message at word or clause levels reflecting dictionary meaning of modals (Eades 2011, p.298). The macro-textual factors (cohesion, text type, and author intention) are essentially recommended by Eades (2011, p.299), echoing Abdel-Fattah (2005), for two reasons: to resolve the ambiguity of modals and to capture their pragmatic functions, i.e. "the ST author's attitudes towards the proposition and towards his or her audience". Secondly, the different formal coding of modality results in alteration of the scope of modal modification and, consequently, produces an unnatural translation (ibid., p.298). Thirdly, the translation loss of modals in embedded clauses results from syntactic complexity, unlike modals in main clauses (ibid.). This study builds on Al-Jabr's (2006, p. 216) findings concerning the frequent omissions of modals in embedded clauses due to syntactic complexity (ibid, p.298). Finally, translator competence and L1 interference also constitute part of the problem, as trainees tend to use patterns found in their vernacular variety (Omani Arabic) to interpret the ST modals in some cases (ibid., p.300). This finding confirms Abdel-Fattah's (2005) remark about Arab translator competence in MSA.

Moindjie (2015) analysed the functions of four subcategories (probability, usuality willingness, and obilgatoriness) of modalization and modulation in the popular Arabic novels (*Zuqāq al-Midaq [Midaq Alley],* Najīb Maḥfūẕ, 1947; 1990 and *Mawsim al-Hijra ilā a-Shshhamāl [Season of Migration to the North],* Ṭayyib Ṣalih, 1967) and in their English and French translations. Following a close reading of the texts which include modals, a comparison was made between the ST and its translation and then between the translations themselves. The Arabic and French texts do not contain willingness which is peculiar to English TL texts. While the Arabic texts contain all the other subcategories, the French TL texts contain only obligation and probability. In other words, there is a higher frequency of all the subcategories of modality in the English TL texts than in the Arabic ST and the French TL texts.

These differences are traced to the peculiarities of the three languages under examination rather than the translator's interpersonal stance as the two literary works were translated by different translators. Thus, English is considered to be concrete and logical, Arabic, concrete and implicit while French is abstract and cerebral. However, in spite of these differences between Arabic and French, both the Arabic ST and French TL texts lack willingness. The findings of Moindjie's (2015) study reveal that literal translation was applied to occurrences of obligation while oblique translation strategies (modulation, transposition and supplementation) were applied to probability, willingness, and usuality. However, the study does not attempt to elucidate why these strategies were applied to epistemic modality and willingness.

4.3 Appraisal (Attitude, Engagement and Graduation) in Translation

Evaluation (together with stance and appraisal as outlined in Chapter Two) has been heavily researched in applied linguistics. However, as Munday (2012) observes, this represents a new direction for research in translation studies. Like modality, evaluation remains understudied in translation, especially between English and Arabic with Mansour (2013) studying appraisal epithets, Al-Shunnag (2014) exploring stance and Mahmoud (2015) examining linguistic intensification. Studies of translation between English and other languages, however, represent a growing research area with a greater number of recent studies (Munday, 2007; 2008; 2009; 2012; 2015; Vandepitte et al., 2011; Qian, 2012; Xiapong, 2013; Li Pan, 2015;

Kranich, 2016). Each of these studies focused on either all or specific subtypes and linguistic realizations of the appraisal system cross-linguistically in parallel and/or comparable translation corpora.

Al-Shunnag (2014) explored how stance is expressed in ten opinion articles on the Arab Spring extracted from American and Arabic language newspapers. For this purpose, following Hunston (2007), he adopted a corpus and discourse-analytical methodology, namely the lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Biber et al., 1999; Biber, 2006) and appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005). Appraisal theory was chosen to complement the lexico-grammatical method because it focuses on the meanings and functions of interpersonal meanings and does not treat the forms as an end in themselves. The appraisal categories are used to classify the types or functions of stance expressed. Manual analysis of ten individual texts was used in order to identify stance markers and shifts (accentuation, weakening, and loss). The instances in which the stance is maintained were also observed. Some insights from Fairclough's three dimensional model (1992, 1995) critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach and Baker's (2006) narrative theory were also applied to account for the impact of contextual factors.

The findings show that stance was not accurately reproduced in the translated texts. Unlike privately owned newspapers, the accentuation of stance in state-owned newspapers can be considered "a deliberate mistranslation and manipulation" (Al-Shunnag, 2014, p.253). A weakened stance, however, is not a deliberate mistranslation or manipulation while loss of stance pertains to instances of negative evaluation (pp.267-269). The types of stance frequently used are judgment and insecurity, since the former is a feature of the political discourse of this opinion article genre and the latter is relevant to the topic of the Arab Spring. These stance shifts are expected to influence target reader freedom by allowing divergent readings or restricting them. Last but not least, attitude is realized significantly by lexical forms of evaluation (72%) followed by modality (17%) in this newspaper genre.

Mahmoud (2015) discussed the role of linguistic intensification in the translation of speech acts from English into Arabic, arguing that the intensifiers, which are part of the four speech acts (impressing, insulting, persuading and praising), add new meaning to the communicative acts in translation. This author also identified four obstacles to translating intensifiers: "vagueness of intensifiers, boundedness of

modifying heads, fuzziness of the meanings of intensifiers, and multifunction of intensifiers" (ibid., pp.29-30).

First, some intensifiers are vague (e.g. 'quite') while others are grammaticalized, as in 'dreadfully nice'. Literal translation of 'dreadfully', for instance, would sound contradictory and unnatural in Arabic and "though preserving the author's wording, loses the nuances of the original text" (Mahmood and Abdellatif, 2010 cited in Mahmoud, 2015, p.29). Therefore, selecting a similar delexicalized intensifier in Arabic (*jiddan* [very]) is recommended by Mahmoud to achieve the same degree and effect of praising. Second, gradable and ungradable adjective heads may determine different degrees of the intensifiers as in 'quite nice' and 'quite emotionless'. Third, the meaning of some intensifiers, such as 'utterly', is fuzzy, since they have developed negative or positive meanings/prosodies. Context can be quite helpful in making translation decisions about these intensifiers. In Mahmoud's (2015) words, "Belonging to two or more semantic categories overshadows the rendition of such intensifiers in Arabic unless the translator eventually infers the pragmatic meaning out of *context*" (p.30, emphasis added). Fourth, the same intensifiers may have more than one pragmatic function such as the adverb 'fully' in President Obama's utterance (2009 cited in Mahmoud, 2015, p.30), "That commitment is at the core of the Treaty, and it must be kept for all who *fully* abide by it", which according to Mahmoud has the illocutionary functions of 'inviting', 'warning', 'asking', 'blaming' or even 'threatening'.

Mahmoud's (2015) discussion is not based on a specific text type or discourse analysis results. The word- and sentence-level examples discussed are a mixture of invented, dictionary-based, and naturally occurring sentences. However, his semantic account represents an attempt to uncover the potential difficulties encountered by translators when rendering English intensifiers into Arabic. It also highlights the role of a number of factors in the 'successful' rendition of intensification, including pragmatic writer-reader shared knowledge, translator linguistic and cultural competence, and reader interpretation of the message.

Vandepitte et al. (2011) examined two Dutch translations of Charles Darwin's scientific text *On the Origins of Species* (1859) from two different time periods (1860 and 2000). Epistemic modal shifts in the two translations were analysed utilising Martin and White's (2005, p.17) framework of modality value and

orientation. The findings reveal a trend of increasing epistemic modality degrees, especially in the translation produced in the former period. The translator's higher degree of confidence in Darwin's views is attributed to the positivistic scientific ideology which prevailed during that time period.

Qian's (2012) analysed explicit resources of engagement (heterogloss: contraction and expansion) in a Chinese translation of a question and answer section of a speech by the then US Vice President, Dick Cheney, in order to examine shifts in the inter-subjective positioning of the translator towards the text and the reader, as well as the translation strategies employed in translating this informative text type in the light of Reiss's (1976) text typology theory. Both contraction and expansion were found to be significantly reduced (16 versus 12 instances, 22 versus 12) in the four cases of the TT under examination, resulting in a more ambiguous speaker positioning. Qian attributes these changes to the ST engagement to a number of reasons, namely, conscious or unconscious translator omissions, translation purpose and text function, shifts from formal cohesion in the SL to semantic cohesion in the TL which reduce the less formal features of Cheney's spoken language. Finally, the study concludes that the translation strategy employed is literal translation which agrees with Reiss's typology.

Similarly, Xiapong (2013) conducted a case study, applying quantitative and qualitative appraisal analysis, particularly attitude and graduation, to the Chinese translations of 13 issues of CNN's *Interactive English* magazine (30 hard-news and 30 soft-news items). The differences in attitudinal positioning between the STs and their translations are traced back to different readership orientations, translator stance, and differences in Chinese and Western attitudinal positioning (ibid., pp.139-161). The case study also reveals that intervention occurs more frequently in soft-news items (13% higher). More importantly, when sensitive topics are handled in the texts, Chinese socio-political ideologies seem to underpin the changes in force and focus in the data.

Munday (2007; 2012a; 2012b; 2015), inspired by Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory framework and Hunston and Thompson's (2003) concept of 'evaluation', has investigated ideology and interpersonal meaning from a new translation research angle.

Munday (2007) investigated how ideology is expressed textually in English translations of Latin American political speeches reflecting conflict. As his findings show, the textual expressions of ideology may involve epithets, naming, pronouns and synonyms which uphold textual cohesion and coherence and, at the same time, serve the favourable or negative stance of the speaker. That is, ideology affects the "phraseological point of view" in the text (ibid., p.205). However, this issue becomes more complicated when dealing with translations of partly translated texts where the author's political stance is expressed by recontextualization and intertextuality (ibid., p.204). Therefore, as Munday contends, translation should be termed as a 'misrecognised' type of rewriting (ibid., p197).

Importantly, he contends that lexicogrammatical shifts may not be triggered by ideological orientations. Such shifts may rather reflect the translator's "lexical priming" which refers to the cumulative occurrences of words and sequences of words in certain co-texts and texts (Hoey, 2005 cited in Munday, 2007, p.213). Lexical priming varies according to each translator's personal linguistic and educational experience (ibid., p.213) and can impact on the phraseological plane and interpersonal meaning of the translated texts. This should be taken into consideration when analysing translation selections (ibid.).

He has also contributed to the use of discourse analysis in Translation Studies by suggesting new directions for future research based on his detailed appraisal analysis of the interpretations of Obama's inaugural and State of the Union speeches (Munday, 2012a; 2012b). His main conclusion was that translation shifts of interpersonal meaning are more likely to occur in graduation than type (2012b, p.331) with his findings revealing a tendency towards a graduation reduction trend (35% of the instances analysed) (2012a, p. 157). The reduction can be considered 'significant' even though it is not consistently downplayed in every example, since it is relevant to translator evaluation and intervention (2012b, p.329). Counter-expectancy items are similarly relevant to translator attitude and intervention (ibid., p.331).

According to Munday (2012b, p.329), "These may be isolated moments in the text, but they are points where the speaker's evaluation and intervention are at their most prominent and thus the treatment of such items is significant." Moreover, graduation shifts cover both direct and indirect attitudinal markers (such as lexical intensifiers

and non-core lexis) as well as positive and negative attitude, and engagement. Importantly, appraisal can be analysed across cultures and texts, and as Munday notes (2012b, pp. 324-331), appraisal expression may vary in the same genre across cultures and appraisal meanings cluster in text and co-text. In addition, indirect attitude reflected in cultural allusions or value-rich words can trigger different reader responses across cultures. According to Munday (2012b, p.323), the more indirect the speaker's attitude, the more reader response varies. All in all, treatment of invoked evaluation in translation is more revealing and striking when translating what Munday termed "value rich", i.e. "high risk" or "sensitive/critical" points which require translator evaluation and intervention (2012a, p.41).

Munday (2015) developed his previous work regarding appraisal analysis of attitude (Munday, 2012a, 2012b) by examining how engagement (reporting verbs) and graduation resources (intensification) determine translator/interpreter positioning. His analysis focuses on the translation of reporting verbs and intensification, as they are explicit indicators of the "translator's/interpreter's degree of 'investment' in a proposition and control over the text receiver's response" (2015, p.1). Munday (2015) argues that engagement and graduation are closely related to the stance positioning of the translator/producer and the reader.

The analysis was carried out using 'discourse space theory' (Chilton, 2004). The analysis of the examples of translated reported verbs show that the translators adopt significantly different stances reflected in their individual choices of reporting verb which create very distinctive patterns of evaluative prosody. Thus, evaluation is not a mere set of isolated items but is rather complex and affects the text. Graduation, which is closely related to writer/reader positioning, was also found to have been reduced, probably because the fact that the translator was less invested in the text (Munday, 2015, p.18).

Pan (2015) applied appraisal analysis (Martin and White, 2005) and Fairclough's (1995a, 1995b) approach to Chinese translations of English news reports appearing in *Reference News*, a Chinese state-run newspaper. The study looks at how deviations from the ST graduation are influenced by ideological orientations. According to Pan (2015), evaluation deviation is "a linguistic resource in the target text differing in evaluative meanings from its counterpart in the source text" (p. 221). Deviation can be classified into three categories: deviation in the presentation

of events, deviation in the presentation of news actors, and deviation in dissimulating representations (ibid).

Deviations in graduation generally reveal ideological manipulations of the STs' Western ideologies. For example, negative evaluation of China is either downplayed or omitted while positive evaluation of China is up-scaled. In the words of Pan (2015, p.233):

> In *RN*'s case, the evaluation deviations can be regarded as signs of *RN*'s resistance to the ideological positioning of the original reports and its attempt to contest the hegemony of Anglophone media in spreading discourses related to China's realities to its domestic readers.

Pan's analysis also demonstrates that news reporting is not impartial. More importantly, it succeeds in combining both the micro- (appraisal and graduation) and macro-level dimensions of CDA (Fairclough 1995a). Hence, the author argues that the results can be recontextualised and employed to analyse institutional and social contexts which have different ideological orientations (ibid.).

4.4 Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies

4.4.1 Text and Discourse

There is a consensus regarding the extent to which the terms 'text' and 'discourse' can be considered interchangeable. As Mason (1994) notes, "the terms 'discourse' and 'text' are frequently used to refer to any undifferentiated stretch of language performance, spoken or written, as for example in the expressions 'text linguistics' or 'discourse analysis'" (p.25). This usage is standard and unproblematic. In this general definition, text and discourse are seen as the unit above the sentence. Discourse, however, has various narrower definitions such as "systematically organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution" (Kress, 1985, p.7, drawing on Foucault, 1969 cited in Mason, 1994, p.25), "the communicative purpose underlying the integrated/whole text" (Widdowson, 2007, p.6), "language in its communicative context of use" (Fowler, 1996, p.93), language use/parole/performance, "participants' socio-cultural attitude in spoken or written modes" (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p.240), participants' "worldviews, identities and ideologies" (Jorgensen and Philips, 2002 cited in Paltridge, 2012, p.1), and the "intended meaning of the speaker expressed in her/his

text" (House, 2015, p.371). In all these definitions, discourse is closely related to participant subjectivity and ideology. As Mason (2009) further argues, discourse in the narrower sense (the critical discourse analysis view) is individual as well as institutional, and discourse analysis is supposed to account for such ideological dimensions of discourse.

This had led to the addition of "layer upon layer of context" (Tymoczko, 2002, p.9 cited in Mason, 2014, p.37) on the study of discourse in linguistics and Translation Studies. In systemic functional linguistics (SFL), for instance, ideology is seen as the highest layer of the context of culture. In this respect, this relationship between language and social context is central to critical discourse studies, also known as critical discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (2007, p.xxiii), the "'core' [of discourse analysis] remains the systematic and explicit analysis of the various structures and strategies of the various levels of text and talk."

4.4.2 Discourse Analysis (DA)

As previously noted, the term 'discourse' has numerous meanings. The popular and the academic meanings of this term appear to overlap, as Mills (1997, p.1) observes:

> The most obvious way to track down its range of meanings is through consulting a dictionary, but here the more general meanings of the term and its more theoretical usages seem to have become enmeshed, since the theoretical meanings always have an overlaying of the more general meanings.

As the notion of discourse seems to be vague, fluid and challenging, many definitions have been suggested ranging from "the highest unit" above the text to "the whole communicative event" as in Bloor and Bloor's (2007, pp.6-7) taxonomy modified by Tenorio (2011, pp.184-185):

> Discourse-1 is the highest unit of linguistic description: phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts are below;
> Discourse-2 is a sample of language usage, generally written to be spoken, that is speech;
> Discourse-3 refers to communication expected in one situation context, alongside one field and register, such as the discourse of law or medicine;
> Discourse-4 is human interaction through any means, verbal and non-verbal;
> Discourse-5 is spoken interaction only;
> Discourse-6 stands for the whole communicative event.

These variations can be traced back to three traditions, namely, the German and Central European, the Anglo-American, and the Foucauldian. These focus on text linguistics, written and oral interaction, and abstract knowledge as cognition and

emotion, respectively (Jager and Maier, 2009 cited in Tenorio, 2011, p.185). They can also be seen as belonging to a binary view of the term 'discourse' similar to that found in Gee's (1999) distinction between discourse (text and talk) and Discourse (knowledge, opinion, and beliefs in text and talk, etc.), and Chilton's (2004) language L and language l, discourse D, and discourse d, in addition to the slightly different distinction between linguistic discourse (unit above the sentence and language usage) and discourses (social practices) (Tenorio, 2011, p.185). Mason (2014, p.38) made a similar distinction between discourse (D1), "the construction of meaning among participants: writers, translators, readers", and discourse (D2), "the historically and socially determined accounts—or narratives—that underlie our socio-textual practices and the broad cultural trends that shape these".

As the above taxonomy demonstrates, there is no consensus on what discourse means, and the choice of a working definition varies according to one's perspective (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.1), meaning that the answers to the methodological question of how DA is to be conducted will vary accordingly. According to Jorgensen and Philips (2002), "one quickly finds out that DA is not just one approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies" (p.1). From their social constructionist discourse perspective (which draws on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, critical discourse analysis, and discursive psychology), Jorgensen and Philips (2002) define discourse "as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world" (p.1). Speakers' ways of talking subjectively reflect, create and change their world views, identities and social relations (ibid.).

These diverse definitions are influenced by linguistic, sociological, and philosophical outlooks (Soltani and Nemati, 2013, p.61) and, as Mills (1997, p.3) notes, it is the disciplinary context that can help to delineate the meaning of the term:

> It is largely the constraints created by academic disciplinary boundaries which demarcate the various meanings of the term: when linguists talk of a 'discourse of advertising', they are clearly referring to something quite different to a social psychologist who talks of a 'discourse of racism'.

Thus, linguists, drawing on linguistic theories, are interested in language use (Brown and Yule, 1983), text above the sentence (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Carter and

Simpson; 1989), and contextual occurrences of utterance (Mills, 1997, p.9). Social psychologists and critical linguists, however, are influenced by cultural as well as linguistic theories, and are concerned with combining power relations and the relevant authorised utterances with critical discourse analysis (Mills, 1997, pp.9-10).

4.4.3   Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) define discourse from a CDA standpoint as "a form of social practice", i.e. it is both "socially constitutive" and "socially shaped" (p.258). The relation between discourse and society is, therefore, "dialectical", as they shape each other (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p.285). The relationship between CDA and social practices is "engaged and committed", since CDA stands with dominated social groups against the dominant oppressive ones, a relationship that distinguishes CDA from other DA approaches (ibid.).

Fairclough (2010) confirms that the social, the discoursal and the textual are all dimensions of discourse, i.e. CDA should be concerned with three related levels: "social practice, discoursal practice (text production, distribution and consumption) and text" (p.74). As Kress (1990) observes, the textual dimension of discourse is one of the elements of DA in Critical Linguistics and CDA (p.88-89).

From an SFL-influenced CDA perspective, Fairclough et al. (2010) indicate that discourse is an analytical tool that enables us to describe meaning-making resources and, in this sense, it offers an alternative to 'semiosis' and is distinguished from more common definitions such as the one suggested by Jorgenson and Philips (2002). Kress (1990, p.87) similarly stresses the significance of choice in CDA as in the case of SFL's semiotic system. He adds that choice represents stance, for instance, choices of different tenses of modality may reveal different degrees of power and action.

CDA is considered to be 'critical' due to its special characteristics which distinguish it from other DA frameworks. It is primarily the social dimension that is critical in CDA, in the sense that it is "put into crisis" (ibid., p.87). Even the psychological and the philosophical are seen as social in CDA (Kress, 1990, p.87).

For Fairclough (1995), the term 'critical' is related to its use in Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979) and it reveals CDA's "commitment to a dialectical theory", i.e. its involvement in exposing connections between things (pp.38-39). In addition, CDA is politically oriented towards social change and social

intervention (Fairclough et al., 2010, p.358). The scope of this change covers both oppressive social and political institutions as well as discursive practices (Kress, 1990, p.85). To achieve this political goal, it aims to uncover the underlying ideology, power and hegemony in discourse (Kress, 1990; Fairclough et al., 2010).

Despite its contention and its political agenda, CDA is still systematic and scientific (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 259; Fairclough et al., 2010, p. 358) and unlike other DA approaches, it is based on "close linguistic descriptions" (Kress, 1990, p.86). Also, contrary to other DA methods, it starts from a topic rather than a methodology without neglecting the development of its theoretical framework (Fairclough et al., 2010, p.358). The topics that it chooses to focus on can relate to any social or political inequality or misconduct (ibid.). In addition, CDA is eclectic, since it incorporates other linguistic theories such as SFL. At the same time, it is interdisciplinary and other social sciences have embraced CDA, captivated by its critical characteristic and sharing the same aim (Kress, 1990, p.88; Fairclough et al., 2010). Importantly, as Fairclough (1997, p.45) emphasises, what distinguishes CDA from other descriptive discourse approaches is its "global explanatory goals". In other words, CDA goes beyond local descriptive analysis, which limits itself, for instance, to "speaker goals" and perhaps partly to discourse effects, instead targeting "macro structures" such as "social institutions and social formation" and the "*effects* of discourse […] effects which go beyond the immediate situation" (Fairclough, 1997, p.45; original emphasis).

4.5 Ideology

The definition of the concept of ideology itself is also problematic (Munday, 2007, p.196). It can be loosely and neutrally defined as "a science of ideas" (ibid.). Ideology later acquired negative meanings of manipulation, distortion and rewriting in Translation Studies (ibid.). In CDA, however, ideology is generally defined as "the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members" (van Dijk, 2002, p.7).

4.5.1 Ideology in CDA

Starting from Van Dijk's (2002) definition of ideology, Leung (2006) lists six distinctive features of ideology, namely, neutrally defined, socio-politicized, proactive, conflictive, implicit, and relativistic (Leung, 2006, p.138), and further elaborates these as follows. First, ideology has a neutral rather than a positive or negative definition in CDA. Secondly, it is oriented towards socio-political topics.

Thirdly, it is "oriented towards action" (ibid.). Moreover, ideologies are often in conflict with each other. Furthermore, ideology is hidden in discourse and, finally, different societies may have different ideologies.

Adopting a sociocognitive approach to CDA, van Dijk (1995, p.18) conceives of ideology as "*both* cognitive *and* social" (original emphasis). According to van Dijk (1995), ideology is "articulated within a conceptual triangle that connects society, discourse and social cognition in the framework of critical discourse analysis" (van Dijk, 1995, p.17). Social group members share social cognition which is organized by ideology (ibid.). The socially shared cognitive representations are expressed in discourse and, thus, ideology links these cognitive representations with the interests and position of social groups. The components of social cognition are "sociocultural knowledge" and "attitudes", and within this approach, ideologies are viewed as a special kind of mental representation: "Ideologies mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position, and resources" (van Dijk, 1995, p.18).

These ideological representations serve the interests of the social group, so they are assumed to be created by "group-based selections" or "group schemata" (van Dijk, 2006, p.117). They enhance coordination of the group's actions and interactions and the legitimization of group domination or resistance (van Dijk, 2006, p.117). Examples of this are white ideology, racist ideology, and feminist ideology, to name but a few (van Dijk, 2011, p.18). The group is expected to represent itself positively and represent the other negatively according to the 'us versus them' ideology of the group. Group ideologies also influence individual ideologies or what van Dijk (2011) refers to as "mental models", defining these as "mental representations of events, actions or situations people are engaged in, or which they read about" (p. 18). These mental models, which include people's knowledge and opinions, can help to uncover the connection between group ideology and discourse and hence facilitate the DA of ideology. Therefore, for those who adopt a CDA approach, ideology represents something more than just a set of ideas.

Discussing the relation between language and ideology and the possible locations of ideology, Fairclough (1995; 2010) argues that ideology exists in both discourse structures and events. The term 'structures' refers to the common definition of ideology as a "system of potential underlying language—be it code, structure,

system, or formation (e.g. a set of expressions in specified semantic relations)" whereas 'events' refers to those discourses, including texts, which are considered to represent "moments of such events" (Fairclough, 2010, p.57). All these locations of ideology in language are "localised and particular" (ibid., p.58). Therefore, this implies that CDA entails considering all these elements, rather than focusing on just one of them in isolation from the others.

At the level of text, ideology is manifested in the vast array of linguistic features. That is, it is expressed through form, meaning and style (Fairclough, 2010, p 74). For instance, transitivity can disguise agent responsibility; coherence constitutes and reconstitutes subjects in discourse; style creates image and also constitutes subjects in discourse (ibid.). However, ideology is not restricted to language as it can be located in both discursive structures and events.

Following Gramsci's (1971) views on common sense and ideology, Fairclough (2001, p.70) indicates that when ideology is distributed as an "implicit philosophy" that is "taken for granted" in society, it becomes "common sense". For example, naturalised common sense can be found in the taken for granted beliefs and attitudes of the whole community and in the opinions of the feminist and human rights movements (van Dijk, 2006, p.117). Ideological common sense is directly or indirectly related to power and, therefore, it supports unequal power relations in varying degrees (Fairclough, 2001, p.70). However, in order to succeed in enhancing unequal power relations, ideologies must be invisible (ibid., p.71) and texts, for example, can be used to guide the reader to the disguised ideology (Munday, 2007, p.198), as Fairclough (2001, p.71) remarks: "Texts do not typically spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that she brings ideologies to the interpretation of texts – and reproduces them in the process!"

Ideologies are not always uniform, the best example of this being political texts in which ideological common sense varies (Fairclough, 2001, p.72). Common sense can also vary according to the society or the time period (ibid.). However, ideology is considered to be relatively stable, since social change like the acquisition of ideology, occurs gradually (van Dijk, 2006, p.116).

Ideology and power open or narrow people's access to specific meaning resources of institutions such as media and government (Martin and Rose, 2003, p.16). The analytical model of SFL is concerned with both facilitating access through

education, and investigating unequal distribution of access to meaning in different social groups based on class or gender, for example (ibid.).

4.5.2 Ideology in Translation Studies

Ideology attracted more attention in Translation Studies when this discipline started to go beyond linguistic approaches in its so-called cultural and ideological turns (Hatim and Munday, 2004, p.102). The ideological turn in Translation Studies reflected the need to move from the cultural turn's emphasis on exploring translation and cultural understanding to the "ethical and altruistic" act of ideology spreading (Leung, 2006, p.133). While the cultural turn focuses on the function of translation in the receiving culture (e.g. Skopos theory) and views translation as a form of rewriting (Lefevere, 1992), the ideological turn concentrates on raising translator and reader awareness of the prevailing effect of ideology on discourse (Leung, 2006, pp.130-134). In other words, translation may be used to resist a dominant ideology and to support dominated groups or manipulate them and is concerned with critical stance-taking (ibid., p.133).

Although Lefevere (1992) notes that a translation of the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1859) by Fitzgerald projects the Persian as "inferior to their Victorian English counterparts" (p.8), his aim was not to take a critical stance against the ideology of colonialism but to describe three possible causes of manipulated cultural views in translation or rewriting, namely patronage, ideology and poetics (Leung, 2006, p.132).

Presenting some illuminating examples of translation research on ideology in Translation Studies, Leung (2006) indicates that not only translation, but also translation research can be ideologically motivated. For instance, Chang's (1998) Chinese translation of the English political satire *Yes, Prime Minister*, a genre which rarely exist in China as it resists authority, is seen by its translator as an ideological stance of resistance (Leung, 2006, p.134). Cheung's (2002) paper introduces three works on translation research which represent attempts at resisting the domination of classical Chinese (Hu, 1928), taking a stance against a political party (Qian, 1964), and constructing identity (Xinshang, 2002) (Leung, 2006, p. 134-135).

Hatim and Mason (1997) confirm that translation is ideologically biased. Similarly, they distinguish between the ideology of translation and the translation of ideology, arguing that in the former case, the choice between domestication and foreignization

(Venuti, 1995) can be ideological in a specific sociocultural context. For instance, choosing one of these translation strategies can promote either resistance to dominant social groups or legitimization of these groups. The translation of ideology, however, refers to translator mediation when target language translation selections either retain or shift the ST's ideology. These can represent significant shifts, for example, in cohesion, transitivity, style and lexicalization. According to Hatim and Mason (1997), these trends reflect what they call minimal, maximal and partial translator mediation which correspond to Venuti's (1995) distinction between domestication and foreignization. Mediation is defined as "the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into processing the text" (ibid., p.147).

The same view is held by Nord (2003, p.111) who maintains that nearly all conscious or unconscious translation decisions are ideological. She argues that in translation practice, the following questions are usually raised:

> What gets translated (what is valued and what is excluded)? Who does the translation (who controls the production of translation)? Who is translated for (who is given access to foreign materials and who denied)? How is the material translated (what is omitted, added, altered, to control the message)? (Nord, 1991, p. 36).

These questions and the debates on literal versus free translation or semantic versus communicative translation reveal the close relation between translation and ideology (Hatim and Mason, 1997).

4.6 Discourse-Oriented Translation Studies

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, Translation Studies continued to develop as an interdiscipline, and integrated linguistic theories and studies into its methodologies, such as DA which emerged as a branch of applied linguistics (Eldali, 2010 cited in Munday, 2001, p.89). DA gained growing significance in Translation Studies since it is one of the approaches that is concerned with the study of language in context, i.e., it views "language as a social phenomenon that takes place within a specific cultural context" (Ulrych and Bosinelli, 1999 cited in Eldali, 2010, p.32).

In the 1990s, influenced by Halliday's (1978, 1994) SFL theory, DA flourished in Translation Studies (Bassnett, 1999 cited in Eldali, 2010, p.32; Munday, 2001, p.89; 2009, p.142). The Hallidayan model has proven to be of interest in discourse-based Translation Studies, as it focuses on the systemic study of language as a semiotic

system in its sociocultural context. As Munday (2001) explains, "In Halliday's model, there is a strong interrelation between the surface-level realizations of the linguistic functions and the sociocultural framework" (p.90). The translator choices of these surface linguistic features at the different textual and contextual levels are deemed relevant to the discourse-based analysis of the translation process (Munday and Zhang, 2015). Translation selections are made "between near synonymous lexical items, ideologically charged naming practices, between different configurations of transitivity, modality, thematic structure and so on" (Munday and Zhang, 2015, p.326).

In Hatim and Mason's *Discourse and the Translator* (1990)*,* the pragmatic and semiotic discourse levels were incorporated into translation analysis (Munday, 2009, p.6). They suggest that discourse processing should go beyond register analysis and, hence, propose a three-dimensional model of context in which translation is seen as "an inter-semiotic transfer" (Hatim and Mason, 1990, pp.57-58) with contextual constraints (semiotic values), i.e. genre, discourse and text. Therefore, their model consists of communicative (transaction), pragmatic (action) and semiotic (interaction) dimensions (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p.58). The incorporation of these interdependent communicative, pragmatic and semiotic dimensions is expected to help transfer the message in its entirety (ibid., p.59).

The communicative (linguistic/semantic) dimension comprises three register variables (field, tenor and mode) which correspond to the contextual constraints of genre, discourse, and text respectively. The second dimension is concerned with pragmatic meaning or language usage in social situations/context (language as action) where pragmatic concepts (e.g., speech acts, implicature, presupposition, text acts, etc.) may reflect power relations and ideology. The third dimension is centred on the view of language as a system of signs and interacts with the other two dimensions, since translation can be seen as an "inter-semiotic transfer" that "primarily deals with signs and attempts to preserve semiotic as well as other pragmatic and communicative properties which signs display" (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p.69).

The model identifies various analytical categories but it is restricted to linguistic terms and phenomena, so its application can be viewed as problematic (Munday,

2001, pp.101-102). However, the proposed categories should be taken into account when studying translation (ibid., p.101).

Motivated by the Hallidayan model (1973) of SFL and register theory among others, House's (1977; 1981; 1997, 2015) discourse-based model of translation evaluation places a special emphasis on the significance of equivalence between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). Consequently, the model compares the ST and TT profiles. House's (1997) comparative analysis is based on Halliday's register categories with some added dimensions (Munday, 2001, p.90). Overlooking ST-TT equivalence in Skopos functional approach and descriptive Translation Studies means that a translation cannot be distinguished from other text types, the ST will be relatively neglected, and, as a result, the criteria of translation evaluation cannot be easily identified (House, 2015, pp.11-12). Equivalence in these approaches is downplayed as "adequacy" or "appropriateness" (ibid.). As Munday (2009, pp.91-92) states, "House herself rejects the 'more target-audience oriented notion of translation appropriateness' as 'fundamentally misguided' and so bases her model on comparative ST-TT analysis leading to the assessment of the quality of the translation, highlighting 'mismatches' or 'errors'" (p.56).

Additionally, the notion of 'context of situation' is also central in this model, since House's criteria for optimal translation quality are the matches between the ST and TT situational dimensions (House, 2015, p.30). House's revisited (1997) eclectic situational-dimensional model of translation quality assessment is underpinned by Halliday's concept of 'context of situation', i.e. the "systematic relationship between the social environment, on the one hand, and the functional organization of language on the other." (Halliday, 1985:11). This is further clarified in her definition of text function as "the application of a text in a particular context" (House, 1997, p.36). House's revised model of textual analysis, comparison and assessment incorporates the following levels: individual textual function, genre and register (field, mode and tenor), and text.
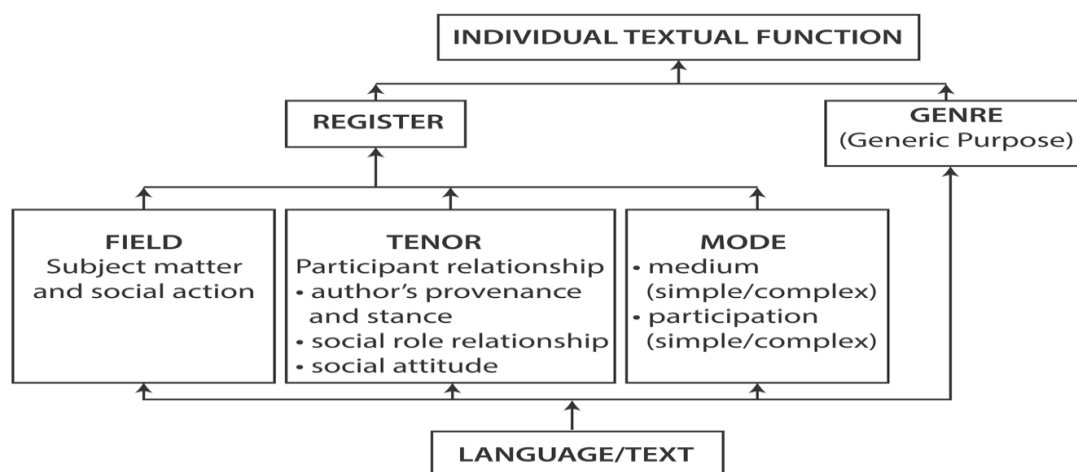
Figure 4.1 House's (1997) revisited model of textual analysis, comparison and assessment

In order to identify whether the individual text function is retained, textual profiles of the ST and TT are described and compared on the basis of the situational dimensions (House, 2015, p.30). As a result, the divergences are identified, and the translation is classified as either 'overt' or 'covert' (Munday, 2001, p.93).

Overt translation is a second original text in the TT context; ST and TT are equivalent at text, register, and genre levels. In this type of translation, a second-level functional equivalence is achieved (i.e. TT readers can access the ST's function through the second original) (Munday, 2001, p.93). Covert translation, however, is reproduced as another original rather than a translation in the target culture context and it aims at genre and functional equivalence at the expense of register and language/text equivalence (ibid). In this type of translation, a "cultural filter" which facilitates the distinction between the overt and covert translation can be employed by the translator in the new cultural context and plays a part in the translation quality assessment (ibid., pp.93-94).

House's model has been criticised for its unclear error interpretation process, as the so-called 'mismatches' can result from explicitation and compensation strategies rather than translation errors (Munday, 2001, p.101).

Baker (1992) has also been concerned with the application of the SFL framework at various levels, especially thematic structure, cohesion, coherence, and pragmatic equivalence (Munday, 2001, pp.96-99). Her case study examples illustrate cross-cultural mismatches in terms of these text and pragmatic levels and, hence, her work can be used to improve translator training. However, her proposed thematic analysis

is based on English and, therefore, it can be challenging when applied to other languages which have a different word order such as Portuguese and Spanish (ibid., p.101).

Mapping DA in Translation Studies by surveying journal publications, Zhang et al. (2015) have expanded the semiotic dimension to incorporate recent developments, especially appraisal and translator attitudes. Within their three-level coding system, the three dimensions are subsumed by linguistic factors, while power, ideology and translation, in addition to CDA, are included in the extra linguistic factors.

Erel (2008) has adopted a methodology of descriptive explanatory Translation Studies (Toury, 1995; 1998) combined with CDA theory—a critical socio-cognitive diachronic model (Van Dijk's 1993; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2001 and Wodak's 1989; 1995; 1996; 2001 CDA models)—to study literary translations (product) and literary translating (process). She conducted a retrospective comparative micro-analysis of the TTs, in order to reconstruct the hidden ideologies. This analysis was implemented retrospectively, i.e. it begins with the most detectable data at the discursive lexical level (lexical expressions), in order to access the less detectable data at the ideological level (translator cognitive/mental processes) (ibid. p.74). The lexical expressions were restricted to taboo words used to refer to female and male private parts in four twentieth-century English and American novels and their Turkish translations in the 1940-50s and 1980s context (ibid., pp.80-81). The comparison, which is synchronic, consists of two steps: comparing two different TTs produced by different translators during different time periods and then comparing them to their STs (ibid.).

The findings of Erel's (2008) study reveal that translators from both time periods employed three translation strategies/choices, namely, omission, change, or translation of the taboo words by euphemism. Thus, the translators appear to submit to the dominant socio-political ideologies (e.g., government and publisher censorship) and their own ethical ideological attitudes (i.e. 'self-censorship' in keeping with the respective time periods) (ibid., p.81). In the 1940-50s, censorship was applied to obscenity in literary works which reflected prevailing political opinion (ibid., p.80). The 1980s, however, witnessed a change in political beliefs in Turkey, a new liberalism which allowed freedom of speech in literary works (ibid., p.81). In addition, taboo words were regarded as sensitive in the 1940s-50s due to

Turkish people's conservative ideology while freedom of speech was more widely accepted in the 1980s (ibid., pp.81-82).

Ultimately, the shifts in the decisions of the "ideologically embedded social practice" of translation (Schaffner, 2003 cited in Erel 2008, p.70) prove to be conditioned by socio-political "ideological constraints" which are prone to change over time (ibid., p.80). Importantly, Erel (2008) asserts that analysis highlights the possibility and significance of CDA application to descriptive explanatory Translation Studies generally and translated literary texts specifically, pointing to the potential of this form of analysis in Translation Studies (ibid., p.70).

Al-Hejin (2012) conducted a mini case study applying an adapted version of Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2003) CDA model to translations by BBC English of a series of talks by Saudi women delivered in Saudi-Arabic dialect. Both the discursive and social practices of the STs and TTs were taken into account in the analysis. His findings show that transformations such as domestication, appropriation and deletion of ideational content can be said to reflect the "prevailing narratives of Muslim women being 'submissive' and 'oppressed'" (ibid., p.311). Based on the insights from his study, Al-Hejin (2012) concludes that the monolingual approach of CDA can be broadened by its application in Translation Studies.

Valero (2013) carried out a comparative cross-lingual analysis of Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1883), a short novel for children written in Italian, and four translations of the ST (English, Russian and two Turkish TTs) to find out whether the translator's choices were motivated by sociocultural factors. The study draws on Van Dijk's (1993) socio-cognitive approach (discourse-cognition-society) to discourse analysis, critiquing the role of the translator.

Valero (2013) showed that while changes of content occurred in the English and Russian translations, religious and culturally oriented choices were made in the Turkish translations despite the publisher's denial of ideological bias. She went on to stress the importance of the ethical intercultural—rather than cross-cultural or multicultural—role of the translator and the need for the readership to be protected from conscious ideological manipulation by enhancing critical reading and foreign language teaching.

In a similar vein, Aidinlou et al. (2014) carried out a CDA-oriented translation analysis of the seven commandments in the political literary text, *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945) and their Persian translations by Homayoun Noor-Ahmar (1983) and Narges Heydari Manjili (2009). The study drew on Van Dijk's (1999) CDA model and Lefevere's (2002) concepts of ideology, change, and power in literature and society. Therefore, in this study, translation is viewed as rewriting and the translator's decisions are considered to be ideologically motivated, i.e., they are governed by sociocultural constraints.

Comparative analysis was applied to the ST extract and the two translations. This analysis consisted of reading and scrutinizing the ST, comparing the translators' lexicogrammatical choices, and interpreting the ideological changes, distortion and manipulation. The micro-level analysis focused on lexicalization and dominant syntactic metaphors. The former included ideologically distorted lexical items, lexical variation, over- and under-lexicalization, euphemism, addition and omission while the latter consisted of analysis of transitivity (passive vs. active), nominalization, and modality.

The findings of Aidinlou et al.'s (2014) study show distortion and manipulation of ideology and power relations in both translations. According to the authors, CDA helped to reveal the ideological content and the ways of expressing ideology in the ST as well as its Persian translations (ibid., p.270). In other words, examining the manipulation of the English ST ideologies helps to uncover the hidden ideologies of the Persian translated texts (ibid.). In short, CDA facilitates the analysis of ideology in political literary discourse.

However, a study by Mansouradadi and Karminia (2012) contradicts the conclusions of the above mentioned studies. Adopting Fairclough's (1989) CDA approach to analyse the literary text *A Thousand Splendid Suns* (2007) by Afghan-American author Khaled Hosseini with its two Persian translations, they found no significant ideological divergences between ST and TL versions. Their comparative analysis, which is restricted to experiential values, firstly contrasts the ST and its translations, and then compares the two translations themselves with the aid of chi-square results. The comparative analysis suggests that there are more similarities than differences between the STs and TTs in terms of classification scheme, ideologically contested words, over-wording, and semantic relations. Mansouradadi and Karminia (2012)

argue that their findings are different from those of other studies because there is no struggle between ideologies in the ST and TL texts as the translators come from a similar sociocultural background to that of the ST writer and, for this reason, they appear to accept and sympathize with the ideologies embedded in the ST.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

A number of contrastive translation studies on modality and evaluation have been surveyed in the current chapter, with a view to shedding light on the problematic issues debated, the methods adopted to approach them, and the corresponding findings. The studies on modality suggested various reasons for the difficulties encountered when translating modals between English and other languages ranging from syntactic and semantic to contextual and linguacultural factors. Evaluation studies provided new insights on interpersonal meaning and its manipulation in translation.

The definitions of discourse and ideology introduced in the chapter mirror and even capture the entire dimensions, complexity and significance of such notions in CDA, SFL, and translation studies. Still importantly, *discourse* as *the level above the sentence* is equivalent to *text* which is our unit of translation and an essential element of discourse analysis in CDA, since linguistic features such as form, meaning and style can be analysed at the textual level. However, CDA provides a workable definition of discourse, namely " discourse as "a form of social practice", both "socially constituted" and "socially shaped" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).Still, there are other equally significant conceptions, namely Mason's (2009, 2014) definitions, i.e. discourse as *individual* and *institutional* as well as discourse as *D1* and *D2* concepts. SFL in turn incorporates a systemic functional dimension by looking at discourse as *a meaning making resource*, *a system of choices*. *Choice* in both CDA and SFL represent *a stance*.

CDA and translation studies have also been concerned with defining the complex notion of ideology. The closest to the current study is van Dijk's sociocognitive perspective, since Van Dijk's (1995) framework places ideology in a conceptual triangle of *society, discourse and social cognition* in which he stresses that *individual* ideologies are influenced by *group* ideologies. That is, group ideologies are mental models (mental representations) which can be traced by examining the

macro-semantic strategies of the ideological square, viz. *positive self- representation and negative other representation.*

As argued compellingly, the invisiblity of ideologies boosts *social inequality*, i.e. implicit taken for granted ideology or common sense is related to *power* (cf. Fairclough, 2001). Hence, discourse provides essential clues that will guide the reader through the interpretation of hidden ideologies enhancing the inequal power relations and practices (cf. Munday, 2007).

5   Chapter Five: Methodology

5.1   Introduction

This chapter covers the process of data and data collection, the analytical methods selected for use in this study, and their procedures. It provides details about the texts that were chosen for analysis and provides a rationale that justifies the selection of the methods of discourse analysis that were employed in this study, namely, appraisal analysis which is complemented by van Dijk's (1998, 2006) ideological square argumentation strategy.

5.2 Data and Data Collection

Before introducing an overview of corpora, it is essential to comment on the reliability of our data selection and interpretation process from the perspective of descriptive translation studies' (DTS) research can be distinguished from prescriptive or applied studies by the fact that they are contextual, empirical, interdisciplinary, and target-oriented (Toury, 2012). Contextual research focuses on "the relations between textual and contextual variables" (Rosa, 2016, p.3). Empirical research attempts to explain, understand and predict regularities, develop methodologies and classifications, and test or generate hypotheses (ibid). Studies of an interdisciplinary nature also pay attention to extra-linguistic aspects of discourse such as economy, history, ideology and culture (Even Zohar 1990). Finally, target-oriented studies concentrate mainly on the TT and TT context while still being mindful of the ST and its context (Rosa, 2016, p.3).

Studies using CDA have a number of observed shortcomings, namely, their tendency to produce circular argument, the fact that they cannot be replicated, and privileged analyst authority (Mason, 2006, p.107). There is also a risk of partiality in selecting the text and in interpreting their findings. However, this subjectivity is not restricted to CDA (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2009), since no analysis is completely 'value free' (Coffin and O'Halloran, 2006). To avoid these shortcomings, researchers should be self-reflective, acknowledging their own biased stances (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2009, p.59). In addition, any 'cognitive biases' in data selection and interpretation can be mitigated by compiling a large corpus to increase the reliability of findings (ibid). The same researchers also recommend "being

explicit about […] methods and criteria for text selection and […] triangulating results with data obtained using other methods" (ibid.).

Thus, the corpora used in this study has been selected from three sources of political news discourse which are representative of different cultures over a specific time period and the texts have been selected to cover as much as possible of this period. This analysis covers the whole corpus, tracing overall trends and identifying possible deviant cases.

The researcher comes from an Islamic Arab cultural background, i.e., the target news discourse community dominated by English language and the culture of the English-speaking world on a global scale. Therefore, she acknowledges that conscious or unconscious analytical bias cannot be completely avoided or assumed. The analyst draws on a critical approach that uses the ideological square binary representation of group ideology, with a political perspective intended to expose elite/racist discourse practices and empower dominated minorities. To reduce the potential for research bias, the analysis in this study is centred on the actual textual realizations of evaluation in a relatively large corpus and uses the appraisal linguistic toolkit to compare findings and identify trends of real-life group ideological representations across the news discourse of three cultures. Linguistic features are contextualized within discourse i.e. the whole text, while texts are contextualized at the extra-linguistic levels of news discourse i.e. axiomatic ideology/ ideology as common sense. Therefore, some references were made to the binary worldviews of Orientalist discourse and other elite discourses when these ideological representations are revealed in the targeted news discourse.

The selected STs focus on national and international topics, with the intention of covering in-group and out-group ideological representations within and across the targeted news discourse. The current research was based on sensitive topics of news discourse since previous research has suggested these represent rich resources for evaluation.

The analysis is not totally prescriptive and sometimes discusses possible translation alternatives to those made by the TT writer for the comparative-descriptive analytic aim of clarifying probabilities of choice from a social semiotic view rather than a researcher's biased stance. Dictionaries were used to help establish core/non-core

and other evaluative degree and meaning distinctions rather than depending on decontextualized instances.

5.2.1 The Corpus

The corpus use for this study consists of 69 news and opinion journalistic texts which have been collected from three global news sources using British English and American English together with their Arabic translations, making a total of 138 texts. The length of the STs ranges from 365 to 1200 words approximately. These texts were sourced from *the BBC* news website (online), the UK-based daily newspaper *The Guardian* (print/online), and the American weekly magazine *Newsweek* (print/online) together with their Arabic counterparts. The British news outlets from which the corpus of our study has been derived enjoy a relatively wide ranging local and global circulation and a prestigious status.

Texts dealing with sensitive and controversial issues were selected for analysis in this study, since it can be expected that these will contain cultural allusions, high-risk and value-rich words (Munday, 2009, p.26). However, the texts were not pre-read, to avoid a circular argument (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2009, p.58). The advantage of using a data corpus is the "incremental" or "cumulative" effect of repeated examples of discourse showing the ways in which discourse communities share evaluative meanings (Baker, 2006 cited in ibid., p.59). Starting from linguistic realizations of evaluative meaning within and across discourse guided by developments of SFL research (evaluation research) will allows us to take the social linguist stance, in order to reduce possible research bias.

The BBC data (October, 2009-September, 2014) was the most easily accessible compared to the rest of the corpus data (See the Appendix for the list of texts). The selected time period saw a series of revolutions in the Middle East, popularly known as the Arab Spring, together with the dramatic events that followed. Consequently, the texts were selected concentrating on topics of the Arab spring events and their development, in addition to the topics of post-war Iraq from the Middle East Section of the BBC's news website.

Like the BBC, The Guardian's selections targeted topics on the Arab spring and their aftermath, apart from one text about Iran and Western foreign policy. The selections were restricted by the shorter time-scale of the Arabic version (October to

February, 2011) and the smaller number of political news and opinion texts covering the targeted topics and made available by the Guardian Arabic Website.

The selection of Newsweek texts (October 2009 to March 2010) was based on collecting two main types of topics (domestic and foreign affairs and policies) from four different sections (The Scope, The Take, Features, Top of the Week). The domestic part involves texts appraising the Obama administration and other partisan issues. The foreign policies topic covers texts about Islamists, Iran, Isreal, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. It is to be noted that the *Newsweek* Arabic print version which covers the time period between 2009 and 2010, as the Arabic edition no longer exists and this was the only data that the researcher managed to obtain. More Importantly, the time period (2009-2010) of the Newsweek data was preferred, since it witnessed the first term of President Obama. In 2008, Obama was the Democratic party candidate nominated for the 44th US president post which he won. Therefore, "March 2010 marked a millestone in Obama's first term" (Konczal, 2012, p.67). The news coverage of Obama's 2008 campaign was positive (The Center of Media and Public Affairs University at George Mason University and a Pew Research project, n.d. as cited in Freddosso, 2013). The international media and global public adoration of Obama was partly due to the increasing feelings of Anti-Americanism around the world stirred by the US foreign policy under the Bush admistration (Stromback, et all, 2011, p.275). Like global media, *Newsweek* is expected to support him and cover him in a favourable tone during his first term.

The public discourse in the news sources under scrutiny, therefore, covers the following topics:

- The domestic and foreign policies of the Obama administration
- US, UK and European national politics and foreign affairs
- US-Iran conflict
- Arab world politics, the Middle East conflict, and the Arab Spring revolutions and their aftermath.
- Islamists (e.g. the Brotherhood, Taliban, AlQaeda, and Isis) and War on Terrorism

5.2.1.1 BBC (October 2009-September 2014)

Since its foundation, the British Broadcasting Corporation has espoused independent journalism and by 1927 it became officially independent from the *state*, as it was

established by a Royal Charter in such a way that the government is prevented from controlling the BBC (Tracey, 2009, p.181). Leach (2018, p.362) states that according to the Royal Charter, the BBC is required to show " balance between parties and impartiality in reporting and treating the news". Moreover, the BBC is funded by its audience's license fee (Mcnair, 2009,pp.108-109), i.e it is "a public service" and "the voice of the nation" (Budge,et al, 2007, p.314) required to provide imparitial news and opinions to its audience too (Oates, 2008, p.37).Also, since its beginings, the BBC was distinguished from other media counterparts by its "more cosmopolitan orientation", i.e. it makes global news available to the British public (ibid). Eventually, due to market and professional competition as well as technological development, the BBC managed to gradually adopt a bottom-up hierarchical approach to journalism, increasingly engaging the audience in the significant news and debates (ibid).Therefore, The BBC is generally considered to be the least partial and partisan of the British press platforms (ibid, p.184).

However, the BBC is not totally independent from the government, as" the BBC Trust " consists of "a group of 12 individuals appointed by the Queen on advice from ministers", i.e. it is "both a public and a state broadcaster" (Oates, 2008, pp.37-38). Furthermore, in a series of its books, the Galsgow Media Group (GMG) claims that "The BBC has an elitist and conservative bias"(Budge,et al, 2007, p.311).

In addition to its "conciously articulated" role "of promoting Britishness and national community, the BBC aims to deliver a "civilizing message" (Mcnair, 2009, p.133). That is, it aspires to transmit *dominant* British cultural values to a global audience (ibid, *my emphasis*). The 'civilizing mission of the BBC which is also expressed by the BBC itself is encapsulated as follows: *educate*, inform and entertain (ibid, p..109, *my emphasis*). The BBC adopted "a broadly expansionary posture" in the 21st Century in the globally changing broadcast market (ibid, p.128).

The BBC news website established in 1997 has a large, diverse readership and its huge archive is accessible to the public. According to the BBC's own annual report (2017-2018) over 80% of the British population over the age of 15 access its news website on a weekly basis and a further 233 million people around the globe make use of its news services. The website supplies both British and international news.

Twenty three original news texts were extracted from the Middle East news section of the BBC English and Arabic websites. The Middle East issue is quite sensitive in global politics, as western and Arab societies tend to hold conflicting views and ideologies regarding this topic. The selected texts cover news on the crises in Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, jihadis, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and normalization with Israel. The majority of the texts are opinion articles (20) with the remainder (3) falling into the category of analysis articles.

5.2.1.2 *The Guardian* (October-February, 2011)

The Guardian news website received the best online newspaper award in the 2000s (2005, 2006, and 2007). *The Guardian* website has five main sections: News, Opinion, Sport, Culture, Lifestyle, and More. The News section covers UK and World news, while the Opinion section includes blogs which are more interactive and opinionated. Most of the translated material in *The Guardian in Arabic* was posted in 2011.

The Guardian was established in 1820, is a left-liberal newspaper (Oganjanyan, 2008, p.62). According to the Democratic Audit Report, *The Guardian* can be considered to be Left-of-Center, showing significant support for Labour and the Liberal Democrats political parties (Wilks-Heeg et al., 2012). Vance (2018, p.85) states that "The Guardian is explicitly biased unlike American outlets that claim to be objective and yet they are clearly biased". Temple (2008, p.89) also stresses that the Guardian has an unremitting liberal orientation and that young people (under 35) constitute over 40% of its readership. However, Hallin and Mancini (2004) have also highlighted the need for caution when assessing the political orientations of the British press, since journalism is not always predictable in terms of its relationship to political parties. Journalists writing for British quality newspapers like *The Guardian* consider their publication to be a "democratic watchdog" (Franklin, 2009, p.208). In other words, they do not not only inform the British public, but also debate public issues, encourage action, and discuss government policies, and so on (ibid).

Twenty three news texts from *The Guardian* were chosen. The texts fall into the categories of editorials, opinion articles, and news reports. *The Guardian* Arabic page started in 2011 and almost all of the translated texts come from that year. Since *The Guardian* Arabic version is limited to the 2011 edition, the texts in the corpus

focus on the Arab Spring events and their aftermath, e.g. violence, protests, regime change and elections. Key protagonists in the period including Hosni Mubarak, the military and the Muslim Brotherhood are, therefore, extensively evaluated and represented.

5.2.1.3 *Newsweek* (October 2009-March 2010)

Newsweek has been crossing national boundaries since the First World War when its pocket-size copies reached soldiers in distant war zones (Sterling, 2009, p.1007). It has been published in several languages since the 1990s, its Arabic version commencing in 2000 with a consumption capacity of 30,000 copies (ibid). *Newsweek International* delivers both print and online services although its Arabic print publication stopped during 2010. Its online service publishes US and world news, and opinion articles on various topics.

Hallin et al. (2004) state that although most Anglo-American press is centrist and mainstream-oriented, it must be remembered that this "is still a political orientation" and when Anglo-American journalism is described as neutral, it does not mean that is "value free" or "without point of view" (p.210). *Newsweek* is considered to be more politically liberal than its longstanding competitor, *Time* (Sterling, 2009, p.1007). Both these publications target the same local readership: the American middle-class in urban areas in general and young people in particular (ibid).

According to communication scholars Howard Tumbler and Frank Webster, the US media coverage of Iraq is " highly partisan, American-centric throughout, and framed by a conviction that the United States forces were fighting a just war" (as cited in Di Maggio, 2010, p.126).

From the 1960s onwards, like other American newsmagazines, *Newsweek* sought to satisfy journalism's new moral principles by publishing journalistic writing that adhered to the principles of investigative reporting, defined by Aucoin (2008, p.225) as follows:

> Investigative journalism digs beneath the surface of everyday news events to expose corrupt local officials, bad schools, poor health care, exploited children, environmental pollution, innocent people on death row, business policies that cheat or harm consumers, unfair tax laws, and many other social and government problems, reacting to the so-called objective reporting.

In this way, the news value of objectivity was replaced by other ethical values such as accuracy, credibility and trustworthiness. Investigative reporting gains significance at times of conflicts when government and military 'optimistic' reports are not trusted (Landers, 2008, p.223).

According to Landers (2008, p.363), *Newsweek* continues to employ investigative journalism and vivid graphics, and also dedicates more space to interpretative journalism consisting of opinionated and analytical pieces, exemplifying its institutional and American values and satisfying audience needs.

5.3   Method

Appraisal analysis was triangulated using insights from van Dijk's ideological square macro-semantic strategies to analyse evaluation (orientation of reality) and ideology (construction of reality) in political news discourse, in order to address the primary research question and associated questions:

- **How are inscribed and invoked attitude employed to represent in-group and out-group ideologies in the STs and their translations and to what extent can translation choices be attributed to socio-cultural or ideological factors?**
  - What choices are made by translators when translating modal meaning and graduation between different socio-political contexts? What functions do these choices play in these contexts?
  - What are the possible sources of difficulty that the Arab translators encounter when translating resources of modality and graduation from English into Arabic?
  - What are the differences between the choices of modality and graduation in the selected corpus of English STs and their Arabic translations?

5.3.1   Appraisal analysis

The appraisal analytical framework (Martin and White, 2005), has been adopted to analyse the targeted inscribed and invoked interpersonal meaning in political news discourse. Appraisal theory is used in Translation Studies because it is centred on analysing evaluative lexicogrammatical resources, provides a detailed model of evaluation, and offers the most systematic description of evaluation (Pan, 2014, p.251).

Previous insightful applications of this model to media discourse (Martin and White, 2004; White, 2006); and in Translation Studies (Munday, 2012a; 2012b; 2015;

Mansour, 2013; Bednarek, 2006; 2008; 2010; Erel, 2008; Pan, 2015) have proven its usefulness and inspired its utilization as an analytical framework in this study.

The importance of studying interpersonal meaning in media discourse is reinforced by White (2006, p.37), who defines news reporting as "a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word—a value-laden, ideologically determined discourse". Both evaluation and ideologies are central to this type of discourse. White (2006, p.37) also elucidates the vital dialogic functionality of interpersonal meaning in the ideological positioning of news readers by news texts as follows:

> A key aspect of this rhetorical and ultimately ideological functionality is evaluation —the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive negative views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted. It is via such evaluative positionings, of course, that the media constructs a particular model of the social and moral order—a model of what is normal and aberrant, beneficial and harmful, praiseworthy and blameworthy, and so on.

As the interpersonal function has been under-researched in comparison to the ideational and textual functions, Munday (2009) argues that Translation Studies should concentrate on the Hallidayan interpersonal function, in order to study translator intervention, as this function "is crucial for the writer-reader relationship and, consequently, for investigating the intervention of the translator" (p.15).

He argues that future research on evaluation shifts should also pay more attention to critical points of indirect attitude when disguised as ideational meaning including indirect attitudinal realizations, such as "value rich words" (Munday, pp.25-26), of invoked attitude. Naming and non-core words are among the critical points of concern. Translation research should aim to understand evaluative shifts of such patterns and the other "critical points" and the effects they can have (ibid., 2009, p.25).

5.3.2   Sociocognitive CDA

As the macro level of this analysis focuses on ideological group representations using van Dijk's (1998; 2006) ideological square which is underpinned by his triangle of discourse, cognition and society. The ideological square is originally formulated as follows:

| **Us:** | Emphasize our good things. | Mitigate our bad things. |
| **Them:** | Emphasize their bad things. | Deemphasize their good things. |

The social discourse practices of media discourse are assumed to be mediated by mental representations of group ideologies. Therefore, it is the abstract level of group ideology that is targeted by CDA rather than personal ideology (van Dijk, 1995, p.26). van Dijk (2006) also posits that ideological discourse structures are not value free, as ideology provides what he refers to as the "axiomatic basis" (van Dijk, 2006, p.116) controlling personal and group values, attitudes and opinions (see section 4.5.1).

The macro level of the corpus analysis is concerned with in-group and out-group representations of ideology in political news texts and their translations in the media discourse of the Western and the Arab World under investigation.

CDA is considered to be a qualitative approach in Translation Studies (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2009, p.23). Being a critical discourse-based translation study, this research is aligned with CDA's descriptive, explanatory, practical and critical (political) aims, in that it aims to expose the hidden ideologies of political media discourse in western and Arab societies. As van Dijk (1995, p.18) emphasises, "When studying discourse in society, CDA especially focuses on (group) relations of power, domination and inequalities and the ways in which these are reproduced and resisted by social group members through text and talk". Using CDA will facilitate the comparative analysis of original media texts and their translations within their respective social contexts, since although text analysis is central to CDA it is regarded as "only the tip of an iceberg" (van Dijk, 1998, p.31). Since this study is concerned with the polarized representations of in- and out-groups in political news discourse translation, it benefits from CDA's orientation towards social problems and, correspondingly, its explicit critical socio-political stance aimed at change.

The macro-semantic strategy of positive self-representation and negative other representation was selected for the macro level of the analysis. These strategies are realized by 27 discursive strategies. However, appraisal categories were utilized as the linguistic toolkit for the ideological square. Thus, while van Dijk's ideological square offers the details of the positive and negative polarisation of the group ideological orientations, appraisal affords the systematic lexicogrammatical description. CDA is an eclectic approach that may incorporate methods from other research areas and it has already made use of the linguistic toolkit of SL. Also, this

triangulation will contribute to the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary nature of CDA, since CDA takes culture, politics, social cognition and history into account (van Dijk, 1995, p.18).

Both selected approaches complement each other, as they are linguistically oriented and the latter enjoys the perceived advantages of a critical explanatory approach. Other mainstream critical approaches within critical discourse studies, such as Wodak's discourse-historical analysis and Fairclough's three-dimensional social discourse analysis were not chosen despite their potential advantages. The former approach concentrates on diachronic discourse analysis which falls outside the scope of this study, as its corpora timescale spans a specific time period. The latter approach requires access to the institutional environment and its editorial processes and the incorporation of other methods such as interviews or questionnaires. This kind of access was neither feasible nor equally available for all data resources, especially *Newsweek Arabic*. More importantly, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach is based on the discourse-cognition-society triangle (the interface between ideology, discourse and society), and his ideological square is then instrumental to studying ideological group representations in the targeted news discourse.

5.4   Procedure

5.4.1   Appraisal analysis

Prior to conducting the corpus analysis, a representative text was selected from the BBC corpus (ST: ISIS What it means to be modern) which was used as a pilot to test the implementation of appraisal analysis with relevant insights from the ideological square and Orientalism theory to an individual text with a view to assessing the results it produced. Although the text chosen for this analysis was prominent, it was not pre-selected or pre-read. The insights into problematic areas gained from this initial analysis were taken into account when analysing the rest of the data.

Consequently, the corpus-based analysis of engagement is limited to the contraction and expansion of the dialogic space of discourse via shifts in entertain (modality) and bare assertion in the TT in order to detect any deviations from the position of the ST producer.

The analysis of graduation focused on intensification occurrences, particularly, force infusions of quantification and intensification and invoked meanings (e.g. non-core words), since these are signalled as problematic areas in the appraisal literature (see

Munday 2012a; 2012b; 2015; Pan, 2014) and also emerged in the individual text analysis.

Each ST text was read thoroughly to identify and classify its evaluative resources of engagement and graduation of attitude. The TT was then read carefully, so that the ST resources could be compared to their TT counterparts. This comparative analysis targeted the following: omissions and additions of engagement (entertain); modality and bare assertion shifts; reductions and increases in the force of modality and non-core words; and value rich words (judgement tokens). These items were expected to be closely related to the ST and the TT writer's dialogic positioning and ideological representations of the self and other in discourse.

5.4.2   Sociocognitive CDA

Van Dijk (1998b, pp.61-63) identifies a number of features that should form part and parcel of analysis of ideological group polarization:

a) Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants
b) Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved
c) Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them
d) Making explicit the presupposed and the implied
e) Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions

These suggestions were taken into consideration when dealing with the evaluative occurrences in the corpus. The in- and out-group socio-cultural contexts function as the backdrop to the lexicogrammatical description of positive and negative group polarization, utilizing the ideological square where necessary.

In- and out-group affiliations often shift in the context of translation between the different sociocultural contexts in question. Therefore, group memberships are initially classified according to the ideological square evaluation into in- and out-group. The analysis is also concerned with other groups mentioned in the ST and TT which do not fit into the polarized ideological square classifications, i.e. those that fall in between the extremes of the Us versus Them evaluative polarization of the ideological square. In other words, ideological representations of reality are not restricted to friend and enemy. For instance, the possible 'enemy of my enemy' (e.g. Iranian people (*Newsweek*), Arab spring revolutionaries (*The Guardian* and the *BBC*) and non-aligned groups (e.g. old Islamic states in the representative text) are usually and deliberately represented for socio-political evaluative purposes, too.

These groups are assigned a median-group classification. However, median group status, like the other social groups, depends on the sociocultural context and group orientation. Moreover, group representations are expected to be constructed by the taken for granted ideologies of the Self and the Other as observed in a number of elite western discourses e.g. adult discourse, neo/Orientalist discourse, ethnic and anti-immigrant discourse which infiltrate and dominate the news discourse and its translations.

In-group (Us)	Emphasize our good things.	Mitigate our bad things.
Median group	Emphasize its good things	Deemphasize its bad things
Out-group (Them)	Emphasize their bad things.	Deemphasize their good things.

5.5   Concluding Remarks

In short, by examining the deviations in inscribed and invoked interpersonal meaning found in global political news discourse applying a comparative analysis of English (British and Anglo-American varieties) STs and their corresponding Arabic TTs, hidden ideologies underlying ideological group representations can be unmasked. The translator's respective choices can, then, be contextualized. The appraisal and critical analysis of interpersonal meaning will give useful insights into the translator's decision making and positioning processes in the TT production.

6   Chapter Six: Data Analysis I

6.1 Introduction

In this preliminary data analysis chapter, an in-depth individual text analysis will be conducted utilising the appraisal apparatus devised by Martin and White (2005), with a view to testing its detection of potential problematic attitudinal patterns in news discourse and its translation. The analysis will, then, be commenced and thoroughly implemented in the next section (6.2) and its subsequent subsections. Section (6.3) will eventually discuss the analytical implications and the chapter will close with brief insights paving the way for the next data analysis chapter (section 6.4).

6.2 Appraisal Text Analysis

This section will provide a detailed analysis of the evaluative realizations of appraisal in an opinion article entitled "**A Point of View: Isis what it means to be modern**" (ST23: BBC News Website: Magazine, 11 July 2014) and its Arabic translation entitled:**وجهة نظر: تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية بين الماضي والمعاصرة** (A Point of View: Isis regime between the past and modernity) (TT23: 13 July 2014) using appraisal theory developed by Martin and White (2005). This ST has been chosen as it deals with a topic which is highly controversial and has been given widespread coverage in the global media in recent times. As an opinion article, it is expected to represent the personal view of the ST writer (John Gray) on realities and values.

The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: ST= source text (English), TT= translated text (Arabic) and BT (back translation).

6.2.1   Inscribed Attitude (Martin and White, 2005)

6.2.1.1 Affect

The ST uses thirteen inscribed affect forms, consisting of items reflecting insecurity (11), dissatisfaction (1) and inclination (1) (See Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 ST23 Analysis of inscribed affect forms

ST	TT
Insecurity	
horrifying *savagery*	omitted
inspiring *dread* in its enemies	they *terrorise* their enemies
terror and violence	omitted (part of deleted paragraph)
a real *danger*	a real *danger*
the scale of *threat*	the scale of *danger*

a danger	*a danger*
an increased *risk*	*a danger*
the dangers	*the dangers*
sowing *chaos*	*Chaos*
a spectacular *act of terror*	*acts of violence*
the revolutionary *turmoil*	*Turmoil*
Dissatisfaction	
dismissed by Islamic scholars and *rejected* as absurd	Rejected
Disinclination	
Though *t*hey *would hate to* hear it, these violent jihadists owe the way they organise themselves and their utopian goals to the modern West.	omitted: *its organization and ideal goals are owed to the modern western system*

As summarised in Table 6.1, these items are generally maintained in the translation. However, there are four affect degree shifts interrupting the negative prosody of the ST's Our insecurity: *horrifying* savagery (omitted), *terror and violence* (omitted), *act of terror* is downplayed into *acts of violence,* and *inspiring dread* is up-scaled as *terrorize*. The evaluative and political concept of terror is, then, generally downplayed except for the last marker which can be seen a positive religious reference (*yurhibuna*) coined from Qur'anic discourse, or treated as a close synonymous substitute of *dread.* As non-core words, *dread* and *terror* intensify fear (force infusions), since the former connotes intense fear whereas the latter is an extreme degree of dread on the scale of fear on which fear is the most general/unmarked word and the rest are specific/marked types of fear (see *Merriam Webster Dictionary of Synonyms* and *American Heritage Dictionary* website). Notably, the judgment token *revolutionary* is omitted when modifying the negative *turmoil,* suggesting a lessened negative position towards the modern revolutionaries from western and Islamic worlds (see also section 6.2.1.2).

The above selections mitigate Isis's negative things although the TT writer is not particularly in favour of Isis (out-group). This mitigation coincides with the TT writer's less negative attitude towards Muslims/Islam (in-group) in general, especially when it comes to widely circulated western ideological representations of Muslims/Islam. The respective ST attitude selections both activate and are activated by the ideologies of the western elite discourse of war on terror where the Other is represented as a threat and source of fear (Islamophobia). Edward Said (1978) attributed this to orientalist discourse imaginative representations (mind-sets) of the Orient (Muslims) in an attempt to control knowledge of the Orient and define the Occident self through the ideological representation of the Orient as the Other.

Dissatisfaction, however, evaluates the negative feelings of Muslim scholars and the Islamic world towards Isis as a caliphate. Appraisal analysis of affect in this text reveals that the ST writer uses insecurity (11) and dissatisfaction (1) indicators to delegitimise the out-group (Isis), representing it as violent and dangerous (the Orient/ the Other as a savage and a threat), and reproducing western media and political elites' socio-cognitive discursive construction of the Other (Islamists) in the discourse of war on terror/global security. The negative representation of others/them (Isis) is emphasised by the writer's use of negative affect in this text. Affect selections of horrifying savagery (1), danger (3), dread (1), threat (1), risk (1), chaos (1), turmoil (1), terror and violence (1), terror (1) create a negative evaluative wave of the in-group's (the western world) feelings of insecurity throughout the ST.

6.2.1.2 Judgement

The frequency of inscribed judgment subcategories (26) is much higher than inscribed affect in both ST and TT. Social sanction consists of propriety (13) and veracity (1), while totals for social esteem are +capacity (7), –capacity (3) and +tenacity (2). Judgment resources are listed in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 ST23 Analysis of inscribed judgment forms

Social sanction
-Propriety
The horrifying savagery, the horribly repressive regime, even more oppressive than the Taliban were in Afghanistan, the brutal manner with which it deals with anyone judged to be an enemy, Isis's savagery, well publicised savagery, ruthless business enterprise, organised crime, a merciless revolutionary vanguard, with all the crimes of Saddam's dictatorship committed, radical Islamist ideas, these violent jihadis, 20th century totalitarian state, exceptionally extreme interpretation of Islam, modern savagery
+Tenacity
the subtle Islamic states, exercised a degree of tolerance
-Veracity
the self-styled caliphate
Social esteem
+Capacity
highly efficient company, self-financing business, the wealthiest jihadist organization in the world, its use of media is highly professional, It makes effective use of the internet, battle hardened and with bomb making skills, a strategy developed over a number of years
-Capacity
it's facing determined opposition, it may have already overreached itself, the disparate elements

The high frequency of ST negative social sanction (-propriety), e.g. savagery, and the positive social esteem (+capacity), e.g. financial capacity, advanced technology and military skills, reveals that the out-group (Isis) is outlawed but presented as a powerful, dangerous enemy. Therefore, the judgement propriety formulations appraising Isis (12) are all negative. The two remaining negative propriety resources

(*with all the crimes of Saddam's dictatorship committed*; some thinkers who developed *radical Islamist ideas* are known to have been influenced by *European anarchism*) evaluate two out-groups: Saddam's regime and Islamist thinkers respectively. The rest of the judgment patterns include two +tenacity items which are attributed to the mediaeval Islamic states (*the subtle Islamic states, exercised a degree of tolerance*). These judgment patterns are used by the writer to praise the moral behaviour of Islamic states in past centuries, in order to accentuate the main out-group negative behaviour in contrast to its positive socio-political and cultural self-presentation (+tenacity: Our tolerance). The +tenacity of the mediaeval Islamic states is stressed to invoke the somewhat −tenacity of the main out-group (i.e., Isis is backward and intolerant). In short, the mediaeval Islamic states represent a middle-group (hereafter median/med group) which is neither associated with the West (main in-group) nor aligned with Isis (main out-group). Importantly, the median group receives only positive evaluation in the text. It is deliberately mentioned and its positive evaluation is highlighted to emphasise the main out-group's negative behaviour. The TT's emphasis on −propriety is further intensified by the engagement shift (modality-disclaim: deny) which will be discussed in section 6.2.4.

ST	To my mind, this gives *too much credence* to the way Isis views itself. There's *actually* little in common between the horribly repressive regime it has established in parts of Iraq and Syria and the subtle Islamic states of mediaeval times, which in Spain, for example, *exercised a degree of tolerance* at a time when the rest of Europe was wracked by persecution.
TT	أعتقد أن ذلك *مؤشر* على نظرة التنظيم لنفسه *فلا يوجد وجه للشبه* بين الدولة القمعية التي أسسها التنظيم في سوريا والعراق، وبين دول الإسلام في العصور الوسطى، مثل الأندلس التي قدمت نموذجًا للتسامح في الوقت الذي امتلأت فيه أوروبا بصنوف الاضطهاد.
BT	There *is no aspect of similarity* between the repressive state established by the [Isis] regime in Syria and Iraq and the Islamic states of mediaeval times....

Viewing Isis as a global power and, therefore, imminent danger seems to be part of the BBC discourse. This positive other representation is manifested in the use of several +capacity forms in the ST. The capacity of Isis is evaluated in terms of financial status, technology, combat skills, and ability to exercise control over a long period of time. The +capacity formulations (7) refer to financial status (e.g. *self-financing business; the wealthiest jihadist organization in the world*), technological proficiency (e.g. *its use of media is highly professional*) and combat skills (*battle-hardened and with bomb making skills*), while the fewer mentions of negative ones (3) have to do with the ability to control opposition groups and govern for an

extended period (e.g. *it may have already overreached itself; it's facing determined opposition*). These positive categories frame a negative other representation of Isis as an urgent threat or danger to global security while the few negative ones indicate the out-group's internal conflicts.

The only negative veracity in ST and TT is used to describe Isis's self-proclaimed caliphate:

ST the *self-styled* caliphate
TT الخلافة الانفرادية
BT the self-appointed caliphate

Both the terms *self-styled* and الانفرادية [self-appointed] delegitimise Isis rule. According to Islamic (Sunni) law, the caliph is either elected by a group of Muslim decision makers, or recommended by the previous caliph. Other methods are illegal. In this instance −veracity overlaps with −propriety. However, all the relevant inscriptions and invocations of the TT writer's evaluation of Isis need to be carefully identified, analysed and compared, in order to understand the TT writer's stance and uncover Isis's overall representation.

The direct inscribed −propriety *radical* shifts into the seemingly neutral *invoked* (evoked) judgment token (naming) ثوري *revolutionary* which evaluates the abstract noun فكر [thought], in the TT phrase فكر اسلامي [Islamic thought]. Notably, the more general term, فكر [thought] is the TT equivalent of the ST plural noun *ideas*. This abstract noun is usually used as a positive/neutral generic reference to Islamic thought (theological and/or political). However, like the ST producer, the translator seems to refer to a particular version of Islamist ideas (the ones regarded as radical by the ST producer), i.e. that of the Iranian Islamic revolution, in order to avoid assigning the inscribed negative appreciation *radical* to Islam in general. Interestingly, this *apparently* non-attitudinal word 'revolutionary' carries different evaluative connotations depending on the beliefs of the writer and his readership. Some Sunni readers, e.g. the Saudi government and its supporters, may associate it with negative evaluations, such as radical, while some Shiite readers, especially Iran's government and its backers, may relate it to more positive evaluations, such as righteous. Despite these nuances, the TT selection shifts from explicit to implicit interpersonal meaning (ideational), specifically a euphemistic naming choice.

The writer of the ST also made an implicit reference to the Iranian government revolutionary vanguard with a negative tone realized by the inscribed value judgment of –propriety, *merciless* (*especially by the idea that society can be reshaped by a **merciless** revolutionary vanguard using systemic violence*). This negative inscription is omitted by the TT writer. Consequently, these conscious or unconscious choices have downplayed the ST negative evaluation to a TT neutral one. This deletion and reduction of inscribed attitude can be seen as a kind of evaluative intervention by the translator who is also a ST reader and TT producer. This is a shift from the most direct attitude strategy (inscribe) into the most indirect one (evoke) (Munday, 2012, pp.30-31). Thus, it may also reflect a resistant reading (White, 2004, 2005) of the ST.

In the ST's negative inscribed interpersonal attitude such as *radical* and *merciless* position the writer's evaluative stance which is realized by evoked attitude (ideational token) e.g. *revolutionary*. In addition to its different cultural values across and within the Western and Arab worlds, *revolutionary* acquires a negative evaluation throughout the ST, since it is influenced by the negative evaluative prosody of modern revolutionaries (a ST out-group).

Hence, the TT writer's reduction of negative attitude does not necessarily indicate a positive bias or impartiality towards Iran itself. It rather appears to be a matter of avoiding direct negative attitude towards Iran to reflect the diverse worldviews of the readership and also lessens any possible overall negative representation of Islamic thinking (TT's in-group). As shown in Table 6., the complex explicit-implicit evaluation of political Islam through the example of Iran, defines Iran as an ST out-group and a TT mid-group despite the real-world political conflicts between Iran and other Islamic and Arab countries. In this way, Self, Med and Other cognitive representations realized by the explicit and implicit lexicogrammar both shape and are shaped by shifting group positioning in news discourse.

Table 6.3 ST23 Ideological square of Them vs. Med propriety (Iran)

ST Them (Iran) Enhance Other negative propriety via negative inscription + invocations (Intensity: specific)	TT Med (Iran) Mitigate Mid negative propriety via negative invocations (Intensity: general)
radical revolutionary *ideas*	Islamic revolutionary *thought*
a merciless revolutionary vanguard	a revolutionary vanguard

6.2.1.3 Appreciation

The ST contains few negative inscriptions of appreciation. These include negative reactions (3), and negative valuation (1). Two reaction items (*absurd, uncomfortable*) have been omitted and one (*dire*) is downplayed into neutral in the TT. Table 6. lists the appreciation realizations in the ST:

Table 6.4 ST23 Analysis of inscribed appreciation forms

-reaction quality: *dire* consequences, rejected as *absurd, uncomfortable* fact
-valuation *modern* proposition

Negative reaction is realized by a quality indicator taking the form of adjectives (evaluative epithets, the typical direct inscription) as shown in the following ST examples:

> the *dire* consequences of the exceptionally extreme interpretation of Islam
> Baghdadi's claim […] is dismissed by Islamic scholars and rejected as *absurd* by
> practically the entire Muslim world.

These inscribed appreciation epithets (negative quality), namely, *absurd* and. are omitted from the TT. *The **dire** consequences* (my translation: عواقب وخيمة) is consequently downplayed into مغبة [good or bad consequence] which can either be positive or negative according to its collocations and co-text: مغبة محمودة [praiseworthy consequence], مغبة سيئة [bad consequence]. Although this Arabic word has both singular and plural forms, it is frequently used in a fixed singular form collocating with a negative verb, such as حذر [warn] in media texts as observed in the concordance lines from Leeds Online internet/news corpora (2014).

6.2.2 Invoked attitude (White, 2005)

6.2.2.1 Appreciation

The ST writer's ideological stance towards Isis is clearly related to the use of otherwise neutral words which invoke negative vs. positive prosody (− and +valuation) attributed to Isis and the mediaeval Islamic states respectively. Indirect evaluation (−valuation) is realized by the apparently neutral adjective *modern* which, in this context, triggers a negative evaluation of Isis, in contrast to the apparently unbiased evaluations which invoke positive valuations of the mediaeval Islamic states: ***traditional Islamic system of government, mediaeval values, mediaeval times, and Islamic tradition, traditional rule.*** The indirect appreciation (− and +valuation) form a negative prosody of the main out-group evaluation and a

positive prosody of the middle group evaluation throughout the ST as can be seen in the following extracts:

Title: What it means to be *modern*
Although it claims to be reviving a *traditional* Islamic system of government, the jihadist group Isis is a very *modern* proposition
6-9 The fact that Isis –[…] claims it wants to restore an early type of Islam, leads many of us to see it as trying to bring a reversion to *mediaeval values*.
10-12 There is actually little in common between the horribly repressive regime it has established in parts of Iraq and Syria and the subtle Islamic states of *mediaeval times*
14 Isis is trying to eradicate every trace of Islamic *tradition*.
15-16 Isis resembles *a 20th century totalitarian state* more than any type of *traditional* rule.
17 Surprising as it may sound, Isis is in many respects thoroughly *modern*

The epithet *secular* (invoked appreciation: +valuation) is assumed to have been used with a similar indirect evaluative effect in the text although it occurs less frequently: only twice. It is employed to positively evaluate one of the minor out-groups' behaviour (the law under Saddam's rule, as well as the state he ruled) as can be seen in the following extracts:

49-51 With all the crimes that Saddam's dictatorship committed, it was a regime that applied *secular law* and made some steps towards emancipating women.
52 In my view, toppling Saddam was bound to unravel this *secular state* and the Iraqi state itself.

It can be concluded from these extracts that the words *secular*, *law* and *state* belong to positive evaluation as opposed to negative evaluation such as *repressive, violent, jihadist, radical,* etc. employed elsewhere in the ST to evaluate Isis.

Western ideological views regarding secularity are strikingly different from those of the Arab/Muslim world. The ST writer represents Western views on secular law and states, which are positive as many Western societies have secular laws and lifestyles. The TT writer is supposed to represent Middle Eastern views and many Islamic societies regard secularity as a negative quality. Although the adjective *secular* has been kept in the TT and translated accurately, it can carry either a positive or negative evaluation according to the writer's/reader's/institution's ideological position. In this particular instance, *secular* is used as a positive evaluation in both ST and TT and appears in the analysis of value rich and critical terms in the co-text (see 6.2.2.3). It is crucial to explore these apparently non-attitudinal terms which can carry sensitive interpersonal meanings and evoke attitude in the context of political media text translation.

6.2.2.2 Judgment Token (White, 2003)

In the following sentence, a judgment token asserts the previously addressed negative valuation **radical Islamist ideas** (see section 6.2.1.2) and triggers a reader response to judge Isis in the same way.

42-45 *The French Jacobins and Lenin's Bolsheviks, the Khmer Rouge and the Red Guards* all used terror as a way of cleansing humanity of what they regarded as moral corruption.

The ST writer associates the behaviour of Isis with a number of eighteenth- and twentieth-century revolutionary groups (*all used terror*) by means of an ideational judgment token (invoke: associate, Munday, 2012, p.63) in which the historical narration of such actions provides evidence for the analogy. These actions/events are part of the culture shared by the ST writer and the ST audience. That is, the writer employs ideational/experiential meaning in order to share a negative judgment with ST readers. The reader is manipulated by the writer's attitude (axiological) which is 'masqueraded' as factual (the western hegemonic worldview) information (ideological) (White, 2004, pp.238-244). In short, the ST writer appears to adopt a negative stance towards Isis and these other revolutionary movements, and a positive stance towards Islamic states of mediaeval times.

6.2.2.3 Value Rich Terms (Munday, 2012)

A propriety pattern which mitigates Saddam's overthrown regime includes what Munday (2012, p.41) terms "value rich points", i.e. "those points and lexical features in a text that are more susceptible to value manipulation". These critical points are translation shifts that can reveal the translator's values (ibid).

49-51 With all the crimes committed by Saddam's dictatorship, *it was a regime that applied secular law and had made some steps towards emancipating women.*

The culturally charged human rights term *emancipating* is a critical 'value rich' point, since British and Arab cultures hold different ideological views with respect to this concept. Together with the application of **secular** *law*, this term may trigger a positive response from the ST's Western readers who live in secular societies which value individual liberty and female 'emancipation'. In other words, the ST writer is sharing this positive value with the ST addressees. However, the human rights concept of *emancipating* may carry negative connotations for a Muslim readership from the orientalist discourse perspective. In fact, what appears to be a non-

attitudinal item can actually be loaded with different socio-cultural/socio-political ideologies and can invoke either positive or negative attitudes depending on the respective social context in which it occurs. In Munday's (2012) words, "potentially […] any word in any text indicates both axiological as well as ideological orientation" (p.20) and this can be revealed and systemically analysed through the appraisal framework.

The translator has opted for a Qur'anic term تمكين [enabling], in order to convey the ST legal term *emancipating* into the social context of the TT. This translation was adopted in the Human Rights documents of gender movements in the 1990s, especially with brackets simultaneously explaining its new Arabic alternative استقواء (empowering). The current TT item, تمكين has been criticised for being an imprecise or even erroneous translation of *empowering* due to the distinct nuances of استقواء and تمكين in Arabic (Mohammed, 2015). The former is derived from *power* and refers to giving power to women in their struggle with men (ibid.) implying that man is oppressive and assuming unequal power positions/relations. The latter, on the contrary, is a derivative of the root *m-k-n* [to enable something/somebody, to make something/somebody stable, make something/somebody steady] (*Lisan Al-Arab Online Dictionary*); thus, its basic meaning refers to a position, particularly a firmly established [high] position.

The extra nuances of the Qurʾanic alternative refer to a specific meaning: assigning a power position to either a specific Muslim person (namely a prophet) or a group such as the Muslim community on two conditions: ايمان [faith in God] and تكليف [commitment to God's commandments] with a view to اقامة الدين [establishing [God's] religion ultimately], i.e. تمكين تكليف [conditional enabling], while the general meaning is facilitating economic prosperity, humane living conditions, etc. for mankind- تمكين تكوين (universal enabling) (Khalil, 2012). While the gender movements' term is mainly *individualistic* focusing on female independence (Mohammad, 2015, my emphasis), the Quranic notion is group-based, i.e. a practicing Islamic community in which women, be it individuals or a group, are part of this coherent community. This implies women and men are regarded as integral society members (especially in the family context) complementing each other while complying with God's commandments including His guidance on power relations.

The translator avoided the ST word *emancipating* (عتق /تحرير). The denotative meaning of this term is freeing someone from "unpleasant or unfair social, political, or legal restrictions" or liberating "(a slave) from bondage". (*Collins Online* Dictionary). Therefore, when transferred into the TT context, it suggests freeing women from Islamic law (*sharia*) by claiming equal rights for women and men in economic, social and political domains such as divorce, family financial responsibilities, birth control, guardianship of underage girls, inheritance, employment, etc. *Sharia* is, then, represented as *oppressive,* i.e. discriminating between men and women, and, hence, even *illegal,* i.e. against human rights' agreements. This ST judgment token (Other's −propriety) is derived from the Orientalist/colonialist discourse in which the oriental man is represented as a slave trader who enslaves women. Therefore, the translator has selected the positive term تمكين not only because it is institutionalised in human rights' discourse, but also to avoid the unacceptable ideological connotations of other possible choices and to align with Muslim readers of the TT. Here, the translator's choice of the term تمكين provides evidence to support Munday's (2012) opinion that "all intervention is evaluative" (p.20) and that it is necessary, therefore, to take both conscious and unconscious translator choices into consideration.

This lexicogrammatical level choice, *emancipating*, both enacts and is enacted by the BBC's ideological square positive Self- in contrast to the negative Other presentation (Our (western) good things (emancipation/liberation) vs. Their (oriental) bad things (slavery/oppression). As Edward Said's (1978) account of orientalism suggests, self-identification is achieved through our cognitive representation of the Other. The original news discourse is, then, controlled by the Orient vs. the West and the Western mental models of the ST writers and/or their institution, and the contextual background of their texts. In the ST, for example, these macro-strategies are realized by Our +propriety vs. Their −propriety. .

Table 6.5 The ideological square of +Self and Med propriety vs. −Other propriety

US The West	THEM The Orient
Enhance Our +propriety **Advocating the emancipation of Their (oriental) women**	**Enhance Their − propriety** **Their women are enslaved/oppressed** some steps towards *emancipating women*

However, as noted above, the TT mitigates its in-group – propriety according to its mental models and contextual factors. The TT ideological square is, accordingly, exemplified as follows:

Table 6.6 The ideological square of +Self propriety vs. –Other propriety

US **Saddam as an example of the Orient (Muslim)**	THEM **The West**
Enhance Our +propriety **pro-Islamic family rights** enabling woman	**Enhance Their−propriety** **anti- Islamic family rights/individualistic** **gender discourse** empowering and/or emancipating women

6.2.2.4 Naming

The ST writer's ideological orientation is also indirectly represented by the ideational meaning category of naming (ideological) anarchism and communism which is supposed to invoke negative evaluation (invoked interpersonal evaluation: axiological) of Isis and the eighteenth- and twentieth-century revolutionary movements in this social context. It is worth mentioning that the TT writer adds the derogatory name داعش [Daesh], an acronym of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, to the Islamic State as an explanation of the ST *Isis*. This acronym reflects the solidarity between the TT writer and his audience and triggers a negative reader response towards Isis, as they are supposed to share the same ideological orientation towards the illegitimate status of Isis.

According to Black, the terms 'Islamic State', 'Isis', 'Isil' and 'Daesh' represent a "terminological conflict" which "has deep historic and cultural roots" (2014). They are also closely connected to political ideologies. For example, in an article entitled "The Readers' Editor on […] the naming of Isis", Pritchard noted that both Obama and Cameron used the acronym 'Isil' due to their political stances "(presumably to avoid references to Syria)" (2014). Some American news sources claim that Obama's use of the name Isil could be attributed to his Islamic cultural background, as the term 'the Levant' occupies a wider area than Syria, while others, like the Voice of America, assume that the Obama administration chose the term Isil instead of IS "to separate the extremist movement from the religion, Islam." (Hilleary, 2014). The White House avoided the use of IS derived from the widely respected historic Islamic system of caliphates, preferring Isil as this represents "the group's expansionist ambitions" (ibid.). Moreover, the Obama administration viewed Isil as a more accurate translation of its Arabic counterpart, as the L refers to 'the Levant'

replacing the S that stands for Syria in Isis (Lock, 2014). Referring to where Obama and his administration stood in the international political arena, this translation choice reflects the political bias of Obama's administration with respect to the civil war in Syria (Hilleary, 2014): The US president wished to avoid references to Syria in particular, since he rejected interfering or sending troops to Syria (Lock, 2014).

McConnell (2015) reported that the Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, chose the abbreviated term 'Daesh' because this "deprives the group of legitimacy" as the meaning of this term is lost in "non-Arabic contexts" and shows no traces of the religion of Islam. He also mispronounced this term as 'Dash', reflecting "a subtle power move" (ibid.). Hilleary (2014) reported that the French government also preferred this term because the other acronyms do not distinguish between "Islam, Muslims, and Islamists". According to Black (2014), the self-styled Islamic State is considered by British Muslim opponents (imams) of Isis as "neither Islamic nor a state". More interestingly, McConnell (2015) argues that the acronym IS is a literal translation of a religious ('old' Islamic system of governing) rather than a political concept (e.g. 'democratic' system of governing), since there are differences between the Islamic religious definitions of the State and the European bureaucratic one.

The large number of magazine and newspaper articles discussing the naming of Isis reflects how the individuals, societies and governments around the globe represent different historical, cultural, and socio-political world views/realities, with axiological meaning being presented in the form of ideological meaning (White, 2004). Thus, while the TT's in-text selection (Daesh) may literally be an alternative for Isil, this usage strips Isis of its religious legitimacy and coincides with the belittling non- religious definitions adopted by the British Muslim Imams, and the Canadian and French governments in a stark difference from the US administration's political selection (Isil) and the BBC ST politically correct counterpart (Isis). This instance of invoked meaning (Daesh) is part of the global evaluative prosody and attitudinal positioning of the TT text (anti-Isis, pro-historic Islamic States, pro-modern revolutionaries), i.e. Isis is neither Islamic nor modern.

The ST writer's further confirms his ideological position through the use of a set of direct and indirect attitudinal lexical items, such as *system of government, the subtle Islamic states of mediaeval times*, *Islamic tradition*, *traditional rule, ancient form of rule vs. the horribly repressive regime, a 20th century totalitarian state, Sunni*

jihadist movement, jihadists, jihadist group, violent jihadists, modern revolutionary tradition, disparate elements, Isis fighters, the jihadist organization, regime. In this way, the writer's attitudinal position legitimises the rule of the mediaeval Islamic states and delegitimises that of Isis, which is considered illegal according to international law. This is another clear example of how texts can be saturated by evaluative meaning (Martin and White, 2005, p.19) and how prosodic evaluation "colours the text" (ibid.), in order to convey the ideological stance of the writer. Halliday (1979, pp.66-67) comments on this cumulative effect of interpersonal meaning in texts as follows:

> Interpersonal meanings cannot easily be expressed as configurations of discrete elements […] The essence of the meaning potential of this part of the semantic system is that most of the options are associated with the act of meaning as a whole […] this interpersonal meaning is strung throughout the clause as a continuous motif of colouring […] the effect is cumulative […] we shall refer to this part as 'prosodic', since meaning is distributed like a prosody throughout a continuous stretch of discourse.

The mediaeval Islamic states receive a positive med-group representation, while Isis receives a negative out-group representation through the saturation of negative attitude in the ST.

6.2.3 Graduation

The ST makes use of a variety of graduation resources: intensification (15), quantification (8) and focus (1). Intensification is used to graduate attitudinal resources which include adjectives and non-core vocabulary. The intensification (force) resources employed in the ST include comparatives (e.g. *more*), intensifying modifying adverbs (e.g. *very*), and infused non-core lexical items (e.g. *wracked*). Quantification (force) resources are used in the ST to refer to both imprecise numbers (e.g. *some*) and extent (e.g. *over a number of years*). Only one instance of focus is used to sharpen affect in the text. Eight intensification items have been omitted (3), reduced (3), and increased (2) in the TT. Additionally, one quantification item has been omitted (*large quantities*), while another has been increased (*some*) in the TT. ST graduation resources can be seen in Table 6.:

Table 6.7 ST23 Analysis of graduation resources

Force: Intensification Up-Scale
very modern, *horribly* repressive, *wracked*, *more* oppressive, *more than* any type, *thoroughly* modern, *highly* efficient, *highly* professional, *exceptionally* extreme, *much more* like, *more* important, *clamoured*, *more* in common, shares *more* with
Force: Quantification Up-Scale

Large quantities of, *well* over 2 bn, *over a number of years*, *several* of its goals, *all* modern societies, *recently*, *on any long term basis*, *practically the entire*
Focus: Sharpen
real danger

6.2.3.1 Separate Intensification (Martin and White, 2005)

Intensifying adverbs

The ST writer uses up-scale intensifiers *very* and *thoroughly* to graduate the adjective *modern* (attributed to Isis), to convince readers of this negative evaluation of Isis:

2   the jihadist group is a *very* modern proposition.
17 Isis is in many respects *thoroughly* modern.

The grading adverb *very* is omitted from the TT, with *thoroughly* reduced to الى حد كبير [to a great extent].

The ST writer also uses intensifying modifying adverbs such as *horribly* and *exceptionally*, which become grading adverbs through grammaticalisation. The adverb *horribly* is used to intensify the negative propriety *repressive*, while *exceptionally* intensifies the negative judgment *extreme* in the following extracts:

11 *horribly* repressive regime
33 *exceptionally extreme* interpretation of Islam

The TT writer omits the intensifying adverb *horribly* and translates *exceptionally* by using the superlative intensifier أكثر [the most]. The superlative form (highest degree of intensity-upscale) reflects the TT writer's higher degree of confidence in the negative judgment attributed to Isis's interpretation of Islam. The intensification of the negative evaluation enhances the negative representation of Isis as an out-group in the TT. Similarly, the quantification in the ST phrase *practically the **entire** Muslim world* is slightly downplayed into معظم مسلمي العالم [most Muslims in the world].

The ST writer has effectively employed the negative intensifying adverb *too* and the quantifier *much* to evaluate Isis's view of itself as a traditional Islamic state or caliphate in a negative tone. These lexical items have been omitted in the TT in which the negative evaluation of the ST is reduced into a neutral one:

ST **10** To my mind, this gives *too much* credence to the way Isis views itself.
TT و أعتقد ان ذلك مؤشر على نظرة التنظيم لنفسه
BT I believe that this is *an indication* of the regime's view of itself.

Grading words occur frequently in highly opinionated news discourse, as these carriers of interpersonal meaning are effective devices for expressing the writer's explicit inter/subjective stance and should, therefore, be taken into consideration in translation.

Appraisal theory text analysis is expected to shed more light on the way amplifiers (e.g. very, thoroughly, horribly, awfully), as well as downtoners (e.g. nearly, almost, practically) (Quirk et al., 1985, p.589) are used cross-linguistically to hedge the writer's ideological view, and it helps to account for their frequent real-life language usage in media texts.

6.2.3.2 Infused Intensification (Martin and White, 2005)

Non-core words

Infused intensification is manifested in the verb in the passive construction "*the rest of Europe was **wracked** by persecution*" (13) and the verb in the active construction "*The politicians and opinion formers who **clamoured** for invasion*" (66). The non-core infused intensification of *wracked* is lessened into the core passive verb امتلأت ب [was filled with] in the TT. The relative clause including *clamoured* has been omitted in the TT. To deal with the challenging infused form of the passive verb *wracked*, the translator resorts to explication, adding the plural quantification صنوف [sorts/kinds] to explicitly intensify (force: quantity) negative propriety, viz. الاضطهاد.

Remarkably, the translation strategies (deletion and explication) show a potential translation difficulty and they may result in a distortion of the ST ideological group polarisation   strategies. Notice how this is played out in the ideological square formulation below. While the ST indirectly evaluates Our (ingroup) negative behaviour via invoked attitude (verbal process, passivisation, and non-core word) in the ST, the TT uses direct attitude (explication). The translation strategies follow an ideological square trend: an ST implicitation strategy for Our in-group bad things vs. a TT explication strategy for Their bad things.

Table.6.8. reduction of ST intensification

ST's US	TT's THEM
negative self-esteem intensity infusion (verbal processes) *Clamoured*	deleted sentence
negative social sanction intensity infusion *was wracked by persecution*	*was filled with kinds of persecution*

6.2.4 Engagement

6.2.4.1 Entertain

Probability and usuality are used in the ST to reflect the writer's assumptions and expectations about the state of affairs described in the text. The agent of inclination is the out-group (Isis and Baghdadi). In total, there are 28 modals in the translated paragraphs: 12 are maintained in the translation, six are omitted, three are translated as assertions, one is translated as a negation, three are translated as different degrees, two are mistranslated, and one shifts from passive into active (total changes: 16). The ST modals and their translations can be seen in Table 6. and

Table 6..

Table 6.9 ST23 Analysis of probability, usuality and ability

ST Modality	TT Equivalent
Probability	
10 There is *actually* little in common	Disclaim: Deny فلا يوجد وجه للشبه There is no aspect of similarity
17 Surprising as it *may* sound	Assertion و المثير للدهشة أن It is surprising that
59-60 The idea that a stable federal system *could* develop was always far-fetched.	Higher Degree (Emphasis) فان تقديم نظام فيدرالي في هذه الظروف *كان* دائما صعب المنال Introducing a federal system in these circumstances was always far-fetched.
64-65 I *think*	Omitted
76 Isis *may* have already overreached itself	Omitted
84 There *must* be a danger	Assertion و هناك خطر *There is* a danger that
84-85 Still, there *must be* a danger that Western citizens who have gone to Syria and Iraq as Isis fighters *will return*	Assertion+ nominalisation *There is…the return of*
87 In these circumstances there *may* be an increased risk that	Omitted
87-88 One or other of these groups *will* be tempted to stage a spectacular act of terror	lower degree *قد* تتجه بعض الجماعات الى تنظيم اعمال عنف Some of these groups *may* tend to organise terror acts
79 and *it is not clear* that it can govern a state on any long-term basis	higher degree ومن *غير الموكد* ان كانت تستطيع حكم دولة على المدى البعيد And it is not certain that it can govern a state on a long-term basis.
52 In my view, toppling Saddam *was bound to unravel* this secular state and the Iraqi state itself	Mistranslated ومن وجهة نظري كانت الإطاحة بصدام مرتبطة بالقضاء على هذه الدولة العلمانية و دولة العراق نفسها Toppling Saddam *was related to* eliminating this *secular* state and the Iraqi state itself
10 To my mind,	Maintained أعتقد I believe
5-6 The horrifying savagery with which the jihadist organization treats anyone that stands in its way *seems*	Maintained فالوحشية التي يتعامل بها الجهاديون مع معارضيهم *تبدو* وكأنها اتية من

to come from a bygone era.	حقبة مضت The savagery with which the jihadists treat their opponents *seems* as coming from a bygone era.
14-15 It's *probably* even more oppressive than the Taliban were in Afghanistan	Maintained وهي *غالبا* اكثر قمعا من طالبان في افغانستان And it is *often/ mostly* more repressive than the Taliban in Afghanistan
42 especially by the idea that society *can* be reshaped by a merciless revolutionary vanguard	Maintained خاصة/*إمكانية* تغيير المجتمع بحرس ثوري Especially *the possibility* of changing society by a revolutionary vanguard
54 *The country would* eventually *have broken* up	Maintained *كان* العراق *سيتفكك* في نهاية الامر Iraq *would have broken* up in the end.
64 *No doubt*	Maintained مما لا شك فيه It is not doubted that
65-67 The politicians and opinion formers who clamoured for the invasion *believed* that all modern societies are evolving towards a single form of government—the type that exists in western countries.	Maintained فالكثير من الساسة و المفكرين راوا ان جميع المجتمعات الحديثة تتطور نحو نوع واحد من الحكومات تلك الموجودة في الدول الغربية Many politicians and opinion formers *believed* that all modern societies are evolving towards one type of government that which exists in western countries.
67-68 *If only* tyranny was swept away, the country *would* move towards democracy	Maintained وراوا ان الإطاحة بالحكم الاستبدادي في العراق سيدفع البلاد نحو الديمقراطية And they believed that toppling the dictatorship in Iraq would push the country towards democracy
68 and the rest of the Middle East would follow	Maintained وسيتبعها في ذلك بقية دول الشرق الأوسط and the rest of the Middle Eastern countries will follow
69 Some were *convinced* that a similar process *could* take place in Syria.	Higher degree Nominalised كان البعض *مقتنعا بإمكانية* حدوث عملية مماثلة في سوريا Some were convinced that there is a possibility for a similar process to take place in Syria.
93 the forces it embodies *aren't going to* fade away.	Maintained فان القوى المكونة لها لن تختفي The forces which form it are *not going/will not* disappear
Ability	
94 and until we grasp that uncomfortable fact we won't be able to deal with the dangers we face.	Maintained و لن نستطيع مواجهة هذه المخاطر حتى نقتنع بهذه الأزمة. we will not be able to face these dangers until we become convinced about this crisis.
Usuality	
59-60 Whatever the failings of the Maliki government, the idea that a stable federal system could develop in these circumstance has *always* been far-fetched.	Maintained فان تقديم نظام فيدرالي في هذه الظروف كان *دائما* صعب المنال …Introducing a federal system in these circumstances was *always* far-fetched.
63 It is sometimes suggested that ideology played no part in the invasion of Iraq	Deleted paragraph

Table 6.10 ST23 Analysis of inclination

ST Inclination	TT Equivalent
6-8 The fact that Isis […] claims that it *wants* to restore an early type of Islam	Mistranslated و تبدو دعوة تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق و الشام (داعش) لاستعادة بواكير العصر الإسلامي لدى الكثيرين بمثابة محاولة لاستعادة قيم العصور الوسطى. **BT:** And it seems that the Islamic State's (Daesh) call for restoring the early times of the Islamic era is, for many, an attempt to regain the values of the Middle

	Ages.
46 Though they would *hate to hear it*	Omitted
87-88 One or other of these groups will be *tempted to* stage a spectacular act of terror	(Active) قد تتجه بعض هذه الجماعات الى تنظيم اعمال عنف **BT:** Some of these groups may tend to organise terror acts

The main sentence (bolded topic sentence) which presents the key point being made by both the ST writer includes a bare assertion downplayed into modalization (probability: *it seems*) and a high degree intensifier *very* which is rendered into a lower degree usuality (*much of the time*).

ST Although it claims to be reviving a traditional Islamic system of government, the jihadist group *is* a very *modern* proposition.

TT " رغم ان تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية يزعم انه يحيي نظام الحكم الإسلامي إلا أنه *يبدو في كثير من الأحيان* معاصرا" باستخدامه وسائل حديثة.

BT But *it seems* to be modern *much of the time*, since it uses modern means.

The choice of probability and usuality in the TT sentence reflects a lower degree of commitment to the truth of the statement on the part of the translator as TT writer. This example is significant because the first sentence of the text provides the main argument made by the ST writer. In other words, the ST and TT writers adopt different stances with regard to the truth of this statement and this is made possible by the modal choice in the TT.

The ST writer develops this argument in another sentence using an assertion and employing quantification and a personal pronoun *us* to align with the readers and give weight to his claim. Again, the translator translates the assertion into the epistemic modality 'seems' and omits the quantification and personal pronoun which is an indication of a relationship of solidarity between the ST writer and his audience. In so doing, the translator is distancing himself from readers and hedging the claim of the ST writer. As the following ST and TT sentences show, what is presented as fact in the ST is translated into epistemic modality in the TT and the whole sentence is in the scope of modality:

ST *The fact that* Isis claims that it wants to restore an early type of Islam, leads many of us to see it as trying to bring back a reversion to mediaeval values.

BT *It seems that* Isis's claim regarding getting back an early type of Islam is an attempt to regain mediaeval values.

The opposite also occurs in the TT where an epistemic modal is translated into negation. The modal *actually* and the quantification (soften) *little*, for instance, are omitted and the sentence is rendered into negation:

ST   There is *actually little* in common between the horribly repressive regime it established in parts of Iraq and Syria and the subtle Islamic states of the mediaeval times.

TT   فلا يوجد وجه للشبه بين الدولة القمعية التي أسسها التنظيم في سوريا و العراق وبين دول الإسلام في العصور الوسطى.

BT   There is no aspect of similarity between the repressive state which was established by the organization in Syria and Iraq and the Islamic states in the mediaeval times.

The ST writer expresses low commitment to the truth of the claim that Isis is similar to the mediaeval Islamic states using both *actually* and *little*. Instead of modality and quantification in the TT, the choice of negation seems to represent the translator's stance towards the truth of the ST statement. By using negation the translator expresses his/her opinion that there is no similarity between Isis and the Islamic states of mediaeval times. The translator may have made this choice to align with the different culture of a mainly Arab Muslim and Christian ST readership around the world who share this view.

Interestingly, the translator closes the dialogic space opened by the ST writer, by omitting modality and rendering the clause as an assertion:

ST   Surprising *as it may sound*, Isis is in many respects thoroughly modern.

TT   و المثير للدهشة أن التنظيم يتسم بالمعاصرة الى حد كبير.

BT   What is surprising is that the organization is modern to a great extent.

The counter expectation (*what is surprising*) indicates that the claim '*the organization is modern*' is against the expectations of the TT's writer and readership and the omission of modality reduces or closes any opposing views. The ST writer, however, uses epistemic modality (*as it may sound*), to open up the dialogic space for opposing views, sharing this view with readers who agree with it. Again, choosing modality or assertion identifies the inter/subjective stances of the ST and TT writers and their engagement with the audience.

Similarly, while the ST writer makes use of probability (*must* and *will*) to express a higher degree of confidence and possibility, the TT writer omits both these modals, translating the sentence as an assertion.

ST   Still, there must be a danger that Western citizens who have gone to Syria and Iraq as Isis fighters will return battle-hardened and with new bomb-making skills.

TT   وهناك خطر يتمثل في عودة المواطنين من دول الغرب

BT   There is a danger embodied in the return of citizens of western countries

It is clear that the ST asserts the danger of the Isis fighters returning using a high degree modal of certainty and one of futurity reflecting the writer's confidence in

the statement while at the same time opening up the dialogic space to other views (entertain). The TT writer, however, uses assertion, reflecting a higher degree of confidence in the statement, but does not open up the dialogic space for divergent claims (assertion).

In the following sentence, the TT writer translates the ST high possibility modal *will* into قد [might/could] expressing low possibility and expectation in Arabic. The TT writer does not appear to show the same level of confidence in the statement as the ST writer. This is supported by the omission of the phrase '*there may be an increased risk that*' showing that the expected risk of staging a spectacular terror act is high.

ST In these circumstances there may be an increased risk that one or other of these groups *will be tempted to stage a spectacular act of terror* in order to secure a position of leadership in the global jihadist struggle.

TT في هذه الحال قد تتجه بعض هذه المجموعات الى اعمال إرهابية

BT In this case, some of these groups *might* turn to terror acts

Additionally, the TT writer translates the modal clause (*it's not clear that*) into a higher degree modal (*it is not certain that*) conveying a higher degree of commitment to the truth of the statement to the readership of the TT:

ST *It's not clear that* it can govern a state on any long-term basis.

TT من غير المؤكد

BT It is not certain that it can govern for a long time.

Finally, the modal *bound* which expresses inevitability, probability (logical conclusion) is mistranslated in TT into *related to*:

ST In my view, toppling Saddam *was bound to unravel* this secular state and the Iraqi state itself.

TT من وجهة نظري كانت الإطاحة بصدام مرتبطة بالقضاء على هذه الدولة العلمانية و دولة العراق نفسها.

BT In my point of view, toppling Saddam was related to the elimination of this secular state and the state of Iraq itself.

In this sense, the ST modal is equivalent to the Arabic modal adverb حتما [inevitably].

كانت الإطاحة بصدام حسين ستفكك *حتما* هذه الدولة العلمانية

Toppling Saddam Hussein would inevitably unravel this secular state.

6.3 Discussion

This discussion is concerned with the ST and the TT writer's evaluative representations of and stances towards Isis, the mediaeval Islamic states and modern western revolutionaries.

The ST writer aligns with and takes a positive stance towards mediaeval Islamic states (med-group) even though these are not part of the ST's in-group. The positive traits and behaviour of these states are highlighted in comparison to Isis, in order to enhance the negative evaluation of Isis as an out-group. Thus, the negative out-group values are emphasized by the med-group's positive values.

The ST's positive evaluation of the mediaeval Islamic states is achieved by accumulating evaluative meanings:

> There is *actually little* in common between the *horribly repressive* regime it has established *in parts of* Iraq and Syria and the *subtle* Islamic states of *mediaeval* times, which in Spain*,* for example, exercised *a degree of tolerance* at a time when the rest of Europe was *wracked* by *persecution*.

Here we see the writer's selections of expand: entertain (*actually*), reduction of force (*little*), intensification of −propriety (*horribly repressive*), reduction of force (*in parts of*), +tenacity (*subtle*), and the invoked value rich word (*mediaeval*), reduction of force (*a degree of*), and +tenacity (*tolerance*), scaled up intensification of a non-core word (*wracked*), and −propriety (*persecution*).

This example is saturated with both inscribed and invoked positive evaluation of the Islamic states while Isis receives only one intensified −propriety. The writer's bias is clear in this instance which is rich in positive evaluations of the Islamic states while marginalizing Isis with one negative instance.

Tellingly, the ST's toned up −propriety (*wracked by persecution*) of mediaeval Europe (ST's mid-group) is also chosen to enhance the +tenacity (*exercised a degree of tolerance*) of these Islamic states (ST's mid-group). According to this and other evaluative choices, the mediaeval Islamic states are represented as a mid-group whose positive behaviour is highlighted by emphasizing the in-group's (*mediaeval Europe*) negative though partly implicit evaluation (*wracked*).

The above extract as well as the invoked choice of revolutionary movements (see section 6.2.2.2) indicate that both positive and negative evaluation of one group (med goup) can be manipulated by the writer to enhance the negative evaluation of

another. It also shows that the concatenations of inscribed and invoked evaluation in the text can enhance the writer's positive and/or negative stance towards the in-, mid-, and out-group. Shifts from mid- to in-group could also take place and impinge on the translational choices.

Now let's compare the stances of the ST and TT writers. While the former opts for *Spain,* the modern name of a western country, the TT writer adopts a more positive stance towards the TT's in-group (mediaeval Islamic states), evident in the invoked meaning shift from *Spain* to a value rich and critical naming: *Al-Andalus*. This is positively connoted in Islamic and Arab history because it represents the golden age of the greatness of Islam which exhibited tolerance for other monotheistic religions under Islamic rule, namely, Judaism and Christianity. The graduation is also increased as the political control of Al-Andalus expanded to other neighbouring countries including Portugal and parts of France. This culturally loaded word triggers all kinds of positive attitudes in the minds of Muslim and Arab readers. This critical stance represents a particular religious, political and historical ideology in the Muslim Arab world, i.e. the target readership of the TT. It is interesting to see how the Us versus Them ideological representations change in the context of English/Arabic news translation by comparing the evaluative choices or critical points in the translator decision-making process (Munday, 2012). The mediaeval Islamic states are viewed as a real part of the in-group of the TT, meaning its positive invoked evaluation is sharpened in this text.

Even the inscribed positive evaluation of these Islamic states is scaled up. The TT writer replaces the ST's choice *a degree of* into the TT's *a model of* reflecting a more favourable stance towards this in-group/Us in the TT.

Again, the TT's positive lexical choices and their up-scaled and sharpened graduation appraising the mediaeval Islamic states (ST mid-group and TT in-group) combine to create a positive wave of attitude towards them which enhances the negative attitude towards the ST and TT out-group (Isis).

Unlike the ST, the toned up negative invoked evaluation (non-core word: *wracked*) of mediaeval Europe is toned down into *filled with*. This shift shows that non-core words may prove challenging for the translator, as mediaeval Europe is not part of the TT in-group or med-group.

The deletion of the less challenging type of graduation (separate quantity), on the other hand, could also be part of a tendency towards the reduction of attitude graduation in translation and interpreting evidenced in the literature (e.g. see Munday 2012). For example, Isis's power is intensified in the TT by deleting quantification (*in parts of Iraq and Syria*) expanding the power of Isis (TT outgroup) over these two countries.

A more negative attitude towards Isis itself is expressed by transferring entertain (expand) and graduation (quantification) ***actually little*** in *common* into deny (contract) ***there is no aspect of*** *similarity,* which contracts the discourse space for other evaluative stances and voices. The amplification of engagement and graduation creates this negative stance which may trigger a negative reading towards this TT out-group. This is mainly achieved by closing up the discourse to opposing voices.

The entertain to deny shift is enhanced by another bare assertion into entertain shift accompanied by graduation (intensification: *very*) deletion in the first sentence of the TT which appears in bold as a caption of the first news photo in the ST:

> **Although it *claims* to be reviving a traditional Islamic system of government, the jihadist group Isis *is a very modern* proposition, writes John Gray.**

The style of the main sentence stresses the writer's foregrounded and most important evaluation: Isis is *very modern*. Tellingly, the appraisal contrast between the ST's use of bare assertion and graduation of negative invoked appreciation, on one hand, and the TT's entertain and deletion of intensified graduation of positive attitude, on the other, provides evidence of the contrast between the ST and TT ideological stance towards Isis as manifested in the negative and positive evaluative orientations of the seemingly neutral appreciation, *modern*, in both texts. This appreciation invokes different judgments in the ST and TT worlds, assigning a negative stance to the ST and a positive one to the TT, resulting from a shift between groups. While the ST regards modern revolutionaries as an out-group, the TT regards them as part of the in-group. This shift of attitude is achieved mainly through engagement and graduation shifts and other invoked evaluative shifts throughout both texts. Several strings of inscribed and invoked evaluation interweave to project the diverse ideological stances and ideological group orientations of the ST and TT in question.

Consider the invoked and inscribed shifts from communism to socialism and from radical into revolutionary Islamic thinking when evaluating the modern western revolutionaries and thinkers in the TT. The underlying ideology is unravelled by these shifts. The hidden ST ideology is anti-communism and anti-modern western revolutions whereas the masked ideology of the TT is pro-western and Arab socialism and pro-western revolutionaries and their Muslim and Arab counterparts, e.g. Qutb's social revolutionary jihad (Sunni branch), Iran's Islamic revolution (Shia branch), and Arab nationalism (Muslim Arab leaders such as Nasser, Saddam, Gaddafi, and Assad). Socialism highlights socio-political values such as secularism, and tolerance of other religions, placing less focus on materialism than that of communism. Thus, contrary to the ST's negative view of communist values, the socialist values are considered positive according to the TT.

A closer look at Saddam's evaluation in both texts supports our argument concerning these shifts even further. As noted previously, Saddam's application of *secular law* (emancipating women) in the ST is depicted via تمكين as conforming to Islamic sharia (enabling women) in the TT. The direct −propriety, *dictatorship*, in the ST is described as legitimate in the TT (*his rule*). The positive indirect and direct evaluation shifts intertwine with the deletion of the naming (regime**)** and the up-scaled intensification (sharpen) of *made some steps towards* into *achieved some progress,* accumulatively representing Saddam as a TT in-group.

Even though the TT writer attempts to be unbiased towards Isis, appraisal analysis reveals his negative bias. Despite the TT's out-group's name *Isis* frequent shifts into the neutral and the group's preferred religious and political name (*the Islamic State*) and the apparently neutral labels (*the regime, the Islamic State regime*), the ST's negative label *Jihadis* is, however, kept in the TT. In line with this indirect evaluation (−propriety), the TT writer changes a direct −veracity item (*the self-styled caliphate*) into a direct −propriety one (*the self-appointed caliphate*) to delegitimise Isis according to Islamic law (see previous section). In the same vein, the reduction of the ST's *a caliphate* into *the caliphate* depicts Isis as a specific/separate type of caliphate, in order to isolate it from the mediaeval Islamic states and the four Righteous Caliphates, stripping it of its alleged religious and political legitimacy.

Most importantly, the graduation category alone cannot detect bias unless positive and negative prosody of evaluative representations of the groups is carefully

compared in the light of appraisal theory and the Us-Them polarisation of the ideological square. Without such analysis inconsistent choices will make it difficult to construe the writer's ideological positioning. For instance, the deviation from *a spectacular act of* **terror** to **violent** *acts* and the deletion of *violent* from *these* **violent** *jihadis* are inconsistent with the overall evaluative stance of the TT. Hence, these shifts are considered insignificant. However, since they are instances of direct attitude, they may be assumed to be part of the TT writer's attempt to appear neutral/less negative and indirect. The deletion shifts, especially of the adjective *spectacular,* may also be due to time pressure, leading to translators making stylistic errors and using less natural language than that found in the original Arabic corpora.

6.4   Concluding Remarks

This appraisal text analysis has focused on the resources of inscribed and invoked attitude, engagement, and both separate and infused graduation of attitude. The analysis revealed a number of significant shifts: direct to indirect attitude, negative to neutral attitude, modalization to bare assertion and vice versa, increased (up-scaled) to reduced (down-scaled) graduation. Deletions of direct inscriptions of attitude and graduation, as well as modality have also taken place, together with shifts from lower to higher degrees of modality and from reduced to increased graduation (quantification).

In the next chapter (Chapter Seven), thus, the appraisal discourse analysis will be mainly concerned with entertain (probability and inclination), infused graduation (intensity and quantity infusions) of attitude, and invoked attitude (value rich words, naming, non-core words). The invoked attitudinal resources of ideational meaning (such as tools from CDA including lexical choices of naming) are significantly opinion oriented as seen in this analysis. Therefore, they will also be compared and analysed whenever they occur in the data.

This kind of analysis sheds light on the power of both inscribed and invoked attitudinal resources as well as modality in expressing the ST and TT writer's ideological stances in media texts and their translations. Therefore, the linguistic tools of appraisal are considered valuable in detecting inscribed and invoked attitude cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. Accordingly, they form a significant part of the translator's choices and are expected to provide insights into the translation process and its role in news reporting and in forming public opinion in both online

and printed international media sources, such as the *BBC* online news website, *The Guardian* and *Newsweek*.

7 Chapter Seven: Data Analysis II

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an appraisal discourse analysis of 12 representative texts selected from the data corpus with a view to analysing appraisal patterrns across the original and translated discourse of the chosen news outlets: *BBC* appraisal discourse analysis (section 7.2), *The Guardian* appraisal discourse analysis (section 7.3), *Newsweek* appraisal discourse analysis (section 7.4). The analysis proceeds from the previous data analysis chapter and it focuses on engagement (entertain), graduation (intensity and quantity infusions), and invoked attitude (judgement tokens).

7.2 BBC Appraisal Discourse Analysis

7.2.1 ST01: Egyptians nervous of Israeli culture

7.2.1.1 Entertain

The number of the ST's probability modal auxiliaries (5 modals), illustrated in the table below, is equal to that of obligations (5). The inclination semi- modal auxiliaries are the least (2).

Table 7.1 ST01 probability and inclination

Probability	Inclination
A minister for 22 years, he has refused to visit Israel, and his threat to burn any Israeli books he found in the Alexandria library *can hardly* have helped. "Real cooperation between Egyptians and Israelis *would* raise the possibility of peace in this region. I am sure of it" Ali Salem In Egypt no one *will* touch his work. Mr Salem believes the rules come from some place near the top. "How else *could* it happen?", he said. … and they believe translating Israeli books *will* significantly further cultural normalization.	"And we *are going to* preface each of these books with an introduction explaining everything." "But we *are going to* help him with this introduction"

The power of prediction is disguised by the median group reported speech, as displayed in the table above, attending to the news report 'objective' voice. However, the current translations of Entertain are affected by a number of factors:

ideological square out-group-in-group (re)positioning, text information packaging, co-text, and news reporting 'objective' voice.

Entertain is added, in order to soften the ST writer's claim about the ST's outgroup (Egyptians), allowing the target discourse divergent views. As can be seen in the extract below, the TT writer uses the Arabic probability particle, *rubbama*, in its reduction sense to expand the discourse for the TT readership possible objections, mitigating the TT's in-group negative affect (hatred) which invokes negative propriety.

ST: but secrecy surrounding projects like this reveals that *in reality there is still enormous mistrust, even hatred*, that exists for anything connected Israel – and that includes Jewish culture.

TT: تنهض دليلا ان قدرا كبيرا من عدم الثقة بل *ربما* الكراهية المرتبطة بأي شيء له علاقة باسرائيل بما في ذلك معالم الثقافة اليهودية

BT: stands as a proof that there is still a great deal of mistrust, *maybe* even hatred for anything connected with Israel including the Jewish cultural landmarks.

The translations of the ST *would* (prediction), *will* (certainty), and *are going to* (intention) are replaced by the same form- the particle *sa* attending to the information packaging of the report as reported by previous studies on *sa*'s tendency to occur in news reporting. Two occurrences of *sa* express certainty due to the co-text. First, as a translation of *would* predicting (hypothetical) peace as the result of "real co-operation between Israelis and Egyptians", *sa* occurs in the predicate of emphatic *inna* which in turn puts more emphasis on its subject "real co-operation". It is to be noted that in such construction the short form *sa* rather than *sawfa* normally co-occurs with *inna*. The sentence consisting of *will* is also followed by "I am sure of it" and its Arabic counterpart is followed by "انني واثق من ذلك" [[Inna] I am confident/certain]. Secondly, as a replacement of *will* which in turn falls in the scope of *believe* emphasising the Egyptians' belief that "translating Israeli books *will* significantly further cultural normalization".

When translating the ST prediction about the outgroup negative behavior (castigation of Ali Salem) *will* is deleted and transferred into an unmodalized assertion. Despite this omission *touch* is downplayed into *ignored*.

ST: In Egypt no one *will* touch his work.

TT: واهمل القراء كتبه

BT: And readers ignored his books.

To emphasize the ST's claim regarding the western (Unesco vote) reaction to Farooq Hosni's(TT in-group) anti-Israeli views and actions, the modal *can* is deleted

shifting Entertain into Denial thereby closing the discourse for other diverging opinions. The TT shift emphasizes a Jewish conspiracy against the TT in-group-Arabs/Egyptians.

ST: A minister for 22 years, he has refused to visit Israel, and his threat to burn any Israeli books he found in the Alexandria library *can hardly have helped*.

TT: ورفض حسني الذي ظل يشغل منصب لمدة 22 عاما زيارة اسرائيل كما ان تهديده بحرق الكتب الاسرائلية التي وجدها في مكتبة الاسكندرية لم تساعده في طلب ترشيحه.

BT: Husni who has been a minister for 22 years refused to visit Israel and his threat to burn the Israeli books which he found in Alexandria Library *did not help* in his application for nomination.

Finally, *could* is rendered as *yumkin*, since this Arabic impersonal modal counterpart tends to occur in interrogatives and it disguises the negative median group's (Ali Salem) opinion as hypothetical or neutral possibility.

7.2.1.2 Graduation

The text includes only two occurrences of inscribed infused force which are downplayed according to outgroup- in-group shifts. The first more general *houses* changes into the less general though still unspecific *some Jewish families*. The second, *shocked* is reduced in vigor.

Table 7.2 ST01 Reduced Intensity

ST	TT	BT
houses were abandoned as tensions with Israel grew.	و تركت بعض *العائلات اليهودية منازلها* في ظل تزايد اتوتر العلاقات بين مصر ودولة اسرائيل	*Some Jewish families left their houses* amid growing tensions in the relations between Egypt and the State of Israel.
Ms Mustafa told me she was *shocked* by the reaction.	وقالت *الاكاديمية المصرية انها قد فوجئت* بما حدث.	The Egyptian academic said she *was surprised* by what happened

7.2.1.3 Invoked Attitude

Before moving to the analysis of evoked attitude, inscribed affect patterns of the outgroup and median group members in this news report deserve some attention, as they are used strategically to invoke negative judgments of the ST's outgroup (the Egyptian community, the Egyptian Culture Minister (Farooq Hosni), the Egyptian journalists of AL-Ahram newspaper).

The text evaluates the negative feelings of the outgroup (Egyptians society) towards Israel, as illustrated in the table below, namely mistrust and hatred; castigation and

ostracisation of anyone trying to normalise with Israel or visit it; and vilification of an Egyptian journalist who welcomed Israeli officials to her office. These feelings create a negative prosody of the Egyptians' rejection of Israel and its culture, viz. negative inclination. The news report accumulates these negative affect markers, in order to emphasize the outgroup's negative behaviour-refusing normalization (intolerance).

Table 7.3 ST01 In-group, Median Group and Out-Group Affect

Unhappiness	even *hatred*
Insecurity	Egyptians are *nervous* of Israel's Culture there is enormous *mistrust* she (Med) was *shocked* by the reaction there is nothing to *fear* from intellectual debate
Dissatisfaction	Those who tried were *castigated* and *ostracised* she was *vilified* by peers Why is Egypt *so opposed* to any form of cultural normalization?
Inclination	his (Med-group) burning *curiosity* She was recently approached by the Israeli ambassador (In-group) who was *keen* to organise a debate on President Barak Obama's initiatives for peace.

In addition to this negative prosody, the absence of corresponding Israeli feelings suggests an anti-Egyptian and a pro-Israeli biases. That is, hatred and rejection is one sided. Only two insecurity occurrences of this negative Affect wave have been mitigated by the TT writer, namely *nervous* and *shocked*. The former appears in the ST title in order to describe the nrgative feelings of the Egyptians in general towards cultural normalization.

> **ST:** Egyptians *nervous* of Israeli culture.
> **TT:** المصريون *متحفظون* تجاه التطبيع الثقافي مع اسرائيل
> **BT:** Egyptians *reserved* towards the cultural normalization with Israel

The latter is used to assess the feelings of an Egyptian journalist (Median Group) who has been accused of normalizing with the Israelis, since she welcomed the Israeli ambassador in her office.

> **ST:** Ms Mustafa told me she was *shocked* by the reaction.
> **TT:** وقالت الاكاديمية المصرية انها قد *فوجئت* بما حدث.

BT: The Egyptian academic said she *has been surprised* by what happened.

Another median group intellectual (the playwright Ali Salim), who was castigated by the TT's in-group, is appraised by a positive inclination, *his burning curiosity*, as he was eager to visit Israel. Therefore, the respective median group affect categories imply that the ST's outgroup members are acting against the laws and freedoms of human rights approved by the Egyptian constitution. The evaluation of the median group affect is not an end in itself. It is a discursive polarization strategy of social group positioning to criticise the Other- ST's positive median representation (tolerance) vs the TT negative Other presentation (intolerance).

The out-group insecurity, *fear*, though part of Deny (there is nothing to fear), is intensified as a more specific type of fear, *yukhsha*, which is a high degree of fear similar to biblical meaning of fear in English dictionaries, where the feared or Israel in this case is stronger than us. Thus, the Egyptians are viewed as the abused side of the struggle-a TT negative Oher- representation.The ST's insecurity marker and the Deny category show that there are no legitimate reasons for the Egyptians' fear of normalizing relations with Israelis. The corresponding TT Affect (yukhsha).

Judgment Tokens

Quoting Ms Mustafa, the ST indicates that Ms Mustafa was shocked by her peers' dissatisfaction (vilification) because normalization with the Israeli embassy is legally approved by the constitution and the state. Thus, the inscribed insecurity, *shocked*, invokes a negative judgment of her peers' anti-constitutional or illegal behaviour (Affect-invoked judgement; -propriety).

The dissatisfaction item, *vilified by her peers* emphasizes the same ST outgroup negative propriety. The TT writer mitigates this anti-TT in-group evaluation into تعرض للانتقاد [was subject to *criticism*] while the passive agent *she* is deleted and replaced by *her meeting* (mitigate Our TT in-group negative propriety) as seen in the following extract:

ST: Since her meeting she was *vilified* by her peers.
TT: لكن لقاءها مع السفير الاسرائيلي تعرض للانتقاد من طرف زملاءها.
BT: But *her meeting* with the Israeli ambassador was subject to *criticism* from her peers.

The ideational (judgment) tokens of intolerance vs tolerance evaluate the Egyptian-Israeli tension in the source text. According to such tokens, the Egyptian Culture Minister and the Egyptians initiate *an intellectual war* and *a cold war* (Emphasize

Their negative propriety, i.e aggressive) unlike the Israelis and Obama's administration who are willing to initiate *an intellectual debate* on peace initiatives (Emphasize Our positive inclination and tenacity vs Emphasize Their negative inclination and tenacity, e.g. tolerant vs intolerant; Emphasize Our positive propriety, i.e peaceful). The judgment token *intellectual debate* depicts the Israelis as knowlegable speakers/peace negotiators. Further investigation may reveal whether positive social esteem tokens like *debate* creates a positive prosody of self-presentation in relation to a negative other- presentation in global political news discourse. The closer observation of the rest of the data in the following chapter (Chapter Eight) will reveal whether this polarisation strategy is typical of western news discourse on the Middle East conflict and western oriental or colonialist discourse in general. Nevertheless, this elite discourse dominant ideological representation is maintained in the TT.

He declared *an intellectual war*
The Egyptians are still mired in *the cold war*
She was recently approached by the Israeli ambassador who was keen to organise *a debate* on President Barak Obama's *initiatives for peace.*

The neutral naming in the ST, *the revolution of the 1950s*, shifts into the positive naming ثورة الضباط الأحرار, [the revolution of the free officers], referring to the Egyptian populist revolution which ousted King Farouq and ended the rule of the Mohammad Ali family, turning the Kingdom of Egypt into a republic.

Depending on their ideological stance, the TT writer can choose between neutral, positive and negative choices. A negative naming choice such as 'military coup' could be used to share a negative stance with the readers.

Moreover, ideational content is manipulated to give Abdelnasser, the leader of the Free Officers' Revolution, a more effective role by changing the passive agent into an active one as follows:

ST: The revolution of the 1950s *which brought Abdelnasser to power.*
TT: ثورة الضباط الأحرار *التي قادها جمال عبدالناصر*
BT: The revolution of the free officers *which was led by Jamal Abdelnasser*.

The passive voice is also activated to give different impressions of the Jews' direct responsibility and free will.

ST: *houses were abandoned* as tensions with Israel grew.
TT: و تركت *بعض العائلات اليهودية منازلها* في ظل تزايد اتوتر العلاقات بين مصر ودولة اسرائيل
BT: *Some Jewish families left their houses* amid growing tensions in the relations between Egypt and the State of Israel.

Ideational content is also changed in the TT by adding الاعتراف [to recognise] to represent the Egyptian stance which views *Israel's right to exist* in Palestine as a claim.

ST: They *refuse* Israel's right to exist.
TT: رفضوا الاعتراف بحق اسرائيل في الوجود
BT: They refused *to recognise* Israel's right to exist

The current news report makes use of one noncore word (infused force) to put more emphasis on the negative appreciation epithet *tattered* which targets the outgroup (the Egyptian society) by evaluating the med-group's (Ali Salem) reputation in the Egyptian society. That is, it is a negative appreciation-invoked judgment pattern triggering an outgroup negative propriety like those of previously spotted affect-invoked judgments. Thus, the TT replaces this choice by *الضرر* [the damage]. The translation choice connotes less vigour of the manner of circumstance than that of *tattered* which infuses the meaning of the core word. Martin and White (2005, p. 65) indicate that non-core lexis "has in some sense lexicalised a circumstance of manner by infusing it into the core meaning of a word". Noncore lexis is placed on a cline of direct-indirect meaning, particularly between lexical metaphor and ideational token which is the most indirect (See Munday, 2012, p.30). Evoked meaning requires more processing effort than that required to interpret inscribed meaning (Munday, 2012, p.31). According to Munday (2012, p. 31), " Importantly, of course, this difference is also reflected on the demands placed on the reader and translator as reader, and interpreter, of evaluation in the translation in the ST." Non-core vocabulary, for example, needs the co-text and reading positions for interpretation (Martin and White, 2005, p.66).

ST: Today his plays and movie scripts are gathering dust amid his *tattered* reputation
مسرحياته و نصوص الافلام التي كتبها تراكم الغبار عليها في المكتبات في ظل *الضرر* الذي اصاب سمعته
BT: His plays and movie scripts which he wrote gather dust in the libraries amid *the damage* that happened to his reputation.

7.2.2 ST09: Egypt Crisis: How the Euphoria turned to Tragedy
7.2.2.1 Entertain

Probability modal verbs (4) are more than obligations (0) and slightly more than ability modals (3). Two probability modals (would and was about to) are omitted and replaced by unmodalized patterns.

Table 7.4 ST Probability

ST
Expectations that life *was about to* get better bubbled around the country
They realised that the old order had no room for them and would never satisfy their desire to have a decent job that *would* give them money to have independent lives.
The best way forward *would* be for all sides in Egypt- and there is a range of opinion, not two monolithic blocs- to agree away to get people into work to make social peace.

7.2.2.2 Graduation

One infused force item *squashed* is used in the ST and maintained (سحقت) in the TT. It implies the outgroup's oppression (the power and organisation of established forces in Egypt) of the the ST med-group and TT in-group (the energy of 2011's revolutionaries).

The ST foregrounds the negative feelings of the outgroup (happiness, unhappiness, and dissatisfaction). The ST's affect (happiness) *euphoria* نشوى الانتصار in the ST title infuses the feelings of the outgroup during the 2011 revolution. This intensification is compared to the Egyptian revolutionaries feelings after the revolution when they were disappointed by the Morsi administration's broken promises- unhappiness (tragedy).

7.2.2.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

The text provides negative other and med- presentation against which the West identifies its positive self-presentation. It represents the outgroup and med group as immature by incorporating their age group statistics (About 60% of the population across the region was under the age of 30), i.e. what van Dijk termed *the number game*. At first blush, this might appear as non-attitudinal. It may also mean that the BBC text adds this kind of ideational content to positively represent the young revolutionaries as agents of generational change. The western mainstream media discourse representation of youth controlled by the elite adults is either positive (generational change or development) or negative (incapacity and immaturity). The current text invokes a negative representation of youth which is reinforced by the inscribed incapacity (Getting a candidate into the race, let alone to the winning post, was too much for *the fractious disorganised* revolutionaries). The BBC text, thus, enacts and reproduces the western orientalist discourse representation of the Other as immature- the infantilization of the Other. The West is then an advanced

democratic (adult elite) power that supports fledgling democracies and development in the 'developing' world. That is, the infantilized revolutionaries need western technology, expert advice and education to achieve democracy. This ideational token is preserved by the TT.

Unlike *intifada* [uprising], there are conflicting ideologies regarding ثورة [revolution]. Some see revolution as a conspiracy or a coup against a legitimate authority, others see it as *successful, legitimate* and *right* (+tenacity, +propriety, +veracity). In other words, naming (ideological) invokes attitudinal (axiological) meanings/responses. In this extract, the positive naming *uprisings* [Intifadas انتفاضات] is transferred into a much more positive naming *revolution*. As ثورة [revolution] in Arabic is derived from revenge and consequently related to "the success of anger in facing injustice and oppression" (Lisan Al-Arab Online Dictionary), revolutions are always seen as successful in fighting for their causes until they end with victory or real change. The word *intifada* (uprising) is derived from نفض [lit., shiver or shudder], meaning 'to shake/shake off', as when shaking off sleep or dirt. Therefore, it is also related to the people's legitimate anger in the face of oppression. However, it is not always successful and as it happens suddenly with no careful planning, it may fade or it may be crushed before achieving its goals.

Let's take another example from ST09 where names that already exist in the Arab world gain new socio-political meaning depending on one's political camp. From the brotherhood point of view, one pair of these polarized labels is اخوان [brotherhood] and عسكر [military]. Recently, the army, however, regards the latter as insulting and prefers جيش [army] as a reference to an organized patriotic army or a powerful defender of a country and its people. The word عسكر [military], refers to a defender of a state or its ruling elites. It acquired such negative meaning during the rule of the Mamluk Sultanate when it referred to الجنود الانكشارية [Janissaries] (foreign Ottoman infantry soldiers loyal to the Ottoman Sultan). The Muslim Brotherhood discourse must be associates the term عسكر with this stage of Egypt's history.

The label الاخوان المسلمون [the Muslim Brotherhood] must also have been derived from Islamic cultural heritage, Quranic discourse and prophetic sayings, since in pre-Islamic times Arabs had tribal conflicts but Islam turned enemies into brothers. In this way the in-group (the Brotherhood) corresponds to the united righteous Muslim community (Muslim immigrants and supporters of Prophet Mohammed) whereas the military matches foreign soldiers serving a foreign occupier, i.e the

Sultan. Despite being preserved in the TT, the word *military* connotes a distinct negative meaning. That is, it is associated with the TT's specific sociopolitical context and current affairs.

This ideological terminological conflict emerges in the following extract:

ST: Mr. ElBaradei has resigned as vice-president from the government the *military* installed.

TT: و ها هو البرادعي يستقيل من الحكومة التي شكلها *العسكر*.

ST: *The Muslim Brotherhood and the Military*—and both sets of sympathizers—both believe that the future of Egypt's next generation is at stake, and both are right. But their views are totally different.

TT: و يعتقد الاخوان *والعسكر* ومؤيدوهما ان مستقبل الاجيال المصرية القادمة في الميزان و كلاهما على صواب ولكن نظرتهما الى المستقبل متناقضة تماما.

There is an interesting repetition of the exclamation and warning particle ها [here/there we are!] with the particle قد [*qad*] (present participle) which suggests that knowledge of the status quo is shared by the writer and readers of the TT and this occurrence serves to convey the TT writer's feelings about those in power. The particle ها helps to attract readers' attention to how good or bad the situation is.

ST: Hundreds are dead

TT: وها قد قتل المئات من مؤيدي الاخوان على أيدي قوات الأمن

BT: *And here we are!* Hundreds of the Brotherhood supporters have been killed by the security forces.

Furthermore, naming as a linguistic means of power and ideology helps the TT writer to share his/her attitude regarding where he/she stands in the conflict between these two forces (translator/writer positioning), namely الاخوان والعسكر [the Brotherhood and the military]. Labelling or naming here also serves to legitimise one power group at the expense of the other, suggesting that one is regarded as legitimate while the other is not, reflecting the us (in-group) versus them (out-group) conflicting ideologies.

The TT writer also uses the naming فلول النظام السابق (the former regime remnants) as a translation equivalent of *the remnants of the old elite*. This negative label(pro-Brotherhood and anti-Mubarak regime) gained currency in the Egyptian community when Mubarak stepped down, in order to refer to the President's loyal men who are expected to play a role in the political vacuum in addition to the Brotherhood and the military.

The phrase *social peace* represents the Egyptian power elite and Egyptian society as lacking social peace thereby compared to the West's taken for granted positive self-presentation is that of peace initiator/ peace maker (polarisation of positive self versus negative other presentations). This is resisted by the TT's Arab spring value

rich word لحمة اجتماعية [social glue] inspired by a liberal tradition, as it resembles the French Republic's value rich word *cohésion sociale* which puts emphasis on the community's equality and sense of belonging during social, economic and political transition.

7.2.3 ST19 Saudi Arabia: Sandwiched between jihadists in Iraq and Yemen
7.2.3.1 Entertain

The original text contains probability modals (7) and no obligation or ability counterparts. The claims are based on the Saudi fears of a possible Isis threat to the kingdom and its borders. Therefore, may (4) and its reported speech past alternative might (1), *will* (1) and its hypothetical counterpart *would* (1) are selected in the ST.

Table 7.5 ST and TT Probability modals

ST	TT
Saudi Arabia *may* not yet be directly in its sights but officials fear this is only a matter of time	وقد لا تتركز انظار قادة الدولة الاسلامية بشكل مباشر على السعودية الان لكن قادة السعودية يخشون من ان ذلك مجرد وقت
Many of its most violent fighters are believed to be Saudi nationals who *may* eventually come home, radicalized and brutalised by the conflict.	*الكثير من مقاتلي داعش هم في الاصل* متطوعون سعوديون سيعودون في النهاية الى وطنهم وقد غير الصراع من فكرهم و تحصلوا على مزيد من الخبرة العسكرية
"King Abdullah has ordered all necessary measures to secure the kingdom from terrorist groups or others who *might* disturb the security of the homeland."	"...ممن قد يهددون أمن الوطن" حسب تعبيره
It is not unbreachable but it does present *would be* infiltrators with more of an obstacle than the vague frontier separating northern Iraq and Syria	Omitted
Saudi Arabia believes it *may* be next in the Isis firing line.	omitted
"Saudi Arabia's support for terrorist groups, including Isis, is a plot which *will* eventually entrap the country too," Iran parliamentarian Mohammad Asafari said this week.	"و قال البرلماني الايراني محمد اسافاري هذا الاسبوع ان دعم السعودية للجماعات الارهابية بما فيها تنظيم الدولة الاسلامية هو فخ *سيطال* هذا البلد مع الوقت"
That said many who survive the fighting *may* choose either to remain in Isis-controlled territory or make their way to swell Isis ranks of AQAP.	وقد يواجه العديد ممن يتمكنون من النجاة في ذلك الصراع خيارين اما البقاء في المناطق التي تسيطر عليها الدولة الاسلامية او التوجه الى اليمن للانضمام الى تنظيم القاعدة هناك.

As illustrated in the table above, the TT prefers the similar degree *qad*; the higher degree *sa* (increase); and unmodalised counterparts (omission) rendering the threat of Isis as more possible in the TT. Using *qad*, the TT writer shares this possibility as an expectation (shared knowledge) with the TT readership (See Jarjour, 2006). The two omissions of *would-be* from the phrase *would-be infiltrator* and *may* further emphasize the expected threat of Isis. Replacing *may* with *sa* also conveys a higher possibility degree of the threat. Finally, *will* is replaced by *sa* (reporting a prediction) in the reported speech of an Iranian parliamentarian accusing Saudi of supporting Isis.

In contrast to the above TT higher possibility choices, only two further shifts from higher unmodalized patterns to lower probability patterns occur in this TT suggesting that Isis's danger though highly expected remains a possibility in the TT world view.

The following ST unmodalised into probability shift, contrary to the ST's selection, opens up the discourse for other TT readership opinions (Entertain) rather than merely reflecting the TT writer's uncertainty about whether the Saudi border can be breached. That is, it ultimately mitigates the possibility of TT's in-group (Saudi Arabia) negative capacity despite that Isis's infiltration threat remains a possibility.

ST: It *is not* unbreachable.
TT: قد لا تكون منيعة
BT: It *may not be* breachable.

By the same token, low probability is transferred into a higher probability modal يمكن [may] in the following extract reducing Isis's danger into a neutral possibility.

ST: Isis is now perhaps the world's best-funded and most formidable militia movement and the countries around the region have good reason to worry what it *does* next.
TT: وغالبا ما أصبحت الدولة الاسلامية أكبر وأكثر الجماعات المسلحة تمويلا في العالم و أصبح من حق الدول المجاورة أن تقلق بخصوص مايمكن أن تفعله في المستقبل.
BT: Isis probably became the biggest and most well-funded armed militia in the world and it is the right of countries around the region to worry about what it *may* do in the future.

7.2.3.2 Graduation

A number of Infused intensity and quantity form a negative wave of attitude criticising the ST outgroup (Saudi young men and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). This group-oriented attitudinal prosody is toned down in the TT owing to its different group affiliations. Still, such infused prosody forms part of media discourse exaggeration of the number of Islamists joining jihad.

Infused quantification referring to young Saudi males and Isis has undergone reduction in the translated version, viz. the negative force item *a bunch* degrading Isis has been deleted in the TT.

ST: So, some Saudis see Isis not as *a bunch of* out-of-control terrorists.

Moreover, *droves* infuses the manner of movement of young Saudi men traveling to join Isis to that of animals, i.e. "herd or flock of animals being driven in a body" (Collins Online) and *swell* which infuses the size, are reduced to الكثير [*many*], and للانضمام [*to join*] respectively.

ST: *droves of* Saudi young men were fulfilling what they believed was their religious duty and heading over to Iraq to wage jihad, a holy war.

ST: That said, many who survive the fighting may choose to either remain in Isis-controlled territory or make their way to Yemen *to swell* the ranks of AQAP.

Furthermore, negative propriety force infusions, *radicalised and brutalised*, are also mitigated in the TT as follows:

ST: Many of its most violent fighters are believed to be Saudi nationals who may eventually come home, *radicalised and brutalised* by the conflict.

TT: الكثير من مقاتلي داعش هم في الاصل متطوعون سعوديون سيعودون في النهاية الى وطنهم وقد غير الصراع من فكرهم و تحصلوا على مزيد من الخبرة العسكرية.

BT: Many of the Daesh fighters are originally Saudi volunteers who will eventually come back home and the conflict *changed their thinking and acquired more military experience*.

Additionally, *backlash* stands for ''a reaction or recoil between *interacting worn or badly fitting parts* in a mechanism'' and ''a *sudden and adverse* reaction, esp. to a political or social development'' (Collins Online Dictionary, *my emphasis*). It complements the ST's saying ''*you reap what you sow*'' quoted from the Iranian side, the Saudis' enemy. In other words, *backlash* implicates Saudi Arabia in the creation of Isis. This indirect negative judgment of Saudi Arabia is, however, downplayed into اختراق [infilteration] implying foreign intrusion.

7.2.3.3 Invoked Attitude
Judgment Tokens

The western elite (adult) media discourse representation of young people (immature) is reproduced in this context by *young* (Islamists) which is lost in the corresponding TT.

ST: droves of Saudi *young men* were fulfilling what they believed was their religious duty and heading over to Iraq to wage jihad, a holy war.

The TT's الدولة الاسلامية [IS] and داعش [Daesh] are used as alternatives to the ST naming *Isis* [الدولة الاسلامية في الشام والعراق]. The abbreviated label داعش (Daesh) belongs to the Arab cultural context in which the TT writer shares their negative attitude regarding Isis, as the initials sound aggressive and have no meaning in Arabic except as a short form for Isis (negative judgment of Isis violent behaviour). In other words, this derogatory name is used to criticise and trivialize Isis. The label الدولة الاسلامية (Islamic State), on the other hand, is used by the TT writer to avoid mentioning الشام والعراق (Iraq and the Levant). Islamic State has been adopted by Isis

to legitimise their control over other Arab and Islamic lands and to identify with الخلافة الراشدة the Rightly Guided Caliphate or Islamic State in the past.

Jihad is used in the metaphorical verb-noun collocation **wage jihad, a holy war**. Nevertheless, the word *jihad* [strife] is coined from the Islamic socio-political context and it is not equivalent to the Western Christian sense of a holy war or crusade (Zawati, 1997, p.16). "'Holy war' is thus, strictly speaking, a wrong translation of *jihad*, and the reason why it is nevertheless used […] is that the term has become current in Western literature" (Peters cited in Zawati, 1997, p.16). Jihad is a collective duty (فرض كفاية) and an individual duty (فرض عين) according to Sunni jurists (Zawati, 1997, p.18). Therefore, the TT writer uses a different collocation لتأدية ما رأوا أنه واجب ديني للجهاد [to *perform* what they believed to be *a religious duty, jihad]*. The verb *wage is* translated into the noun تأدية [performance] derived from the verb أدى [perform] which collocates with فروض دينية [religious duties which are obligatory].

7.2.4 ST21: Gaza and Israel Conflict: What can Israel and Hamas gain?

7.2.4.1 Entertain

The text uses a range of probability modal auxiliaries and semi-modal auxiliaries (23) summarized below. Three (may, would, are going to) are deleted and one (would) shifts into *yajib* (must).

Table 7.6 ST21 Probability modal verbs and semi modal verbs

ST	Frequency	TT
can	1	Yumkin
might	1	Imkanya
might	4	Rubbama
might	3	Qad
may	1	Qad
may	1	Omitted
would	1	Qad
would	3	Sa
would	2	Omitted
would	1	Yajib
will	2	Sa
are going to	1	Sa
are going to	1	Omitted
won't	1	Lan

The corresponding variants of *might* (rubbama and qad) have a low degree (possibility reduction). They occur interchangeably in patterns appraising the in-

group (Israel, Israeli Prime Minister, Israelis) and the out-group (Hamas, Palestinians, and Egypt).

Neutral possibility is expressed by the translations of *can* and *might* as yumkin and imkanya respectively. The impersonal neutral probability verb *yumkin* replaces *can* in the text's title, Gaza-Israeli Conflict: What *can* Israel and Hamas gain? introducing conflict gain of both parties as a low possibility. The same holds for the modal noun imkanya (possibility) which is a replacement of might rendering the truce or agreement between Israel and Hamas as a low possibility.

Sa functions as an interchangeable alternative to *will, would*, and *are going to* regardless of group orientations. Thus, it is an unmarked form and no instance of *sawfa* is found in this text.

However, the analysis shows two instances of shifts that are enacted by group repositioning strategies. First, the ST probability modal *would* shifts to the TT modulation يجب [must], so that, the ST's possibility of calm between parties is seen as an obligation in the TT as the following extract shows:

ST: There were even hints that a truce *might* be possible with both Israel and Hamas using the cautious but optimistic formula that calm from the other side *would* be met with calm.

TT: كان هناك تلميحات *لامكانية* الاتفاق و ان بحذر من كلا الطرفين اسرائيل و حماس لكن الصيغة المتفائلة للهدنة هي أن هدوء   الطرف الآخر يجب أن يقابله هدوء مماثل

BT: There were hints about the possibility of an agreement, albeit cautious, between both parties,Israel and   Hamas but the optimistic formula of the truce is that calm from one side must be met with calm.

Secondly, the modal auxiliary *may* is deleted in the following TT excerpt:

ST: To the outside world the Gaza rockets *may* seem ineffective

TT: تبدو صواريخ غزة بالنسبة للعالم خارج القطاع غير فعالة

BT: Gaza rockets *seem* ineffective to the world outside the district

In this instance the deletion of *may* means that the TT writer expects less opposing reader responses than that expected by the ST writer.

7.2.4.2 Graduation

The controversial topic of Israeli- Arab conflict makes terminology a sensitive matter as definitions of the situation are given from two different world views the dominant western discourse and the dominated Arab counterpart. Conventional terms are developed to avoid negative connotations of the conflict sides and although conventional they can be resisted to reflect group interests. The strategy

employed in this text is intensifying *conflict* (vigour) into صراع [struggle] from the Arab's perspective.

The instances of intensification, which infuse the manner of movement of Israel's arrests of Hamas members, *rounded up, the round up* [اعتقالات، يعتقلوا], likening them to animal movement, create a prosody of negative representation of Muslims in the BBC corpus as shown earlier in **ST19**. The Arabic translations do not show the same prosody in the TT.

Two infused intensifications such as *flooded* the West Bank اغرقت الضفة الغربية and *terrifying* aerial bombardment القصف الجوي المروع are maintained while the infused quantification *a series* of pinpoint commando raids is deleted in this TT. It is evident that these ST's evaluative patterns emphasize the superiority of its in-group (Israel) while the TT shows inconsistency.

Another infused force *huge* [ضخمة /شاسعة] has been reduced to the TT's neutral choice كبيرة[big] as seen in the following examples:

ST: So far, though, that link has brought Hamas nothing in the way of concrete benefits and *huge* differences remain between rival Palestinian groups.

TT: وعلى الرغم من ذلك لم تجلب العلاقة الجديدة أي شيء لحماس حتى الآن و بالشكل الذي بقيت عليه الفوائد الملموسة و الاختلافات/الكبيرة باقية بين الجماعات الفلسطينية المتصارعة

BT: Despite that the new link did not bring Hamas anything so far in the way that concrete benefits and *big* differences remain between conflicting Palestinian groups.

ST: So it's not difficult to unravel the *huge* strategic changes and small acts of hatred that conspired to trigger this latest round of hostilities.

TT: لذلك ليس من الصعب حل لغز التغييرات الاستراتيجية/الكبيرة وأعمال الكراهية الصغيرة التي أدت الى اندلاع موجة أعمال العنف الأخيرة.

BT: So it's not difficult to solve the puzzle of the *big* strategic changes and small acts of hatred that lead to the eruption of a wave of recent violent acts.

7.2.4.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Despite being carefully selected, the ST text analysis reveals pro-Israeli bias in the BBC institutional/ conventional labels of Arab-Israeli conflict events, actions, and participants. For example, the in-group war is represented as a defensive war. The judgment token is implicated by ''Israeli Iron Dome Anti- Missile Defence System'' in comparison to ''Hamas rocket fire, workshop weapons, homemade rockets''. This manipulation of naming in the news discourse on conflict represents the Israeli war on Gaza as a defensive one (ST's in-group positive propriety and positive capacity). The indirect meaning also implies another in-group and outgroup social esteem

judgments (*technologically advanced* Israel vs *backward* Hamas) usually enacted by the western orientalist discourse on the orient as the Other. The mitigation of Israeli war actions is reinforced by further war missions labels:

Table 7.7 ST21 Mitigation of Israel war actions

ST and TT
the campaign, reoccupation of the whole territory, sending in ground troops, a series of pinpoint commando raids on so called weapon dumps, airstrikes, exit strategy, huge operation, that raids are going to kill innocent people

In both the ST and its translation, the demonstrations of Palestinians in Gaza are defined as *rioting* and the potential fighting between Hamas and Israel is reduced to *a confrontation* assuming equal responsibilities. However, the fatality labelling of both sides shift according to ideological square polarized group positioning as tabulated below:

Table 7.8 Mitigation of ST21 in-group –propriety vs. emphasis of TT21 outgroup - propriety

ST	TT
civilian casualties	civilian victims
civilian casualties	civilian victims
civilian dead	civilian victims
military casualties	military losses

The TT label المستوطنين [settlers] is inserted to refer to Israeli boys in the following TT extract:

ST: The Israeli public mourned *three teenagers*
TT: و أبن الاسرائيليون ثلاثة صبية من *المستوطنين*
BT: And the Israelis mourned three *settlers' boys*

Arab media uses the peace process labels المستوطنات/المستوطنون [settlers/settlements] as alternatives for المحتلون [occupiers] and الأرض المحتلة/المستعمرات [occupied lands/colonies), as a result of *peace agreements or normalization* with the Israel. The naming مستوطن [settler] and the verb استوطن [to settle/take some place as home] are derived from وطن (home, residence, place) (*Lisan Al-Arab Online*). It can be concluded that by using this naming the TT writer can position his/herself on either pro-peace or pro-conflict sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The translator clearly opts for the Arab news media style-pro-peace.

7.3 The Guardian Appraisal Discourse Analysis

The Guardian online texts that appear on *The Guardian* English and Arabic websites deal with various topics relating to the Middle East and Iran. The majority of the

texts report on and discuss the Arab Spring and its regional and international aftermath. The articles fall into two categories, namely, news articles from the World News section and opinion articles which include editorials (op-ed).

Two opinion texts and two news texts together with their translations were selected from *The Guardian* for detailed individual text analysis using the appraisal theory framework of engagement (entertain), graduation, and judgment tokens. These are expected to realize the general ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation.

7.3.1 ST49: Libya: a country in search of a new leader (op-ed, 20/10/2011).

7.3.1.1 Entertain

Like the BBC texts, there are many more probability modals than their obligation counterparts: probability (8), inclination (1), obligation (4) and ability (1).

Table 7.9 ST49 Probability and inclination

Probability	Inclination
could have been, may well, will, could, will, will, will, will	*Would*

The modal *could* is translated into the higher degree near future modal particle س [will] which projects the TT writer as being more certain that NTC will not deliver the perpetrators in the near future, i.e. it is used as a prediction about a near future event. This sense is emphasized by the TT assertion كانوا مخطئين في اعتقادهم [they were wrong to believe that...], in contrast to the use of the low probability modal, *could* in the scope of the ST high probability *they were **surely** being naïve to think that*.

On the contrary, the modal idiom *may well* (probability) has been translated into the slightly lower possibility (expectation) particle قد [*qad*]. The TT writer shares his expectation with the readership, but with lower commitment than that of *may well* as in the following extracts:

ST: This *may well* be the fate that awaits Syria's Bashar Assad or Yemen's Ali Abdullah Saleh, and they must now know it.

TT: قد ينتظر "بشار الأسد" و "علي عبد الله صالح" مصير كهذا

BT: The same fate may await Syria's Bashar Assad and Ali Abdullah Saleh, and they *have to* realise that.

All uses of *will* in this text express predictions and they are translated into *sa* except for one mistranslation (qad+perfect) and one *an* construction which can refer to the future without *sa* or s*awfa*. *Would* on the other hand, refers to Gaddafi's vow and again it is deleted and replaced by *an* clause which can be used with or without *sawfa*.

7.3.1.2 Graduation

Table 7.10 ST49 Infused Intensification and Quantification

Shift type	The appraised	ST	BT	Frequency
Addition Intensity	*Libyan people*	*nightmare*	*weighs down on their chests*	1
Increase Quantity	*Libya*	*a lot of oil* (infused quantity)	*replete with* (infused intensity)	1
Decrease Intensity	*Libya*	*this ravaged country*	*scattered homeland*	1

Affect is effectively intensified in the TT, in order to trigger the readers' negative responses. These are manifested in the additions of the phrase ظل جاثما على صدورهم [lit., has weighed heavily on their chests) which has been added in the TT to emphasize the negative affect (−security: nightmare).

ST: The bloodied face of Muammar Gaddafi was the definitive proof for *millions* of Libyans that their 42-year nightmare was finally over.

TT: كان وجه القذافي المعفر بالدماء الاثبات النهائي لشعب ليبيا بأن الكابوس *الذي ظل جاثما على صدورهم* قد انتهى أخيرا و الى الأبد.

BT: The bloodied face of Gaddafi was the definitive proof for the people of Libya that the nightmare *which has weighed heavily on them* for 42 years has finally ended for ever.

7.3.1.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Lexical death terms (*died, death, corpse*) are part of judgment tokens that appraise Gaddafi and the Libyan people. While *died* (thousands) and *death* (Gaddafi's) are neutral choices, the word *corpse* (Gaddafi) seems to be degrading due to the negative flow of both explicit and implicit social self-esteem and social sanction patterns (with only one positive veracity) depicting Gaddafi in the lead paragraph of the text.

Table 7.11 ST49 outgroup (Gaddafi) social esteem vs social sanction

Social self-esteem	Social sanction
Inscribed	**Inscribed**
+Tenacity: He ruled every aspect of their lives *on a whim* -Tenacity: ended up *hiding* in a concrete pipe in Sirte *rather like the rats and cockroaches* he vowed to pursue	+Veracity: *true to his word* -Veracity: The man who *styled* himself the brother leader, the king of kings, the guide to the era of the masses, the man who promised to flush his opponents street by street.
Invoked	**Invoked**
-Capacity The bloodied face of Muammar Gaddafi, Gaddafi's *half-naked corpse* Gaddafi's *death,* his *death, Gaddafi's death*	-Propriety *who drove thousands into exile and pursued them with death squads, who staged public hangings on makeshift gallows*

More interestingly, the word *body* is chosen in an invoked negative judgment of the fighters of Misrata, probably in order to humanise Gaddafi and, as a result, criticize (social sanction) the fighter's behaviour (−propriety: *The fighters of Misrata, **who dragged off Gaddafi's body***). These instances reveal how the writer manipulates ideational content lexical choices to position his negative attitude towards the social participants and their actions. The word *body* is deleted and replaced by الذين كان لهم الفضل في *مقتل* القذافي [*who were given credit for killing* Gaddafi].

Conflict words indicate the positioning of the writer's attitude towards the opposing groups with both *fighters* and *struggle* being used twice. The resistance of Libyans over the course of eight months is described as a *struggle* connoting their efforts as a difficult mission that ended in the elimination of the head of the Libyan government who had ruled for 42 years. The infused intensity of the noun 'struggle' is demostrated by its definition in *Collins Dictionary* (2014) as "a long and difficult attempt to achieve something such as freedom or political rights". The ST choice undoubtedly invokes a positive tenacity of Libyan people by selecting *struggle* rather than conflict which is usually chosen by the BBC to refer to reduce the intensity of other polarised attitudinal terms like Arab-Israeli *war* or Arab-Israeli *struggle*.

The ST negative judgment token may shift into a positive one in the TT. For instance, ideational meaning invokes interpersonal meaning and reveals the TT writer's positive stance towards the Libyan 2011 revolution in the extract below:

ST: the National Transitional Council, composed largely of Gaddafi people *who jumped ship in the final month*

TT: المجلس الوطني الانتقالي و الذي يضم العديد من رجال "القذافي" الذين التحقوا بركب الثورة في الأشهر الأخيرة

BT: The NTC which is composed of several Gaddafi people *who joined the procession of the revolution* in the final months

The ST metaphorical phrase *who jumped ship in the final month* invokes negative judgment (-veracity) of these individuals as opportunistic or traitors, since they betrayed their leader and deceived their country people. The TT's relative clause, on the other hand, shows a shift into an invoked positive appreciation and an altered ideational content, in which these individuals are seen as part of the *procession of the revolution* (invoked appreciation: +value).

Likewise, the ST evaluates the fighters of Misrata by two relative clauses. The first ST relative clause, *who dragged off Gaddafi's body*, can be seen as a negative evaluation (an ideational token) whereas the TT uses an evaluative relative clause with a positive ideational content: الذين كان لهم الفضل في مقتل القذافي [who were given credit for killing Gaddafi]. Using the modal adverb *arguably* in the second relative clause i.e. *who **arguably** endured the worst part of the military campaign,* the ST writer indicates that he is not certain about the truth of his statement expanding the discourse for different opinions. This means that a negative response might be triggered. The TT writer, on the other hand, deletes the modal choice (*arguably*) closing this dialogic space for any divergent standpoints and reflecting strong commitment to the truth of his statement (engagement). Hence, a positive response might be activated. It is clear that interpersonal modality and categorical assertion in the ST and its translation complement ideational meaning in conveying a positive picture of the fighters of Misrata, as both represent writers' positive evaluative position which may generate positive evaluative responses.

The TT producer severely manipulates the ideational content by adding the word جُثّة [corpse] into the translation of *ended up hiding in a concrete pipe* to state that Gaddafi was already found dead inside the pipe despite the videos and news suggesting otherwise. She takes a biased position by repeating 'death' in relation to Gaddafi in the TT three times [موت موت موته death, death, his death] as opposed to the one formal term used to refer to the deaths of thousands of Libyans (توفي lit., their appointed time has ended). In fact, موت [death] is less formal than وفاة [end of

appointed time] and, therefore, cannot be used in obituaries, and unlike وفاة, it refers to the death of any animate thing. More importantly, it does not have the additional religious connotation of وفاة [end of appointed time and deeds fully recorded]. These nuanced meanings are invoked by the TT choices of موت [death] and توفي [passed away] to take different stances towards the social participants. To further enhance these choices, the ST word *body* is deleted and replaced by the nominalization مقتل [killing] while the ST *corpse* [جثّة] is preserved. Tellingly, جُثّة [corpse] is not normally used in media reports to refer to well-loved or popular figures, with جثمان [body] usually being employed for this purpose.

The ST's representation of the Libyan tribes, on the other hand, pertains to the western media discourse construction of Africa. The Libyan ''crises'' in the aftermath of the Arab Spring are primarily attributed to ''Libya's tribal system''. Libyan tribes are evaluated with a negative tone (hindering post- Arab Spring democratic transition and social peace, as further reinforced by provoked (infused force: *ravaged* country), e.g. ''One of Libya's largest tribes, the Warfalla, remained loyal to Gaddafi to the end.'' This negative media discourse representation reduces the Libyan crisis to a tribal or ethnic conflict. This depiction is similar to that reproduced by the 1990s western media discourse on Rwanda and Somalia. This discourse shapes and is shaped by the Western intervention policies (Carruthers, 2004). Western intervention in Somalia aimed at *restoring hope* and Africa was represented as *a hopeless place* in media (Carruthers, 2004). During crisis times the representation of Africa depended on parachute journalism or unreliable local sources (Carruthers, 2004). As the title of Carruthers' (2004) chapter on the news media depiction of Africa elucidates, ''Tribalism and Tribulation: Media Constructions of "African Savagery" and "Western Humanitarianism" in the 1990s'', the West's media discourse constructed a polarised image of Africa in terms of *us* (humanitarian intervention) and *them* (ancient ethnic hatreds)(ibid, p.164).''The departure of hope'' and the need to restore it by the West is taken for granted in the next text (**ST52**) to be examined. The toknized attitude of tribal/ethnic conflict (also *evoked meaning*, cf. Munday, 2012) is the most indirect subcategory of invoked attitude and it is not resisted in the target text in question.

Naming shifts, taking place in TT49, change the neutral evaluation into a biased (positive) one and, thus, complement the TT writer's positive evaluation of the Libyan revolution as a whole. The word *fighters* is translated into الثوار [the

revolutionaries], an Arabic word used to refer to those who fight for a cause. It has its origins in ثأر/ثُؤرة [revenge], so a revolutionary [ثائر] is defined in *Lisan Al-Arab* as "one who seeks/demands revenge and neither hesitates nor gives up until he eventually exacts this (usually from a killer)". Revenge is employed with similar evoked meaning in the political discourse of the Pan-Arab Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), particularly in its tripartite slogan (union, liberation, *revenge*) during its armed struggle with the Israelis.

In current usage, it is employed to refer to someone who resists an oppressive and repressive government. In this context, الثوار [revolutionaries] are considered to be more legitimate than المقاتلون [fighters]. This positive shift in naming can be seen in the following extracts:

ST: Al-Qaida's new leader Ayman al-Zawahiri championed the same *fighters* in recent statements   as Libyan "jihadis"

TT: في أخر تصريحات له ثمّن القائد الجديد لتنظيم القاعدة "أيمن الظواهري"*الثُوّار* على أنهم "ليبيون جهاديّون".

BT: In his latest statements, the new Al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri championed *the revolutionaries* as "Libyan Jihadis"

The two occurrences of *struggle* in the ST are translated into نضال [contest] which is one of the value rich conflict words of Pan-Arab ideologies. In *Lisan Al-Arab,* this word is defined as meaning "competing in firing arrows and successfully hitting the target". What distinguishes *struggle*, in its social dimension sense, from other types of competitions is that *struggle* is ''a contest [نضال] around values, demands, power, a situation or scarce resources, but its goal is not limited to acquiring the desirable valuables, but primarily to cause material or emotional harm to rivals, and remove or get rid of them'' (Mantawi, 2015, pp.49-50). Thus, the TT choice نضال mitigates the specific negatives nuances of the ST alternative.

To sum up, appraisal analysis of ST49 and TT49 reveals a shift from the negative ST stance towards the fighters to a positive one in the TT counterpart, largely achieved by engagement and naming and an intensified negative stance towards Gaddafi and his men in the NTC, mainly the result of ideational token lexical choices and graduation. Finally, the analysis shows traces of an underlying Pan-Arab ideology manifested in the discourse by means of naming and value rich words, e.g. النضال [contest] and الثوار [revolutionaries].

7.3.2 ST52: The Arab spring will only flourish if the young are given cause to hope (opinion article)

The text comments on the NATO intervention and the situation in the Arab countries after the Arab Spring, especially the election stages. The West is represented as a sponsor of *democracy* and *development* in the countries it helped liberating as shown in the first line under the text title: ''As the west helped to topple tyrants so it must ensure continued investment to help the freed nations grow.'' The youth are agents of democratic change and development- the text's median group.

7.3.2.1 Entertain

The instances of probability modal verbs (9) which were found in the ST are as summarised in Table 7.12:

Table 7.12 ST52 probability

Probability
will only, would, would, could, will not, will not, will, will, will not

A number of unmodalized bare assertions (3) shift (table 7.13) into probability to expand the TT discourse.

Table 7.13 ST52 Contract (Unmodalised bare Assertion) vs TT Expand (Entertain)

ST	TT	BT
the removal of these five characters from the picture is a blessing	ازالة هذه الأسماء الخمس من الصورة *لهي* نعمة حقا.	The removal of these five names from the picture is really a blessing.
It is striking how well they appreciate that democratic change depends on job creation.	*سيلفت* نظرك حجم تقديرهم لدور التشغيل في تحقيق التغيير الديمقراطي	Your attention *will be* attracted by the amount of their appreciation of the role of job creation in achieving democratic change.
That is the only intervention open to us now and in some ways it *is* much more demanding.	انه التدخل المفتوح من اجلنا الان و *يبدو* بطريقة ما اكثر الحاحا.	It is the intervention open to us now and in some way it *seems* more urgent.

Consider the following example:

ST: We can take a moment to recognise that sometimes things go astonishingly well—the removal of these five characters from the picture i*s a blessing*.

TT: يمكننا أن نتوقف لحظة لندرك أن الأمور تسير بشكل مذهل..إزالة هذه الأسماء الخمس من الصورة*لهي نعمة حقا*

BT: the removal of these five characters from the picture is *really* a blessing.

The TT writer adds two modal items in the above instance, namely, the emphatic particle *la* and *haqqan* [really], in order to express his strong confidence in the truth of his statement about the five ousted presidents. However, this assertion-probability shift is an example of not only subjective, but also intersubjective stance taking

since the TT writer's modality opens up some space for opposing opinions (engagement) that may be held by an Arab Muslim readership regarding their overthrown leaders. Although weaker than the ST's bare assertion, the TT's degree of probability is still high and this suggests that the writer sticks to her negative position towards the rulers and at the same time she respects other readership opinions. The ST writer, on the other hand, deploys a categorical assertion to close the dialogic discourse space for any divergent readings because he expects to share this negative stance with his main readership (Westerners). The shift in question is a telling example of divergent writer engagement in the process of media discourse translation.

The new Western intervention foreign policy divides opinion not only between the West and the Arab World but also within these blocs. The risks of such intervention, for instance, are asserted in the ST but only expected in the TT to reflect divided opinions in the Arab World. Likewise, intervening to help young people find jobs is asserted (*is much more demanding*) in the ST is downplayed into a mere possibility in the TT (*seems urgent*).

Expand-contract shifts, exemplified below, show a corresponding attitudinal shift in the TT:

ST: They *will* need freedom, empathy and technocratic as well as political leadership to create the jobs that *will* ensure stability and peace.

TT: انهم بحاجة الى الحرية و التعاطف و تكنوقراطية، بقدر حاجتهم الى زعامة سياسية قادرة على خلق مواطن شغل من أجلهم من شأنها أن تضمن الاستقرار و السلام.

BT: They *are in need* of freedom, empathy and technocracy as well as political leadership that *is able* to create job opportunities for them that *ensures* stability and peace.

What is seen as a possible (future) requirement in the above ST sentences is expressed as a factual one in their translation according to the ST and TT writer's ideological orientations. The ST writer has modalised his statements to express the future needs of Arab youth from a western worldview(liberal democracy). The ST modality belongs to the entertain category of engagement where other readership views are accepted. Deleting two modals of probability (*will, will*), the TT writer in turn asserts his statements about the needs of Arab youth by contracting the dialogic space of discourse for doubt or rejection. This assertion resembles the Arab worldview about their right to freedom as taken for granted. The force of modality and assertion reflects these shared beliefs and the extent to which they are

representative of the respective discourse communities' ideologies. Hence, there can be more than just a tendency in Arabic towards using more assertions.

7.3.2.2 Graduation

This article contains of infused intensity (5), and infused quantity (1).

Table 7.14 ST50 infused intensity and infused quantity

Intensity	Quantity
drenched, stunned, spooked, lying through their boots, grinding lack of hope	*a lot* of blood

The text's grammatical errors and the overall unnatural style suggest that this translation was carried out hastily despite being published one day after the ST was published. However, we will attempt to demonstrate a few of the problematic instances of graduation.

Table 7.15 ST52 Intensity

Deletion
grinding lack of hope, a lot of blood *spilled*

Table 7.16 ST52 Quantity

Deletion
a lot of blood spilled

The infused intensification of the TT in-group affect ***grinding*** *lack of hope* is, however, deleted.

ST: Youth unemployment and the *grinding* lack of hope are the source of the most serious social and political problems across the Arab world.

TT: البطالة وفقدان الأمل هما مصدر أهم المشاكل الاجتماعية و السياسية في مختلف دول العالم العربي.

BT: Unemployment and *lack* of hope are the source of the most serious social and political problems in the Arab countries.

The equivalents of the above ST intensification may include the most general or unmarked and delexicalized epithet شديد [severe] or the more restricted lexical infused intensity synonym, مدقع [grinding] which most frequently collocates with فقر [poverty] but can occasionally collocate with جهل [ignorance] and يأس [despair] (See Lisan AL-Arab and Oxford Dictionary of Collocations). In Arabic the root of this word produces the word داقع [very poor or miserable]. These judgment and affect

markers of poverty, ignorance, and hopelessness, which were constructed and distributed by the western news discourse on Africa in 1990s and 2000s, are still shared as common sense in the Guardian texts.

7.3.2.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Judgment tokens saturate the text with in-group (those we are in favour of) and out-group (those we are against) social esteem and social sanction (e.g., cultural allusions (Associate), naming, age group, education, and unemployment statistics).

Table 7.17 ST52 Judgment Tokens

US	Them (in favour)	Them (against)
The West and its politicians	Arab spring revolutionaries	Arab rulers' armies and Arab religious clerics
mitigated social sanction *the interventionist*	**mitigated social sanction** *rebel forces* *young demonstrators* *demonstrations* *the uprising*	**enhanced social sanction** *their mercenaries*
positive social esteem even as we *struggle to create jobs for our own young people*	**ositive youth social esteem** *young* demonstrators their *countrymen* *nascent secular* parties *generational* change *a young man* Mohamed Bouazizi, 26 *Youth* unemployment under 25 60.000 graduates *educated young adults* single *young people* 54 million of 82 million of Egypt's people are under 30 years old. This age group makes 90% of the country's unemployed. 25% among *the young* new *generation* new *generation* the new *civil society* the new *republic*	**Associate and regime enhanced negative social sanction (-propriety)** *Srebrenica massacre* in July 1995… murder 8000 people **religious clerics' negative social esteem** *sermons of middle aged chaps* **fatality words** *dead* *death* *met his end*

In fact, the in-group vs. out-group polarisation is not always that easy to pinpoint, as illustrated by Table . This is because there is another kind of group which can be positively represented simply for the purposes of ideologically polarising the targeted rival out-group. As evidenced in the table above, the in-group's (the West) negative sanction, e.g. provoking domestic conflict or civil war is reduced into a particular foreign policy, i.e. intervention. What would have been represented by the regime as riots, violence, or terror acts is interpreted by the ST as a rebellion, a

demonstration, and an uprising. , i.e. the mid group's negative sanction is toned down. The regime's forces, in contrast, are represented as greedy and disloyal (mercenaries) instead of the regime's favoured name (the army) which invokes positive social esteem and social sanction, viz. an organised patriotic army. The in-group's (the western political systems) positive social esteem is infused by *struggle* invoking a comparison with the outgroup's (Arab rulers) implicit negative social esteem- carelessness about the unemployment of their own educated young people. The implicit negative tenacity of the outgroup is realized by the statistics of the age group, its education and unemployment. The favoured age-group percentages also show that Arab youths are a majority, i.e. they are more eligible to power positions or democratic change than the old Arab rulers. Importantly, the Guardian's discourse slightly diverts from the orientalist discourse construction of the savage oriental who needs to be disciplined and educated by us, the elite western adults. That is, the med-group is already educated in most cases by us and still need our supervision. Invoked evaluation brings the med-group closer to us, the civilized westerners, despite the geographical and cultural distances. *Religious Sermons*, on the other hand, invokes a negative tenacity of Arab religious clerics (middle-aged chaps). Sermons are selected to represent the traditional Islamic teachings of savage/backward Other. Consider also the invoked attitudinal contrast between *middle aged chaps* and *nascent secular parties*, since the liberal (secular) western political elites sponsor the development of fledgling democracies in Africa and the Middle East. Therefore, religious authority in the Arab world are portrayed as *middle aged*, i.e. from this contextual perspective, they are both old and backward (allusion to the middle ages) and the word *chaps* adds a sarcastic tone. *Old* is reproduces the elite western media discourse representation of African tribal conflicts as 'ancient hatreds' (Carruthers, 2004, *my emphasis*). This dominant evaluation is an ideological polarisation strategy of self vs other presentation (ibid).

The western-backed generational change is double coded by both explicit and implicit evaluative patterns (new generation, new civil society, new republic, nascent secular parties).

Depicting Gaddafi's rule as a long-lasting regime, the terms used to refer to death in the TT can be employed to bolster the Arab revolutionary ideological positioning. However, these have been used inconsistently in this TT either due to the translator's negligence or to the apparent use of machine translation in some places.

However, the adjective فاني [mortal] is deliberately inserted as an equivalent of its TT counterpart *former* to evaluate Gaddafi and this apparently non-attitudinal epithet indicates the biased negative stance of the TT writer towards Gaddafi as in the following extract where two crucial lexical choices are changed: *former* and *met his end*.

ST: The first test of the new civil society must be to give a scrupulously honest account of how the *former* dictator *met his end*.

TT: الاختبار الأول للمجتمع المدني الجديد هو تقديم كشف صادق ودقيق حول كيفية ملاقاة الدكاتور الفاني حتفه.

BT: The first test for the new civil society is to present an honest and accurate account of how the *mortal* dictator *passed away*.

While the ST's choice, *met his end,* means "died, especially in a violent or suspicious way" (*Collins COBUILD Dictionary*), its TT equivalent, ملاقاة حتفه means passed away (natural death) . However, in Arabic the phrase لقي مصرعه is defined in *Lisan Al-Arab* as سقط صريعا [died violently], طرح أرضا [thrown down on the ground], with مصرع meaning مقتل [the weak spot in the body]. This extract indicates that the translator could be unaware of the meaning of the Arabic lexical item ملاقاة حتفه as she translates the word *death* (line 8) *Whatever doubts we have about Gaddafi's death* into مقتل القذافي [killing Gaddafi], a nominalization of the verb قتل [kill], while later the same word *His **death** is a bracing lesson for the likes of Bashar al-Assad of Syria* (lines 9-10) is transferred into وفاة القذافي [the termination of Gaddafi's appointed term]. The former translation lexical choice of مقتل [the killing of] implies that the death was violently caused by an implied human agent, whereas the latter one وفاته [the termination of his appointed term] is a religious concept which is more formal and neutral than the ST's *death*. These incompatible ideational selections reveal inconsistent and inaccurate translations of the word 'death' rather than lexical variations.

As was the case in **ST49**, the naming shift from *the rebels* to الثوار [the revolutionaries] reveals that the TT writer shares a positive evaluative stance towards the Libyan rebels. In fact, the ST writer is trying to be politically correct through selecting detached labels of Islamists. However, the ST's negative social esteem markers, *hopelessly amateur* invoke the dominant media representation of Africa (hopless place) in general.This intensified negative capacity is a group polarisation strategy invoking a hidden positive self identification (western lands of hope and opportunity.)

ST: The Nato intervention was right and I would say that now, even if it had not gone so
well for the *rebels* in the last three months.

TT: تدخل قوات "الناتو" كان جيدا ،و ساقول ذلك الان، حتى و ان لم تسر الأمور على ما يرام مع *الثوار* في الأشهر
الثلاث الأخيرة

BT: The Nato forces' intervention was good and I would say that now even if things did
not go well for *the revolutionaries* in the last three months.

ST: I wasn't optimistic—Libya seemed too vast, Gaddafi too cunning and the *rebel forces*
hopelessly amateur.

TT: لم أكن متفائلا، فليبيا كبيرة جدا و القذافي شديد المكر و *الثوار* هواة ميؤوس منهم .

BT: I was not optimistic as Libya is too large, Gaddafi too cunning and *the revolutionaries*
hopelessly amateur.

To sum up, despite the TT's unnatural style and inconsistencies, the analysis of
ST52 and **TT52** reveals the utility of the analytical framework of appraisal theory to
reveal realization of positive in-group and negative out-group. This kind of
discourse analysis can provide a fruitful evaluative and ideological reading of the ST
and the TT. It shows a number of ideologically motivated deviations in modality and
invoked meaning (naming) in the TT. Importantly, it highlights indirectly derogatory
media terms, some possibly challenging forms of graduation (e.g., noncore lexis),
the role of entertain (modality) in inter/subjective positioning and transmitting as
well as polarising ideologies. Based on the findings of this analysis, we can
conclude that the TT writer adopts a more positive position towards the Libyan
rebels and the new Arab generation, and a more negative one towards Gaddafi.

7.3.3 ST64: US hatches Mubarak exit strategy as Egypt death toll mounts (news article)

7.3.3.1 Entertain

There are more ST probability (17) than modulations (10). However, only eight of
the former and eight of the latter are authorial (in **bold**).

Table 7.18 ST64 Probability 1

Probability
*will, claims, would, can, would, would, **will**, would, appeared to, **seemed, would not,** have been **expected, would, will** make it *possible* to, **not sure, will***

The negative evaluative prosody of the text is realized by the interwoven graduation,
engagement and ideational tokens. Like graduation deviations, modality and

assertion shifts accentuate Mubarak's desire to leave and mitigate the army's complicity in this matter.

The modal noun *claims* is omitted from the translation and rendered as an assertion. The assertion, which includes the emphatic reflexive pronoun *himself* referring to Mubarak, contracts the space for other opinions or doubts. In other words, Mubarak's departure is taken for granted by the TT writer and shared with the target readers in the following example:

ST: The Obama administration is working on a plan in which the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, would stand down immediately in spite of *claims* yesterday he was intent on clinging on to power until the elections in the autumn.

TT: تعمل إدارة الرئيس الأمريكي باراك أوباما *جاهدة* على إيجاد خطة لتنحي الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك الفوري عن السلطة، *على الرغم من أن مبارك نفسه أعلن* عن عدم تخليه على السلطة في مصر حتى موعد الانتخابات الرئاسية في الخريف القادم.

BT: President Obama's Administration is working hard to create a plan in which the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak would stand down *immediately although Mubarak himself announced* that he would not stand down until next autumn's elections.

The ST bare assertion is translated into high degree probability modal construction من المرجح أن [It is probable that] opening this TT dialogic space for other opinions (expand: entertain). The modal construction is chosen for this purpose, as it is used in Arabic when one possibility is higher than others, i.e. other lower possibilities exist, but this is the most probable. It is used literally to describe weights on a scale. As the following extract shows, despite the high degree in the ST, the added entertain category mitigates the military involvement in toppling Mubarak in the TT.

ST: The White House, the state department and the Pentagon have been involved in discussions that include an option in which Mubarak would give way to a transitional government headed by the Egyptian vice-president, Omar Suleiman. *Such a plan has the backing of the Egyptian military, the New York Times reported.*

TT: كان البيت الأبيض قد دخل في نقاش مع وزارة الخارجية ووزارة الدفاع الأمريكية، وذلك لتحديد كيفية التعامل مع الموقف في مصر، وكان أحد الخيارات المتاحة تنحية مبارك وتولي نائبه عمرو سليمان المسئولية، *ومن المرجح أن تحظي هذه الخطة بدعم الجيش صري وفقا لما أكدته صحيفة نيويورك تايمز الأمريكية*

BT: *It is probable that* the plan has the backing of the Egyptian military.

7.3.3.2 Graduation

The news article graduation consists of 10 intensifications and 21 quantifications and only two focus items. Some of these patterns are attributed (in **bold**).

Table 7.19 ST64 Intensity

Intensity
have had *enough*, *most* senior military commanders, *long* banned Muslim Brotherhood, , *a hint of resentment*, *faster* and

> *more* radical change, intervene
> *decisively*, *most* of the secular
> opposition, **repeatedly insisted**,
> *more* immediate

The deletion, addition and increase of graduation shifts in this TT mainly realize the negative other presentation strategy. Mubarak's negative feelings about the American administration's call for him to step down are silenced by deletion. By adding and consequently increasing negative attitude, Mubarak's desire to leave and his men's negative behaviour are emphasised. The Egyptian army's behaviour, on the other hand, is emphasised by increasing positive attitude. These ideologically motivated translation decisions are illustrated below.

The TT writer has deleted the ST's affect (dissatisfaction) item, *a hint of resentment,* which strengthens Mubarak's negative feelings towards Obama's call for him to step down.

ST: Mubarak expressed no sense of betrayal over Barack Obama's call on Tuesday for him to begin the transition to democracy "now". But *there was a hint of resentment* when he said Obama did not understand Egyptian culture and the trouble that would ensue if he left office immediately.

An intensified judgment (−propriety) epithet ضاري [fierce] is added in the TT to dehumanise the attack that Mubarak's supporters launched on journalists and news reporters (Their [outgroup] negative social sanction: inhumane/aggressive/savage) :

ST: The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists said correspondents from CNN, Associated Press and Al-Arabiya television were among those *attacked.*

TT: وفقا للجنة حماية الصحفيين التي تتخذ من نيويورك مقرا لها، فقد تعرض مراسلي السي إن إن والاسوشيتد برس، وقناة العربية إلى هجوم *ضاري* من مؤيدي مبارك

BT: According to the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, the CNN, Associated Press, and Al-Arabiya television were the targets of a *fierce* attack by Mubarak's proponents.

The passive agent phrase من مؤيدي مبارك [by Mubarak's proponents] (agent vs. agentless) has also been added as the agent of the fierce attack. Both TT interpersonal and ideational additions could trigger more negative reading responses than those invoked by the ST.

The TT intensifies the positive tenacity (*working hard*) of the Obama administration as follows:

ST: The Obama administration *is working* on a plan in which the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, would stand down immediately in spite of claims yesterday he was intent on

clinging on to power until the elections in the autumn.

TT: تعمل إدارة الرئيس الأمريكي باراك أوباما *جاهدة* على إيجاد خطة لتنحي الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك الفوري عن السلطة

BT: President Obama's Administration is *working hard* to create a plan in which the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak would stand down immediately

The seemingly neutral appreciation (composition) *sporadic* shifts into appreciation (+ quality) *great*.

ST: The army made *sporadic* attempts

TT: ولقد بذل الجيش *جهود كبيرة*

BT: and the army exerted *great* efforts

The number of injuries (800) reported in the TT is increased in the TT to *more than 800*:

ST: Ten people were reported dead and *800* injured yesterday at the focal point of the struggle, Tahrir Square in Cairo, after the president's supporters mounted attacks on the crowd of protesters.

TT: وميدانيا فقد أشارت تقارير إلى وفاة حوالي 10 محتجين وإصابة *ما يزيد عن* 800 شخص في الأحداث التي جرت ليل الخميس الماضي

BT: On the ground, reports reported the deaths of about 10 protestors and *more than* 800

In addition, the TT writer has added intensification (*great*) in the following excerpts, in order to express increasing international pressures on the Egyptian government to step down. In addition, the low probability modal *appeared to* is transferred into a higher degree one. The combination of shifts in ideational meaning, intensification and modality clearly mirror the TT writer's negative bias.

ST: The Egyptian regime *appeared to have dug* in today, defying international pressure to begin an immediate transfer of power while launching attacks on journalists and human rights observers, a move condemned unreservedly by the US.

TT: *بات من الواضح* أن النظام المصري *على وشك السقوط*، نظرا للضغوط الدولية *الكبيرة* للبدء في عملية نقل السلطة من يد مبارك على الفور.

BT: It became *clear* that the Egyptian regime *is about to fall* due to *great* international pressures to begin immediate transfer of power from Mubarak's hand.

Inscribed attitude (separate intensification: بالغة [severe] is also added to intensify the harm inflicted on the protestors by Mubarak supporters (added impropriety). The intensification addition can be seen in the following extract:

ST: Clashes with stones, petrol bombs and gunshots continued throughout the day

TT: لكن هذا لم يمنع حدوث المواجهات من على مسافات بعيدة باستخدام الحجارة، واستخدم مؤيدي مبارك الرصاص الحي وقنابل المولوتوف التي ألقوها على المحتجين وأوقعوا في صفوفهم إصابات بالغة، وقد استمرت المواجهات طوال الليل وحتى الصباح

BT: But this did not prevent *clashes with stones* from a distance. And *Mubarak supporters used live ammunition* and petrol bombs which *they threw on the protestors inflicting severe injuries in their ranks.*

In Mubarak's own statement, *really* is added to strengthen his inclination.

ST: "I want to go"
TT: أريد الرحيل بالفعل
BT: "I *really* want to leave"

7.3.3.3 Invoked Attitude

<u>Judgment Tokens</u>

The reporter employs a range of positive labels of the preferred out-group members, namely, *Egypt's uprising, Egyptian people's revolt,* and *Egypt's revolutionaries.* Other conflict labels such as *Husni Mubarak's demise, Egyptian protesters,* and *the siege of Gaza* are impartial.

The naming shifts, though inconsistent, and lexical shifts, though infrequent, are ideologically motivated by the macro strategy of in-group (Egyptians, Egyptian Military and the writer) versus out-group (Mubarak) polarization.

Although the words *protestors* and *protests* have been preserved, the TT intensifies the protest events by adding *flared up/erupted*. The TT also adds تظاهراتهم [demonstrations] to praise and legitimise these protests. In another lexical choice, the ST *struggle* (referring to the Egyptian people in Tahrir Square) is downplayed into الأحداث [the events]. Similarly, the negative label used to criticize out-group members, *Pro-Mubarak mobs*, is transferred into the neutral مؤيدي مبارك [Mubarak's supporters]. This and similar labels invoking negative propriety such as *packs* and *brigades* were noted (van Dijk 1991, p.314) in negative (racist) media reports on ethnic topics (See Talbot et al 2003).

The Egyptian army's behaviour, on the other hand, is praised by toning up the lexical choices in the phrase *made **sporadic** attempts* into بذل جهود كبيرة [exerted **great** efforts].

It is worth mentioning that though synonymous, the substitution of a ST verb such as *go* with the TT verb ارحل [leave] conveys an important ideological orientation of the TT producer, as the latter gained currency in the socio-political context of the Arab spring as a direct order from the people and a popular demand for democratic change. This is just another example of how ideologies shape and are shaped by subtle linguistic patterns.

The previous analysis of the ST and TT evaluation resources demonstrates that the TT is highly evaluative and ideologically manipulated, so that the writer can adopt a positive stance towards the Egyptian army (Self), and a negative one towards Mubarak and his supporters (Other).

7.3.4 ST65: Egyptian uprising enables jailed Hamas militant to escape (news article)

7.3.4.1 Entertain

The number of modalizations (16) and modulations (8) in the ST include just seven authorial probability modals and only one inclination modal. The rest are part of reported speech. Therefore, this can be attributed to the writer's voice (that of the reporter) in this text type. However, the large numbers of explicit graduations, as shown previously, reveal a more involved writer's voice (correspondent/writer).

Table 7.20 ST65 probability

Probability
claimed, would, could, will not, would, will be, could, will, will, could,

The modal verb *claimed* is conveyed into a higher degree modal verb أكد [confirmed] in the present tense. The ST writer distances himself from the Hamas commander's statement by conveying the external voice as a claim that is open to doubt and rejection. The TT writer, on the other hand, uses a verb that expresses speaker confidence (the speaker is certain).

ST: The Hamas commander *claimed* he was held for political reasons in Egypt after being detained at a security checkpoint in Sinai in 2008.

TT: وأكد القائد الحمساوي على أنه تم اعتقاله في مصر لأسباب سياسية

BT: The Hamas commander *confirmed* that he was held in Egypt for political reasons

The low probability modal *could* is also translated into the epistemic modal particle س [will] which expresses higher possibility.

ST: Fatah supporters are worried that President Hosni Mubarak's demise *could* boost the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, the political partners of their arch-rivals Hamas.

TT: خاصة أعضاء حركة فتح الذين أعربوا عن قلقهم الشديد من رحيل الرئيس حسني مبارك عن سدة الحكم في مصر، ويرون أن غيابه سيمنح جماعة الإخوان المسلمين قوة كبيرة،

BT: Especially Fatah members who expressed their *deep worry* that Hosni Mubarak's demise *will* boost the Muslim Brotherhood

7.3.4.2. Graduation

This news report which is two page and three lines in length comprises less patterns of intensity (16) than quantity (26). Seven of these intensifications and six of these quantifications are attributed to other sources (in bold) and no focus items were found.

Table 7.21 ST65 Intensity

Intensity
sweeping , storm, embrace, flung arms, *clapped his back vigorously*, *wretched*, *eagerness*, **more** stable, **earlier,** *boost,* **closely** watching, *deep* **in their hearts,** *very* **happy,** *deeply* **concerned,** **more aware,** *racked* by division (16)

Intensification of attitude (appreciation:+impact) is added to increase the impact of the news on the Hamas militant as the TT extract shows:

ST: In a small cell in Egypt's al-Marj prison, the BBC World Service brought *encouraging* news to Ayman Nofel.

TT: في زنزانة صغيرة بسجن المرج بالقاهرة، استمع أيمن نوفل القيادي البارز في حركة حماس الفلسطينية، عبر شبكة بي بي سي الإخبارية عن أخبار *مشجعة للغاية*

BT: In a small cell in Egypt's al-Marj prison, Ayman Nofel, a senior commander from Hamas, listened to *very encouraging* news on the BBC News network.

Intensification of affect (+satisfaction, −security, +inclination) has also been added in this TT. The affect patterns describe the feelings of three in-group parties: Nofel (the Hamas commander), Fatah supporters, and Hamas. The positive affect noun شكر [gratitude] (+satisfaction) has been intensified by the evaluative adjective العميق [deep] (force: up-scale) in the extract below:

ST: He was *grateful* to the Egyptian protesters who "inspired us to rise up against the prison guards .

TT: وقدم نوفل *شكره العميق* إلى الثوار المصريين، الذين ألهموهم ليثوروا داخل السجن ويخرجوا منه،

BT: Nofel introduced his deep gratitude to *the Egyptian revolutionaries*.

The feelings of Fatah supporters قلق [worry] *(*affect: −security) regarding Hosni Mubarak's demise are also intensified using the adjective الشديد [extreme/deep] (force: upscale) in the TT.

ST: Fatah supporters are *worried* that President Hosni Mubarak's demise could boost the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, the political partners of their arch-rivals Hamas.

TT: خاصة أعضاء حركة فتح الذين أعربوا عن *قلقهم الشديد* من رحيل الرئيس حسني مبارك عن سدة الحكم في مصر،

BT: Especially Fatah members who expressed their *deep worry* about Hosni Mubarak's demise.

Inclination is intensified by للغاية [very] (force: upscale) when describing the feelings of Hamas about the events in Egypt as follows:

ST: Fatah supporters, he said, took the view that "my enemy's enemy is my friend. They know *Hamas is keen* to see Mubarak leave power.

TT: أما بالنسبة لفتح فإنهم يتبنون وجهة النظر التي تقول "عدو عدوي هو صديقي"، ويدركون جيدا أن حركة حماس *مهتمة للغاية* برحيل مبارك عن السلطة في مصر، وأي تغير في مصر سيؤثر على حركة حماس والسلطة الفلسطينية

BT: They know very well that Hamas *is very keen* to see Mubarak leave power in Egypt.

The quantification *many* shifts to الجميع [everyone]. The increased quantification conveys positive evaluation about the way Palestinians reacted to the news from Egypt in the following excerpt:

ST: On the streets of Gaza City, *many* people spoke of being glued to TV pictures from Egypt over the past fortnight

TT: فالجميع يتحدث عن الأخبار والصور التي تنقلها قنوات التليفزيون من مصر

BT: *Everyone* talks about the TV news and the pictures on the Egyptian TV channels.

The representation of Iraq as a corrupted state suffering from domestic divisions is emphasised by the infused intensity (noncore word) marker " *racked* by division" which gets deleted in the TT (a deleted paragraph). This intensification conforms to the dominant representation of Islamists in the Guardian discourse in which Syrian and Iraqi Islamist groups are evaluated by tokenised labels such as *infighting* and *sectarian hatred*. This ideological identification interweaves with the modal auxiliary *could* which connotes a feared possibility (warning), as it falls within the scope of the verb *feared.* This further masked as a detached reported speech. More importantly, this other representation emphasises the unity of the Nato united forces of intervention and the US and its allies/friends (Divided Them vs United Us).

ST : Fatah supporter Haytham Waheidy, 38, *feared* that Egypt *could* become another Iraq, *racked by division and violence* .

7.3.4.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Naming in ST65 ranges from neutral labels such as *Egyptian protesters, Fatah supporters,* and *jailed Hamas militant* to positive ones including *Egyptian uprising, Egyptian people's revolt.*

Though not mentioned in the ST, the positive naming الثوار [the revolutionaries] appears in the TT subtitle in order to trigger positive reading responses towards the Egyptian revolutionaries (in-group).

ST: Ayman Nofel, a senior commander, is given hero's welcome in Gaza refugee camp after prison breakout amid Egypt's chaos

TT: قائد من حماس خرج من السجن المصري بفضل الثوار

BT: Hamas Commander released from prison *thanks to the revolutionaries.*

It is also used as the positive evaluative equivalent of *protesters* in the TT as follows:

ST: He was *grateful* to the Egyptian protesters who "inspired us to rise up against the

prison guards.

TT: وقدم نوفل شكره *العميق* إلى الثوار المصريين، الذين ألهموهم ليثوروا داخل السجن ويخرجوا منه.

BT: Nofel iexpressed his deep gratitude to *the Egyptian revolutionaries*

Starting from the title and subtitles and throughout, TT65 is saturated with evaluation, especially positive evaluation. As the ST and TT report on good news for the Hamas and bad news for Fatah, the TT shows an increase in intensification of positive and negative affect and quantification. All in all, the TT writer adopts a more positive stance towards Hamas, the Egyptian revolutionaries and their revolution.

7.4 Newsweek Appraisal Discourse Analysis

The *Newsweek* corpus comprises opinion texts randomly selected from the magazine's features' section and The Take. The 2009-2010 texts cover a wide range of topics relevant to the politics of the US, Israel, and the Greater Middle East.

Four texts were selected for detailed appraisal analysis. These discuss issues such as the rise of Turkey as a regional power after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Iran's theocracy and containment of Iran, Israeli ministerial policies and peace with the Palestinians.

7.4.1 ST30: The Triumph of the Turks (12/7/2009 Features: Turkey: influence)
7.4.1.1 Entertain

The number of modalizations (24) far exceeds that of modulations (5). No obligation modals are used. The patterns tend to expand this dialogic news discourse for other opinions.

Table 7.22 ST30 Probability and Usulaity

> **Probability**
> *could* scarcely, *would, sure, could, claim, claiming,*
> *couldn't possibly, may, could, may, can* scarcely,
> *would, believe, would, apparently, can, can,*
> *unlikely ever*
> **Usuality**
> *scarcely, scarcely, always, always, often*

The modal *claiming* shifts into معتبرا [considering] to express the Turkish prime minister's stance regarding the involvement of the Sudanese president in the Darfur

genocide. Unlike the neutral TT choice *considering*, the ST's *claiming* reveals a negative attitude towards the Turkish president's stance and the involvement of the Sudanese president. However, the scare quotes are kept in the TT as an equivalent positive but detached propriety of the Sudanese president (*"good Muslim"*). This shift from negative to neutral attitude reflects distinct ST and TT worldviews with regard to the ST's negative judgment. In other words, using engagement (modalization), the TT producer mitigates the ST producer's negative stance towards the in-group (Turkish and Sudanese rulers), in order to align with the TT audience:

ST: At the same time the Turkish prime minister has repeatedly supported Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir, *claiming* he couldn't possibly be guilty of genocide because he's a *"good Muslim"*.

TT: وفي الوقت نفسه دعم رئيس الوزراء التركي مرارا ة تكرار الؤئيس السوداني عمر البشير معتبرا انه لا يمكن ان يكون مذنبا بارتكاب ابادة في دارفور لأنه "مسلم صالح"

BT: At the same time the Turkish prime minister supported the Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir over and over again, *considering* that he cannot be guilty of perpetrating genocide in Darfur because he's a "good Muslim".

Moreover, two shifts from entertain (probability)—*could* and *may*—into bare assertion are used to express a more confident stance that closes the discourse to divergent views regarding the Turks (in-group) and Iranians (out-group) respectively.

ST: The Turks *could* be excused for thinking that Western decision makers don't always lose sleep over Turkish interests.

TT: اذا فكروا في ان صانعي القرارات الغربيين لا يكترثون دائما للمصالح التركية من جهة اخرى الأتراك معنورون

BT: On the other hand, the Turks *are excused* when they think that Western decision makers don't always care about Turkish interests

ST: Whatever ambitions they *may have harbored* in earlier years. It's only in this decade— especially since 2002, when Erdogan and the AKP came to power—that Turkey has had the economic and political strength, as well as the military presence, to fill such a position.

TT: وأيا تكن الطموحات التي راودتهم في السابق

BT: Whatever [the] ambitions that *occurred to* them in the past

The modal *scarcely* (*could scarcely*, *can scarcely*) is deleted twice in the TT closing the discourse to divergent views. However, *could scarcely* is rendered into the higher equivalent *would not* (negation) in the following extract:

ST: Archibald Wavell himself could *scarcely* have imagined how horribly accurate his prediction would prove to be

TT: ما كان أرشيبولد وايفل نفسه *ليتخيل* أن توقعه سيبرهن على هذه الدقة الشديدة

BT: Archibald Wavell himself *would not* have imagined that his prediction would be very accurate.

As Wavell is not an in-group member, the selection of negation and the slightly higher modal may result from the tendency in Arabic towards unmodalised statements; otherwise the modal phrase is a possible source of difficulty (Aziz, 1998).

Conversely, bare assertion shifts into a low degree of probability in the TT, opening up the discourse to other views. Therefore, the probability modal لعل [may/might/perhaps], which expresses something either hoped or feared, has been added in the TT. In the extract below, the TT writer not only expresses low possibility, but also hopes that the Turkish government's (in-group) Islamic Sunni colouration is the main trait attracting Saudis. This phrase is similar to an Arabic phrase which includes two modals عسى [a'sa] and لعل [la'alla], expressing hope and used to pray for good things to happen.

ST: Not the least important part of the charm is that Erdogan's government has a distinctly Islamic (and by Saudi lights, a distinctly Sunni Islamic) coloration—even if Sunni officials would say that publicly, because it is politically incorrect.

TT : ولعل الجزء الاهم في السحر الذي تمارسه تركيا هو ان لحكومة اردوغان صبغة اسلامية واضحة (و بحسب النظرة السعودية صبغة اسلامية سنية واضحة)

BT: And *perhaps* the most important part of the charm is that Erdogan's government has a clear Islamic coloration (according to the Saudi point of view, a clear Islamic Sunni coloration).

7.4.1.2. Graduation

The ST writer employs a great number of intensifications (43) and quantifications (39) and just two focus items. The wide range of graduations and the remarkable usage of negative forms (*rampant, resentment, radically, outburst, crave, dismay, epidemic*) reveal a biased stance towards the out-group.

Table 77.23 ST30 Intensity

Intensity
himself, horribly accurate , *enough, too* weak, *best, biggest, most, biggest, more than, repeatedly, more, most, less, thinly* concealed, *repeatedly, strictly* secular, *rise, rampant, most, resentment, indeed, far more, more than doubled, closer, more, on the verge of, compounding, boosted, further, outburst, more, far from,* think *fondly, distinctly* Islamic, *distinctly* Sunni, *no more than, just, ultimately, strongest, radically, better, crave, dismay*

The intensifying adverb *horribly* is rendered as the general TT adjective شديدة [strong], the meaning of which has been grammaticalized into *very*, *extremely*, etc. However, the adjective رهيبة [horrible] has developed a similar intensification meaning to that of *horribly* through delexicalisation.

ST: Archibald Wavell himself could scarcely have imagined how *horribly* accurate his prediction would prove to be

TT: ما كان أرشيبولد وايفل نفسه ليتخيل أن توقعه سيبرهن على هذه الدقة الشديدة

BT: Archibald Wavell himself would not have imagined that his expectation would prove to be very accurate.

The force adjective *rampant* [مستشري/متفشي] is downplayed into a less negative choice متزايد[increasing] in the following excerpt:

ST: No one in the government has made any attempt to reverse *rampant* anti-Americanism in Turkey, says Kemel Koprulu of the independent ARI think tank.

TT: يقول كمال كوبرولو من مركز الأبحاث المستقل ايه آر آي" لم يبذل أحد في الحكومة أي محاولة لكبح العداء المتزايد لامريكا في تركيا

These deviations reveal a less natural style than is usual in original Arabic texts. However, the point we are trying to make is not about what constitutes correct or incorrect translation. Rather, grading adverbs such as *horribly* and infused intensifications such as *rampant* are evidently points of difficulty in this translation. The fact that they have been explicated suggests the TT's writer has a strategy to deal with problems. In this case, it is a purely linguistic one: to separate de-lexicalized and infused intensity. Being aware of this may ultimately improve a translator's news text writing.

The rest of the graduation shifts can be summarized below:

Table 7.242 ST/TT30 graduation shifts

ST	TT	BT
That was the *low* point of Turkey's relationship with the United States.	كانت هذه المحطة الأسوأ في العلاقات بين تركيا و الولايات المتحدة.	This was the *worst* stage in the relationship between Turkey and the United States. **up-scaled**
Not *the least* important part of the charm is that Erdogan's government has a distinctly Islamic (and by Saudi lights, distinctly Sunni Islamic) coloration	ولعل الجزء/الأهم من السحر الذي تمارسه تركيا هو أن لحكومة أردوغان صبغة اسلامية واضحة (و بحسب النظرة السعودية صبغة سنية واضحة)	And perhaps *the most* important part of the magic practised by Turkey is that Erdogan's government has a clear Islamic coloration (and according to the Saudi view, a clear Islamic Sunni coloration) **up-scaled**
Speaking at a recent press conference in Rome, Erdogan expressed *little* hope that Turkey could do more for Syria and Israel.	في مؤتمر صحافي عقده أخيرا في روما أعرب أردوغان عن تلاشي أمله بقدرة تركيا على فعل المزيد لسوريا و اسرائيل.	In a press conference he held recently in Rome, Erdogan expressed his *vanishing* hope in Turkey's ability to do more for Syria and Israel. **Downscaled**
unlikely *ever* to regain the imperial power		**Deleted**

7.4.1.3. Invoked Attitude

The social groups evaluated in this text are the Turkish (ST's orientalist discourse label: the Turks), the Iranians, the Saudis, Israel, European countries, and the US. The last two are sometimes treated as one group, i.e. the West. The US represents the in-group in this ST.

Judgment Tokens

The lexical choices are made with the West's ideology of global security in mind. Therefore, neutral items are used to mitigate Our negative propriety (*US-led invasion, 2003 invasion, invade),* the war on Gaza *(a military offensive)* and the killings of Palestinians (*deaths)*, and Kurdish fighters and civilians killed by the Turks *(dead).* The choices of *invasion* and *military offensive* enable the writer to downplay the negative behaviours of the in-group (the US). Two further implicit neutral choices have been employed (*insurgency* and *insurgents*) to downplay the actions of the favoured out-group (the Kurdish minority). Only one lexical choice indirectly appraising the main out-group (the Turkish) is neutral despite the large number of deaths (*left* 35,000 *dead*).

The Middle East and global security term "the Arab world" is also used to attend to the ideological purposes of the ST writer. This term's equivalent in the Arab context is either the neutral pro-Western العالم العربي [the Arab World], or the more positive pro-Arab nationalism term الوطن العربي [the Arab Homeland].

The negative behaviour of Israel in Gaza is indirectly evaluated by the neutral *military offensive* (agent), followed by the negative term **killed** *more than 1400 Palestinians* and the neutral term *deaths* respectively.

Analysis reveals that the negative behaviour of the European powers is invoked by non-core words (in **bold**), in addition to graduation (*italics*), and entertain (modalization) (underlined) as follows:

ST: Having watched in *dismay* as the victorious European powers **carved up** the Ottoman Empire after World War I

ST: and <u>sure</u> *enough,* the *decades since* **spawned** a succession of colonial misrule, coups, revolutions, and *an epidemic* of violence.

The Iranians receive similar treatment through negative prosody in judgment tokens:

ST: whatever ambitions they *harboured* […] imperial ambitions

The neutral items *disputes* and *conflicts* are used to refer to the differences among Palestinian factions and to other regional conflicts respectively.

Non-core words seem to be problematic, as the translator downplays their strength and explicates them. Appraising the European superpowers and the colonial period following World War I, for instance, the ST writer employs negative judgment tokens including *carve up* and *spawned* which have been rendered into تقسم [dividing] and شهدت [witnessed] respectively. A possible translation in Arabic could have been أفرزت [lit., secreted] with closer negative nuances to that of *spawned* in English, i.e. it tends to co-occur with negative co-text (negative prosody). It also intensifies the negative evaluation of the ingroup (self indulgent) in ST43 (The spurt of economic activity in the 1980s and '90s **spawned** a generation of Gordon Gekkos on Wall Street and profligate spenders in the shopping malls of America). The negative intensity of *spurt* and *profligate* is another example of the negative cotext of *spawn*. However , TT43 downplays its intensity into *adda ila burūz* [**led to emergence** of a generation]

ST30: […] having watched in dismay as victorious European powers *carved up* the Ottoman Empire after World War I—"the war to end war". And sure enough, the decades since have *spawned* a succession of colonial misrule, coups, revolution, and an epidemic of jihadist violence.

Importantly, unlike *spawned*, *witnessed* bad events does not necessarily attach a direct blame to the colonial decades, i.e. the events, though important and negative, are considered to be naturally occurring. The choice of *decades* is an inscription of graduation that amplifies negative evaluation and at the same time it is foregrounded as an agent to hedge responsibility. These invoked and inscribed attitude patterns are chosen to construct and trigger the negative (prosodic) evaluation in the TT, i.e. the negative evaluation of Western superpowers in the ST's co-text of *carve up* and *spawn.* These attitudinal patterns include the negative dissatisfaction (affect) *in dismay* evaluating Wavell's feelings regarding the superpowers' behaviour, the negative judgment token, *a succession of colonial misrule, coups, revolutions*, and the negative graduation **epidemic** *of jihadist violence.*

The term **killed,** in ''the *military offensive* in Gaza this year that human rights groups say *killed* more than 1400 Palestinians'', is replaced by أودى بحية [wasted the lives of, took the lives of] which further mitigates the ST's in-group's negative action. Moreover, the TT shifts from the more specific *military offensive* into the more general هجوم عسكري [military attack]. The former, a defensive war strategy,

implies that the two sides are in a state of war over a period of time (intensity) and the Israelis are the ones who took the initiative to achieve territorial or other war gains. The latter does not assume this (ongoing) two-sided hostility.

English dictionaries (e.g. Collins online and Oxford English Dictionary) treat both *attack* an *offensive* as taking the initiative to attack with the strategic purpose being the only difference (general vs. specific). The difference is captured by English-Arabic military dictionaries as follows: an offensive (تعرض, تعرضي هجوم). The Arabic alternative تعرض is defined as attacking enemies [who are in a state of war], in order to crush them, so that victory can only be achieved with an offensive (Al-'asiri, n.d., p. 653). It was used to label the war strategy adopted by the Prophet of Islam (offensive invasions) and one of his companions (offensive battles) in many of their battles. The English word and its Arabic alternative then refer to a particular defensive war strategy with specific goals rather than a general one-sided act of aggression. The ST mitigation of its in-group negative action (Israel's military attacks Gaza civilians) is not captured by the TT (attack). This mitigation is then in-group oriented and it is never applied to the Islamist or Arab attacks against each other or targeting other western and Israeli sides in the corpus.

ST: Among the biggest worries has been the souring of ties with Israel, once Turkey's close ally, over the *military offensive* in Gaza this year that human rights groups say *killed* more than 1400 Palestinians.

The translator's choice of death-related terms appraising Palestinians and their enemy depicts the fatalities as casualties of war. In particular, the ST's nominalisation *deaths* shifts into القتلى الذين سقطوا [lit. the killed who fell) to refer to the Palestinians killed in the Israeli military offensive.

ST: Erdogan walked out of the World Economic Forum in protest over the *deaths*
TT: انسحب أردغوان من المنتدى الاقتصادي العالمي احتجاجا على *القتلى الذين سقطوا*
BT: Erdogan walked out of the Global Economic Forum in protest over *the casualties who fell*

The ST neutral reference to Kurdish loss of life in the preferred out-group (the Kurdish minority) shifts from *dead* into the nominalization مقتل [killing] in the TT. The ST agent, *insurgency*, is preserved in the TT, so the responsibility cannot be directly blamed on Turkey alone in both versions.

ST: an insurgency that left 35,000 *dead* in the past quarter century.
TT: تمرد أسفر عن *مقتل* 35000 شخص في ربع القرن الماضي
BT: an insurgency that led to *killing* 35,000 in the past quarter of century

The words *insurgency* and *insurgents* have been rendered as تمرد [insurgency] and متمردين [insurgents] reflecting nearly the same ST Western ideological worldview concerning the conflict between Turkey and the Kurdish minority. Like the ST's *invasion* and *invade*, the political activity of the Kurdish minority (*insurgency*) is euphemistic. However, the use of the word تمرد is ambiguous, as it also expresses the positive meaning of rebellion. Thus, the writer's bias is not easy to detect in this example, especially as both Turkey and the Kurds are part of the TT in-group.

This political term proved controversial in Egypt in 2015. The problematic euphemistic use and the translation of the Western press term *insurgency* to refer to the Sinai Islamist militants fighting the Egyptian army was publicly rejected in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry's press conference in which foreign journalists were provided with a list of the government's 'accurate' terms for these events (*Al-Yum Assabe'i*, online, 5 June 2015). The government prefers the terms *terrorism* and *terrorist acts*.

The negative judgment token (−inclination) of the Iranians *whatever ambitions they may have* **harboured** has also been mitigated into راودتهم [whatever ambitions occurred to them] in the TT.

ST: Whatever ambitions they *may have harboured* in earlier years.
TT: وأيا تكن الطموحات التي *راودتهم* في السابق
BT: Whatever ambitions *occurred to* them in the past

While *carve up* and *spawn* are used to negatively evaluate the colonial superpowers, the verb *harboured* contributes to the ST's negative prosodic evaluation of Iranians. The former is sometimes part of the in-group's (United States) label (the West) and the latter is part of the out-group comprising Turkey and Iran. All of the negative items are reduced in the TT. However, the translator's decision may be traced to the difficulty of the lexical items themselves rather than reflecting group polarization. Given that the majority of the readership for the Arabic version of *Newsweek* is Sunni, due to the hostilities between Iran and most Arab countries, Iran is classified as an out-group. The task of group classification is, thus, not straightforward.

Finally, the non-core word *wielded* appraising the TT in-group is downplayed into the core word تمتعت [enjoyed] in the TT. Again, the strategy of explication may have been adopted to deal with the non-core word difficulty encountered by the translator rather than group considerations.

ST: The world has changed radically since the fall of the Ottomans, and Turkey is unlikely ever to regain the imperial power it *wielded* for 350 years, from Algiers to Budapest

to Mecca.

The label *Turks* itself reveals an orientalist representation (backwards). The current appraisal critical discourse analysis facilitates the detection of whether *Turks* tends to have a negative prosodic tone. ST39, for example, dehumanises the Turkish citezens using an infused metaphorical intensification (The *Turks* would *flock* to the underdog). The TT strips the ST of its ideological representation. That is, the negative label shifts into a neutral naming and the intensity infusion (metaphor) is explicated and reduced in the translation (TT39: *The Turkish people* would be *inclined towards the weaker side*).

7.4.2 ST33: The Death of Theocracy (11/1/2010, The Take: International)

7.4.2.1 Entertain

A relatively small number of modalizations (12) and modulations (9) were also observed.

Table 7.25 ST33 probability

Probability
claim, will, claiming, would, may, will, will, must, think, will, claim, know

Probability is generally preserved with only one shift (*must be→will*). The small number of shifts suggest that the writer's subjective positions agree with those of the ST.

7.4.2.2 Graduation

This text is shorter than ST 30 (consisting of one page and two paragraphs) and would normally be expected to have a smaller number of graduations. However, it is clear that intensity (18 out of 20) is generally up-scaled in this sensitive text. There are slightly fewer quantifications (14) than intensifications and no focus forms. Few graduation shifts occur in this TT and they are insignificant.

Table 7.3 ST33 intensity

Intensity
enough, near-perfect, pretty clear, ever clearer, stinging keenness, catastrophic casualties, desperate to, doubled and quadrupled, palpable fear, significant, very much, worst, ever-enthusiastic, insufficiently, happier, more prosperous, slightly, more, very, very

While five of the 20 intensifications (*enough, near, very, very, very*) are deleted, one is mistranslated (*worst*). The relatively small number of shifts reveal that ST and TT writers adopt similar stances.

7.4.2.3 Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Naming and lexical patterns are chosen to criticise the Iranian (out-group) version of Political Islam. For example, the name of *God* (*in the name of **God**, **God** is on the side of Iran*) is related to the Iranian mullah theocracy and the *holy book*, the Quran, which is the main source of sharia (Islamic law), is referred to as a source of oppression in the ST.

Ideational tokens are further manipulated by lexical choices towards the same end. For instance, among other tokens, some lexical choices (*young lads of the morality police*, *consecrated martyrs of the revolutionary guards, beggary cum terrorism, failed state, a rogue one*) are used to degrade the out-group. Besides, the value rich epithet *secular* (**secular** *catharsis*) emphasises the negative tenacity of Iran (out-group) and de-emphasises the positive tenacity of the West (in-group).The ST's juvenilization of the Other (e.g. young lads of the morality police) is noted by previous studies on media discourse racist construction of common sense (see Talbot et al 2003, p.46). It has been also highlighted by studies on orientalist discourse as ''the infantalisation of the Orient as the Other''(ibid).

In short, the abundant religious labels and lexical choices appraising the out-group are clearly motivated by an anti-political Islam and pro-Western orientalist ideology. As summarised in Table **7.2**, the negative other-representation strategy is manifested in these out-group choices while no negative in-group counterparts are emphasised.

Table 7.27 ST 33 Ingroup vs outgroup naming

In-group	Out-group
Jews, Crusaders, and the Freemasons protests against *an Indian-born novelist living in England*	*theocracy, in the name of God, holy book, consecrated martyrs of the Revolutionary Guards, God, fatwa, jihad, by bribery and force, Islamist extremist, suicide attacks, priesthood, the clerics, holy war[...] waged, a failed state, a rogue one, regime thugs, young lads of the morality police, bribery and force, beggary cum terrorism*

The ST use of the word *God* is translated into الدين [religion], in order to avoid negative evaluations of the name of God, as seen in the following extracts:

ST: The term theocracy trips readily enough off the tongue and is an accurate description of a system where mortals claim to dominate other mortals in the name of *God*.

TT: يتم تداول عبارة ثيوقراطية على نطاق واسع وهي تشكل وصفا دقيقا لنظام يدعي فيه أناس فانون حق الهيمنة على غيرهم من الفانين باسم *الدين*

BT: The expression theocracy is exchanged widely and it is an accurate description of a system in which mortals claim the right to dominate other mortals in the name of *religion*.

God is also translated into the Islamic value rich naming *Allah* as the appraisal target is Shiite Islamic faith in Allah. Arab dictionaries define *Allah* as the proper name of the essence of God (Islam). In the Islamic faith, *Allah* refers to the one creator worthy of worship and worship means obedience/submission and love. Therefore, those who worship him (those who submit to him) are Muslims whereas *Rab* refers to the lord of all his creations whether they worship him or not (Alsha'arawi televised lecture). Islam is related to the verb *aslam* (to submit), so Muslims generally refer to God as *Allah*. Muslims share the name *Rab* with everyone else regardless of religion. However, Christian Arabs use both names though the latter is more frequently heard.

ST: Khomeini had resisted Rafsenjani's realism for a long time, claiming that *God* was on the side of Iran and that his will would therefore prevail.

The political activity *protests* (*angry **protests** against the Indian-born British novelist living in England*) shifts into تظاهرات [demonstrations] representing the political activity as more positive and legitimate. Moreover, the *death sentence* pronounced by Khomeini shifts into *fatwa*, as the latter is seen as positive and legitimate.

Another highly sensitive term, *a holy book* (referring to the Quran) is translated into مقدسات [holies in general] to avoid invoking a negative evaluation that may provoke negative Sunni and Shia reader responses.

The Christian value rich word *holy war* is preserved in the translation of this text although it is domesticated as جهاد [*jihad*], an Islamic value rich word. The term 'war' was never used in early Islam. Instead words like غزوات [raids], قتال [fighting], مواطن [places/spots] and موقعة [location of fight] were employed with معارك [battles] appearing later on.

Moreover, *Newsweek* news writers believe they are impartial. According to Samuelson (2004): "We in the news business think we're impartial seekers of truth,

but most Americans think otherwise. They view us as sloppy, biased and self-serving." The bias in American media can be traced to the partisan needs of their audience and the economic interests of the industry (ibid.). Shammam (2000), the editor of the Arabic version of *Newsweek*, on the other hand, stated that the translated version of *Newsweek* would not be submitted to censorship when it comes to the expression of sensitive political opinions, but would respect the cultural and religious beliefs of the Arab readership's community discourse (Albawaba, 2000).

Newsweek problematizes poverty of the Islamists using the derogatory phrase *beggary-cum-terrorism* which is translated into الفقر المدقع الذي تحول الى ارهاب [abject/grinding poverty-cum-terrorism], expressing a sympathetic stance in the TT towards the Taliban of Afghanistan. However, the inscribed judgment (−propriety) of the Iranian government, *regime **thugs**,* is transferred into the more negative equivalent سفاحي النظام [the regime mass murderers].

Unlike the case for the STs from *The Guardian*, the indirect evaluation *young* (emphasize the other's negative things as immature) is negative in ST33. The Iranian Police is negatively evaluated as *ever-enthusiastic and illiterate **young** lads*. The Arabic version provides an apparently neutral expression الشبان [youths] as an equivalent of the ST *young lads*. Words like *toddlers, children, infants* and *wean* have been used in other texts to degrade terrorist groups and movements across the *Newsweek* discourse.

The ST positive value rich adjective *secular* (***secular** catharsis*) is deleted in the TT to avoid triggering a negative ideological reader response. The adjective *secular* is relevant to the socio-political ideology of Western societies (viewed positively by a number of politicians and civilians in the Western world). Therefore, it is regarded as the opposite of the non-secular ideology of the Islamic world (viewed negatively by some Arab and Islamic societies).

The ST phrase *bribery and force* is transferred into the Islamic ideological concept of الترغيب والترهيب [invitation and intimidation] masquerading the ST's negative propriety of Islamists as an Islamic value rich term. It is a judgment token evaluating the behaviour of Khomeini and other Islamists who, according to the ST's discourse mindset, attract jihadis by "bribery or force" and issue fatwas which may lead to jihad, i.e violence in the ST discourse ideological identification.That is, the ST judgement token (bribery and force) naturalises the Islamist's attraction to bribery

and violence. This ideational token is further emphasised by the reported speech percentage (e.g. ST 38: "70% can be bribed"), i.e by the 'apparently' detached reporting and implicitly manipulating media "number game" realized by quantity.

Likewise, *sticks and carrots* is rendered into الترغيب و الترهيب [invitation and intimidation] to evaluate the Obama administration policy. That is, according to the ST portrayal, Islamists can be attracted to either bribes or violence whereas the TT mitigates this negative propriety via value rich Islamic patterns. The ST's depiction of Obama represents his domestic policy metaphorically as a game of horse race (sticks and carrorts) and this evaluation is also lost in the translation, as the TT uses the same value rich words employed to invoke a negative evaluation of the Islamists propriety.

7.4.3 ST40: Don't Scramble the Jets (1/3/2010, The Take)

7.4.3.1 Entertain

The large number of mostly low and median modalizations (30) and the very few median modulations (5) employed in the ST suggest that the discourse is expanded for other opinions.

Table 6.4 ST40 probability

probability
can, can, think, would perhaps, maybe, think, would, appear to be, would most likely, will, would, would, would, would, would, surly …realize, cannot, would, would, would, could, can, cannot, never, not sure, know, will

A small number of entertain modals are changed in the TT: deletions (6), increase (1) and decrease (1). Thus, no major change occurs in the explicit graduation suggesting similar ST and TT stances.

7.4.3.2.Graduation

The ST has double the number of quantifications (24) to intensifications (12) and just two focus items.

Table 7.5 ST40 intensity

Intensity
tougher, entirely does, foment, skyrocket, rally, as convinced as, greatest, more, less, most, worse

Only few changes in the graduation of attitude are made: intensity (3), quantity (2) and focus (one added). The changes which occur in infused intensity and separate quantity signal the inherent difficulty of infused intensity approached by explicating and possible group motivated bias in the TT choice of quantity.

Separate and infused intensification is employed by the ST writer to express his negative evaluation of the Iranian regime/Tehran (writer negative stance). The use of various graduation resources together with naming (*the regime* and *Tehran*) indicate that the ST writer is being hyperbolic in his negative views.

The infused graduation (force) of the judgment (−propriety) *foment* is downplayed into the TT's تعزيز دعمه [lit. enhancing its support, bolstering]. The translation strategy of explication has been employed to translate this (non-core) word .

ST: The regime would *foment* and fund violence from Afghanistan to Iraq to the Gulf.

Alliteration (*f*oment and *f*und), in turn, interweaves with the Newsweek discursive problematisation of oil prices to enhance the negative judgement of the outgroup. According to the ST writer, the Iranian regime would exploit the increasing prices of oil to fund wars (The price of oil would *skyrocket*). However, the TT analysis shows a loss of such ST intensity infusions (see Section 7.4.4.2). For instance, the infused intensification, *skyrocket*, is transferred into the less stylistic choice سترتفع الى حد كبير [rose to a great extent] (explicated) in the TT in question.

ST: The price of oil would *skyrocket*—which ironically would help Tehran pay for all these operations.

The infused quantity *bunch* is used to present ST40's negative Western evaluation of *the Mullahs*. However, it has been rendered into the TT neutral explicated option مجموعة [group]. The TT writer, similarly, expresses his negative stance on Israel's nuclear capacity by upscaling the ST's quantity *large* into ضخمة [huge].

ST: If *Israel's large* nuclear arsenal has not made Egypt seek its own nukes—despite the fact that the country has fought and lost *three wars* with *Israel*—it is unclear to me why an Iranian bomb would.

7.4.3.3. Invoked Attitude

Judgement Tokens

The socio-political name in Middle Eastern political ideology *Israel* is preserved in all the selected translations of *Newsweek*. Prior to the peace process, Arab media, especially Palestinian media, used other names such as the Zionist Entity, the Israeli Entity, and the Occupying Entity. This particular ST and TT naming selection

reveals the writers' and the institutions' (elites) pro-peace stance recognizing the Israeli geopolitical presence in the Middle East.

The naming الايرانيون المواطنون [Iranian citizens/nationals] is selected as a positive rendering of *ordinary Iranians* in TT40. The ST's naming *ordinary Iranians* is used to differentiate them from *the canny and ruthlessly pragmatic clerical elite*. However, the use in the TT of the phrase المواطنون الايرانيون [Iranian citizens/nationals] suggests that they are fully aware of their rights and duties, and ready to demand their rights and defend their country. The TT choice is significant as the label belongs to Pan-Arab discourse which was influenced by the French Revolution's nation state citizenship and Marxist ideologies.

The ST writer's derogatory naming *its ilk* (*AlQaeda Organization and its ilk*) is transferred into المجموعات المماثلة له [similar groups] which is a neutral choice.

The ST40 epithet *mystic* has been translated into متصوفين [mystic], a name with different evaluations depending on one's religious beliefs or Islamic sect. In the past this term was used with the positive meaning of الصوفي الزاهد [someone who ignores all worldly matters). It is now used by some to mean زنديق [heretic) and by others to mean عابد متصوف (Sunni or Shia spiritual worshipper).However, the ST's *mystic* may also allude to Orientalism's *material* West vs *mystic* East representation.

The ST phrase (judgment token) *embrace death* is transferred into a value rich word استشهاديين [martyrdom seekers] (Islamic ideology). The term استشهاديين [martyrdom seekers] has recently replaced its corresponding pan-Arab and Sunni in-group label فدائيين [freedom fighters] in the Palestinian and Arab media. However, it is used here to evaluate Iranian governors which are not always part of the Islamic-Arab in-group. Therefore, Iran receives two ambiguous (positive/negative) TT evaluations (متصوفين و استشهاديين).

Despite its sarcastic tone, the ST value rich word *millenarian* is translated into [BT: radical global change], a rendering that conceals religious ideology (Western) of this value rich word.

ST: Iran, we're told, is different. The country cannot be deterred by America's vast arsenal of nukes because it is run by a bunch of mystic mullahs who aren't rational, embrace death, and have *millenarian* fantasies.

The ST's selection of the word *arsenal* signals a positive stance towards America and Israel. The choice reveals an ideological square polarisation strategy of superior Self (America's *vast arsenal* of nukes and Israel's *large arsenal* of nukes) vs inferior

Other ([Egypt] *its own nukes* and *an Iranian bomb*). The patriotic label *America*, in turn, is carefully chosen to metaphorically represent the American Homeland which should be protected from an Iranian threat. These choices are maintained in the translated version, since ideational tokens are the most indirect forms of attitude (See Munday, 2012).

On the other hand, the TT writer commits to the ST's negative orientation towards Iran's regime (−judgment) but adopts a more positive stance towards Iranian people (+judgment token) and a negative one towards Israel (a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons). However, when evaluating Iran's government, the TT writer tones down two instances of negative intensification. Conversely, the TT writer's negative stance towards Israel's nuclear arsenal is realized by the amplification of the ST force adjective *large*. This negative choice mirrors the sensitive issue of a nuclear Israel surrounded by Arab countries. In other words, the TT choice agrees with the target readers' shared knowledge and it is supposed to trigger a negative response. While infused intensification and quantification of force such as *foment* and *bunch* appear to be challenging to the TT40 writer, the shift of intensification evaluating Israel's nuclear arsenal is obviously manipulative and intersubjective.

7.4.4 ST46: Bibi's Bluster (29/3/2010, Features: Israel: Politics)

7.4.4.1 Entertain

The relatively large number of modalizations (19) and fewer modulations are listed in Table 7.6. Like the other news texts, reader opinions are entertained in this text (entertain: mostly low and median probability).

Table 7.6 ST46 probability

Probability
be sure, will, would, wouldn't, always, may…or may not, would, appears, would, would, will never, would never, impossible, will, will, will, will , will

7.4.4.2 Graduation

This long ST (comprising two and a half pages) is saturated with force—intensity (40) and quantity (51)—but has very few focus patterns (2).

Table 7.317 ST 46 intensity

Intensity
increasingly strained, hurtling, greatest, more crucial, unheard of depths, deeply worried, ask… again and again, publicly and privately, the single biggest, largely unconcerned, at least, sanguine, largely solved, devastating, crippled, booming, broader , shrank only slightly, plummeted, higher, just below, more, more, terrible-, eager, most, a broader, increasingly dismayed, a deep-seated, extremely good, more and more complex, more and more like, further radicalized, easier, a purely military response, most durable, cobbled, broader, most populist, deeper, more like, concerned only

Analysis shows very few force and focus shifts: intensity reduction (2) and deletion (2); quantity deletion (3) and addition (intensity: ***really** dramatic* and quantity: ***many Arab statesmen***). The quantification الكثير [many] is added in the TT to emphasize that many but not all Arab leaders would accept normalization of relations with Israel.

ST: Over the past decade, in various public forums, *Arab statesmen* led by the King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia have declared that they would be willing to normalize relations with Israel if the Palestinian problems were resolved.

This addition of quantification reveals a bias. The TT writer avoids a negative reader response towards Arab statesmen although the Arabic *Newsweek* editor stated that the magazine's political opinions would not be restricted by Newsweek Arabic censorship even when they criticized Arab leaders.

Again, the global financial crisis is problematisd using non-core vocabulary in this Newsweek policy oriented discourse. The infused force of the non-core word *plummeted* evaluating the world's economies is explicated (Arabic cognate object) as انخفضت انخفاضا عميقا [decreased deeply]. This cognate object [المفعول المطلق] is normally used as a hyperbole or for emphasis, so in this case it is a strategy to deal with the problem of translating the non-core word *plummeted*, i.e. the translator is aware of the infused graduation of the word.

ST: Israel was growing in the 5 percent range before the global economic crisis and it shrank only slightly in 2009, even when almost all the world's economies *plummeted*.

TT: حتى حين *انخفض* نمو كل الاقتصادات العالمية تقريبا *انخفاضا عميقا*

BT: even when almost all the world economics *decreased deeply*.

7.4.4.3. Invoked Attitude

Judgment Tokens

Like the above example, the negative appraisal (judgment token) of the Israeli prime minister realised by the non-core word *plunge* [زج /أقحم] is downplayed into ايصال [lead] in TT46.

ST: But [Netanyahu] has succeeded in one short year in power to *plunge* Israel's essential relationship with the United States to unheard of depths.

TT: ولكن نتنياهو نجح خلال عام قصير في ايصال علاقة أمريكا و اسرائيل الى أعماق سحيقة لم نسمع بها من قبل.

BT: But [Netanyahu] succeeded in one short year of his rule to *lead* the relationship between America and Israel into far away depths that we haven't heard of before.

The negative evaluation (prosodic) of Netanyahu is also realized by *cobbled together* and *pandered to* that have been transferred into neutral explicated choices: قام بتشكيل [formed] and استجاب [responded to] respectively. Through these selections, one can figure out the ST's group categorization of Netanyahu, since he is evaluated by the same in-group negative tenacity patterns (e.g. noncore lexis and verbal processes) as those used by the Guardian (e.g. *clamoured; crow*) to mitigate its criticism of its in-group members' (NATO and western politicians and decision makers) actions.

The potentially problematic non-core words are generally explicated as exemplified below.

Table 7.32 ST46 intensity (non-core)

ST	BT
Bibi's *bluster*	Bibi's *storm*
is hurtling	*is progressing*
crippled	*incapacitate*
row	*conflict* (strengthened)

The first instance intensifies the negative evaluation by a nickname, a noncore word and an alliteration (Bibi's bluster). The analysis shows that intensification, especially infused intensification (non-core words), and negative prosody can be problematic in translation and represent a significant point in the translator's decision-making process. While the ST writer's amplifications and negative prosody colour the ST with his negative (ingroup) evaluation of the Israeli prime minister, the TT writer's respective choices express a neutral stance. However, such changes may not only be constrained by group ideology, but may also result from translator strategies (e.g. explication) to deal with difficult selections.

Netanyahu is further appraised by the ST's negative naming *a local war boss* which is translated into the neutral أمير حرب محلي [local war commander]. *King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia* is evaluated by the positive naming عاهل السعودية [*the Sovereign* of Saudi Arabia] which is added in the TT. The choice evaluates the king as the authority. Apparently, this positive evaluation may be traced to the role played by the Saudi government in resolving regional conflict and progressing the peace process. However, this addition of positive naming obviously demonstrates a bias, since the TT writer deliberately inserts a positive in-group representation of the Saudi King.

The socio-political label *East Jerusalem* [القدس الشرقية] (pro- Israeli ingroup) shifts into شرقي القدس (the eastern side of Al-Quds) (pro-Arab-Islamic in-group). The TT term *Al-Quds* is a value rich naming used by both Christian and Muslim Palestinians (Pan-Arabism and Islam). The ST label *East Jerusalem*, on the other hand, became the official Israeli name of the Eastern part of Jerusalem after the 1967 war, in order to distinguish between the eastern side inhabited by Palestinians and the western side inhabited by the Israelis. The name often used by Palestinians is القدس المحتلة [occupied Al-Quds]. The terminological conflict produced various labels, e.g. the 1967 war is either النكبة [the catastrophe] (Pan-Arabism) or the Six- Day War (Israeli religious ideology).

The labels *the State of Israel*, *citizens of Israel*, *Israeli settlements* and *two-state solution* are also preserved in the TT (the Greater Middle East ideology). In fact, these choices do occur in Arabic media texts as they resulted from the peace process and normalization of relations with Israel (Greater Middle East ideology). This is an example of how power and hegemony can influence media discourse.

The TT writer has chosen the name الجيش الاسرائيلي [the Israeli military] as the TT equivalent of the ST's *Israel Defence Military*, in order to account for Arabic discourse community ideology and avoid triggering an anticipated negative reader response (Arab and Islamic ideology). The word *Defence* is deleted from the name, as most Arab readers can be expected to view the Israeli Military as an offender. However, some Arab media outlets e.g. the Palestinian Arab one use another more biased choice جيش الاحتلال [the occupation military]. Hizbullah in Lebanon is labelled as *terrorists* in both the ST and TT .

The *peace process* and the *Palestinian cause* are preserved in the TT whereas the *Palestinian problem* shifts into القضية الفلسطينية [the Palestinian cause] emphasising

the importance and legitimacy of Palestinian rights. Moreover, even when the word *issue* is used as an anaphoric reference to *the Palestinian cause*, it is transferred into the Palestinian cause (repetition) and the bracketed label (النزاع العربي الاسرائيلي) [the Arab-Israeli conflict] is added to explicate the TT naming قضية [cause]. The translator has changed the order of words in the naming added so that 'Arab' precedes 'Israeli' in the TT labelling phrase in contrast to *Israeli-Arab dispute* which forms part of the conflict terminology resulting from the peace process and adopted by Western media. The Western list of labels or euphemisms also includes *the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*, *the Israeli-Arab conflict*, *the Palestinian question, the Question of Palestine*, etc. Most of these are not accepted in the Arab World and a parallel terminology has been produced to replace these.

Analysis also shows that naming is a critical point in translation decision making as it is a crucial part of the discourse of conflict and closely relevant to the CDA ideological us vs. them representation. The TT writer adopts a neutral position towards Israel by selecting a neutral choice from three alternatives, namely *Israel Defence Military* (Positive ST Us), *Israel military* (neural TT Them), and *Israel occupation military* (negative them).

7. 5 Concluding Remarks
BBC

The use of *sa* (ST01; ST21) as an alternative for future probability modals *will, would, be going to* suggests that it is the unmarked form in Arabic and it facilitates information packaging, as it is the shorter form.

Entertain (probability) has been employed to mitigate the TT's ingroup negative feelings towards Israel (ST01). This is exemplified by the reduced possibility insertion of the modal particle *rubbama* (BT01: *maybe* hatred). This instance corroborates one of *rubbama*'s two degrees (reduced possibility) discussed in the literature. The same holds for *qad* (TT19) which is added to reduce the possibility of the TT's ingroup incapacity. It also replaces *may* and *might* interchangeably in the low possibility sense, but *qad* adds another nuance of warning, in order to warn and at the same time mitigate the danger of Isis.

Yumkin replaces *can* (ST21) and *could* (ST01) in the interrogative form, i.e. it is intended as a kind of pure possibility. Tellingly, the impersonal modal verb [yumkin] (lit. it is possible that) replaces *can* (ST21) in the interrogative to represent conflict gains of both Hamas and Israel as a low possibility. The modal noun [Imkanya] (possibility of) replacing *might* (ST21), on the other hand, shows that truce/agreement between Israel and Hamas is a low possibility. This nominalisation provides an extra sense of objectivity. These ST and TT choices reflect a judgment token of two-sided involvement of Israel and Hamas in Gaza war. More importantly, they interweave with ideational tokens, e.g. *confrontation*, *rioting*, etc, forming a prosodic interpersonal wave of the two-sided responsibility (Deemphasise Our ingroup bad things, i.e. Mitigate Israeli state terror/violence).

Inscriptions of negative affect and negative appreciation of the med-group and the outgroup have been used to invoke a negative judgment of the outgroup (Affect and Appreciation- invoked- judgment). The epithet of the phrase "*tattered* reputation" (ST01) of the Egyptian playwright who visited Israel, for example, invokes a negative judgment of the Egyptian society and depicts it as an intolerant society (appreciation- invoked- judgment). Also, the negative affect of the Egyptian journalist who welcomed Israelis, Miss Mustapha, serves the same ideology, as she was *shocked* by the Egyptians' reactions. This ideological polarisation is represented as follows: Emphasise our Good Things (tolerance) and Emphasise Their Bad Things (intolerance). For instance, the tolerance of the Israeli Prime minister is realised by positive inclination (*keen* to organize a debate).The intolerance of Egyptians is realised by dissatisfaction (*vilified* by peers) and (*hatred*), and insecurity (*mistrust, fear*).

The BBC TT writers (ST01, ST09, ST19, ST21) tend to reduce infusions of intensity and quantity, opting for the more general/unmarked (core) word (10 reductions out of 12 infused intensity and quantity items). The trend, then, supports previous research on evaluation in translation which showed that graduation is generally reduced in translation (See Munday, 2008; 2012; cf. Chapter Four).

Arabs and Muslims (Egyptians society, Egypt's government, Saudi-Arabia) and Islamists (Isis) are indirectly represented as *aggressive* (negative propriety) via a negative prosody of *infused inscriptions and tokenised attitude* across the discourse

of the texts in question. The negative judgment token (Their aggression) is sometimes compared to (Our peace), in order to emphasise Their bad things,e.g. ST01: ([Egyptians]… *declare intellectual war* and *…still mired in cold war*) and emphasize Our good things (*intellectual debate, a debate…on… peace initiatives*). Besides, *squashed* (ST09) intensifies the Police state's (Mubarak's regime) violence against the 2011's revolutionaries. The Brotherhood, the military, and Egyptians are portrayed as lacking *social peace*. Moreover, other tokenised patterns of *violence* include Isis's *backlash* (ST19) against Saudi Arabia and the collocation, *wage jihad, a holy war*. Saudi Arabia is implicated in a two-sided aggression as demonstrated by the dictionary meanings of *backlash* and because of its representation as the location from which *droves* of young Saudi men move to join Isis.

Ideational tokens, which are the most indirect, have been the least resisted or changed. To render noncore words, the strategy of explication is opted for by the TT writers. As a result, indirect attitude is stripped of its original intensified positive or negative tones. This is revealed by ST21, the most sensitive of the four texts, where only fatality terms, reporting on the deaths of Palestinians and Israeli military, are resisted and changed while the tokens as well as the intensity infusions of Israel's technological superiority and Hamas inferiority are maintained. The Israeli military actions which are mitigated (Deemphasise Our bad things) by the ST are also preserved in the translation (campaign, reoccupation of territory, etc). In addition to the latter, equal responsibility of Israel and Hamas for fighting is tokinsed by a number of words including rioting, confrontation in ST21 and its TT.

The BBC's representation of Muslim Arab young revolutionaries matches the western media negative representation of young people (incapacity) ,e.g. *fractious disorganized youth* (ST09). In addition, the manner of movement of Arab Saudi youth joining Isis is dehumanised (ST19: *droves*) and their number is intensified by intensity and quantity infusions (ST19: *swell, a bunch*). The Israeli army arrests of Hamas members are dehumanised and intensified in a similar manner, viz *rounded up,the round up* (ST21). This representation mirrors the discourse of orientalism representation of orientals as *beasts*. Orientalism (or neoorientalism), then, triggers the BBC news discourse representations of Arabs and Islamists. This ideological group polarisation can be demonstrated according to the ideological square framework and Appraisal categorisation as follows: Emphasise Our good things (+

self esteem: We are humane) and Deemphasise Their bad things (self esteem:They are inhumane).

The ideational tokens as well as the intensity and quantity infusions reproduced by the BBC news discourse, then, represent US (the West) as humane and Them (Arabs and Islamists) as aggressive (beasts). The BBC original news discourse defines the Orient as Beast and Intolerant and, accordingly, the West (Us) is identified as Civilized and Tolerant. Its translated news discourse, however, does not fully capture these ideological nuances due to, at least partly, the difficulty of the intensified patterns and the indirectness of ideational tokens. Additionally, the ideological square representation of Us (western democratic powers) as humane/peaceful and Them (undemocratic Arab and Islamist states) as inhumane/aggressive is further embedded by the liberal democrat's policy of Humanitarian intervention.

The Guardian

Both probability and intensification are the most recurrent types of modality and graduation in ST opinion and news texts from *The Guardian*. In addition, shifts in inscribed and invoked attitude, and modality and graduation do take place in both text types. More importantly, what we regard as significant translation shifts or choices are those that are meaningful, i.e. ideological and evaluative. Strikingly, media text translators are readers, evaluators and writers who share their reading of the ST with the discourse community. In doing so, they accept and/or resist the ST writer's reading, replacing it with their own in-group ideology and that of their readership. Sometimes, there is another out-group which is not treated as part of the criticised out-group in media discourse.This group is, therefore, termed *Median* in the current research. This analysis supports previous findings by examining how prosodic interpersonal and ideational meaning across the text can invoke interpersonal meaning.

The manipulation of graduation in both text types in the data appears to be part of the process of news translation as news writing or rewriting. These shifts of graduation obviously mirror the socio-political relations between the TT writer and the different social parties in the discourse community and how the TT writer aligns with his/her in-group and positions him/herself in the ideological in-group−out-group conflict. It was noted that although the graduation shifts (increase, reduction,

addition, and deletion) which occur in the data are ideologically motivated, some of these shifts are neither evaluative nor purposeful. This may mean that the translator's decision to delete the graduation may be the result of underestimating the importance of these items and neglecting them, whereas the mistranslation of graduation may be caused by the translator's poor competence or by time pressure. Ideational token choices such as *young* are preserved. Both *young* and *new* are positive and related to the liberal democratic change in ST media discourse. Naming can be powerful in polarising group ideologies, so translators should pay more attention to the consistency of their naming practices, especially as they are normally provided with their institution's list of conflict terms.

Newsweek

Like the texts from the BBC and *The Guardian*, the most frequent type of modality in the *Newsweek* texts is modalization while graduation and modality undergo even fewer changes in translation. However, the analysis of inscribed graduation and invoked meaning uncovers certain areas of difficulty such as infusion, delexicalised separate intensity and non-core words intensity. The changes are relevant to either group ideology or the difficulty of linguistic features. The translator's awareness of these points can improve news translation writing. Translating and editing the Arabic print version of *Newsweek* appeared to take longer than the other two online media sources and this may partly explain the lower graduation and modality loss in this publication.

Ideational token manipulation is motivated by the in-group religious and political ideologies of the Arabic version. Iran is not considered an in-group in *Newsweek* texts as evidenced, for example, in the preserved and/or more negative naming of Iran (Shiite) and the more positive naming of Saudis (Sunni). Religious ideology triggers shifts in TTs which polarise the West and Iran. The editor of *Newsweek*'s Arabic version confirmed that the religious beliefs of its readers would be respected, but political opinions would not be submitted to the Arabic version's censorship. However, even political conflict naming, such as القضية الفلسطينية [the Palestinian cause], deviates from the original *Newsweek* official term, *the Palestinian problem*. Hence, even political attitude (e.g. the two-state solution) is slightly resisted in the Arabic version.

8   Chapter Eight: Interpersonal Meaning and Ideological Representation

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results of the appraisal discourse analysis of 12 representative texts from the three data sources in our study corpus. This chapter sets out to discuss the results and trends of the appraisal analysis across the discourse of the *BBC* (section 8.2), and *The Guardian* (section 8.3), and *Newsweek* (section 8.4) and how polarised ideological discourse representations of Arab spring regime change and war on terror are manifested in and reproduced by choices of intensity and quantity infusions and judgment tokens. Arabic probability and inclination modals (verbs, particles and prepositional constructions) have been selected for further discussion, as they were debated in the literature and the findings of some recent studies (e.g. AlKhawalda, 2000; Abunowara, 2006; Jarjour; 2006; van Mol, 2003; Parkinson, 2003; Bahloul, 2008; Mansour, 2013) encourage further inquiry.

8.2 The *BBC* Discourse in Translation

8.2.1 Arabic Probability and Inclination Modals as Translated Discourse Decisions

Yumkin, min al-mumkin, min al-muhtamal, and iḥtimal

Yumkin and its explicit counterparts denote low possibility. Moreover, *yumkin* and *min al-mumkin* substitute *may* (ST05), *might* (ST17)*, can* (ST03; ST04; ST 22) and *could* (ST12). They replace *might* in interrogative constructions (low possibility). Take for instance, the following consecutive questions throughout ST17:

What *might* US air strikes achieve?

Might the Americans put some special forces teams on the ground to work with the Iraqi military to help designate and identify targets?

Might they seek to attack its leadership- perhaps by the use of drones?

Qad, rubbama, and laʿlla

Both *qad* and *rubbama* express probability, but *qad* expresses a slightly lower possibility in the respective BBC Arabic corpus. The data also shows that *qad* can add extra nuances of caution/warning.While *rubbama* renders a wide range of probability modals *may* (ST11)*, might* (ST22)*, be likely to* (ST11), *perhaps*(ST13),

probably (ST13), *qad* replaces *be likely to* (ST11), *may* (ST13), and *could* (ST05). *Rubbama* is, consequently, used more frequently than *qad*.This is due to rubbama's tendency to express a higher degree of possibility in comparison to that of *qad* in the texts under examination. For example, when two possibilities are marked by *qad* and *rubama* successively, the latter will be the more likely option.

However, *rubbama* (TT22) is selected in its reductive sense as an equivalent of concessive *might* (low possibility), so as to reduce Isis threat to "the American and European homelands".The ST writer mentioned previously in the same text that Isis focuses on the near enemy (the Shiite) rather than the far enemy (the West) and, thus, *might* has been chosen to express a low possibility. Concessive *Rubbama* is, in turn, placed before the imperfect verb *yarghab* (want) to convey this reduction and the explicit modal phrase,"it is *doubtful* that" makes the possibility of Isis attack even lower.

ST22:   While it *might* want to stage a spectacular operation on the American and
European homelands, it is doubtful that IS currently has capabilities to
carry out a complex attack like 9/11.

Therefore, *might* conveys desirable(hoped)/undesirable(feared) possibility like *laʿlla* in Arabic. Consider the following example where feared possibility is reduced by *might* and transferred into *qad* expressing caution in Arabic. It seems, then, that *qad* and *rubbama* developed similar meanings to *la'alla*. This explains the very low frequency of *la'lla* and the higher frequency of *rubbama* and *qad* in our data and MSA in general.

ST10:   In Libya later that year, we witnessed the delight of people finally able to
speak openly to their neighbours, without fear they *might* be spies for
Colonel   Gaddafi.

The low possibility assumption (may have +p.p) that Iranian funded intervention in Syria "may have tilted the battlefield" to support Assad is conveyed into *rubbama* with the imperfect verb form.

The probability degrees of rubbama, qad, yumkin and its explicit prespositional counterpart in the translated discourse can be demonstrated as follows:

High	Median	Low
rubbama	*yumkin*	*qad*
	min-almumkin	*rubbama*

Sa and Sawfa

Sa is the unmarked form in the Arabic version of the BBC news website. Its information packaging, interrogative, and near future uses demonstrate that it is the shorter form of *sawfa* as suggested by previous accounts. It is less emphatic or certain than *sawfa*. For example, interrogative *sa* (TT03;ST17) has been used to render *will* and *would* (ST03;ST17).

ST03:   But <u>whether</u> it *will* collapse <u>or</u> reinvent itself somehow <u>is far from certain</u>.

ST17:   Geographically, *would* attacks be restricted to Iraqi territory or *would*
            the Pentagon be allowed to hit Isis linked targets inside Syria?

To express more emphasis, *sa* requires emphatic co-text, e.g. it occurs in the predicate of *inna* (lit. I confirm that) (ST03) as demostrated below, or followed by *fi'lan* (actually) (ST11) .

ST03:   Since the stakes are high, the struggle *will* be fierce.

BT03:   As long as the stakes are high, [*fa-inna*] the struggle will [*sa*] be fierce and
            ferocious.

Sa in this sense is the *future continuous sa* reported by previous accounts (e.g. Kitab al-Kulliyat). It has been even employed (TT10: *saʾaltaqī*) to render the future continuous form (would be v+ing) in reported speech.

ST10:   When she heard I *would be meeting*

Sa tends to co-occurs with near future co-text (e.g. *next week*) replacing the ST's *will* (a near future intention).

ST10:   The BBC team across the region *will* take a closer look…

Election near future predictions are, therefore, conveyed via *sa*, which is prefixed to the imperfect, in order to replace the ST's (ST14) unmodalised (present) forms (hangs and feeds) reducing certainty (negative present consequences) into continuous future possibilities and rendering the ST's (ST14) future continuous forms (*will be crushing*, *will be pulling*) into their Arabic equivalent (*sa* + the imperfect).

On the contrary, *will* (ST14) is replaced by the imperfect (both present and future) form which intensifies the certainty of positive Iraqi election outcomes/ expectations. In other words, for the current negative outcomes of the ST's outgroup (Iraqi state) elections, the ST writer opts for the unmodalised (present tense)

selection (Emphasise Their bad things) whereas TT producer chooses *sa* as a mitigation of these negative consequences (Mitigate our bad things). For positive future outcomes of its ingroup elections, the TT opts for the more emphatic choice, i.e. the imperfect (Emphasise Our good things).

Continuous *sa* substitutes *will* (ST02 and its TT) to refer to far future possibility of critical (either positive or negative) consquences within a longer term (for years to come). It also replaces *is going to* which is used interchangeably with the ST's *will* (far future time prediction).

ST02: The events of the last week *will* have <u>profound consequences</u> for the Middle East <u>for years to come</u>. The role of Egypt in the region *is going to* change.

Even when *be going to* denotes a high degree of inclination it is transferred into *sa*.

ST11: we *are going to* deal with him [Assad] <u>one way or another</u>.

TT11: *sa* nataʾāmal maʿah <u>bi-kulli al-ʾaḥwāl</u>

BT11: we *are going to* deal with him [Assad] <u>any way.</u>

Moreover, as a shorter form of *sawfa*, *sa* tends to collocate with *yakūn* (be) and *yaqūl* (say) in the co-text.

Unlike *sa*, *sawfa* doesnot require the co-ocurrence of *inna* for emphasising high possibility. It tends to render threatening sense of *will* (ST22). In that way, entertain (*will* and its TT equivalent, *sawfa*) interweaves with the BBC global discursive (across texts) and local textual (within texts) <u>ideational material</u> to represent Islamists as a threat.

ST22: …the group[Isis] *will* use its assets <u>in retaliation</u>, including <u>further beheading of hostages</u>.

To reduce this highly possible threat sense of *will*, the TT opts for *qad* instead of *sawfa* as an alternative which connotes a *warning*. The possibility reduction is a mitigation of Isis's threat to foreign diplomats in the Middle East.

ST22: There is a growing likelihood that it *will* attack soft diplomatic targets in the Middle East.

8.2.2 Biased Discursive Representations of Conflict Participants, Ideologies, and Events and Their Translation Divergences

8.2.2.1 Arab Spring Regime Change

The dictionary of the Arab Spring is teeming with labels and definitions of the social participants and events chanted in the Arab streets. These started with the French

degage and its Arabic equivalent, *irḥal* (leave) in Tunisia and spread to the rest of the Arab countries in which *irḥal* and informal local variations were utilised to change the *ancien régime.*

Therefore, the removal of old regime Arab presidents is represented by the disguised negative Arabic counterparts of *departure, leave, goes,* and *go,* namely, *raḥīl* [departure] and *raḥal* [left], i.e. derived from the root *r-ḥ-l* [leave], which are normally neutral choices. However, its imperative form, *irḥal* [leave!/go!] acquired a socio-political value as the mainstream demand of the Arab Spring revolutions. The ST discourse repeatedly uses these words to disguise its own Western ideology and policy of regime change. Moreover, even though these choices may appear to be neutral in English, what is impartial in one discourse is not necessarily so in another. The words *raḥal*, *irḥal*, *raḥīl* become negative in these specific Western and Arab social contexts (the Arab Spring or to be precise the West's regime change). Public opinion and media pressure on presidents and their impact on public opinion forced some to leave the country or leave office. In brief, these linguistic choices are not value free(see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 BBC Old Regime Judgdgment Tokens

Text	Target	ST	TT	BT
ST02	Mubarak	What if Mubarak *goes*?	*raḥal* (lit. *left*)?	What if Mubarak *leaves*?
ST02	Mubarak	…they [protestors] want Mubarak to *leave*	Caption: All Arab rulers watch the Days of Rage march in Egypt with mounting fear	Caption: All Arab rulers watch the Days of Rage march in Egypt with mounting fear
ST08	Morsi	…the *demise* of Morsi	Morsi's *raḥīl*	Morsi's *departure*
ST08	Morsi	And if so where does the Egyptian army's *ousting* of Morsi stand?	*ʾiṭāḥa*	*Toppling*
ST08		President Hosni Mubarak's *departure*	al-*iṭāḥa* bi-rraʾīs a-ssābiq	*toppling* the former President Hosni Mubarak
ST08	Morsi	A democratically elected president has certainly been *removed* from office by the military	*ʾibʿād*	*removed* from his office, and that by anyone's definition sounds like a coup
ST10		But this isn't Egypt, where the elected Muslim Brotherhood was *ousted* this year by the combined weight of military might and widespread public discontent.	*ʾuṭiḥa biḥukm jamāʿa al-ʾikhwān*	the brotherhood rule was *toppled*
ST10	Zine al-Abidine	...*toppling* Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's 23-year rule	*atāhat bi-hukm arraʾīs a-ssābiq Zine al-ʿAbidine Ben ʿAli alladhī ʾistamarr li 23 sana*	*toppled the rule of former president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, sustained for 23 years*

| ST11 | Assad | …insists that Mr Assad has to *go* | *raḥīl al-ʾAssad* | Assad's *departure* |

The ST's selections*, ousted* and *ousting* show that the ruler (Morsi) was removed by law or by military force or by necessity compulsion (Darwish, 2010, p.142). These terms are "comprehensive and neutral", i.e. " the BBC strives to be as neutral and comprehensive as possible" despite the low frequency of these words (Darwish, 2010, p.142). Likewise, *demise* refers to "the immediate transfer of sovereignty to a successor upon the death, abdication, etc of a ruler" (Collins Online Dictionary). Again, the BBC is trying to be equally neutral towards both parties, the Brotherhood and the military, i.e. it was a legitimate removal. In BBC's (ST08) words, "it was *an atypical coup* in *a very imperfect democracy"*. The word, *toppling*, on the other hand, " gives *legitimacy* to the act of disrespectfully overthrowing someone unwanted from a position of authority, for example, to topple a dictator" (Darwish, 2010, p.141). Its pejorative tone contributes to its direct negative meaning (an unwanted ruler). As demonstrated by table 8.1, *ʾiṭāḥa*, *ʿibʿād* (TT08) and *ʾoṭīḥa* (ST10) accentuate the use of military force (coup) and *raḥīl* (TT08) downplays it and accentuates change by popular demand. Unlike the ST choices, the TT counterparts give Morsi a direct negative appraisal similar to that of old regime presidents repositioning the BBC's original indirect attitudinal stance.

Similar indirect attitudinal choices involve the word *change* which is deliberately foregrounded by the following original and translated titles:

ST03: Egypt's *protests*: An Arab Spring as an *old order* crumbles?
BT03: *Battle* for *change* and *future rebuilding*: is it the Arab Spring?
ST05: Syria *crisis* could *change* face of the Middle East

The first title is an ideological insertion (battle, change, future rebuilding) further mitigating the original title's apparently unbiased naming *protests* and *old order*. The role played by the word *future* is evident in a news text (ST11) title published on 13 December 2013.

ST11: Syria *crisis*: Time to rethink *a future* with Assad?

8.2.2.2 Conflict

Cognitive representations are realised by inscribed and invoked interpersonal meaning prosodies in the BBC discourse.The BBC advances its ingroup political

ideologies when referring to the events in Gaza as *conflict* and to the Arab Spring events as *crisis*. The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is intensified by the Arabic BBC's ingroup *struggle* due to the long history of hostilities between Israelis and Arabs, encapsulated by the Palestinian and Arab motto defining the conflict as "a struggle for existence rather than for borders". Conflict between Syrian sects is seen as a *struggle* for power between the Sunnis and Shiites.

Crisis is a disease metaphor—"a crucial stage or turning point in the course of something, esp. in a sequence of events or a disease—while *conflict* refers to "*fighting* between countries or groups of people" (Collins online dictionary, my emphasis). Neither is raised to the level of *struggle*: "*a long and difficult attempt* to achieve something such as *freedom or political rights*) (Collins online dictionary, my emphasis).

Invasion is equally manipulative, since it is an indirect metaphorical (biological) representation of the Israeli (ST in-group) occupation. The *risky* invasion intertwines with another indirect metaphorical (medical and/or technical) term *operation*. The terms imply that in contrast to Gaza, the Israeli state is advanced and it represents a natural progress or presence. At the same time, operation as a technical metaphor evaluates Palestinians as dehumanised targets, and as a medical metaphor, it portrays them as an infection. The apparently non-attitudinal words emphasise Their outgroup's (Palestinians) negative social esteem (capacity and tenacity), i.e. uncivilised and inhumane. On the other hand, they emphasise Our ingroup (Israel) positive social esteem (capacity and tenacity), e.g. powerful and civilised.

The TT writer opts for a similar, though less inte choice to describe the Arab Spring and its aftermath: *azma* [crisis]. These events are, then, compared to the recovery from a disease (Pathology: crisis: a sudden *change* for better or worse in the course of *disease*) (*Collins*, my emphasis). The Gaza (ST in-group) *conflict* is, on the other hand, intensified (vigour: length and difficulty) by the translation as *sirāʿ* [struggle] for freedom and political rights.

ST20: Gaza *conflict*: Why Israeli *invasion* would be *risky*
ST21: Gaza-Israel *conflict*: What can Israel and Hamas *gain*?

Conflict with the old order is augmented as a *battle for the future* and *struggle* in the following extract:

ST03: The old order has plenty of *fight* in it. The *battle for the future* is underway […]

the *struggle* will be *fierce*.

The Arab spring rulers and its rivals representation is part of the discursive depiction of Arabs and Islamists as aggressive (e.g. fight, battle, struggle) and inhumane (e.g. fierce). These meanings are maintained in the translations. The word *future*, on the other hand, stands for the regime change policy ideological toolkit.

Syria "sectarian" conflict is also seen as *a struggle* (intensity) to refer to a long standing conflict between Sunnis and Shiites.

By the same token, Northern Ireland's conflict (ST15: *deaths in the long **agony** of Northern Ireland's **modern troubles***) is also depicted as Ireland's *modern troubles* and evaluated explicitly by an intensified (infusion) negative Affect (dissatisfaction) marker (agony). As this conflict belongs to the elite British socio-political context, it is reduced to *troubles* instead of struggle, crisis, or two-party conflict. At the same time, the token *modern* has a negative co-text exposing the BBC's negative conservative stance towards modern movements.

The actions of *Isis radical militias* are represented as aggressive and deliberate: an *onslaught* (BT: Daesh attack) and *assault* (BT: attack). In contrast, the same US actions are depicted as a *US air offensive* (BT: air strike) reflecting the ideational token of defence of the US war on terror employed by *Newsweek* discourse as well. The translation lacks these nuances and, consequently, rids the TT of its group attitudinal orientations.

8.2.2.3 Old Regimes and Arab Spring Protesters

Aging and *disease* metaphors representing the *old regime* presidents (Them) appear in the BBC discourse (ST02: because he is *82;* ST03: *aging* autocrats, the fate of the *ailing* Egyptian president, *82-year-old* Hosni Mubarak, the *old order*; ST09: *old order*, *remnants of the old elite;* ST10 *old elite*) accentuating the ST out-group's bad qualities (negative capacity and tenacity) and, hence, delegitimising their rule.

The Arab Spring protestors are represented as young (ST03: *young* demonstrators; ST09: *the under 30s*) or angry and unorganised (***fractious unorganised revolutionaries***). However, unlike *The Guradian* ST titles, this judgment token is not foregrounded by *The BBC*'s counterparts. Despite, the original discourse negative judgment, the Arab spring young revolutionaries are represented as democratic Islamists influenced by Turkey. Turkey is evaluated as democratic, i.e. a moderate

Islamic country, in order to emphasise Iran's negative propriety, i.e. extremist political Islam (ST03: Infact, if young demostrators have a role model-and some actively disavow one- it is *democratic* Turkey rather than *theocratic* Iran.)

8.2.2.4 Islamists, Revolutionaries and Arab Spring Events

The BBC holds a negative attitude towards Isis and the Saudi men who joined Al-Qaeda, as well as the Egyptian protestors who attacked the Israeli embassy. The worldview is inscribed by negative group alternatives (quantity infusion) such as *bunch* and by biased epithets and labels (−propriety) such as *bloodthirsty* and *out of control* terrorists (the ST's out-group) (see Table).

Table 8.2 Negative infused quantity alternatives and biased group labels

Text	ST label	BT
ST12	*a mob* attack on Israeli embassy	*angry demonstrators* attack Israeli embassy
ST19	bloodthirsty *bunch* of out of control *terrorists*	Deleted
ST19	*droves* of young Saudi men	*many* Saudi youths
ST22	he [Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Isis leader] and *his cohorts*	*he and his group*
ST22	Sayyid Qutb [radical Islamist] and *his disciples*	*the students* of Sayyid Qutb

The indirect attitude labels of Islamists are often complemented by intensified epithets (see Table). They are mostly battlefield labels (*front-line fighters, militia movement*, *jihadis, Al-Qaeda fighters, an effective Sunni rebel army, Islamist insurgency*) and the Islamists depicted are Sunnis (*rebellious Sunnis, Islamist insurgency, the extremist Sunni Islamic State*).

The intensified negative evaluation (bombs/bombers) of Islamists is embedded by an orientalist ideological square cognitive representation (Emphasise Their negative propriety: inhumane and aggressive) which appears in the BBC, but not as frequently (inscribed and invoked prosodies) as in the *Newsweek*'s discourse on the War on Terror, as the word *bomber* repeatedly labels both domestic and foreign Islamists.

The BBC's stance on the Arab Spring revolutions is somehow more detached than those of *The Guardian* and *Newsweek*. It stands in the middle of two extremes—*The Guardian*'s pro-Arab young revolutionaries stance and *Newsweek*'s anti-Islamist youth stance. The BBC's representation of young people, namely Arab revolutionaries and Islamist jihadis is neutral and negative, respectively, i.e. it is centre to right slanted. The impartiality of the BBC's labels of the Arab spring youth

e.g. *protesters*, is merely a mitigation strategy, in order to disguise its stance towards the Arab spring revolutioneries. Therefore, as can be seen in Table , the Arab Spring revolutions are appraised by strings of indirect evaluative labels, including *uprisings, protests, unrest, crisis,* and *turmoil*. All implying violence (Emphasise Their negative propriety; the oriental Other is aggressive). These terms do not have the same effect as the word *revolution*. For example, *turmoil* is a pro-coup choice which in tandem with another selection, ***the demise** of Morsi*, invoke the BBC's balanced stance towards both powers.

Table 8.3 polarised lexis and labels

Country	ST11	ST	TT
Egypt	02	the popular uprising	protests
	02	Egypt unrest	Unrest
	02	movement	the group
	02	groups	the jihadi groups
	03	Egypt protests	protests
	04	people	citizens
	04	Egypt unrest	
	08	upheavals	intifadas
	08	Egypt turmoil: coup or no coup	
	09	crisis	Crisis
	09	uprising	revolutions
Syria	11	Syria's rebels	Syrian opposition
	14	acts of sectarian violence	events of sectarian violence
	11	the tide of jihadism	
	11	a policy that blew up in our face	
	11	Al-Qaeda fighters	
	11	as bad as he is, he is not as bad as jihadis	
Egypt	12	a mob attack	angry demonstrators attack
	13	a moderate Islamist experiment	
	13	the popular uprisings	popular intifadas
	13	a rising tide of Islamism	the rising tide of extremism
Saudi Arabia	19	an effective Sunni rebel army	
	19	most violent front line fighters	
	19	most formidable militia movement	
	19	the belligerent ideologists	
	19	riots left 8000 dead	

8.2.2.5 Egypt, Iran, Israel, Britain and US

The BBC has a *Middle East* section from which the textual material for our study has been derived. The label alludes to the BBC's pro-Israeli state political orientation, as the Middle East is at the core of its *regional* interests.This stance towards Israel and the Arabs is positioned in terms of US vs Them as in ST03. The following lines (ST03) concerning protests in Egypt illustrate this polarisation:

ST: Western commentators are right to say the protests are about "them" rather than about "us".The anger of proterstors is largely directed inwards-at a bankrupt Arab order- rather than outwards at Israel, the United States and the West.

Therefore, the BBC's ingroup includes the US and Israel. The Arab (e.g. the Egyptians such as Mubarak and old regime elites) and Iranian governments belong to the outgroup (Them). As with *Newsweek* discourse, the Egyptian regime is seen as demanding American military *aid* and instead of making peace, it is making *deals* of peace with Israel, i.e. the Israelis and Americans are represented as the peace makers and mediators/negotiators (+veracity) while Egyptians are exchanging peace for money and arms (−veracity). Such polarized ST ideational judgment tokens, in which the Orient is receiving "financial and/or military aid " (bribery) for peace or support, are shared by the BBC, The Guardian and Newsweek discourse, especially on Egypt, Syria, Iran, and Islamists. The tokens *peace deals* are, however, downplayed in the TT.

ST: a peace deal
BT: The Syrian path
ST: a peace deal buttressed with large quantities of US military aid
BT: a peace treaty
ST: Israeli-Egypt peace treaty

The image of Iran, an out-group in the BBC discourse, is created by a negative prosodic evaluation (both inscribed and invoked), e.g. *the Iranian **axis, autocratic Iran**. The axis is an allusion to the Axis of Evil; a list of enemy states created by the US and the West.

What is seen as a nostalgic, religious or legitimate *conquest* (ST in-group) is mitigated as a British invasion of Syria by the TT.

ST: When the British army *conquered* Syria
TT: عندما غزى الجيش البريطاني سوريا
BT: When the British *invaded* Syria

Likewise, the US war on Iraq is labelled as a *US-led invasion* conforming to the American label alluding to the Coalition of the Willing to make the US war look more legitimate (*an international war on international terror*), obscuring the US prejudice and its regional interests.

The BBC's bias towards Israel manages to change the Egyptian victory into *defeat* in the Israeli-Egyptian war of 1973 which is resisted by the TT writer's deletion.

ST: Egypt's *defeat* in 1973 war
BT: the 1973 war

As in the American political discourse of *Newsweek*, the metaphor of God's power/ forces of nature/natural reserves or resources is applied to the Israeli army (the ST in-group), its soldiers, and military activities in ST20 (see

Table). The Palestinians are viewed as a side which is heavily armed and at war with another side, e.g. *both sides, the Palestinian side*. Therefore, they are represented as casualties, locations, specific targets and lists of names in this war. Like the US attacks, the Israeli ones are depicted as defensive-offensives or even acts of deterrence, as reported in the voice of the empowered Israeli side (attribution), e.g. **"re-establishing deterrence"** *as the Israelis put it.* Entertain follows the same biased representation pattern. That is, the Israeli military attacks on civilians are represented as a pure objective explicit possibility (are likely to) in the form of an impersonal construction while Hamas's counterattacks are represented as a subjective implicit possibility (might) as shown in table 8.4:

Table 8.4 Israel and Palestinian Representations

Pro-Isreali Labels	Israeli military action	Palestinian military action
Israeli Defence Forces	There are significant areas of dense population which are likely to be largely bypassed by Israeli forces	Palestinian groups might resort to *firing long-range missiles* that are more *capable of reaching major Israeli population centres*
Reservists	especially if *things gone badly wrong* and *Palestinian civilian casualties* mount	Hamas rocket fire
Crisis	*specific targets and names of Hamas actors* alleged to be involved	Hamas *logistics and military infrastructures*
escalation	scouring *locations* […] believed to house *Hamas military infrastructure*	
	Incursion	
	"re-establishing *deterrence*" as the Israelis put it	
Palestinian civilian *casualties*	*Operation Pillar of Defence*	
Operation Pillar of Defence	*Operation Cast Lead*	
Operation Cast Lead	*Israeli air attacks*	

8.2.2.6 Sunni-Shiite Sectarianism

The word *sectarian/ism* itself is taken for granted in the BBC's original news discourse, in order to naturalise the cognitive identification of the Other as divided and aggressive.The BBC texts are also saturated with seemingly words forgrounded in its titles and utilized in its texts such as *conflict, turmoil, unrests, upheavals*, etc., However, they (negative interpersonal prosodies) imply a negative Other-presentation strategy (divisions and violence)(cf Chapter 7). Moreover, sectarianism

in Syria and Lebanon is evaluated by words that would have been positive in other contexts[2], e.g. Syria is referred to *a complex **mosaic** of communities* (ST21) while neighbouring Lebanon is *a **patchwork** of communities,* in order to emphasise the undesirable sectarianism of the Other (Syria and Syrian regime). Such value laden terms are explicated or toned down in the translations.

The ST's Sunni-Shiite polarisation is downplayed or deleted in the TT discourse. For instance, the label *sheikh* is deleted in reference to Hassan Nasrallah (leader of the Shiite *Hezbollah* [Party of God]) and preserved for Yusuf al-Qaradawi (Sunni Azhar scholar). This mitigated TT ingroup polarisation is further illustrated in Table 8.:

Table 8.5 Sunni and Shiites representation

Group	ST Label	BT
Sunnis	Takfiri groups	deleted
Sunnis and Shiites	sectarian hate	sectarian congestion
Shiites(Hezbollah)	Party of God, Party of Satan	Deleted

8.3 *The Guardian* Discourse in Translation

8.3.1 Arabic Future Probability and Inclination Modals as Translated Discourse Decisions

Like the 1990s and 2000s Guardian and western media discourse on Africa, The Guardian's 2011 discourse on Arab spring depicts Arab countries in or near North Africa as *hopless places* suffering from divisions and tribal conflicts. It employs the need for hope tokens and inscriptions and future probability and inclination modal markers due to its liberal leaning according to which the future (progressive) is positive whereas the past (regressive) is negative. The label of the events itself, the Arab *spring* resembles the need for hope token.

Despite trying to be impartial, the author of ST47 creates an overall positive prosody concerning Tunisians' hopes and dreams of a better future by using the following future modals in reported speech: *are going to* (2), *hope+ would, hope+ will, will* (4), present for future (3), and *would* (1). These patterns make the median group's future dreams and hopes feel much closer. Strikingly, the rendering of these patterns into *sa* or *sawfa* in the target language context is constrained by several

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[2] For example President Obama' use of phrases such as *our **patchwork** heritage* in American political discourse (see Munday, 2012).

linguistic and socio-political factors: (co)occurrence restrictions, the linguistic peculiarity of Arabic future particles and the translator's voice.

The translation of English future modals (ST47) is a case in point. As shown below in the extract of the reported speech of a Tunisian female voter, *sa* is prefixed to the imperfect verb, constructing a verbal discursive act in the process of regime change in the Tunisian discourse community. The will of the people has always been cherished in Tunisia, especially since days of resistance to French colonisation chronicled by Al-Shabbi's poem "The Will of Life" which was also extremely influential in the discourse of their 2011 revolution. The selection of *sa* in the TT makes one voice powerful enough in the process of transition from a non-democratic overthrown regime (out-group) into a democratic Tunisia (in-group), since it is already the voice of the voters (*we*).

ST47: "We <u>are going to</u> have a democratic Tunisia."
TT47: "<u>س</u>تكون لدينا تونس الديمقراطية التي نريد"
BT47: "We <u>will</u> have the democratic Tunisia that we want."

Although *sa* is an appropriate translation of *are going to*, its meaning is closer to *will* in its subjective inclination sense. The TT addition *that we want* further enhances the inclination sense. That is to say, it shifts from the ST's near future prediction (probability) to the TT's demand (inclination). Such communicative use of the future modal prefix *sa* reflects the TT audience's (Tunisians) political regime change and resistance ideologies. It deviates from both the impartiality and the modal category of the ST's pattern. It is also chosen as an alternative to all the other future variations of this ST. It replaces *will* and the present for future forms (planned/arranged near future events) since the data show it is *sa* rather than its future counterpart *sawfa* that tends to express near future arrangements and plans. Furthermore, *sa* is also used to replace *is going to be* in a question about near (arranged/planned) future events (*What is the voting **going to be** like?*) since it is believed to be interrogative, e.g. سيأتي؟ (Is he coming?) (Kaffawī, 1837) as observed in the data.

However, when the modals *will* and *would* occur in the scope of hope they are usually replaced by the Arabic imperfect (present tense form), as *sa* cannot co-occur with *an* (that) according to Arab grammarians. Moreover, even with the removal of *sa*, the Arabic imperfect can refer to either الحال [present] or in this case الاستقبال [future] without any major loss of meaning. Finally, opting for the usuality

prepositional modal من شأنها أن [it is typical of] instead of *sa* as a translation of the ST *will* is equally striking, as it accompanies an explicitly positive attitude (*It is typical of it to guarantee true elections*). The dialogic discursive option, therefore, emphasises the good habits (democratic practices) of the in-group.

Though not frequently mentioned in the literature, some of the uses of *sa* observed in TT47 are compatible with some of the suggested meanings of *sa* in *Kitāb al-Kulliyāt* (Kaffawī, 1837), namely, الطلب و السؤال [demand and question]. The only general distinction made between *sa* and *sawfa* in the traditional literature is the near/far future time dichotomy. This is evidenced for *sa* in several instances in the TT discourse, as it collocates with the following expressions: اليوم [today], الأوضاع [the current circumstances], بمجرد وصوله الى السلطة [once in power], القادم [the next], الإنتخابات المنتظرة [the awaited elections], تاليا [next], على المدى القريب [in the short term] and في المستقبل القريب [in the immediate future]. There is only one example of its alternative, *sawfa*, co-occuring with الآن [now]. Nevertheless, in this case, it expresses insistence rather than a planned event to be accomplished in near future. The results generally agree with the traditional time distinction, i.e., in our data the near future reference is a feature unique to *sa* rather than *sawfa*.

According to grammatical tradition, *sa* also denotes continuous future events. However, some instances of *sa* (TT66) and *sawfa* (TT55, TT65) are clear-cut examples of a continuous future reference. Still, the limited frequency of both particles in this sense suggests that it is a feature of their co-text words (*stay, remain*, and *still*) that denotes this future continuousness.

ST57:   The army <u>would</u> still have ultimate authority in running the country.
TT57:   لان المجلس العسكري <u>سوف</u> يظل يحتفظ بسلطات مطلقة في ادارة البلاد
BT57:   because the military council <u>would</u> keep maintaining absolute power
           in running the country.

ST67:   The Egyptian mobilisation <u>will</u> remain a revolution
TT67:   الحشد المصري <u>سوف</u> يظل ثورة بارزة
BT67:   The Egyptian mobilisation will remain an outstanding revolution

ST68:   said it <u>would</u> remain held
TT68:   قال انه <u>سي</u>ظل في حالة انعقاد
BT68:   said it <u>would</u> remain held

ST68:   <u>overseeing</u> a stable orderly transition
TT68:   و<u>سي</u>بقى في السلطة حتى سبتمبر
BT68:   and he <u>will be staying</u> in power until September

In addition to these near future arrangements and plans, and demands, several other meanings were recorded for *sa* in our corpus: certainty, willingness, self-commitment, moral duty, threatening and warning, and promising. For instance, the hope of the Tunisian people, the self-commitment of the Egyptian president and the moral duty of the Egyptian army are put forward by *sa* in the following:

BT47: we will (*sa*) have the democratic Tunisia that we want
BT68: he [Mubarak] will (*sa*) keep
BT68: the army will (*sa*) interfere)

All three examples are cases of inclination. The first two occurrences possibly add a third layer of meaning to inclination, namely, the continuity of events and actions as previously suggested by Arab grammarians. However, even *sawfa* conveys continuous futurity in our data. In addition, the inclination meaning of *sa* overlaps with personal obligation, such as willingness or moral duty, e.g. سيتدخل (*sa* + imperfect) [***will*** *interfere*], or سيضطر (*sa* + have to) [***will have to/will only*** *interfere*], since the Egyptian army will only interfere when necessary. The current state of affairs (socio-political situation) may resolve the intended ambiguity. At that stage of the Arab Spring, military power was desperately needed, especially in Libya and Egypt, to help people overthrow the old regime. It is just an indirect way of saying: A friend in need is a friend indeed. Accordingly, the political affiliations (in-group, med-group and out-group), which were constantly shifting in line with socio-political interests, can be seen to have influenced the selection of the modal linguistic resources and their TT counterparts which are, in turn, purposefully employed to serve such interests.

Together with *sa*, *sawfa* complements the mosaic of prosodic dialogic meaning, in order to transmit and reassert the same discourse community democratic beliefs though with fewer communicative goals: collective insistence, external obligation, promise, and warning. The latter two are shared by both particles. As *sawfa* has a lower frequency and fewer functions than *sa* in our corpus, the former is the marked form in *The Guardian* Arabic discourse. Thus, the rhetorical functions of *sawfa* have played a vital democratic role in the discourse of the process of regime change in the TT world.

In addition to using *sawfa* to report the Egyptian army's (democratic) promise to the people that their demands *would* be met, the Arabic version of *The Guardian* reveals another dialogic discourse function of *sawfa*, e.g. سوف يرحل [he [Mubarak]

shall/should leave] and الحشد المصري سوف يظل ثورة بارزة [the Egyptian mobilisation *will* remain a revolution). The former is an allusion to the most popular slogan and demand of the Arab Spring, e.g. *Irḥal* [Leave!) featuring the highest degree on the modulation scale (imperative). The second example, the next highest degree on the same scale (external obligation), references **yajib** *an yaẓal thawra* [The Arab Spring *must* remain a revolution]. Together, the former translation modal choice *sawfa yarḥal* shifts from an objective semi-modal (*is about to*), and a neutral main verb (*go*), into a subjective modal particle, *sawfa* and a main verb full of negative attitude, *yarḥal*. In short, while the ST writer's choice conforms to the source language (SL) genre of news reporting, the TT writer's selection is a subjective insertion of his/her target addressees' shared ideology of regime change and resistance.

A similarly striking combination of how *sawfa* [*will*] and its main verb (*change*) produce the meaning of insistence about imposing ideologies for regime change is foregrounded in the title of TT67 which supports the Egyptian and Arab Spring revolutions. That is, the word *change* refers to the ideology itself which is insisted via *sawfa*. The writer's voice represents that of the majority of the target language (TL) discourse community.

ST67: Egypt's popular revolution <u>will</u> change the world
TT67: الثورة الشعبية في مصر <u>سوف</u> تغير العالم
BT67: The popular revolution in Egypt <u>will</u> change the world

The ST's corresponding prosodic patterns of entertain and evoked meaning markers, viz. *will*, *change* and *the world*, echo the liberal's political plan to export their model of democracy and peace to make the world a safer place, especially for their democratic states which feel threatened by undemocratic ones. There is no resistance to this political creed in the TT, as these meaning patterns are maintained.

Power is, then, linguistically manifested, negotiated, resisted, and exercised via the modal *sawfa* which in turn reproduces power in the discourse community, i.e. power is taken back from the government by the people who are empowered by their discursive modal acts to issue orders to the president (*sawfa yarḥal*) and insisting on non-stop revolution until the regime is overthrown regardless of how long it is going to take.

Equally empowering is *sawfa* as an alternative to the ST's *will* in reassurances and promises for Egyptian people confirmed by the foreign superpower (*the White House/the US*) politically involved in the process of regime change:

ST: The White House said it is confident that the political crisis *will* be resolved.
ST: The US *will* continue to stand with the Egyptians as they build a democracy worthy of Egypt's great history," it said.

Sawfa is not only the *sawfa* used for reassuring and promising, but also to insist or urge, reporting and confirming the superpower's encouragement of regime resistance.

ST: "Egypt has overcome challenges before and *will* do so again."[…], it [the US] said

The insistence meaning of this particle is supposed to be preceded by an embedded or deleted oath and pledge i.e. *wa-Allahi* [I swear by God] as suggested in traditional accounts or Arabic grammar.

This power particle (*sawfa*) forms part of the discourse of change in other Arabic genres, including poems and anthems reproducing religious and political ideologies. Along with naming, *sawfa* has been employed in these important mobilising genres of Arabic discourse, in order to sustain, revive and insist on the oaths/pledges of those borrowing and renewing labels from the constant supplication of the Prophet Mohammad for his community: "*Ya Rabbi, Ummati, Ummati*" (O my Lord, my community, my community!). It is repeated in the Palestinian jihad poem قدسنا تضطرم [Our Al-Quds is burning) to revive the pledge of saving the city of Al-Quds (Jerusalem) from Israeli occupation. The same pledge is revived in a recent version of the same poem *Sawfa nabqa huna* (We will stay here) adapted to relay the revolutionary/secular ideology of removing the old system. It ends with the following line: "Bear witness. I have taken the pledge/oath this evening." Instead of the original Islamic phrase *ummati, ummati*, the political *mauṭini, mauṭini* (my homeland, my homeland) were chanted by the protestors during the Libyan revolution of 2011 and from there the anthem spread to other Arab countries. According to the BBC (2016), "it was the soundtrack of the Arab Spring."

8.3.2 Arabic Probability Modals as Translated Discourse Decisions

Like future probability and inclination modals, probability modals are utilised in the ST and the TT discourse to make the change/transition process possible, so that "the impossible becomes possible" (*The Guardian*, 2011). The Arabic semi-verbal and

prepositional modal particles of probability, *qad, la'lla, rubbama,* and the verb *yumkin* and its counterpart, the prepositional construction, *min al-mumkin* fulfil this role. There are several reasons for focusing on these particles in this discussion. Firstly, recent corpus-based research (Mansour, 2013) has shown that both *rubbama* and *qad* express a higher degree of possibility than *yumkin*. The current study is in line with Mansour's finding, but it takes a step further by revealing that *yumkin* is usually selected when impartiality and directness are intended whereas *qad* and *rubbama* are chosen when partiality and indirectness are sought. That is, they express the possibility of biased attitude which is either intensified (*takthīr* [increased possibility]) or downplayed (*taqlīl* [reduced possibility]) depending on group power relations and current political situation. Secondly, the ambiguity of these two modal particles accounts for the long-standing lack of consensus on their modal degrees among grammarians of Arabic and, hence, makes them the perfect candidates for hedging or indirect stance taking. *La'lla*, on the other hand, did not produce the same classical debate, but its probability meaning is permeated with inclination, i.e. possibility that is either desirable (hoped/loved) or undesirable (feared/hated). Furthermore, like the particles *qad* and *rubbama*, both modal and non-modal meanings have been observed for *la'lla* by Arabic grammarians (cf. Chapter Three). In addition, despite its low frequency in *The Guardian* data corpus, the particle *ka'anna* will also be discussed, as it has been either overlooked or not regarded as a modal in previous studies of Arabic modality due to both their lack of uniformity and their narrow focus. Nonetheless, *ka'anna* can function as modal or non-modal.

Qad, laqad, and wa qad

Emphasis and actualisation *laqad* is more frequent (16) than modal *qad* (3). The former are the renderings of present perfect, past perfect, past simple and present simple tenses while the latter are the translations of the probability modal auxiliaries (*will, can,* and *could*). It was noted that the emphatic forms of *qad* are followed by the Arabic perfect (past tense) whereas the modal ones are followed by the Arabic imperfect (present simple) reflecting a contrast between actualised and non-actualised events. With the Arabic past (perfect), its meaning is either *tahqīq* (emphasis and actualisation) or *taqrīb* (actualisation). On the other hand, its *taqlīl* (reduced possibility) sense is produced when it is used with the imperfect. Multiple

functions have already been suggested for *laqad* by previous studies, viz temporal, aspectual and modal (cf. Chapter Three). Nevertheless, in the Arabic *Guardian* TTs, *qad* is recurrently used for *taqrīb* and *tahqīq* with the perfect (Emphasise Our good things/Emphasise Their bad things) and only occasionally for *taqlīl* with the imperfect (Mitigate Our bad things/Mitigate Their good things).

The insertion of *laqad* in TT46 to emphasise the good things related to the in-group (Arab revolutionaries and voters) renders the unmodalised bare assertion in ST46 (which reports on the Tunisian elections and voters) into a high probability (emphasis) equivalent to emphatic *do* in English. *Laqad* is a combination of the emphatic *lam* of oath (believed to occur after deleted oaths such as *bi -illahi* [I swear by God]) and *qad*. Both are particles of emphasis. However, the Tunisian translator of ST46 engages with the discursive voices of the enthusiastic Arab audience (especially Tunisians) with their aspirations for these elections.

This example reveals that between *tahqīq* (emphasis) and *taqrīb* (actualisation/closeness to present) the use of *laqad* brings the ST's past closer to the present, further emphasising the accomplishment of a highly appreciated action in the early days of the Arab Spring voting. As the Tunisian revolution is expected to be successful and bring real change, *laqad* allows the ideological concept (judgment token:+capacity) of revolution accomplishment to be attributed to the Arab revolution in the discourse of the *Guardian* TT. That is, the emphatic or actualising *laqad* fits into the overlap between ideological and axiological meanings, i.e. according to the ideological square, *laqad* emphasises our good things (namely, we carried out a successful revolution and we made it to democratic elections):

ST: I voted
BT: I <u>have voted/did </u>vote

In order to mitigate the negative predictions of the ST regarding threats to Libya's future owing to the presence of armed militias, the TT writer uses *qad* to lessen the probability of the future threat. *Qad* reduces the threat into a warning. In other words, instead of selecting *sa* as an alternative to the ST's *will* to warn Arab readers of a possible threat, the writer opted for *qad* to reduce the possible threat and simultaneously open up the discourse further to any possible objections.

ST: <u>will</u> be the very least
BT: *the least* that <u>could</u> (*qad*) happen is that Libya turns into a shooting gallery where scores are settled

The usage patterns of *qad* (aspectual and temporal) in journalistic texts can also be accompanied by ideational meaning and the usual news report statistics concerning sums of money (e.g. greedy foreign government puppets/normalising with Israel) invoking a negative judgment of Egyptian political figures including Tantawi, Suleiman and Einan.

ST63: Tantawi **has been** in contact with the US defence secretary Robert Gates. The countries **have** a strategic relationship worth 1.3bn (800m) a year in military assistance to Egypt that is seen as "untouchable compensation" for making and maintaining peace with Israel. Suleiman and Einan **are** well regarded in the US.

The particles *laqad* (emphatic *lam* + *qad*) and *wa qad* (and + *qad*) replace the unmodalised tense patterns (present perfect and present simple respectively) when referring to recently accomplished action and facts. However, *wa qad* is used in its aspectual sense of reporting and confirming accomplished actions. The use of *wa qad* is in line with the literature on this particle (see Dickens, 2014), i.e. one of its functions is to introduce details of the news (Egyptian military receiving 1.3bn from the US). This reporting device distances the TT writer from the invoked negative judgment of the old elites, the army and its junta members (e.g. Field Marshal Tantawi) as US puppets/clients in the Middle East. The corresponding ST ideational token of US financial aid for peace in the Middle East realizes an orianatlism discourse ideology, i.e. in Apprisal and ideological square terms, Emphasise Their negative propriety (bribery and aggression) vs Emphasise Our positive things (aid and peace) and Emphasise Their negative capacity (poor) vs Emphasise Our positive capacity (rich).

The distancing or reporting function of *wa qad* is evident in the translation of *reportedly* (attribute) and the past tense in the ST excerpt below. *Reportedly* has been employed by the ST to mitigate the positive evaluation of the army and its commanders (+capacity) and thereby distancing the claim by attribution. The ST's mitigated positive evaluation of the Egyptian army is further reduced by quotation markers. However, being appraised in a positive light by a US admiral is not necessarily a good thing from the perspective of TT discourse. Hence, the TT preserves the ST's detached position in this specific sensitive example.

ST63: Admiral Mike Mullen the Chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff reportedly praised the Egyptian army for its "professionalism" after speaking to Einan.

Both the social group and the current political state of affairs may control the TT writer's choices of *qad*, *yumkin* and *min al-mumkin*. *Qad* reduces *will*, as the appraised is the threat to the Libyan situation due to the spread of weapons and armed militias (***will be the very least***). The predicted threat (will) shifts into a warning (qad). *Qad* is also the more biased translation of *could* and *can* rather than the more detached *yumkin* or *min al-mumkin* as the evaluated targets are the possible war on Iran (***could become the most devastating war in the Middle East***) and the expected post-Arab Spring elected government institutions (***can gain the trust of the citizens***) (ST49). The latter instance shows a possibility and ability overlap in the meaning of *can* in which the ability overtone evaluates the Arab spring elected governments' capacity (social self esteem). Such apparently unbiased selection disguises the ST writer's evaluation which shifts into a TT shared expectation, *qad*, with no ability nuances. Compare this translation of *can* to the same text's translation of the passive form of this modal into *yumkin* when evaluating the Islamist parties (including Ennahda). The pure possibility and the neutral position modal choice is further triggered by the modal noun *claim* preceding it, with *can* and its Arabic TT counterpart *yumkin* falling within its scope and both writers are trying to detach themselves from this claim. As the following extract demonstrates, the ST and TT (editorial) writers engage with their readers regarding a very sensitive matter: the current status quo in Middle East politics, the Arab Spring elections and political pluralism in Tunisia:

ST: It will also road-test <u>the claim</u> that political pluralism <u>can</u> be navigated with an Islamist party at the helm.

TT: الانتخابات ستكون ايضا محركا <u>للادعاء</u> القائل بان التعددية السياسية <u>يمكن</u> ان تبحر في ظل وجود حزب اسلامي على راس السلطة

BT: The elections will road-test <u>the claim</u> that political pluralism <u>can</u> sail with the shadow of a political party at the helm.

Rubbama

In our corpus, *rubbama* is more frequent than its other possibility counterparts (*qad, laʿlla, yumkin* and *min al-mumkin*). Contrary to Mansour (2013), our findings show that *rubama* should not necessarily always be viewed as simply a high possibility modal. Instead, the data support traditional literature, as *rubbama* occurs more frequently as a reduced possibility and less frequently as an increased possibility.

The remaining less frequent meanings of *rubbama* are *reduced feared possibility, increased desired possibility* and *wondering/enquiring*. Other alternatives range from a high expectation *qad* to a median degree *yumkin* and a low degree *laʿlla,* which is the least frequently used (see below).

Yumkin is assigned a median degree, contrary to Mansour's (2013) low degree suggestion, as it is more frequently used to replace *can* in its general/theoretical possibility sense and is recurrently used in this objective orientation, typical of scientific discourse, in order to avoid explicit biased attitude or siding with the respective social groups (in-group, mid-group, out-group). In fact, *yumkin* and its prepositional pair *min al-mumkin* are the only modals of this set that connote a pure possibility meaning for such socio-political purposes of dialogic discourse.

Table 8.6 Arabic probability degrees

High	Median	Low
qad	*Yumkin*	*lʿalla*
rubbama	*min al-mumkin*	*rubbama*

ST60 shows how the modal auxiliary *might* (inclination: polite suggestion) as a sarcastic suggestion in the ST is intensified into لربما (emphatic *lam* + *rubbama* [may well]) in TT60, in order to criticise the ST and TT out-group (the US and its friends). *La-rubbama* tends to be positioned pre-sententially, introducing the whole sentence for more emphasis and attraction of readers' attention. Moreover, the obscurity of *rubama* (either reductive or increased possibility) is demystified by the addition of the emphatic particle *la* (harmonic modal synergy). *La-rubbama* reflects a highly desirable possibility in the TT world (*you **may well** hope the US and its friends have had their fill of invasions and intervention*). When used with this meaning, it is somewhat analogous to *laʿalla* [might], sister of *kāda* [be about to] (verbs of approximation and hope). This casts doubt on the suggestion of previous research that *rubbama* refers to pure possibility only.

ST60: You <u>might</u> hope the US and its friends have had their fill of invasion and intervention

TT60: لربما كنت تامل ان الولايات المتحدة واصدقاءها قد نالو كفايتهم من الغزو

BT60: You <u>may well</u> [*la-rubbama*] hope the US and its friends have had their fill of invasion and intervention

The ambiguity of *rubbama* is utilised in the following extract to engage with the readers of TT61 (the loyalists and opponents of Mubarak). The former wish him to stay and the latter want him to leave. As the translator is clearly expressing a pro-

democracy ideology, the modal meaning of *rubbama* here indicates the higher possibility (*takthīr*) of regime removal by the army rather than the slightly lower possibility expressed by the ST *could* while its rhetorical function is to align with the pro-democracy readers. In other words, the in-group opinion is more probable than the other ones.

ST63: It <u>could</u> happen if they conclude that Egypt's and the army's interests will be best served by that outcome-but that point has not yet been reached.

TT63: و ربما يحدث ذلك لو خلص هؤلا الى ان مصلحة مصر و الجيش في ان واحد تلتقيان عند هذه النقطة و تلك النهاية

BT63: That <u>may</u> happen if these conclude that Egypt's and the army's interests meet at this point and to that end.

Generally speaking, *rubbama* is used to render into English mostly implicit subjective possibility-oriented modal verbs and idioms, namely, *may, might, could, would,* and *might well, as well as, objective* adverbs *often, maybe, possibly, perhaps.* The few instances of *laʿlla* are, in turn, attitudinal insertions in the TTs. Thus, *rubbama* replaces *laʿlla* in the current Arabic TTs, i.e. they are complementary particles. On the other hand, objective *min al-mumkin* is frequently an alternative to the objective, and pure possibility form, i.e. *it is possible to* whereas *yumkin* and *bi-imkan* replace possibility and ability modal auxiliary verbs, i.e. *can* and *could.* Thus, modal devices are utilised as dialogic strategies for positioning and repositioning interpersonal stances in *The Guardian* discourse.

Kaʾanna, Sister of *Inna*

The modal function of semi-verbal particles such as *wa kaʾanna* [might as well] is detected via the translation process. *Kaʾanna* [seem as if/might as well] is one of the sisters of the emphatic particle *inna*. As the *ka* of *kaʾanna* is a simile particle, *kaʾanna* is obviously supplemented with graduation (italicized intensity) to bring home an exaggerated mental image of the wide gap between the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries. In this case, potential Libyan election candidates educated abroad are compared to the rest of the 'fanatical' Libyans (tribes and militias) who are viewed as uneducated (euphemism for backwards) and not fit for regime change. Again, this is part and parcel of the ideologies of the Western news discourse of *The Guardian* on the Arabs and the Arab Spring. From the perspective of this discourse, the utopian revolutionaries are and should be educated, preferably educated abroad (Westernised/mid-group) in secular systems. In other words, change is required to remove backward regimes and their ignorant followers. Both

writers emphasise the out-group's negative qualities to legitimise the Western change ideology of the ST's mid-group and the TT's in-group.

ST51: They <u>might as well</u> *have just landed from Mars*.
BT51: They <u>seem as if</u> they have just landed from Mars.

Laʿalla

Modal particles of desirable probability and usuality, namely, *laʿalla* [may] and *la-ṭalma* [always] together strengthen the attribute (*paint a picture*, *facing*) to criticise the Egyptian army as a political institution. *Wa laʿalla* [and perhaps… might] is pre-positioned as a discourse marker, connecting previous thoughts with later ones (emphasising the army's negative qualities). Again, grammatical accounts of *laʿalla* list two modal and non-modal meanings: *rajā'* [desirable possibility] and *ishfāq* [undesirable possibility] together with *taʿlil* [giving reasons] and *tafsīr* [interpreting]. In this text and context, *laʿalla* connotes a blend of these modal and non-modal meanings. The last two are effects of its discourse connecting function, as it is preceded by the connector *wa* [and], meaning it is context sensitive. Nonetheless, its modal meaning pertains to a desirable possibility (possible to accomplish), since the target of appraisal (the Egyptian army) is the out-group. Focus (*clear*) is added to enhance the reporting verb (*paint a picture*) evaluating the army in negative terms. Thus, *laʿalla* (approximation and hope set of *kāda*) expresses a possibility which is either desirable (hoped for) or undesirable (feared) and usually infused by additional context-sensitive meanings (giving reasons or interpretations), especially when combined with *wa*. Arabic grammarians and Islamic scholars still suggest that there are four to eight modal and non-modal meanings of *laʿalla*. More importantly, as we have seen, modal and contextual meanings are not completely discrete.

ST63: Recent US diplomatic cables released by WikiLeaks <u>paint a picture</u> of an institution <u>facing</u> severe internal challenges and a decline in status.
BT63: <u>And</u> <u>perhaps</u> [*Wa laʿalla*] recent US diplomatic cables unveiled via the international website of WikiLeaks <u>might</u> paint a clear picture of the institution that has <u>always</u> faced severe internal challenges and suffered from a decline in its status in the region.

As with its counterpart *la-rubbama*, inserting *laʿalla* also implies a negative attitude towards Western liberals (cf. Chapter Seven) suggesting that these two particles may have similar desirability and interrogative senses, and accounting for the Kufan school's suggestions that *laʿalla* is originally *ʿalla* and the emphatic *lam* is just added

to strengthen its meaning, as is the case with the less common *la-rubbama*. Even though *la-rubbama* is not very common in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic discourse, it is common in the Gulf Arabic variety where *la-rubbama* is a desired possibility and/or an interrogative particle, for example, like the phrase *laʿalla khir* [maybe it is a blessing in disguise]. *La-rubbama* also appears in the title of a novel *La-Rubbama Khira* [Maybe it is for the best] (Hamad, 2016) and in a popular song entitled "*La-Rubbama*" (Perhaps) (Al-Majed, 2015) despite previous accounts having asserted it conveyed only increased versus decreased probability. However, due to its low frequency in the current corpus, these intriguing nuances beg for further corpus-based exploration across genres, discourses and varieties, so that the scholarly research can be enriched by solving questions that have been taken for granted and based on the intuition of grammarians or native speakers.

8.3.3 Discursive Representations of Conflict Participants, Ideologies, and Events and their Translation Divergences

As most of *The Guardian* discourse covers the Arab Spring events and their aftermath, its news reports reproduce the same overriding ideology of regime change via prosodic waves of explicit and invoked interpersonal meaning. Referring to the *first true and free* (ST47) and *first ever free elections* (ST48) in Tunisia's history in the news reports and TTs, puts forward an explicit taken for granted anti-old regime ideology (appreciation-invoked judgment). The term *experience* (TT47) suggests completely successful elections whose *lessons* are *informing* the *first free and true* Tunisian elections (labelling).

To present the news as highly reliable and accurate, ST47 and its TT include quotations from an external *Arab expert* voice, Maxim Khalil (attribute). Kamal Jendoubi, the election committee chairman and *historic opposition figure*, expected voting is mentioned while a *young female* Tunisian voter's voice (27-year-old Amira Yahyaoui) is empowered by positioning this in the title of ST48, "Tunisians vote with tears flowing and hands trembling", and its translation as the voice of all Tunisians, especially Tunisian voters (attribute, +force, +inclination, and gender equality rights and regime change by *the youth* discursive ideologies). Mohammad Bouazizi, *the fruit and vegetable seller* (poverty of ordinary people/working class), whose *self-immolation* (ST48) is replaced by a less sensitive label, *self-sacrifice*, in

the TT as the practice of burning oneself is considered to be suicide and Bouazizi is viewed as a martyr which is forbidden in the TT world (labelling/a value rich word).

European countries are seen as democracy platforms and political powers facilitating the transitional process in Tunisia, the first of the Arab Spring revolutions, thus *voting booths* are open in a number of *European countries to allow expatriate Tunisians to vote*. The Islamic value rich word, تمكين [empower/enable], replaces the higher authority modal *allow* in a nod to Islamic Human Rights ideology, indicating that voting is the Tunisians' God-given right rather than simply being permitted or aided by the West.

The translator's resistance strategy to the authority of the TT writer and the Western powers is not adopted when representing Ottawa's position due to Canada's national sovereignty excuses, in addition to its intervention-free foreign policies. Even the list of the Western states aiding the process starts with the secular France known for its roughly left-leaning revolution from whose discourse the very phrase *ancien régime* has been borrowed by Western as well as Arab media discourse. More remarkably, the Arab states are the last and the least listed with the smallest number of voting places allocated (2) suggesting that the they are the last and the least democratic of all the listed states in this biased media report's 'number game'. Clearly, ideational (ideological) and interpersonal (axiological) meanings are not straightforward or discrete.

This case in point unquestionably shows how readers are being manipulated by the media serving certain underlying Western ideologies (emphasising in-group good qualities and mitigating out-group good qualities). The latter function can be achieved via the news reporting number game as one of the strategies for silencing or marginalising out-groups.

Interpersonal evocations such as *secular civil society* positively evaluating Tunisia from the point of view of the ST discourse (see below) are quite striking, though not resisted by the TT writer, as they emphasise the positive qualities of the ST's mid-group and TT's in-group which match the Western political discourse criteria for a utopian westernized society. The translator's decision is further enhanced by the choice of *defending* women rights (TT50) instead of just *upholding* them (ST50):

ST: It [An Nahda Islamist party] promised to respect <u>secular civil society</u> upholding women's rights, the most advanced in the Arab world.

Appraisal analysis may face issues of categorisation of seemingly objective epithets such as *secular* which are found in the Western ideological discourse of *The Guardian*. It frequently represents the ideal democratic society i.e. the one that matches ours (the West) not theirs (the old Arab regimes and the current Islamist ones). The intolerance by the Roman Catholic Church of other religions, Christian sects or philosophies led to the emergence of secularism which resists and tries to replace religious authorities. Hence, the French Revolution's popular demands were Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. The choice of secularism, tolerance and the like is not an innocent one. These principles correspond to moderation in Islamic culture based on Quranic discourse (We made a moderate nation. Quran, 1: 143). Hence, *secular, tolerant, open society* (ST66) is rendered in TT66 as وسطية المجتمع التونسي [*the moderation* of Tunisian society].

It appears that the Islamist party An-Nahda and its leader Gannouchi are given voice (attribute) to defend themselves in this article. When there is criticism of Gannouchi, most of the time it is the voice of others:

ST50: <u>He</u> [Gannouchi] <u>said</u> An Nahda is not harbouring fundamentalist elements

BT50: <u>An Nahda</u> <u>has positioned itself as</u> a moderate Islamist voice which emphasises democracy, consensus politics, family values, including lowering Tunisia's high divorce rates.

'Fundamentalist' Islamists, however, are negatively evaluated as invoked by the verb *harbour* which usually have a negative co-text, e.g. to *harbour criminals/suspects* (*Collins Dictionary*, 2014). They are also represented as *Salafist hardliners* and compared to *far-right* European parties in ST discourse. These cues reflect *The Guardian*'s left-leaning ideological discourse. As it started in Egypt, Salafist fundamentalism emerged as a defensive response to the modernising secular left discourse ideologies influenced by Western culture. In Western culture, the reverse is true, i.e. secularism started as attempt to replace the Church's authority with a non-religious one. These two ideological discourses have long been in conflict.

Lexical choices which introduce conflicting views on Gaddafi's end, NATO intervention and the Libyan situation (ST51 and TT51) can be challenging to the translator. The neutral term *Gaddafi's **body*** is rendered as the negative جثة القذافي [Gaddafi's corpse]. Arabic has two alternatives for *body*: جسمان refers to the living only while جثمان can be used for the living as well as the dead, i.e., it is used as a sign of respect to the dead or some sort of exceptional impartiality in the ST

although it takes an anti-Gaddafi stance. The TT Arabic translation is only used for the dead in Modern Standard Arabic, especially to avoid mentioning names or because the name of the dead person is not identified (anonymous) as in medical discourse. Thus, with Gaddafi's name mentioned, it could well be a degrading alternative. It may also be the case that these subtle lexical differences have not caught the translator's attention.

Although the ST and TT use passive voice and nominalisation to avoid mentioning Gaddafi's killers, while the ST presents the act of killing Gaddafi as *was shot*, the TT opted for مقتل القذافي في مواجهة (*killing Gaddafi **in a confrontation***). In other words, there was an exchange of gunfire between Gaddafi and his 'anonymous' killers.

Non-core words are a similar case in point. For instance, the disapproval of the TT's out-group actions is mitigated in the TT, i.e. **cobbled together** *intervention* and *bespoke intervention* to describe the intervention as being executed in a very limited time upon the request made by the Arab League, as if the Western states involved did not wish to intervene to serve their own political and other potential interests in the region. The label *intervention* itself is associated with peaceful and democratic transition in the regime change discourse of the West. *Cobbled together*, however, loses its ST negative effect for the TT neutral one (*the **united** intervention*). The intensification and negative meaning of the epithet *cobbled together* (intensified appreciation) is captured by the following dictionary meaning: "If you say that someone has cobbled something together, you mean that they have produced it *roughly and quickly* [disapproval]" (*Collins*, 2014). Moreover, the negative prosody of the in-group (the British) evaluation also consists of the ST's non-core *crow* (verbal process) and its TT equivalent, يتبجحون [boast about] which is "an informal disapproval" according to the same dictionary.

On the other hand, the ST's evaluation of the out-group (military council) as **dabbling** *in that direction* (i.e. towards creating another copy of the old regime) is stripped of its negative orientation in the TT (*Egypt's military council is showing signs of **trying** such a possible option*). This decision, of course, does not seem to work as a resistance strategy to the ST's negative group stance towards the army, since الطغمة [the junta] is inserted elsewhere in the text and, unlike junta, it invokes a negative attitude towards the high command of Egypt's army.

Reporting on the start of the protests against Mubarak's regime, TT56 replaces the original's *anti-**junta*** with *ḍidda aṭṭughma* [anti-junta] criticising *Egypt's ruling generals* whereas the *protestors* are described as shuhadaʾ [martyrs] by the same TT. This is also inserted to represent the *military junta* (*ṭughma*) in TT54. This Arabic label is heavily loaded with cultural connotations. Originally in Arabic, the word only existed in a plural form to exaggerate negative meaning. According to Wilkins and Richardson (1810), *ṭaghām* referred to "Of mean inferior order (man or men); the worst species of birds or wild beasts". More recently a singular form, *ṭaghma*, has been coined from the Christian use of what was originally a Greek military term (*Al-Munjid Dictionary*) to refer to different ranks, duties and powers, as in the *tagma of angels* who are soldiers of God. The Greek military term, *tagma*, was also used to refer to the imperial guards who provided protection from revolts, i.e. the current Arabic judgement token (Associate) can be negative from a liberal perspective (anti-theocracy and anti-old regimes). Arabic, in turn, developed a negative tone from its original form *a-ṭṭughma* which means *"sea; plenty of water"* and it now has negative meanings, e.g. *evil fascist junta*, but Christian theologians still use it with a positive evaluation, طغمة الإكليروس الموقر [The Reverent Iklirūs Tagma] (Al-Samoudi, 2015, p. 202). A neutral meaning from Greek is also listed by *Wehr Dictionary of Modern Arabic* (1976, p.581): "*Tughma* band, troop, group". However, even the root letters (*ṭ-gh-m*) of this group alternative correspond to the letters of the verb *ṭagha*[exceeded its boundaries] and *ṭaghiya* [tyrant] while the last sound *ma* resembles water in Arabic. In Quranic discourse, the nearest example to the negative connotation is "lamma *ṭagha* al-m āʾ" [lit., when sea water *exceeded its limit*]. The TT choice, then, implies that the way old elites treat the Egyptian protesters exceeds the legal limits (Emphasise Their [outgroup] negative propriety). *The Guardian in Arabic* discursive choices include three judgement tokens: طغمة، مجلس عسكري،جيش [tagma, military council, army] which are negative, neutral, and neutral/positive respectively.

Education, as mentioned previously, is one of the Western ideological conditions imposed by *The Guardian* for Arab society to be fit for regime change and democracy. It is therefore problematised in the Libyan case in comparison to the Tunisian one. The discourse also problematises tribal competition in Libya as well as political pluralism in Tunisia, though not as heavily as the lack of education.

Like ST63, ST62 enforces its Western *secular* left socio-political model of the Arab Spring revolutions (*In its best **secular** democratic tradition*). From the perspective of the ST62 writer, the Arab spring is not based on fundamentalism or extremism (extreme Islamism). It is rather centred on legitimate demands and democratic principles which normally give rise to a revolution in the socio-political context of a secular society.

Similarly, Pakistani government and 'fundamentalists' are represented as the out-group. Lexical choices like *ordinary people, students, farmers, landless tenants* invoke an anti-capitalism ideology, *criminalising* the *feudal* and, hence, *old-fashioned* Pakistani government and *victimising* the ordinary people or working class. Thus, *feudal* Pakistani government is used in analogy to *The Guardian* discourse construction of the Other/out-group, *old elites* (Ancient Regime) while, the value rich word *backlash* (fundamentalist backlash) is another way of saying *aggressive* (Islamists). The expression *backlash*, though, loses its intensity in the TT ردة فعل اصولية [*fundamentalist **reaction***]. *Backlash* started as an attitudinal word referring to the racist white American *backlash* against black American rights in the past, but its use in the current ST corpus data shows that this word retained its intensified negative meaning (See Section 8.4.2). In The Guardian context, it signals both violence of the outgroup (Fundamental Islamists) and a liberal pro-human rights orientation of the Guardian.

On the tenth day of the 25 January revolution, even before Mubarak's actual departure, *The Guardian* ST63 reported expectations and assumptions such as *once Mubarak has **gone**, to persuade him **to step down**,* and *he needs to **go*** while its Arabic version preferred *once Mubarak **steps down from the throne**, to **step down**,* and *he needs to **leave** the mission and **go** to Germany* one after the other. In both ST and TT, Mubarak's departure is taken for granted, as both the media mouthpieces of the Western powers and the people on the streets of Egypt have already had their say: *irḥal* [Leave!].

Countries with strategic relations with the West, especially with the US and Israel, could be viewed as *clients of the West* in the TT discourse community. Therefore, the term, the *countries* (Egypt and US) is replaced with the more specific and political, the *states*. In the same vein, *making and maintaining **peace** with Israel* is

reduced to more specific and political *maintaining and committing to **peace treaties with Israel.***

The ST's detached position towards Gamal AbdelNaser and his fellow *"free officers"* is made more personal, viz. الضباط الأحرار in the TT by removing the quotation marks signalling a direct favourable stance towards this late Egyptian president.

The impartial ST labels of two wars between Egypt and Israel, *the 1967 and 1973 wars*, are substituted by the TT's favoured labels for the in-group (Egyptians), النكسة [the Setback] and 1973 حرب أكتوبر [October 1973 War], respectively, aligning with the Egyptians' (TT's in-group) socio-political position in this conflict. *The Setback*, unlike the Israelis' *Six-Day War*, likens the defeat of Egypt and the Arabs by Israel to a "reversal of recovery" (Collins Cobuild Dictionary, 2014) from the *Israeli epidemic* that started as a natural disaster, نكبة [*the Catastrophe* of 1948] which refers to the first defeat of Arabs in which they lost Palestine and other parts of Arab lands. The *October 1973 War* choice, in contrast, is selected to give this war a marked historical importance and, unlike the labels of the naturally occurring defeats, the term *war* is not avoided in this in-group (good things) label. The translator, thus, avoids the more biased religious discourse naming choices made by the Israelis—*Yom Kippur* and *Six-Day War*—as well as the Arabs' *War of Ramadan*. The former two labels point to the Day of Forgiveness on which the Israelites were lost in Sinai, and a battle won by one of the Jewish prophets, respectively. The latter one refers to victory, as this holy month is replete with victories and conquests throughout the history of Islam. Consequently, the TT's chosen in-group designations mitigate the Israelis' victory (Them) and the Arabs' defeat (Us) and emphasise their victory (Us) and their enemy's defeat (Them), alluding, at the same time, to the heroic history of the Egyptian army under AbdelNaser and Sadat's rule and with Mubarak's leadership of air forces.

More formal naming e.g. نجل [scion] instead of 'son' and group labelling alternatives, e.g. حاشية [retinue] in reference to private sector businessmen instead of the negative and possibly pejorative محاسيب/أزلام [private sector cronies]. It is noteworthy that the Western othering discourse of Mubarak's regime repeatedly associate him and his retinue with this anti-capitalism ideology of *crony capitalism*. It is not only a matter of formality or objectivity of the news report that is at stake

here, but also a resistant reading of the ST's allusion to the imposed Western ideology due to the dynamic in-group/out-group socio-political orientations and affiliations. This world news report was published in February 2011 during which the Egyptian army was the main power in the country and won peoples' trust because it was expected to help with the removal of the then Egyptian president. In TT63 and TT68 this positive view of the army is reflected in the choice of الجيش [the army] to replace *the military* (ST63 and ST68) instead of the pro- Brotherhood choice العسكر [the military] which suggests an anti-military stance (cf. Chapter Seven). Group affiliations are dynamic and change according to the socio-political situation and the discourse community shared knowledge. Additionally, selecting *scion* and *retinue* makes Mubarak appears like a president who might be succeeded by someone similar. Although the ST treats the army as an out-group, TT shifts like these also mitigate the army's negative qualities as if they are not part of the targeted *cronies* or the neutral *retinue* who will ensure that their interests are not affected at any price. In short, within the TT context, the Egyptian government's corruption due to the close relationship between power and capital forms part and parcel of the overall ideological mind-set of the discourse of regime change that mobilised the Egyptian revolution.

Mubarak as well as Tantawi—labelled as *Mubarak's poodle*—are represented as *old* men (the latter at 85, even older than the President) in both the ST and TT. This representation of the out-group (ancien régime Arab presidents during the Arab spring) is typical of *The Guardian* Western news discourse which represented ST mid-group and TT in-group of rebels/revolutionaries as young, mostly unemployed, educated and probably secular, and thus fit for regime change and rebuilding the future. Other invocations include *a decidedly **ancient** regime* (ST60), ***ancient** regime* (ST67), ***old** dictatorship* (ST67), ***old** balance of powers* (ST67). The parallel discursive ideological representation of negative old versus positive young probably stems from the French secular left ideology of aging regimes and young revolutionaries. It is also reflect the liberal policy of humanitarian intervention in undemocratic states. The revolutionaries (men and women) are frequently represented as young and their ages are given despite the fact that providing age details is a conventional journalistic practice. Even the Arab Spring political parties receive a similar evaluation, e.g. ***nascent** parties,* ***fledgling** Tunisian workers' party*, (ST66).This evaluation (judgement token: -capacity) loses its negative tone in the

translated version, e.g. ST66: the *fledgling* Tunisian workers' party TT66: العمال حزب التونسي/الفتـي BT66: the *young* Tunisian workers' party.

Last but not least, the good and bad evaluations of this liberal secular discourse are strikingly invoked by graduation inscriptions. Quantity items (many vs. few) can (re)produce positive and negative ideologically oriented evaluations, repositioning the writer's stances according to their socio-political purposes. For example, quantity and intensity infusions create a negative prosody of the evaluation of multiple Tunisian political parties, their candidates, and even the numerous factions within the Islamist current, e.g. *a soup*, *a broad* church, *the spectrum*, *bewildering array*, *scores*, and *myriad.* The co-text of these infusions is negative and it is further enhanced by Associate (compared to the *short lived explosion* of parties in *post Franco-Spain*) which alludes to Spain's transition from a dictatorship to a a constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy. Although the ST is apparently siding with the Islamists (*Mr Gannouchi's En-Nahda is at the liberal end of this spectrum*), these discourse structures show that the reverse is utterly true (*The Islamist movement is a broad church ranging from global jihadis, Salafis, Hamas and Hizbollah, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt to Recep Erdogan's AKP in Turkey*). Hence, the ST's choice *a broad church* is not at all an arbitrary selection as the foundation of the discourse of secularism is the separation between Church and State in which the former stands as a symbol for religious authority. Generally speaking, Arabic culture and discourse is able to construct negative and positive quantity meanings, i.e. many (bad) versus few (good), e.g. the popular saying والرجال انت رجل قليل [lit., you are a real man and real men are few (hard to find)]. There are also other positive and negative occurrences of *many* and *few*, as in *the interests of many over the few* where *many* (good) stands for the Egyptian people and few (bad) for the regime elites.

8.4 *Newsweek* Discourse in Translation

8.4.1   Arabic Probability Modals as Translated Discourse Decisions
Qad and laqad

Laqad is less frequent than *qad* and it is most frequently used as a translation of the present perfect tense. In its less frequent modal sense, laqad expresses emphasis.

Qad refers to low possibility (concession) when followed by but, replacing concessive *might* and *may* (ST25;ST37).It also occurs in conditional clauses (TT26)

as an alternative to *may* (ST26) to express low possibility (assumptions).Other senses include desirable possibility (ST36: you[Obama] *might* be surprised by what we will give); warning (ST29: *could*); low possibility (ST33: *may*); expectation (ST38:*may*; ST39:*could*); suggestion (desirable possibility) falling in the scope of hope (ST25: hope…*might*). Therefore *qad* behaves approximately like *La'alla* which is infrequent in Newsweek discourse. *La'alla* in its non-modal sense (reasoning) is added to the ST(ST30) and reduces the ST's *probably* (ST45).

Rubbama and Yumkin

Rubbama as an alternative of *may* denotes low possibility equivalent that of concessive *qad* (ST26;ST33; ST42). *Yumkin*, on the other hand, replaces *can, could* and *might* in their general possibility meaning (ST42;ST35). These instances occur in question and answer sequence and they may create modal synegies throughout the text to guide interpretation. Consider the following sequence (ST42): How Obama *can* fix our runaway government?; How *might* a Democratic president go about establishing himself as a limited government liberal?; Obama *could* identify with wiser government. The modals can, might, and could enabled the ST producer to disguise his opinion in the form of *guidance*. *Yumkin* combines the objective possibility and guidance meanings. However, the translation of *might* as yastati' (can in its ability sense) failed to capture the comprehensive meaning of *yumkin* which is positioned as a compromising political stance.

The Probability degrees of qad in Newsweek Arabic are summarised below.

High	Median	Low
Rubbama	*yumkin* *min al-mumkin*	*Rubbama* *Qad*

Sa and Sawfa

Like the BBC and the Guardian, occurences of *sa* in the Newsweek are more frequent than those of *sawfa* and they have a range of functions. While *sa* is interrogative, continuous, and expresses prediction and plans, both *sa* and *sawfa* are used for threats/warnings. Also, *sa* falls in the scope of emphatic particles in order to express certainty (ST39: *will surely*; TT39: *la shakka fi anna… sa*). Then, *sa* (inform) is not as emphatic as sawfa (confirm).

8.4.2 Biased Discursive Representations of Conflict Participants, Ideologies, and Events and Their Translation Divergences

8.4.2.1 War on Terror in News DiscourseTranslation

The apparently neutral concepts of *young, medieval, traditional, old* and *modern* are central to the ideological square discursive representations of ST and TT groups and their underlying ideologies. The ideational judgment tokens, *young* and *old*, invoke different evaluations for different socio-political cultures.

In *The BBC,* both *young* and *modern* (modern revolutions/ modern anarchy) are bad while *old is* both a positive evaluation (the *subtle* Islamic states of the past, *old* Islamic states, *medieval* tradition) and an indirect negative one (*old* regimes). *In The Guardian* STs and TTs, *young* is good, while *old* is bad. In their American counterpart, on the other hand, the judgement pattern, *young*, is bad (young Islamists) whereas *old* is both good (American *tradition* of religious tolerance; *mature* democracies) and bad (old regime [the Iranian regime]; ST24: the *old belief* [Muslims]; ST27: the *old Soviet bloc*; ST35: the *old ethnically based Daley machine* finished off by the blacks).

As the *BBC* aspires to appear as balanced as possible, it uses apparently neutral labels for the Arab revoultionaries. The Arab *rebels* or *protesters* are represented as rebellious children of the state *revolting/uprising/protesting against old regimes*. However, despite its anti-old regime stance, *the BBC* depicts the Arab spring youth as unorganized or incapable of winning elections (-capacity). Besides, Isis is portrayed as *modern* and likened to modern revolutions or, to put it in the *BBC*'s words, 'modern chaos' rather than as emulating the *old* Islamic state in Spain. *BBC Arabic*, as previously observed (cf.Chapter Six), resists and reverses this ideological representation by depicting Isis as neither *modern* nor *old* owing to the different group orientations and ideologies in the TT context (Pan-Arab [+modern] and Islamic [+old]).

Newsweek discourse, on the other hand, represents Islamist *youth* as irrational,immature, and incompetent (infantilisation of Islamist jihadis). The Iranian regime's negative evaluation (old regime) is polarised to the positive evaluation of the West (ST: the modern world). As an old regime, it is neither advanced nor open to the modern world (*Beyond the regime* Iranian people are sophisticated...). *Young* has been selected to mitigate Obama's *lack of accomplishment*, i.e. Deemphasize

Our ingroup negative capacity (ST31 title: *a Young* man in a Hurry) in the first year of his term. In other words, his lack of accomplishment is due to his *young* age. Even when *young* is used in a positive light in the *Newsweek* data, it is linked to *maturity*. Therefore, *the Iranian people* (*Newsweek*'s med-group), who are supposed to rebel against a *theocratic Iranian regime*, are seen as *the rising generation of young Iranian adults*. That is to say, *young* is good when the target of appraisal is the Iranian regime (old) and its people (modern), i.e. the underlying political ideology is that of liberal regime change and anti-political Islam. *This children of the state representation* is reproduced by *Newsweek* as the way the Iranian regime treats its people: *children in the care of a paternal priesthood*. Being *young* (immature) is, thus, disapproved of by *Newsweek* discourse.

Al-Qaeda, Taliban, and Pashtun *fighters* or even dehumanised *elements* are represented as children who cannot be appeased; they are *constantly agitated*; ready to *die in jihad;* seeking revenge; have no hope of going back; *do not accept city changes*; backwards/old-fashioned sticking to *an age-old code of conduct* (ST38, ST40). The American discourse belittling the Afghani fighters is signposted by the bold font subheading of ST38 (***Turning the Taliban***): "***Pacifying** insurgents with money and jobs is central to our strategy in Afghanistan. It is also misguided.*" *Pacifying*, which can be used to denote the way adults treat children, suggest their childlike and angry behaviour (a judgment token: −tenacity). *Pacifying* also suggests that the implied agent (Americans or the US government) is *a peace maker* while the Islamist fighters *do not want to make peace* (ST38), typical of the elite political discourse of a system of government that calls one of its nuclear weapons the Peacekeeper. By the same token, the following in-text phrase *luring away* (***luring away** thousands of Taliban with jobs and money*) invokes negative tenacity (they can be easily deceived or brainwashed like children) and negative propriety (they can be attracted by worldly things).

The occurrences of these judgment tokens (infantilisation of the Other) and their translations manifested in the various core and noncore alternatives related to children and their treatment (out-group) (see Table 8.) are a case in point. The lexical choices *toddlers, kid, boy* and *child* usually trigger a compassionate attitude towards the target of evaluation. In some contexts, *boy* and *kid* reveal social

intimacy. The negative tendency of the American ideological representation is not carried over to the Arabic TT.

Table 8.7 judgment tokens

Target of evaluation	ST	BT
ST38:Taliban members	Taliban fighters proudly speak of many civilians who took up arms after *an elder sibling's* death in battle.	
ST38 AlQaeda faction	*wean the Pashtun*	*keep them away*
ST32 AlQaeda member	*a Nigerian kid who's been spending time in Yemen*	*Nigerian adolescent (between teenage and adulthood)*
ST41 AlQaeda Nigerian member and his father	*the boy's father* *that father*	*the youth's parent* *this parent*
ST41 AlQaeda Nigerian member	*his child*	*his son*
ST32: Islamists	These include four men*: an* Afghan *man*, Jordanian *teenager,* a Boston area man	Arresting 4 people: an Afghan *man,* an alleged attempt by a Jordanian *teenager*, alleged plot in Dallas area

The word *toddlers* lost its disparaging tone when transferred into the general *little children* in TT37. As such, the translation can trigger a negative reading of the ST alluding to the human rights of would-be terrorists. The infantilising tone of *wean* (ST29) is also lost in the TT. Instead of the pejorative *kid* (ST32), فتى [adolescent/youth] is used to denote the young man's age. Although selecting the *boy's* father (ST41), the ST writer appears to be compassionate with the *would-be Christmas bomber,* and his *father*, the discourse of *Newsweek* suggests an overall disapproving stance towards the Al-Qaeda and the other Islamists. On the contrary, the translation of *father* into والد [parent] reflects an even more favourable stance towards *the boy's father*, as it is more formal and shows more respect. Still, unlike أب [biological or non-biological father], والد [only biological father] denotes neither upbringing nor father-son special and close relationship. Despite the fact that *father* has the same positive meanings of caring and loving in the American-English (Christian) discourse, the TT's subtle distinction may not hold for *father* and *parent* in English as displayed by their dictionary meanings. As a result, the Arabic version choice places no responsibility upon the *father* for his son's actions (attempted bombing). The next occurrence, *fathers,* in the same ST is a generic reference to American fathers who, in the writer's eyes, should act as *responsible* parents and

turn in *the terrorist next door* if *they have enough trust in America*. The translated version selection اباء (fathers) captures this meaning. The ST selections also imply the ST's positive tenacity of America (a trustworthy system and a fair nation).

ST41: To keep this country safe we need many more *fathers* and uncles and friends and colleagues to have enough trust in America that they too would turn in the terrorist *next door*.

The token *young* added in the TT reveals a different cultural stance in the Arabic discourse which views *young* as good, giving this Al-Qaeda member a less negative evaluation. The Western Islamist bombers are explicitly evaluated by negative co-text epithets, such as *amateurish* (−capacity), conforming to their overall naturalised representation in the ST discourse as an out-group. The other-ing, belittling and individualisation of *domestic terrorists* in ST discourse excludes this out-group from the in-group reporting their young age (*the 23-year-old*), original nationalities (*Nigerian*), and full personal names (*Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab*), or even listing their identities anonymously (*a Boston area man*, *a Jordanian teenager*) or generically (*the Abdulmattallabs and Major Hasans of this world*) (see Table).

Table 8.8 Individualisation and infantalisation of Islamists

ST26: Islamists	These include *four men*: an Afghan man, a Jordanian teenager, a Boston area man.	Arresting *4 people*: an Afghan man, an alleged attempt by a Jordanian teenager, alleged plot in Dallas area.
ST32: Islamists	All that, however, means that we are entering an especially dangerous phase in which individual *amateurish*, would-be terrorists like the *23-year-old Nigerian Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab* are going to crop up more and more	same (*would be* deleted)
ST32: Islamists	Counterterror officials will need to do a better job of engaging and deflecting *young Muslims* online.	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	At the same time it is essential to discredit AlQaeda ideology, which inspires the *Abdulmattallabs* and major *Hasans* of this world	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	The New York police worry that *David Headley*, who was arrested in Chicago and accused of conducting surveillance in advance of 2008's terrorist attacks, may also have cased potential targets in Manhattan.	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	So the media arm of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula claimed that "the martyrdom-seeking mujahid brother *Umar*	Maintained

	Farouk" tried to blow up Flight 253 in retaliation for US-backed strikes on terrorist targets in Yemen: "As you kill, you shall be killed."	
ST32: Islamists	as when *'shoe bomber' Richard Reid* couldn't manage to light the fuse on his explosive sneakers aboard a transatlantic flight in December 2001.	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	*'Lone wolves'* like U.S Major *Nidal Hasan* at Fort Hood, Texas, who killed 13 peole in November, or *Muslim convert Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad*, who allegedly killed a soldier at a recruiting office in Arkansas in June	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	*Qaeda affiliates and individuals* like Hasan are not so choosy: Nasser al-Wuhayshi, the leader of the Qaeda faction in Yemen, has called on his followers to bring terror to "residential complexes and subways" in America.	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	Similar anger encouraged *five young Muslim men* from northern Virginia to move to Pakistan a month ago and seek training from extremist groups along the border with Afghanistan	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	those small groups and individuals	Maintained
ST32: Islamists	That is why *some Guantanamo graduates* have wound up leading *terrorist cells*	Maintained
ST32 Islamists	"Lone Wolves"	Maintained
ST37	After *Nigerian Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab* attempted to bring down NorthWest Flight 253 on Christmas Day	Maintained

The token *old* is not consistently used with the same weight as *young* (infantilisation). However, the Pashtuns' (part of the ST out-group) lifestyle is appraised as *old-fashioned* (−normality: *an age-old code of conduct*), and resistant to social *change* (−normality: *do not accept social change*). The respective evaluations are preserved in the TT although the lay TT reader may not be familiar with the origins of this ideological term.

Western media commonsense representations of Islamists and Muslim women reproduced by the corpus STs concern their appearance and tribalism (*veils, long beards, tribal clothing, prayer mark*) and their submissive women (e.g. BBC *Islamist women marching a few meters behind men in a protest*), and their traditional Islamic education and discourse (e.g. *The Guardian* and *Newsweek*: *rote*

learning; *madrassa*; *religious madrassa*; *Gannouchi* **hammered home** *a moderate discourse*) uncover Western media prejudice as observed across the corpus data.

Such ideological cultural representations of Islamists which involve ideational content draw a biased image (Islamist backwardsness) of *Them* including the telling examples of dress code, social isolation, and social class of ethnic groups such as *ethnic Pashtuns* or *rural Pashtuns* (ST38). Notice the co-occurrences of quantifications (a few vs. most).

ST38: The Afghan capital is no longer a place where *rural Pashtuns* feel at home whether Taliban or not. Striking *in their distinctive large black turbans and kohl eyeliners* they are being harassed by police and mocked by passersby. *The city social transformation* is even hard for them to accept. *A few women still wear burqas* on the streets *but most simply wear headscarves long dresses and a covering robe. It's not uncommon to find young men and women walking together talking and sometimes touching. Some grocers sell beer and whisky even pork out the back door.*

The ideological square groups shift in the TTs, as the Americans become the out-group, as their bad things are emphasised and the Taliban becomes part of the in-group as their bad things are mitigated.

Newsweek's interchangeably used terms *insurgents* and *fighters* suggest detachment at first glance. However, these are battlefields labels while others such as *hard core believers*, *mujahideen groups*, and *jihad* signpost bias against the Islamic religion.

Though a conventional journalistic practice, ideational content like full Afghan name, age, it is combined with the appearance of a Taliban fighter and the explicit negative evaluative epithets to reach similar ideological aims (ST38).

ST38: *Assad Khan 32 a tall thin fighter with a long beard* turns *visibly agitated* when a *NEWSWEEK* reporter mentions *peace talks* and defections.

Newsweek rhetoric on the war on terror victimizes the United States by representing the Islamists in the US and abroad as a threat to the American homeland and the world (e.g. *Islamist threat, domestic terror, global terrorism, global jihadis*) to be countered by the US (counterterrorism), so that its military actions can be legitimised as acts of defence. To slightly reduce the domestic fear factor, the actions of ST out-group (domestic terrorists) is portrayed pejoratively as unaccomplished plots and failed attempts, and metaphorically realised as outbreaks of infection (*a **rash** of domestic terror plots*, *the **contagion** of Al Qaeda ideas*), other

serious ailments (*terror cells*) which attack the American homeland and from which they can recover, and aspiring bombers (*would-be/potential*).

Global terror (Afghanistan, Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, and Yemen) against the US *homeland*, on the other hand, requires *US-backed strikes* to deal with dehumanised *terror targets* or a *covert war* abroad, while Muslims are likened to bombs (dehumanised threat) (**defuse** *the Muslim hostility*; **defuse** the [AKP] coup rumours). *Newsweek* discourse is, then, selling Islamist xenophobia while pretending to do the reverse as displayed by one of the defensive titles of a ST: "*Don't Panic*" which implies and presupposes the need to counter *terror*, the emotional metaphor of war on Islamists in Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen and Pakistan.

Evocations such as *try, the attempt, efforts,* and *manage* combined with inscriptions and modality (*would-be, failed, almost succeeded*) depict the potential Islamist threats as unaccomplished or unsuccessful. As these belong to the ideational content, they can hardly be noticed let alone resisted by the translator. Nonetheless, as we have no access to the censoring or the editing processes of *Newsweek* it is difficult to draw further conclusions on resistant readings. Since these patterns contribute to the texture of the ST's out-group's negative prosody and, consequently, to the understanding of the ST writer's value position, it is important to raise translator awareness of their ideological functions.

Table 8.9 ST32 Judgment Tokens: Our Success vs Their Failure

ST32: A Thousand Points of Hate
Bad guys attack—or *try to* attack—closer to home
Then a Nigerian kid, who spent some time in Yemen takes a Christmas Day flight to Detroit and *tries to blow himself up* along with everyone on board.
All he *manages to* do is to ignite his chemical packed underpants. But the *attempt* unleashed a firestorm in the American media.
The story is not that *the would-be* bomber *failed*, it is that he *almost succeeded*
The surge in *efforts* to attack the United States over the last few months […] is in many ways a measure of *our success* on faraway battlefields no one is ever supposed to have heard of.
when Qaeda mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was *plotting* 'his second wave' of attacks against the United States.
As when shoe bomber *couldn't manage to* light a fuse on his explosive sneakers aboard a transatlantic flight in December 2001

All local and foreign al-Qaeda and the Taliban members are considered threatening, criminal, extremist, disorganised and belligerent: *terrorists, global jihadis, suicide bombers, guerrillas, insurgents, fighters, extremists* and *fanatics*. To avoid direct references to the terrorists' American identities and bring the threat closer to home,

metaphors such *home-grown* and *crop up* are used to represent local terrorists (*would-be terrorists [...] are going to crop up more and more*). Words like *home-grown* reflect anti-immigrant discourse ideologies. In the ST writer's eyes, America, Our home, is where the homegrown terrorists are nurtured (like plants), so we Americans will reap what we sow. The metaphor of farming is realised by other choices such as *cultivating* whereas non-local ones receive a different evaluation (e.g. *engaging and deflecting young Muslims online*). *Domestic bombers*, particularly, are recurrently represented as irrational (*a **crazed** individual operating independently*), Muslim converts, individuals/small groups (*lone wolves, individuals and small groups*), American though *going back to their **fathers'** lands* or coming from specific ethnic groups (*young Somali Americans*), namely, African (Somali, Nigerian), South Asian (Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Jordan, Yemen), or Asian (Afghan, Pashtun, Pakistan). That is, the domestic bombers are given out-group identities and their domestic threat is reduced by labelling and quantification. The following patterns, lexical and modal choices, victimising us and criminalising the other, then, make sense in this news discourse and its texts on the US War on Terror.

Ethnicity/nationality
terror launched *from South Asia*, Then a *Nigerian* kid, *who spent some time in Yemen* takes a Christmas Day flight to Detroit and *tries to blow himself up* along with everyone on board, Al Qaeda in *the Arabian Peninsula based in Yemen*, receive training *in Yemen*, terror home and abroad *in Iraq and Afghanistan, those in Somalia and Yemen*
Threats
US counterterror officials; counterterrorist; counterinsurgency; countering Islamist threat; radical Islamist threat to American security […] at home and in Afghanistan; we face a threat from one faith in particular; global terrorism, global jihadist ideology; the surge in efforts to attack the United States; none has brought the shadow of war in Magadishu back, but the potential is there; to the extent that the idea takes root among the affiliates, the US homeland will become more of a target; potential terrorists; would-be jihadis; would be bombers; would-be Christmas bomber; a suicide bomber

Negative group alternative labels, such as *cronies, minions* and *ilk* are only assigned to the Islamists—the main out-group of the American *Newsweek* discourse (*Osama Bin Laden and **his minions*** (ST29), *Khalid Sheikh Mohammad and **his cronies*** (ST32)*, Al-Qaeda and **its ilk*** (ST40)). All these polarised out-group (negative grouping) labels are mitigated in the respective TTs: *followers* (BT29) and *the like* (BT38) or deleted (BT32). This reveals a resistant translation and repositioning of TT writer attitude, uncovering changing group affiliations in the TT discourse. To put it simply, the Islamists (Al-Qaeda and its leaders) are part of the receiving culture in-group and, accordingly, our (TT) bad things are mitigated. In comparison,

in both the ST and TT discourses, the US and *its allies*, *US-backed* strikes/attacks are mitigated references to the ST discourse in-group, namely the US and the Western countries to countering terror.

TT in-group mitigations of the ST out-group labels are illustrated in Table .

Table 8.10 Islamist and Arab representations in original and translated texts

Text	Target	ST	BT
32	Taliban	insurgents (5), ex-insurgents (1), insurgency(3)	rebels, rebellion
	Taliban	Mullah Omar's self-proclaimed Emirate	declared emirate
	Taliban	Fight	Battle
	Taliban	madrassa	religious madrassa
29	Al Qaeda	insurgents, guerrillas	rebels, rebels
	Al Qaeda	global jihadist ideology	all-inclusive jihadist ideology
	Al Qaeda	the suicide bomber	the bomber
32	Al-Qaeda and affiliates	their aspiring death angels	their mujahid
26	Islamism	militant Islamism	religious extremism
	Iraqis	their conflict	their struggle
	Iraqis	counter-insurgency	anti-rebellion
	Iraqis	Conflicts	Struggle

8.4.2.2 US and US military action discursive representations

The US is recurrently represented as the *homeland*, depicting it as "the state as self" (Lakoff, 2001). The metaphorical image is preserved with a few exceptions:

ST: go into *the homeland*.
BT: go to *their land*
ST: *homeland* security
BT: *national* security

Although the TT's *national* portrays the state as *self/one* and turns a blind eye to the lower classes, the ST's *homeland* is both metaphorical and patriotic.

The American Government and security, on the other hand, are metaphorically labelled as *the American system*. This system has faults (*American defences are faulty*) and failures (*systematic **failure***). It works like a machine (If the system is ***broken***). From the ideological square-appraisal perspective, this is a mitigation of Our ingroup negative capacity. It is not a regime to be changed or a threat to be contained (-capacity,-tenacity-normality,-veracity, and -propriety) like the *Iraqi* and *Iranian regimes* in a further allusion to the French Revolution's political concept of *ancien régime*. It is neither a *self-proclaimed Emirate* (-veracity) like the Taliban leadership nor *a terror group* (-propriety) like Al Qaeda or its affiliates. The *system*

elites (in-group politicians and presidents) make *unintended mistakes* (ingroup negative capacity mitigation). Variations of the unmarked/core item *mistake* include social/diplomatic mistakes, i.e. *serial **gaffes*** of a Republican party member (Sara Palin), technical intervals, i.e. *momentary **lapse** in* (Democrat) *"leadership"* (Obama), or stupid/clumsy/careless ***blunder*** and ***fumble*** (Clinton). As *Newsweek* was a supporter of Obama, his mistake is not viewed as misjudgement (*mistake*) and unlike Palin's *gaffes*, it is not usually part of his public character or social habits (public speech and diplomacy). Clinton's mistakes (*blunder* and *fumble*) evaluate his progress, his skills as a public speaker and a political player. *Blunder* is a movement mistake (to move clumsily or carelessly), a speech mistake (to say stupidly, clumsily, or confusedly), or an involuntary mistake (a foolish or stupid mistake) (Collins online dictionary). *Fumble* is a clumsy awkward hand movement in search for something, a speaking mistake (fumble for the right words) and a sporting (handball) mistake (fumble the ball) (Collins online dictionary). Freedom of speech is at the heart of American socio-political life regardless of partisan orientation while progress reflects liberalism rather than any other political ideology. Newsweek discourse, then, evaluates Clinton's skills, i.e. how he speaks, skilfully moves or handles things as (libral) political player and a public speaker.

Likewise, the value rich word ***backlash*** has been strategically employed in a negative prosodic wave saturating the text (ST44) emphasising the Republicans' negative tenacity (e.g. ***hysterical repudiation*** of anything President Obama has done or wants to do; [Rep King] ***hysterical overreaction***; Republicans ***hammering*** Obama; ***macho rhetoric***; ***the tough guy bluster*** Rep King ***lambasting*** Obama). Likewise, the Rebublican (Bush-Cheney) discourse is evlauted in a negative light (the *old rhetoric* of global confrontation and clashing civilizations; *hysterical rhetoric* is the stuff of daily discourse) in ST32.

Backlash denotes a strong reaction of two parts of a system (See Collins Online Dictionary), thereby mitigating the ingroup's (The United States System) incapacity and emphasising Our ingroup rivals' (Republicans) negative tenacity. This invoked token, thus, delegitmises the Republicans' stance on the size of government and emphasises its liberal Democrats' counterpart. Consider how the Republican and liberal Democrats stances are polarised by prosodic interpersonal meaning (*backlash* synynoms) in the following extract (ST44):

> Politically *the backlash* against expanding centralised government is hardly a new problem for the Democrats. In 1930, FDR *faced a largely class based reaction* to <u>the New Deal's extension of Washington role</u>... In the 1960s, Lyndon Johns *was confronted with a racially tinged reaction* to the use of federal power to fight poverty and advance civil rights... Even now after fear of excessive public sector growth provoked *an agenda stalling backlash*.

The above mentioned interpersonal prosody consists of alternatives of **backlash**, as well as **faced** and **confronted with**, and *the New Deal* (liberal value rich word) which conceal the longstanding two-sided bipartisan competition and reveal a pro-liberal agenda stance. The negative co-text epithets of *backlash* (*class- based* and *racially- tinged*) refer to (elite white) racism and show traces of the value rich word's historical attitudinal nuances, i.e. *backlash* (negative judgement) is a conservative hostile reaction to the liberal stance (liberal reform programmes, especially since the New Deal) (See Gale Encyclopedia of American History). Furthermore, a number of similar tokenised occurences of *backlash* are prosodically realised across the discourse of the respective news platforms evaluating the conflict between Islamists and their Muslim and Arab goverments, namely **Isis backlash** (The BBC), **fundamentalist backlash** (The Guardian), **anti-government, or nationalist backlash** (Newsweek).However, *backlash* is explicated and its attitudinal tones are missing in the translated versions.

The war the US launched on Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Yemen is euphemised to avoid responsibility or criticism. It becomes *a war of necessity* (Obama) on *faraway battlefields*. News discourse (2010) supported a proxy war described in ST32 as *a battle against terrorists [...] fought in the shadows or far away, US-backed*, *American forces or at least American weapons are involved*. It was also described as *covert* (2) and ideological: *a war of ideas* against AlQaeda; *the war for Muslims' hearts and minds*, while *deflecting young Muslims online* eventually led to the Arab Spring and regime change.

Of these the terms *faraway battlefields* and *battle* also belong to the religious register of the Bible on the Lord-led battle of Babylon in which the Medes are depicted as troops sent by God from faraway lands in the North to destroy the Babylon city and slaughter its king like lambs, goats, and rams, decimate its army, kill its young men and children, and violate its women. Recall the worldwide witnessed execution of Saddam Hussein, the former Iraqi president, on one of the

days of Eid al-Adha.[3] More delicate are the references to the threatened flights and the US skies (ST32: *Christmas Day flight to Detroit, transatlantic flight, Flight253*), since civilian casualties are not repeated with as much frequency.

To mitigate the negativity of the US War on Terror the war is portrayed as overt and covert airborne revenge and defense. The potential threat which targets *the skies* of America (New York, Michigan, Detroit) necessitates defence and revenge: (*US-backed strikes, helicopter-borne commando raid, airstrikes, a Predator hit, American airborne attacks, remote-controlled attacks, Clearly, some of America's defences are faulty, But the best defense remains smart discreet, devastating offense, "don't flinch and keep buying your Predators"*). The metaphorical depiction of the US as *a vengeful god* (*We can carry out remote controlled attacks that hit Al Qaeda's core leadership and its followers like the wrath of **a vengeful god***) invokes positive veracity and propriety of the ST's in-group (*America's **just** war on terror*) uncovering a religious ideology lurking behind this war. *The **wrath** of a vengeful god* reverberates with other metaphorical choices (e.g. *public anger, domestic media firestorm, political firestorm*) emphasising the in-group feelings (ingroup Affect: dissatisfaction and insecurity) and portraying the US as a divine superpower (ingroup superiority: +capacity). In other words, the power of nature is itself a metaphor of the power of God. It could then be a biblical allusion to Babylon as Lincoln is quoted (ST26): *"We pray to be on the side of God".*

The war actions are also indirectly represented (*special operation missions, aggressive operations in the shadows, Predator strikes* along the Afghan-Pakistani border, those in Yemen and Somalia are *the target of mounting attacks by America's regional allies and sometimes directly by American weapons and forces*), in order to dehumanise the enemy and mitigate their ground engagement or dehumanise the agent (*sometimes by American weapons and forces; killed by drone attacks*). A sports register metaphor further dehumanises and defines the American War on Terror as a *game* (e.g. *We all have to understand that this is a very dangerous **game**—and more than ever when it gets close to being won*).

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[3] This is a religious festival celebrated annually by Muslims when lambs or rams are slaughtered to commemorate Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his own son in obedience to God's command and the subsequent divine intervention to prevent this from occurring.

The occupation of territories and withdrawal from occupied lands are likened to natural phenomena (an ideological square mitigation strategy), metaphorically realised as a force of water or natural supplies/resources, e.g. *surge* (ST28, ST29, ST32,ST38), *influx* (ST29),and *drawing down* (ST29). The instability of the Islamists homelands is intensified by the climate metaphor and the US occupation is mitigated by the medical expertise metaphor (ST29: ***more troops injected into the current climate*).** Presence and departure is normalised to further mitigate the occupation: US *presence* (ST28, ST29), *hard exit* (ST28), *soft exit* (ST28), *leave, are leaving* (ST28). There are, however, three occurrences of the concept of *occupation* (ST32). Two are reported as extremist [Al Qaeda] propaganda (e.g. ***to argue that*** *the US is bent on the unending* ***occupation of that country*** [Afghanistan], *their lands are* ***occupied***) while another is traced back to the former (Bush) administration (e.g. ***the occupations*** *he [Obama] inherited*) implying a mere prolongation of the surge strategy due to Bush and Obama's *war of necessity* (ST28).

The translation decisions reveal that the intensity (force) of the natural phenomena metaphors is problematic. US military terms, such as *surge*, mitigate the negative evaluation of military action (ST's in-group bad things) and its consequences in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Surge* is repeatedly rendered as an increase in the number of American soldiers/troops (explication). *Surge* collocates with *troops* to mitigate the in-group's negative actions. The label *troops* is treated variably as *troops* and *soldiers*, but more frequently as *soldiers* suggesting a translator's resistance reading to that of the STs. In the same vein, the mitigated in-group military action (a sacred duty to *drive out the invaders*) is emphasised (*expel the occupiers*) in TT38. The resistant reading also appears in the reduced force of the ST military terms in the TT29:

ST: Influx
BT: a growth in soldiers' numbers
ST: drawing down
BT: reducing

Other ST non-core choices obscure the US direct responsibility for the war actions and its recent consequences (ST32: *dragged into another overt war*). The troops are stuck in Iraq and Afghanistan and must be saved from a difficult situation or a trap (*extricating*). The ST ideological nuances are lost in the TT as their intensity is downplayed (*eventually drawn and drawing*).

ST32:   Obama must not let the United States get *dragged* into *another overt war* and must continue *extricating* American *troops* from the *occupations* he inherited.

American victory (ingroup superiority) in their war on the Islamists is boosted by non-core items: *like the **wrath** of a vengeful god* (BT32: the wrath of a vengeful god); *blasting away* at (BT32: targeting). Al Qaeda fighters are ***decimated*** (BT32: annihilated); *obliterated* (BT32: eliminated completely), and face an *onslaught* (BT32: attack), whereas the Iranian regime is *battered* by internal dissent and external pressures (BT32: are increased). The use of two items (*the **wrath** of a vengeful god* and *blast away*) is not arbitrary, as with the amalgamation of *airstrikes, a helicopter raid, a Predator hit, Predator strikes*, etc. it reproduces a Conservative (Christian) ideology reflected in the following New Testament verse: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who by their unrighteousness suppress the truth" (Romans, 18:1). This representation of the Islamists alludes to those who, according to the Bible, deserve the wrath of God, i.e. the rebellious covenant people who did not want to believe in Christ and attacked him or wanted to *destroy the temple of God* as in the Old Testament story of Babylon. The Islamists rebelling against the US in Afghanistan, the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq are called terrorists, fanatics, radicalised, and so on. Whether the translator is aware of this embedded theological allusion or not, it is hidden from the lay TT reader.

Although the label *god* is not capitalised, the writer associates the US War on Terror with Christian beliefs to invoke positive in-group veracity (*a just war*). That is, the American war is seen as a right and just punishment from heaven. One definition of *blast* is to "strike with divine anger" (*Oxford Living Dictionaries Online/North American English*), while *blast away* means "to discharge a weapon, especially repeatedly; shoot" (*American Heritage Dictionary Online*). *Blast* also refers to "a violent gust of wind" or its effects (*Merriam Webster Dictionary Online*). These three senses denote divine anger, dehumanised targets, and forces of nature. The TT neutral equivalent of *blast away* (BT32: targeting) captures only one of these subtleties interrupting the ST strings of intensified graduation, and ideational meaning (association) that position the ST writer's worldview.

Newsweek selects the English capitalised label *God* which is translated in terms of Us (Muslims and Arab) versus Them (Western Christians) ideological groups. If a general reference is made to God, then the term الله [Allah] is preferred. Thus, ST41:

God knows; TT41: الله اعلم/BT41: *Allah* knows best; ST39: *God* forbid TT39: لاسمح الله
BT39: *Allah* forbid); and ST33: in the name of *God* TT33: باسم الدين BT33: in the
name of *religion*. When the term 'God' refers to God in Western Christianity
(Them), the translation is الرب [the Lord]. When it refers to God in Islam (Us) the
proper name *Allah* is used. It is the same God but the difference, according to
Islamic culture (cf. Chapter Eight), is between Muslims worshiping Allah (Islamic
duties and submission to God) and Western Christians who have the same God (the
Lord), but worship Him in a different way. *The Lord*, in the eyes of Islamic
scholarship, is one of the names of Allah. It means that He provides sustenance to all
his creations regardless of worship requirements.

ST26: "And instead of claiming *God* for our side, we remember Lincoln's words, and
always pray to be on the side of *God*."
BT26: "And instead of claiming that *the Lord* is on our side, we remember Lincoln's
words and pray to be on the side of *the Lord*."

In a nutshell, Allah is seen as Our God (Us); the Lord is ours and everyone else's
(Them) in the TT. The choice may also unravel political polarisation as the proper
name, Allah, has been used before Islam in the Arabian Peninsula by Christians,
Jews, and others. Even biblical translators had to attend to oriental or Arab
Christians who refer to God using the names Allah and the Lord interchangeably.

By the same token, definitions of relevant sensitive value rich words such as *faith*
and *religion* cause shifts in the TT worldview. Hence, *faith* is transferred into *deen*
[religion] despite the negative context (*We are threatened by **one faith** in
particular*). The concept of *faith* carries the ST's Christian theology *"unquestioning
belief that does not require proof or evidence"* (*Collins American English Online
Dictionary*) while *deen* refers to "*obedience*" (*Lisan Al-Arab Dictionary*). While the
ST views the Islamists as those who take their beliefs for granted without
questioning them (the Other as irrational), the TT views Islamic beliefs as duty or
worship (mitigate TT in-group negative things).

8.4.2.3 Non-Core Words and Negative Intensity and Qunatity Infusions
Despite having more time for translating and editing than the BBC and *The
Guardian*, the *Newsweek* TTs usually explicate or ignore non-core words suggesting
that the *Newsweek* translators are not fully aware of these challenging patterns and
their fine nuances. For instance, *gaffes* is transferred into the more general neutral
اخطاء [mistakes], thus, missing the ST's more specific negative evaluation of the in-

group member's (Sarah Palin) misunderstandings which are viewed by the ST writer as *serial **gaffes.***

The non-core verb *unleash* (***unleash** forces that cannot be controlled*), augmenting the negative evaluation of the ST's out-group (the moderate Arab States, and AlQaeda and its affiliates) is preserved. Moreover, *unleash* means releasing "as from a leash" and this sense depicts the Other as an inhumane, irrational, and violent force that cannot be controlled and, thus, it should be controlled by Us (the humanitarian, rational West). However, it loses its negative intensity via explication in most of its occurences in Newsweek discourse.

The same noncore word *unleashed* is explicated in TT27 [BT27: spread]. It is used to evaluate the Iranian regime alleged use of nuclear knowledge as irrational (ST27: The success of deterrence depends on rationality, and the more people with access to nuclear weapons increases the risk that irrationaility will enter the equation). That is, the token of dehumanisation and irrationality intensified by the noncore word is an indirect evaluation of the regime itself. Consider the allusion to the US foreign policy of containment in the following extract.

ST27: ... nuclear knowledge once *unleashed*, could not be *contained.*

Another occurrence of the word (*unleashes*) is toned down in TT32 [BT: triggers] evaluates the behaviour of an Islamist whose bombing "attempt *unleashes* a firestorm in the American media".

Negative infused quantity items such as *a rash of* [BT26: a series of], a spate of [BT45: a series of] , *a slew of* [BT: *an array* of] are delexicalised and explicated in the translated texts.The infusion, *a slew of*, evaluates negative domestic and foreign policies of the US such as visa restrictions and waterboarding. However, it alludes to navigation systems invoking the Self /Us superiority ideological discourse judgement token which saturates the Newsweek discourse in question. Nevertheless, this word loses this evaluative tone in the translated version.

8.5   Concluding Remarks

To conclude, unlike Mansour's (2013) findings on Arabic probability, *rubbama* and *qad* express both high and low possibility in the translated discourse of the news outlets under examination. The current data analysis results concur with the traditional Arabic grammarians' accounts on *rubbama* and *qad* degrees (reductive

and increased possibility). However, the data analysis sought to bridge the gap between classic and contemporary scholarly debates on these devices by showing that *rubbama*, *qad* and *yumkin* function as intersubjective devices of stance positioning in translated news discourse. Still importantly, *qad* and *rubbama* have developed a complementary relationship, especially when they replace *la'lla* in its desirable and undesirable possibility sense. Modal devises also function prosodically throughout the text and across the discourse providing clues for interpretation, since evaluation works as a system network. Thus, they cluster with inscribed and invoked attitude to impose certain socio-political ideologies. The difference between the political orientations of the BBC, The Guardian and Newsweek, for instance, is captured by the prosodic waves of entertain and ideational tokens in the following three headlines:

> ST05: Syria crisis *could* change the face of the Middle East
> ST67The Egypt's popular revolution *will* change the world
> ST44 Make it Stop. How Obama *can* fix our runaway government?

The BBC's (ST05) title resembles a centre to right foreign policy focusing on the Middle East (also *the region* and *the Arab world*). The BBC's TT05, on the other hand, opted for *qad* (reductive possibility+warning) instead of *yumkin* (pure median possibility) reducing the possibility of change in the Middle East due to the sensitivity of the Arab-Israeli conflict.The selection of the word *face* represents the Middle East as a threat the West has to face. The Guardian's headline, in turn, reflects its explicitly articulated centre to left leaning, reproducing a liberal regime change ideology through the selection of the future modal (insistence) device (will) and the ideational token (change the world). The TT maintains the modal meaning of insistence by picking *sawfa*. The Newsweek's title and subheading adopt a similar strategy by packing its liberal reform ideology pertaining to the size of government in the form of a demand disguised as an imperative (Make it Stop), a modal verb expressing suggestion (ST44 can; TT44 yumkin), ideational (fix) and inscribed attitude (our runaway Government).The use of the pronoun, *our* and the analytical question word *how* further expose the writer's authoritative position in the discourse community.That is, evaluation saturates these clauses and works as a network of lexicogrammatical choices. Of these, *fix* is tellingly a mitigation of Our (United States) system faults and an Orientalism's frame of the superior self and inferior Other.

The news discourse of the three news outlets employed more *sa* than *sawfa*, since in addition to the information packaging function reported in the literature, *sa* complements *sawfa* in some restricted syntactic environments (e.g interrogatives) and it has a range of functions overlapping with those of *sawfa*. The Guardian discourse concentrates on hopes and future possibilities for fledgling democracies when representing the Arab spring and its revolutionaries and it utilizes *sa* and *sawfa* to express such *hopes* and *utopian possibilities*. However, the affect category of satisfaction and dissatisfaction (*hope* and *grinding lack of hope*) itself reveals a concealed elite western media representation practices (Africa as *a hopeless place*) *problematising poverty, tribalism, ignorance, and unemployment* to achieve its own foreign policy goals and to serve a liberal agenda. The news discourse of the selected media outlets criminilise the Palestinian side of the Middle East conflict. For instance, the Guardian's title (ST65: Egyptian Uprising Enables a Jailed Hamas Militant to Escape) focuses on the negative propriety of the Palesinian activist while its TT avoids a possible negative audience response by reversing this evaluation into a token from the Guardian liberal discourse of hope which can work both ways, i.e. it packs a liberal hope and pan-Arab freedom agendas (BT65: The Egyptian Revoultion Gives the Palestinians Hope for Freedom).

The BBC (2009-2014) discourse evaluative selections a reflect both conservative and liberal mainstream orientation. They show a conservative orientation towards past traditions and modern revolutions (pro-tradition and anti-modern revolutions) The Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties (2010-2016) formed a coalition that rose to power following the Labour Party's election defeat in May 2010 and this roughly coincides with the covered time frame of our BBC corpus (2009-2014). The BBC's evaluation of Arab spring revolutions and Arab and Islamist revolutionaries ranges between neutral and negative. Still, secular left ideologies exist in the current BBC corpus (pro-women liberation, pro-education, and anti-political Islam).
However, Islamists' terror is usually evaluated in a negative tone by western media regardless of party or institution affilitions. The BBC's elite discourse on the war on terror represents Islamist terrorists as instigators of *fear* (ST19: *the most formidable* militia movement) and sources of *threat* (ST11: a policy that will *blew up* in our face). It also selects both neutral and intensified negative attitude patterns to evaluate Islamists (AlQaeda, the Brotherhood, Isis, and the like). While neutral labels such as *fighters* or *insurgency* show a centrist orientation, negative group

alternatives such as Qutb *deciples* reveal an underlying secular left rejection of the power of religious clergy. The BBC takes an intensified negative stance towards political Islam pluralism which is realized by a negative judgment token of the outgroup (Emphasise Their Negative Tenacity: they are divided). The token forms a negative interpersonal prosody, e.g. *sectarianism, sectarian hate*, *mosaic* and *patchwork*, in addition to the ingroup's (Syria and Lebanon) own polarised labels of its conflict groups, e.g. *Takfiri groups, Party of God, Party of Satan*.

As mentioned above, The BBC's stance on the Arab-Israeli conflict is in favour of the Israeli side. This has been disclosed by the Appraisal discourse analysis of indirect attitude tokens. Thw BBC depicts Israel as technologically superior and its war actions as defensive. Such positive ingroup judgment tokens have been realized by *Israeli Defence Forces, Israel's sophisticated Iron Dome anti-missile system, Israeli incursion, deterrence, Operation Pillar of Defence, Operation Cast Lead, air sorties, and air attacks*. The outgroup is armed, yet it is neither as organized and advanced nor defensive like Israelis, e.g. *rocket fire, firing long-range missiles, Hamas military infrastructure*. This bias is evident even in the unequal frequency of the lexical makers labelling the actions and weaponry of both parties.

The Guardian analysis displays an explicit liberal left to center bias (pro-regime change, pro-liberal humanitarian intervension, pro-Arab spring revoultions, pro-women rights, anti-political Islam pluralism, and anti-crony capitalism).However, Liberal and conservative positions are not clearly divided on social matters such as education, social security and domestic terror (Covert and Wasburn, 2009, p.xv). Liberalism is one of the political mainstream world-views. It values individual rights and future change. This political ideology lurks behind the positive evaluation of Arab spring young revolutionaries in the Guardian's discourse on the Arab spring which is penetrated by its western discourse ideological representations of Africa-*the hopeless place*. Probability has been employed to express the hopes of the revolutionaries and the future possibilities of the Arab spring, i.e. its utopian goals in the liberal creed.

Liberalism also advocates the foreign policy of humanitarian intervention, in order to export democratic peace to other undemocratic states which may become *fledgling democracies*. As a voice of western sponsors of fledgling democracies, the Guardian infantilises the Islamist and Tunisian parties (*the nascent* Ennahda party and the *fledgling* Tunisian worker party). In fact, the Guardian's evaluation of

Islamists is negative except Ennahda party whose negative evaluation is mitigated via positive western judgment tokens such as tolerant, secular, civilized, moderate, pro-women rights etc. Even when Islamist pluralism receives negative evaluation, Ennahda party is evaluated as "*the liberal end*". This anti-Islamist pluralism stance is reproduced by prosodic infusions of quantity and intensity at the texual level. Islamist's aggression, pluralism, and power of religious authority are intensified by such lexicogrammatical markers, e.g. the short lived *explosion* of parties, a broad *church*.

The Guardian's anti-old regime stance is reinforced by the Guardian's anti- crony capitalism ideology invoked by a negative group label, viz. Mubarak and *his cronies* alluding to private sector cronies. Liberalism and Cronyism are alternative economic systems. Liberalism is adopted when the government protects individual rights and individuals are allowed to voluntarily exchange resources. Cronyism, on the other hand, is practiced by the government when it exploits its political power to allocate resources to certain individuals (cronies) to gain support in exchange (Holcombe and Castillo, 2013, p.107). In this case, the government and those who suppert it are the cronies (ibid, p.108). From the liberal perspective, then, cronyism may harm the individual's rights.

Newsweek is a bipartisan US media outlet representing the political opinion in terms of the two mainstream conservative (the Republicans) and liberal (the Democrats) parties, but the data analysis shows that the liberal democrats, especially Obama and his administration are more likely to be positively represented than the Republican (liberal slanted). Newsweek's positive representation of Obama is motivated by its American ethnocentric reporting which overwhelmed US media by the 2008 election, for the Bush administration provoked anti-American sentiments among the public and media elites around the globe (Stromback, et al, 2011, p.275).

In this American ethnocentric discourse, the US is superior, so that its enemies are seen as inferior and vice versa. The word *system* is polarised analogously to the word *regime* (e.g. Iranian and Iraqi states). That is, it is part of an indirect judgment token which Deemphasises Our negative capacity and Emphasises Their negative capacity,tenacity, veracity, and propriety. The technologically advanced ingroup negative capacity is further reduced by a prosodic cluster of mistake/fault alternatives and system collocations. The Republicans' negative judgment is mitigated by focusing on their public speech (verbal capacity: verbal processes).

Likewise, the Israeli Prime Minister 's (Netanyahu) rhetoric is evaluated using an infused intensity marker, *bluster* (cf. Chapter Seven). Even the liberals' negative capacity gets mitigated as a speaker or player mistake (Clinton's *blunder* and *fumble*). These nuances are lost in the translation.

The domestic and foreign terrorists are infantilised conforming to one of western media negative representation of youth (incapacity, immaturity). Those who are termed terrorist are evaluated by negative media judgments (-capacity, and – propriety,e.g. irrational delinquents). The domestic irrational delinquents are also individualized. Thus, it can be concluded that the domestic Islamist youths are responsible towards their actions and, at the same time, Newsweek is infantilising the impact of their actions on America. Therefore, the liberal biased writer may encourage delinquency correction by reminding American individuals, namely fathers, friends and families, of their personal responsibility to report the terrorist next door.

The ideologies (Said's oriantalism, Kant's perpetual peace,and Mill's liberalism) underlying the infantilisation token of terrorists in Newsweeek discourse are related to the narrative of the liberal defensive wars of necessity that are much closer to Mill's philosophy of history as the progress from barbarianism to civilization. In both Said's and Mill's philosophy, the reasonable drive is *self-identification* (Singh, 2015) The western civilized *Self* is everything that the barbarian *Other* is not and vice versa. Liberal powers expand democractic change and intervention globally (Kant's *foedus pacificum*) to protect their own democracy and freedom from the danger of the undemocratic states (ibid). Nevertheless, perpetual peace is exported even *without the concent* of the undemocratic nations, i.e. Kant's liberal peace may require illiberal or imperial foreign policies (ibid). In these philosophies, the Other is "infantile and incapable of self governing " (Pitts, 2005, p.5). Thus, it needs a parental power help. These ideologies may shape foreign policy. Foreign policy was that of "regime change" even when the president was a Republican (Bush). Then Obama adopted a soft liberal policy and pursued the surge initiated by Bush, but he planned a withdrawal between 2009 and 2010 and put the Guantanamo prison issue into careful consideration. Despite their sarcastic tone, the Newsweek choices *wean, pat, pacify* (children) are not arbitrary in this context. Rather, they emphasise the mature Us vs the infantile Them of the liberal philosophy which also holds the social reform and less tough correction position on delinquency than the

conservative's "get tough" and "stop babying these kids" (Hess, 2009, p.336).That is, unlike the liberal stance, the conservative position is in favour of imprisonment as the primary solution for juvenile crime or delinquency prevention (ibid). *Pacify* references Kant's "pacific union" ideology held by liberals according to which they protect and supervise exported democracic process and its progress in weaker undemocratic countries.

9   Chapter Nine: Conclusion

This thesis has examined interpersonal meaning in political news discourse and its translation. The study's aim was to explore the (re)production of underlying polarised in-group and out-group ideologies via the evaluative meaning configurations in a variety of ST and TT journalistic articles from *the BBC*, *The Guardian*, and *Newsweek* with a range of topics.

The chosen methodology combined discourse and critical-analytical methods within the tradition of Descriptive Translation Studies. A framework based on Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory was employed to conduct a qualitative discourse-based analysis of specific inscriptions and evocations of attitude in a corpus of 69 media texts. The analysis focused on engagement (entertain), graduation (infused intensification and quantification) and invoked attitude (non-core words, naming, and value-rich words). This was complemented by van Dijk's ideological square (1989; 1991, 1998; 2004), in order to reveal ingroup and outgroup ideological representations in political news production and reproduction.

The literature on appraisal shows that evaluation has been analysed and studied in various spoken and written discourses and genres since it was first conceived by the Write Right programme as a means of improving children's writing skills. However, so far, to my knowledge, as noted in elsewhere in this work (section 4.3), this concept remains under-researched in Translation Studies, especially between English and Arabic and the present study represents a contribution towards bridging this research gap.

9.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

Having concluded the detailed analysis, it is now useful to return to the research questions and determine the extent to which they were answered by the results from the textual and discourse analysis presented and discussed in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight.

- **How are inscribed and invoked attitude employed to represent in-group and out-group ideologies in the source texts and their translations and to what extent can translation choices be attributed to socio-cultural or ideological factors?**

To answer this question, we focused on the textual realisations of interpersonal meaning within a single text as implemented in chapter 6 and its discourse realisations within and across the source and target discourses as discussed in chapters 7 and 8. The analysis of invoked attitude facilitated the detection of the reinforcement of invoked meaning via inscribed meaning, or what Martin and White (2005) called ''double coding''. It can be concluded that the model works most effectively at both the discourse and context levels, as the prosodic realisations accumulate within and across texts as well as discourse recreating axiomatic ideological representations. The news translators encountered some challenging evaluative patterns because of linguistic and/or cultural peculiarities. Nevertheless, the factors underlying the ST and TT evaluative choices are complex including domestic and foreign policy driven institutional conventions, contextual tendencies, group repositioning, conflicting orientalist and elite political ideologies, western media dominant representations, and translation difficulty.

As far as the analysis of appraisal as the linguistic realisation of the ideological square divisions is concerned, it becomes obvious that the in-group/out-group division proposed by van Dijk does not account for another group category, particularly, the median group. The Western discourse evaluation of this group is politically and ideologically oriented. It results from real life foreign policies such as proxy war, regime change, and humanitarian intervention (The Guardian's young Arab revolutionaries and Newsweek's Iranian people) or political ideologies and values (the BBC's conservative oriented evaluation of old Islamic states). This group cannot be assigned a full ingroup or outgroup membership due to its distinct group identity. However, its evaluation conforms to the ideological square evaluation of the ingroup. Thus, it is termed as median(med) group. The median group evaluation is activated, in order to invoke the outgroup negative evaluation, e.g. the BBC's affect-invoked negative judgment of Egyptian people and officials and appreciation-invoked negative judgement of Isis.The outgroup negative evaluation is not only inscribed, but also invoked. Nevertheless, this invocation is not merely meant to disguise the outgroup's negative things. Rather, it conceals biased political ideologies like the BBC's pro- Israeli, pro- normalisation, and anti-Egyptian biases or pro-conservative tradition and anti-modern revolutions.

a. What choices are made by translators when translating modal meaning and graduation between different socio-political contexts? What functions do these choices play in these contexts?

The answer to this question rests on the principle that evaluative choices are not isolated decontextualised patterns but rather co-textual and contextual (cf. Munday, 2012) which is at the heart of interpersonal meaning realization, i.e. *prosodic*. Thus, opening and/or narrowing the discourse for divergent voices, entertain choices mingle with graduation and ideational meaning, in order to evaluate the ingroup and outgroup according to the ideological square strategies of positive Self vs negative Other presentations. Entertain both shapes and is shaped by political ideologies and elite policies at the level of discourse and context (cf Chapter 8). Thus, its TT deviations may function as resistance strategies.

 By the same token, discourse clusters of infused force reveal negative prosodies across the text and discourse emphasising outgroup negative criticism. Infused quantifications and intensifications (by metaphor and vigour) tend to be strategically positioned according to the ideological square polarisation of Us vs Them in the original discourse (cf. Chapters 7-8). Quanity infusion (by metaphor) is also selected, though less frequently, in order to deemphasise the ingroup negative things by increasing its capacity (cf Chapter 7). Other negative group collective labels are also inherently negative evaluations of the Other (Islamists and Arab governers)(cf. Chapters 7-8). Graduation, thus, disambiguates polarised judgement tokens naturalised across discourse such as the Other inhumanity, Self superiority, Self unity, teamwork, etc.

Infused intensification (noncore words) are in turn strategically positioned to provoke a negative Other evaluation in the original news discourses in question. Non-core lexis plays a significant role in the double coding of attitude where provoked meaning intertwines with evoked meaning to polarise group attitude according to cognitive (neo)orientalist ideologies of the western mindset which reproduces the construction of Africa in the Guardian news discourse.

 Even the intensity of conventional conflict terms depends on the social context to support a certain political policy and ideological stance, e.g. *struggle* anti-

peace/two-state solution (Arab) vs *conflict* pro-negotiation/two-state solution (western and Israeli).

Assigning either a positive or a negative tone to a specific judgment item depends on the co-textual ideational tokens and vice versa, i.e. on the interpersonal prosody of the text and its context (discourse and context). Furthermore, despite the BBC's conservative (right) ideological orientation towards western revolutions and communists, it can be concluded from its analysis that compared to the other two data sources in this specific socio-political context (2009-2014), the BBC news online attempted to be balanced and positioned itself as Centre-Right while *The Guardian* seems Centre-Left and *Newsweek*, which advances the ideologies of a superpower, appears to be self-centric and bi-partisan but slanted towards the liberal democrats.

> **b. What are the possible sources of difficulty that the Arab translators encounter when rendering resources of modality, graduation, and invoked meaning from English into Arabic?**

Identification of the patterns to answer the first sub-question helped to provide answers to the second sub- question. The translators encountered difficulty when dealing with group shifting and group identifications in the source and target discourse, the linguistic peculiarities of Arabic modality (cf. Chapter 4), co-textual prosodies within and across the news discourse, and culture specific appraisal (e.g.value rich items).

The transfer of modal meaning poses a specific translation difficulty due to overlapping meanings of modalisation and modulation modals. *Might*, for instance, can be mistranslated and its nuances of advice/suggestion (desirable possibility) can be missed. This translation difficulty is due to the decontextualised reading and interpretation of modal meaning. The co-text offers a disambiguation strategy when, for example, modals such as *might*, *can* and *could* fall in the scope of words such as suggest/suggestion in our data. The same holds for *could* and *will*, for instance, when coocuring with *warn*/*warning* or expressing *a threat* respectively.The translation of modal strings at the textual rather than clause- level is helpful in resolving the modal ambiguity. The choice of an equally ambiguous Arabic modal is

another effective translation strategy (cf Abdel-Fattah, 2005). Modal category shifts normally result from such borderline cases.

The infusion of quantifications and intensifications is not fully captured by the target discourse of the respective news outlets due to three main reasons, namely the mitigation of the TT in-group negative criticism, the inherent difficulty of noncore and other infused figurative expressions, and the decontextualised reading and rendering of evaluation which neglect the co-textual and discourse prosodic patterns. The literature suggests that this trend may spring from translator poor competence and/or time limits, but these factors cannot be adequately detected with the qualitative instruments of this work. However, it is worth noting that Newsweek TT writers, who had more time to produce their translations, managed to render noncore word intensity into the Arabic cognate object; a choice which signals translator awareness and an explication strategy, yet the translations failed to provide the Arabic noncore counterparts.

Invoked attitude items in our data are no less challenging, especially culture specific infused value rich words. These patterns tended to lose their culturally loaded and intensified evaluations in the translated texts. In addition to the cultural obstacles, the decontextualisation of such invocations contributes to this translation problem.

In the same vein, evoked attitude patterns (the most indirect invoked patterns) may go unnoticed in translation due to the lack of critical reading and interpretation. These implicit carriers of ideology realise the ideological square polarised representations, such as individualisation of young Islamists (Newsweek), the problematisation of modern revolutions, the tribulation of African tribalism (the Guardian), the problematisation of (Islamist and Arab) poverty (the discourse of the three news sources) to mention but a few.

Ideational tokens conceal elite political ideologies while being enhanced by prosodic infusions which, in turn, function as ideological stance markers (the Guardian's anti-Islamist political pluralism and its tribulation of African tribal conflict, and Newsweek's problematisation of the global financial crisis). Graduation as a tool for attitudinal stance taking in discourse can, then, be used to desipher implicit attitude via critical reading and interpretation. In Fairclough's (1989) much quoted words, " ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible[...]

Texts do not spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that she brings ideologies to interpretation of texts-and reproduces them!"(p85).

    c.   What are the differences between the choices of modality and graduation in the selected corpus of English source texts and their Arabic translations?

The last subquestion was answered by conducting appraisal discourse analysis of a further 12 texts, four from each of the chosen data sources i.e. the BBC, The Guardian and Newsweek (Chapter 7). These were representative of the whole corpus in terms of article type and topic. Comparative analysis of targeted items in STs and TTs was carried out to identify any shifts in meaning of modals and graduation of attitude. In order to reveal any underlying cultural context functions, these were compared with reference to the overall ideological square macro-semantic strategies used for representing positive Self (Emphasize Our good things; Deemphasize Our bad things) and negative Other (Emphasize Their bad things; Deemphasize Their good things) in ST and TT news discourse.

This was followed by a discussion of the use of entertain (probability and inclination), graduation (infused force items), and invoked attitude (judgement tokens) in the whole corpus. In contrast to the claim that Arabic language shows a tendency towards unmodalised bare assertion (see Aziz 1992), entertain shifts from modalised to unmodalised categories and vice versa, as well as modal degree shifts occurred due to shifts in group ideological orientations, political attachments, and status quo between the ST and TT discourse.

The examination of entertain was centered on addressing the uses of some problematic Arabic probability and inclination modals, namely, *qad*, *rubbama*, *lalla*, *sa*, and *sawfa* which have been a matter of much debate among traditional and contemporary grammarians. It showed similarities between some of these Arabic modals and their English counterparts. In their modulation usage, English *might* and Arabic *la'lla* showed a similar tendency towards expressing desirable and undesirable possibility whereas warning (feared possibility) was observed for *could* and *qad*. The high frequency of the translation of consessive *may* into concessive *rubbama* revealed a low possibility degree instead of the high modal degree assigned to *rubbama* as proposed by recent research. However, there are also other occurences of *rubbama* with a high possibility degree. The high and low possibility

degrees of *rubbama* could be attributed to the fact that *qad*, *rubbama*, and *la'lla* functioned as complementary particles in our corpus of news texts. Therefore, *qad* and *rubbama* occured more frequently than *la'alla* which showed modalised and unmodalised senses. While *rubbama* replaced *la'alla* in its desirable and undesirable possibility senses, *qad* replaced its feared possibility usage.

Finally, *Sa* and *sawfa* replaced various English counterparts (*will*, *would*, *be going to*, *be about to*). However, *sa* tended to express near future possibility while *sawfa* had marked usages. Hence, *sa* acquired more senses, as it evolved into complimentary particles.

9.2 Major Research Findings

First and foremost, it became clear that modal interpersonal meaning as an instrument of polarised ideological orientations is not always straightforward. The systemic functional perspective of appraisal theory revealed that interpersonal lexis should be viewed as part of complex meaning networks in which ST and TT authorial choices represent just some of the potential choices which could have been made. Thus, our findings support the CDA stance that an absent choice is as critical as a present one in ideological terms. Moreover, in this corpus, interpersonal meanings were seen to create positive and negative discursive prosodies throughout each discourse. Explicit and implicit interpersonal selections work together to (re)construe self- and other representations and position ideological stances. These meaning categories can, thus, be described as complementary, discursive and ideological. Firstly, they are *complementary* in that understanding what is explicit sometimes depends on comprehending more implicit features and vice versa. Secondly, they can be considered *discursive* in that attempting to interpret them outside the co-text and context will produce incomplete, superficial, and even erroneous readings. Thirdly, they are *ideological* because viewing them outside of their socio-political context renders them redundant.

The present study findings concur with previous research on evaluation in translation and interpreting that translators tend to reduce the graduation of attitude during the translation process. Also, its appraisal discourse based analysis of interpersonal modal meaning has produced new insights into the degrees and uses of Arabic probability and inclination modals. Besides, the thesis contributes to critical discourse studies by highlighting the complexity of the ideological square group

classifications and, consequently, adding a new group category (med-group). It ultimately sheds light on the unfair elite media representations of Islamists and Arabs.

9.3 Limitations and Future Research Directions

It could be argued that the range of topics selected is too broad and that it would have been better to have focused on tracking a single topic. However, the different subjects facilitated the detection of different socio-political group orientations in three different discourse communities. The varying topics allowed us to track the socio-political ideologies underpinning the Anglo-American and British policies of invasion, intervention, deterrence and containment of Iran, deterrence and containment of Muslim fundamentalists, and regime change. Also, ideological representations have been observed throughout the three media discourses.

As the Arabic print version of *Newsweek* ceased in 2010, data were only available for a one-year period (2009-2010), but this still fell within the timescale for the study (2009-2014). This timescale was chosen because the BBC (2009-2014) online news for this period remains accessible and provides news on the aftermath of the Arab Spring and Middle Eastern issues.

The study had no access to the editorial and news-writing processes of the texts studied and the translation choices have been analysed without observing these processes although some sporadic speculations about these have been included. Consequently, instead of Fairclough's explanatory sociological CDA model, which facilitates the observation and analysis of editorial practices and news production decisions, the study opted for van Dijk's tripartite socio-cognitive CDA model (discourse-ideology-society), particularly, his ideological square, in order to reveal the hidden conflicting ideologies. Like all scholarly research, the subjectivity of appraisal and CDA models cannot be totally avoided. However, the research is not conducted in favour of any ideological perspective. CDA is influenced by Marxist socialist ideologies and the political subjectivity of CDA serves its humanitarian purposes, e.g. uncovering control and manipulation of public discourse as well as resisting inequality, hegemony, domination, discrimination, racism and prejudice against particular minorities, ethnicities, races, religions, and cultures, etc. As a result, the current research may expose and, accordingly, resist discrimination and bias.

The analysis has not involved any comparison with original Arabic news discourse. Previous research on evaluation in Arabic is scarce compared to the large quantity of mono-linguistic, cross-linguistic and translational studies of evaluation in English and other languages. Appraisal analysis of parallel Arabic news texts would provide more insights and answers to evaluation and translation research enquiries. Additionally, other influential discourses and genres need to be explored including political speeches and the recently emerging social media.

Corpus-based studies methods, including concordance lists, can be time-saving and manageable. However, they still need to be complemented by textual and contextual qualitative analytical methods, since the present study shows that prosodic evaluation categories cannot be fully captured in single de-contextualised linguistic occurrences. Other factors such as the co-text, socio-political context, culture and ideology play a significant role in appraisal categorisations and classifications, as well as writer and translator decisions. Thus, manual discourse analysis has been conducted. Additionally, the study did not adopt any corpus software as the *Newsweek*'s Arabic print version is available only as a hard copy. Nonetheless, the inclusion of *Newsweek* is worthwhile, as it represents the elite political news discourse of a global superpower which dominated most of the Middle East status quo via its policies of war on terror, US-led invasion, troop surge, humanitarian intervention, containment, and more recently regime change. While the US implements these 'defensive-offensive' war strategies, mainstream media outlets like *Newsweek* launch another 'defensive-offensive' war of words to support the domestic and foreign policies of the US political elites.

Last but not least, future evaluation and translation research would benefit from incorporating multimodal appraisal analytical methods, as the individualisation of 'domestic terrorists' and poverty problematisation as well as the collectivization of 'foreign terrorists' were realised by both text and images in the current study data (e.g. ST32's passport sized photos of Islamist 'lone wolves' vs ST38's photos of five armed barefoot Taliban fighters in tribal wear)(see also David Machin & Usama Suleiman, 2006).

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APPENDIX

The corpus of texts used in this study

ID	Title/Headline	Text Type	Author (ST)/ Translator (TT)	Publication
ST/1	Egyptians nervous of Israeli culture	Opinion	Christian Fraser	BBC: Middle East 02/10/2009
ST/1	المصريون متحفظون تجاه التطبيع الثقافي مع إسرائيل		Unnamed	02/10/2009
ST/2	Egypt unrest: What if Mubarak goes?	Opinion	Jeremy Bowen BBC Middle East editor, Cairo	BBC: World Asia 31/01/2011
	اضطرابات مصر: ماذا لو رحل مبارك؟		Unnamed	01/02/2011
ST/3	Egypt protests: An Arab spring as old order crumbles	Opinion	Roger Hardy Middle East Analyst, Woodrow Wilson Center	BBC: Middle East 02/02/2011
	معركة التغيير وصنع المستقبل: هل هو ربيع العرب؟		Unnamed	02/02/2011
ST/4	Egyptians uncertain about future under President Sisi	Opinion	Marina Ottaway	03/07/2014
	المصريون غير متأكدين من المستقبل في ظل رئاسة السيسي		Unnamed	03/07/2014
ST/5	Syria crisis could change the face of the Middle East	Opinion	Jonathan Marcus BBC diplomatic correspondent	BBC: Middle East 19/04/ 2011
	التغيير في سوريا قد يغير الشرق الأوسط		Unnamed	
ST/6	Baha Mousa Inquiry: Events must never be repeated, PM says	News Analysis	Caroline Wyatt	BBC: Middle East 08/09/2011
	كاميرون: ينبغي ألا تتكرر الأحداث التي أحاطت بوفاة بهاء موسى		Unnamed	
ST/7	Why there is more to Syria conflict than Sectarianism?	Opinion	Mark Urban	BBC: Middle East 04/06/2013

	ما هي حقيقة الصراع بين المتناحرين في سوريا؟		Unnamed	05/06/2013
ST/8	Egypt Turmoil: Coup or no coup?	Opinion	Jonathan Marcus	BBC: Middle East 04/07/2013
	متى يكون الانقلاب انقلابا و متى لا يكون؟		Unnamed	
ST/9	Egypt Crisis: How euphoria turned into tragedy	Opinion	Jeremy Bowen	BBC: Middle East 16/08/2013
	أزمة مصر: كيف تحولت نشوة الانتصار الى مأساة		Unnamed	
ST/10	Hard winter for the Arab spring	Opinion	Lyse Doucet	BBC: Middle East 13/12/2013
	شتاء قارس لبلدان الربيع العربي		Unnamed	17/12/2013
ST/11	Syria crisis: Time to rethink future with Assad	Opinion	Paul Adams	BBC: Middle East 13/12/2013
	هل حان الوقت لإعادة النظر في مستقبل سوريا في ظل الأسد؟		Unnamed	15/12/2014
ST/12	Why is Egypt's government targeting Al-Jazeera?	Opinion	Hugh Miles	BBC: Middle East 30/12/2013
	لماذا تستهدف الحكومة المصرية شبكة الجزيرة؟		Unnamed	1/1/2014
ST/13	Sisi in Russia: Moscow's Egyptian gambit	Opinion	Jonathan Marcus	BBC: Middle East 13/02/2014
	هل تمثل زيارة السيسي لموسكو مناورة دبلوماسية مصرية؟		Unnamed	
ST/14	Iraq: Bloodshed and strife cast pall over polls	Opinion	Kevin Connolly	BBC: Middle East 30/04/2014
	الدماء والخلافات تكتنف انتخابات العراق		Unnamed	02/05/2014
ST/15	The heroism of everyday life in Baghdad	Opinion	Unnamed	BBC: Middle East Magazine 04/05/2014
	البطولة في الحياة اليومية بالعراق		Unnamed	04/05/2014
ST/16	Six things that went wrong in Iraq	News Analysis	Jonathan Marcus	BBC: Middle East 12/06/2014
	ستة عوامل أدت الى ما حدث في العراق		Unnamed	
ST/17	Iraq: What might US air strikes achieve?	Opinion	Jonathan Marcus	BBC: Middle East 18/06/2014
	ماذا يمكن أن تحقق الضربات الجوية الأمريكية في العراق؟		Unnamed	19/06/2014
ST/18	Iraq Crisis: Will calm in Isis-held	Opinion	Jim Muir	BBC: Middle East 20/06/2014

	Mosul last?			
	الأزمة العراقية: هل يستمر الهدوء في الموصل بعد سيطرة داعش عليها؟		Unnamed	21/06/2014
ST/19	Saudi Arabia sandwiched by jehadists in Iraq and Yemen	Opinion	Frank Gardner	BBC: Middle East 02/07/2014
	السعودية بين مطرقة الدولة الإسلامية شمالا وسندان القاعدة جنوبا		Unnamed	
ST/20	Gaza Conflict: Why Israeli invasion would be risky?	News analysis	Jonathan Marcus	BBC: Middle East 08/07/2014
	لماذا ينطوي الغزو الإسرائيلي لغزة على خطورة؟		Unnamed	09/07/2014
ST/21	What can Israel and Hamas gain?	Opinion	Kevin Connolly	BBC: Middle East 11/07/2014
	ما الذي يمكن أن تجنيه إسرائيل و حماس من الصراع الدائر في غزة؟		Unnamed	13/07/2014
ST/22	Islamic State: Can its savagery be explained	Opinion	Fawaz A Gerges	BBC: Middle East 09/09/2014
	بماذا تفسر وحشية تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية؟			10/09/2014
ST23	A Point of View: Isis and what it means to be modern	Opinion	John Gray	BBC: Middle East 11/07/2014
	وجهة نظر: تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية بين الماضي والمعاصرة		Unnamed	13/07/2014
ST24	'Global Fault Line' The retreat of Muslim moderates		Lewis M. Simons	Newsweek- Scope: InternationaList/SouthEast Asia 16/11/2009
	"خط تصدع عالمي" تراجع المعتدلين المسلمين		Unnamed	رأي 17/11/2009
ST/25	The Rise of the Right		Fareed Zakaria	Newsweek-The Take: International 16/11/2009
	تنامي نفوذ اليمين		Unnamed	وجهة نظر 17/11/2009
ST/26	Moderate to the Extreme Obama, Muslims, and Fort Hood		Jacob Weisberg	Newsweek-The Take: National Affairs 23/11/2009
	الاعتدال في وجه التطرف اوباما و المسلمين و فورت هود		Unnamed	رأي 24/11/2009
ST/27	The Stakes? Well Armageddon, for One		Jon Meacham	Newsweek-Top of the Week 12/10/2009

	الرهانات في إيران: نهاية العالم كمثال		Unnamed	رأي 20/10/2009
ST/28	No Exit		Richard N. Hass	*Newsweek*-Features War|withdrawal 14/12/2009
	لا مخرج		Unnamed	15/12/2009
ST29	The Case against a Surge		Fareed Zakaria	*Newsweek*-The Take: International 19/10/2009
	لا داعي لزيادة عدد الجنود		Unnamed	وجهة نظر 20/10/2009
ST30	Triumph of the Turks		Owen Matthews, Christopher Dickey, and Sami Kohen	Newsweek-Features: Turkey|Influence 07/12/2009
	إنتصار الاتراك		Unnamed	تركيا| نفوذ 08/12/2009
ST/31	Young Man in a Hurry Obama's done-nothing rep is wrong		Jacob Weisberg	*Newsweek*-The Take: National Affairs 07/12/2009
	شاب على عجلة من أمره		Unnamed	رأي 08/12/2009
ST/32	A Thousand Points of Hate		Cristopher Dickey	*Newsweek*-Features: Terrorism|The Homeland 11/01/2010
	كراهية طاغية		Unnamed	إرهاب|الوطن 12/01/2010
ST33	The Death of Theocracy		Cristopher Hitchens	Newsweek: The Take:International 11/01/2010
	موت الثيوقراطية			وجهة نظر 12/01/2010
ST/34	Enough is Enough		Richard N. Haass	*Newsweek*-Features: Iran|Power|People 01/02/2010
	كفى		Unnamed	إيران: السلطة: الشعب 02/02/2010
ST/35	Alone in a Crowd		Jacob Weisberg	*Newsweek*-The Take: National Affairs 01/02/2010
	وحيد بين الجمهرة		Unnamed	رأي 23/02/2010
ST/36	Ask More of Us, Mr. President		Louisa Thomas	*Newsweek*-Features: Politics|Sacrifice 01/02/2010
	أطلب منا أكثر سيادة الرئيس		Unnamed	سياسة: تضحية 02/02/2010
ST/37	Terror begins at Home		Daniel Klaidman	*Newsweek*-Features 22/02/2010

	الإرهاب يبدأ في البيت		Unnamed	إرهاب|تنافس حزبي 23/02/2010
ST/38	Turning the Taliban		Unnamed	*Newsweek-* Features:Afghanistan|Insurgency 22/02/2010
	استمالة طالبان			أفغانستان|تمرد 23/02/2010
ST/39	Turkey's Turning Point		Soner Cagaptay	*Newsweek-*Scope: InternationaList 08/03/2010
	نقطة التحول التركية		Unnamed	رأي 09/03/2010
ST/40	Don't Scramble the jets		Fareed Zakaria	*Newsweek-*The Take 01/03/2010
	لا تسارعوا إلى إطلاق طائراتكم الحربية		Unnamed	وجهة نظر 02/03/2010
ST41	Don't Panic		Fareed Zakaria	*Newsweek-*Features: Terrorism|Perspective 18/01/2010
	لا تهلعوا		Unnamed	وجهة نظر 19/01/2010
ST/42	The Weakest Link		Richard N. Haass	*Newsweek-*Features: Security|Geopolitics 08/03/2010
	الحلقة الأضعف		Unnamed	جغرافيا سياسية|أمن 09/03/2010
ST/43	We the Problem		Evan Thomas	*Newsweek-*Features: Politics/Partisanship 08/03/2010
	المشكلة تكمن فينا		Unnamed	سياسة: حزبية 16/03/2010
ST/44	Make it Stop How Obama can fix our runaway government?		Jacob Weisberg	*Newsweek-*The Take: National Affairs 15/03/2010
	فلتوقف ذلك كيف يمكن لأوباما أن يصلح حكومتنا؟		Unnamed	رأي 16/03/2010
ST/45	A Victory for Obama		Fareed Zakaria	*Newsweek-*The Take: InternationaList 22/03/2010
	نصر لأوباما			وجهة نظر 23/03/2010
ST/46	Bibi's Bluster		Fareed Zakaria	*Newsweek-*Features: Israel/ Politics 29/03/2010
	عاصفة بيبي		Unnamed	29/03/2010
ST/47	How lessons learned in Palestinian elections are informing Tunisia's vote	Article	Lizzy Davis	*The Guardian* World news 19/10/2011
	كيف تساهم التجربة الفلسطينية في اثراء		أمل المكي	20/10/2011

	الانتخابات التونسية؟			
ST/48	Tunisians abroad vote with 'hands trembling and tears flowing'	Article	Lizzy Davis	*The Guardian* World news 20/10/2011
	بأياد مرتعشة ودموع متدفقة: التونسيون بالخارج ينتخبون		أمل المكي	21/10/2011
ST/49	Libya: a country in search of a new leader	Editorial	Unnamed	*The Guardian* Comment is free 20/10/2011
	ليبيا البلد الباحث عن قائد جديد	كلمة العدد	أمل المكي	21/10/2011
ST/50	Tunisia's Islamist Party leader seeks to allay fears of extremism	Article	Angelique Chrisafis in Tunis and Ian Black	*The Guardian* World news 21/ 10/ 2011
	زعيم الحزب الإسلامي التونسي يسعى الى تهدئة المخاوف من التطرف		أمل المكي	22/10/2011
ST/51	Libya and Tunisia: two faces of the Arab spring	Editorial	Unnamed	*The Guardian* Comment is free 22/10/2011
	تونس وليبيا: وجهان للربيع العربي	كلمة العدد	أمل المكي	22/10/2011
ST/52	The Arab spring will only flourish if the young are given cause to hope	Opinion	Henry Porter *The Observer*	*The Guardian* Comment is free 23/10/2011
	الربيع العربي لن يزدهر الا اذا أعطي الشباب سببا للأمل		أمل المكي	24/10/2011
ST/53	US firm's teargas used against Tahrir Square protestors	Article	Jack Shenker (Cairo) and Luke Harding	*The Guardian* World news 21/11/2011
	الغاز المسيل للدموع المصنوع في الولايات المتحدة يستعمل ضد المتظاهرين في ميدان التحرير		أمل المكي	22/11/2011
ST/54	Egypt's government offers to resign as protests grow	Article	Jack Shenker (Cairo)	*The Guardian* World news 22/11/2011
	مجلس الوزراء المصري يقدم على الاستقالة وسط نمو الاحتجاجات ضد الطغمة		أمل المكي	22/11/2011
ST/55	Egyptian military using 'more dangerous' tear gas on Tahrir Square protestors	Article	Peter Beaumont and John Dokomos	*The Guardian* 23/11/2011
	الجيش المصري يستخدم غازا مسيلا للدموع " أكثر		أمل المكي	24/11/2011

	خطورة" ضد المتظاهرين في ميدان التحرير"			
ST/56	Tahrir Square protestors killed by live ammunition, say doctors	Article	Jack Shenker	*The Guardian* World news 24/11/2011
	شهداء ساحة التحرير قتلوا بالرصاص الحي وفقا للأطباء		أمل المكي	25/11/2011
ST/57	White House calls for Egyptian military to hand power to civilian regime	Article	Chris McGreal	*The Guardian* World news 25/11/2011
	واشنطن تصعد ضغوطها على المجلس العسكري بمصر لتسليم السلطة		Unnamed	27/11/2011
ST/58	Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood goes into election full of confidence	Article	Martin Chulov	*The Guardian* World news 27/11/2011
	الاخوان المسلمون في مصر يدخلون الانتخابات بثقة كاملة		محمود علي حامد	28/11/2011
ST/59	Tunisians go to polls still in the shadow of the Old Regime	Article	Angelique Chrisafis, Katherine Viner, and Becky Gardiner	*The Guardian* World news 22/10/2011
	التونسيون يصوتون تحت ظلال النظام السابق		Unnamed	22/10/2011
ST/60	War on Iran has already began/ Act before it threatens all of us	Opinion	Seumas Milne	*The Guardian* Comment is free 07/12/2011
	الحرب على ايران بدأت بالفعل تصرف قبل أن يشملنا التهديد جميعا		أمل المكي	09/12/2011
ST/61	Egypt's military will have final say on country's new constitution	Article	Jack Shenker	*The Guardian* World news 07/12/2011
	سوف يكون للمجلس العسكري المصري الكلمة الفصل في دستور البلاد الجديد		أمل المكي	09/12/2011
ST/62	Why fear the Arab revolutionary spirit?	Opinion	Slavoj Zizek	*The Guardian* Comment is free 01/02/2011
	لماذا الخوف من روح الثورة العربية؟		Unnamed	04/02/2011
ST/63	Egypt's army is the power behind the throne/ And	Article	Ian Black Middle East Editor	*The Guardian* World news 03/02/2011

	Mubarak knows it			
	مبارك وسلطة الجيش المصري		Unnamed	04/02/2011
ST/64	US hatches Mubarak exit strategy as Egypt death toll mounts	Article	Jack Shenker and Peter Beaumont (Cairo), Harriet Sherwood (Alexandria), Ewen MacAskill (Washington), Julian Borger	*The Guardian* World news 04/02/2011
	الولايات المتحدة تدرس خطة خروج مبارك من السلطة		Unnamed	04/02/2011
ST/65	Egyptian Uprising enables jailed Hamas militant to escape	Article	Harriet Sherwood	*The Guardian* World news 07/02/2011
	الثورة المصرية تمنح الفلسطينيين الأمل في الحرية		Unnamed	09/02/2011
ST/66	Tunisia's elections are a good thing, but We Mustn't Throw the Revolution away	Article	Angelique Chrisafis	*The Guardian* World news 19/10/2011
	بعد بدء الحوار مع نائب الرئيس المصري المعارضة تبدي المزيد من الحذر تجاه نوايا النظام		Unnamed	20/10/2011
ST/67	Egypt's popular revolution will change the world	Opinion	Peter Hallward	*The Guardian* Comment is free 09/02/2011
	الثورة الشعبية في مصر سوف تغير العالم		Unnamed	10/02/2011
ST/68	Mubarak's defiance could spell disaster	Article	Ian Black	*The Guardian* World news 11/02/2011
	عناد مبارك سيجر مصر الى كارثة		Unnamed	11/02/2011
ST/69	Egyptian Elections: the Key questions answered	Article	Jack Shenker	*The Guardian* World news: 22/11/2011
	الانتخابات المصرية: مفتاح الاجابة على الأسئلة		Unnamed	23/11/2011