

## The Role of Language Ideology in Translating News Media: *The Case of the Syrian War*

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### ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to examine the role of ideology in translating news media, and the representation of language in the media. The framing approach and the framing of realities through the process of translation will be examined whereby ‘changes’ are made for ideological purposes in response to the attempts of the group of receptors and to ‘the norms’ of those receptors. The impact of language ideology on translation and the way in which translation serves cultural, political, religious or literary concepts continues to grow nowadays. Ideology is affecting the translation of the source texts in many types of discourses, among them the journalistic discourse which constitutes the subject of this study. How does ideology work? How is ideology conveyed through the translation of news media? What is its role and impact on the target texts? How does ideology influence the choices of translators? These are some of the questions which will be dealt with throughout this paper. The representation of language in media will be also studied with a particular attention to be given to the use of lexical choices that show how ideology appears in the source texts and the target texts, and to the validity and legitimacy of language which carries an ideological stamp. For the purpose of this study, a corpus of online news articles in English highlighting the war in Syria will be used in parallel with the translation of this corpus into Arabic by two opposite media outlets: the pro-regime and the anti-regime.

### INTRODUCTION

Questions of culture, power, identity and most importantly, ideology are among today’s most problematic issues, and they are being widely examined and discussed worldwide. These issues are particularly clear and evident in regions fraught with conflict, such as the Middle East. Because translators serve as intercultural agents, they have been playing an active role in social and political changes, whether positive or negative and whether reconciliatory or disruptive, for various reasons, some of which are highlighted in detail in the present paper.

The question of the translator’s neutrality or necessity to occupy a place ‘in-between’ or a ‘space between,’ as Tymoczko (2003, p. 181) argues, turns out to be more idealised fiction than reality. That being said, translation studies are currently focusing not only on linguistic issues in the translation of political and news media texts but also on extending beyond these to more strenuously explore extralinguistic issues, including cultural, geographical and spatiotemporal frameworks, or the place of enunciation, as well as the social dynamics of ideologically oriented translations. Ultimately, we seek to reconstruct the genesis of such translated texts, as encapsulated in the following triad of questions: who is translating, who is publishing and who is reading the translated texts?

The present study was aimed at examining the role of ideology in translating news media, as well as the representation of language in the media. In doing so, we analysed examples from an English–Arabic parallel corpus concerning the war in Syria, which began in 2011 in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. The framing analysis approach will be applied in this study to consider the framing of realities through the process of translation whereby ‘changes’ are made for ideological purposes in response to the attitudes, beliefs, agendas and norms of different groups of receptors.

The American scholar Nida (1979, p. 52) proposed that “the way in which individual translations treat the underlying text may differ radically, and the legitimacy of each translation must depend upon both the nature of the original text and the type of receptor for which the translation is prepared.” Moreover, it is worth adding that the translation will sometimes also vary according to the positions and policies of the publishers who intervene in the final product.

### IDEOLOGY, MEDIA AND TRANSLATION

Ideology, media and translation are related phenomena. The English term ‘ideology’ is a loan-term from the French

*idéologie* and was introduced in 1796 to refer to the *science of ideas* that studies the concepts and the workings of the mind (Munday, 2007). Just as with many other concepts, ideology has since undergone a series of changes, such that it has now come to bear a (generally) negative connotation of distortion, manipulation or concealment (Munday, 2007). Van Dijk (1998, p. 2) claimed that “few of ‘us’ describe our own convictions as ‘ideologies’; rather, we assert that ‘Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology’.” Some translation scholars consider translating itself to be a political act; as Tahir-Gürçağlar argued (2003, p. 113), “translation is political because, both as activity and product, it displays processes of negotiation among different agents. On micro-level, these agents are translators, authors, critics, publishers, editors, and readers.” Van Dijk (1998; 2006) expanded the concept of ideology further into the social sphere to encompass three main elements (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 115). 1) *cognition*, which refers to a particular group’s thoughts and beliefs that lead to the creation of ideas; 2) *society*, particularly group interests, power and dominance; and 3) *discourse*, or the language used to express and convey ideologies in society. The latter often involves concealment and manipulation, as we will see in the examples extracted from our corpus. The most important social institution in exercising the process of ideology in modern and contemporary studies is the mass media.

In translation studies, the study of ideology has been strongly related to the process of manipulation. It is mainly in discourse that ideologies are transmitted, “that is, by spoken or written communicative interaction” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 121). In this context, the light has always been shed on the translator as a mediator and more specifically on “the degrees of mediation, that is, the extent to which translators intervene in the translation process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text” (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 147). Across time and space, translators have promoted a wide variety of conceptual agendas in a range of domains.

In the literary domain, for instance, many works by Arab women have undergone radical changes when translated into English. Several reasons underlie this phenomenon, most of which are essentially derived from feminist ideological agendas and how the West views Arabs and Muslims. As examples, we can consider books by Egyptian writers, such as Huda Shaarawi’s (1987) *مذكراتي* (literally *My Memoirs*), which was translated by Margot Badran as *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, and Nawal El Saadawi’s (1980) *الوجه العاري للمرأة العربية* (literally *The Naked Face of Arab Women*), which was translated by Sherif Hetata as *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*. In the case of the former, even the title was changed radically. The term *harem* denotes the part of a Muslim household where women, servants and concubines reside. Such isolated sub-residences were common in imperial Turkey and other Arab countries such as Algeria and Morocco; however, they never existed in Egypt. The imposition of this term was apparently done for marketing purposes, as a means to attract western readers by presenting the memoir as depicting a way of life that was ‘exotic’, ‘new’ and ‘different’. Another ex-

ample from the same book is the English word *slave*, which the translator chose to render the word *wife* *زوجة* that Shaarawi used in her book.

In the case of the latter work, the title was also changed to denote that Arab women are still oppressed, and some chapters were added to the translation, including one focusing on the ‘Circumcision of Girls’, whereas others were omitted. Additionally, prefaces, introductions and epilogues were added to both books and these tend to include elements that are clearly targeted at a western readership.

### What is Ideology about?

According to Van Dijk (2006, p. 116), “ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, its shared beliefs about its fundamental conditions and ways of existence and reproduction.” Different social groups have varying types of ideologies, such as political parties, social movements and feminist groups, among others. Each group has its socially shared beliefs and each controls and organises those beliefs to shape systems of knowledge and attitudes. The question that remains is, how can ideological elements be determined and identified in the production of a translation? This could be examined at two levels, the first of which is related to linguistic aspects and the use of a specific lexical repertoire that is tailored to fit the ideology of the group. Researchers who have studied such terms have asserted that they can only be apprehended and understood through the political culture in which they occur. For instance, Archibald (2016) refers to such terms as ‘politemes’ and suggests that their interpretation can be problematic, as their meanings are closely related to the sociopolitical contexts in which they are used. “Placed in different sociopolitical contexts, such terms may actually represent different types of actions, some of which may be the antithesis of others. Justice for the members of Daesh, the acronym for *al-Dawla al-Islamiya fil Iraq wa’al Sham*, is not exactly what Europeans in the tradition of the Enlightenment envisage as justice or prosperity” (Archibald, 2016, p. 3).

Hence, we can refer to such terms as being culture-bound because their meaning is heavily dependent on factors such as contextualisation, situation of communication and the audience. The second level concerns the role of the translator as a producer and ‘interpreter’ of the text. In the age of post-structuralism, texts are no longer simply interpreted in terms of their authors’ intentions, but rather the linguistic, cultural and general knowledge of both the translator and their readers, which are in most cases shaded by ideological connotations. In her study on the translations of the Bible, Nord (2003, p. 111) concluded that “in such translations almost any decision is –consciously or unconsciously– guided by ideological criteria [...]. This means that translators have to decide beforehand what their translation is intended to mean to the addressed audience –in other words: what kind of communicative function(s) it is aiming at.”

In the context of post-structuralism, the notion of equivalence in translation turns out to be expressed as a ratio of loss and gain that inextricably occurs during the translation process (Venuti, 1992).

## METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

The impact of language ideology on translation and the manner in which translation serves to promote or reflect cultural, political, religious or literary concepts continues to be highly relevant. Ideology impacts the translation of the source texts in many types of discourse, including journalistic/political discourses, which constitute the main subject of this study. How is ideology conveyed through the translation of news media, and what is the justification behind such ideologically oriented texts? What are the roles and impacts of ideology on the target texts? How does ideology influence the choices and strategies of translators?

Earlier linguistically-oriented approaches to translation, such as those developed by French linguist Mounin (1963) and Canadian linguists Vinay and Darbelnet (1977), were generally merely descriptive studies limited to examinations of textual forms or the medium used by the writer to convey his or her ideas, and as such failed to address the underlying social, cultural and ideological issues influencing the translation process. Later analytical frameworks, such as critical discourse analysis (CDA); (Calzada-Pérez, 2003, Van Dijk, 2006, Munday, 2007, Fairclough, 2013), have attempted to account for social values and aimed at exposing “the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges” such as translation (Calzada-Pérez, 2003, p. 2). In this regard, Fairclough (2013, p. 57) held that although “it is true that the forms and content of texts do bear the imprint of ideological processes and structures, it is not possible to ‘read off’ ideologies from texts.” And he added “this is because meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations, and because ideological processes appertain to discourses as whole social events – they are processes between people– not to the texts which are produced, distributed and interpreted as moments of such events” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 57).

We can see that according to Fairclough (2013), the discourse comprises three elements, namely social practices, discursive practices (the distribution, the production and the consumption of a text) and the text. Thus, the analysis of a specific discourse must take into account these elements and their interrelations.

Van Dijk (2006, p. 116) argued that “just as there are no private languages, there are no private, personal ideologies [...] these belief systems are socially shared by the members of a collectivity of social actors.” Accordingly, the approach used in this study is based on a branch of CDA called framing analysis (FA), which aims to bring to the fore the manner in which the communicator of a message uses discursive key elements in order to frame a certain topic/experience/idea so as the recipients of the communication will view it in a specific manner, or, more specifically, in order to respond to the beliefs and norms of a group of potential receptors. In explaining and justifying the choices, decisions and attitudes of the translators and publishers, we specifically apply the framing theory developed by American cognitive linguist Lakoff (2014, p. 2), who defined framing as “getting language that fits your worldview. It is not just language. The ideas are primary—and the language carries those ideas,

evokes those ideas.” In the translation process, we could say that framing mainly entails using a language that fits the readers’ worldview. As Lakoff (2014, p. 34) suggested, “it is difficult to say things that you are not sure the public is ready to hear.” Hence, the approach used in this paper aims to highlight, identify and comprehend the very complex concept of ideology and its role in the translation process. This concept revolves around four parties, namely the author, the reader, the translator and the publisher of the translation.

Our study is qualitative, which means that the data collected focuses on specific groups, namely pro- and anti-regime media, to uncover different techniques and strategies used by both sides to convey the same information in Arabic via the translation of the original texts.

## Corpus Compilation

The term ‘parallel corpus’ is used in corpus linguistics to refer to a collection comprised of both an original text and its translated version. The corpus we chose discusses the Syrian war and is constituted of online source and target texts that reflect both pro- and anti-regime stances. We decided to illustrate four online source texts and eight online target texts (each source text is grouped with more than one translation as rendered in different sources).

1. The source texts (STs) are in English and have been retrieved from the British news agency Reuters.
2. The target texts (TTs) are in Arabic and have been retrieved from:
  - a. online pro-regime websites/channels:
    1. *Al-Alam* (an Arabic news channel broadcasting from Iran: [www.alalam.ir](http://www.alalam.ir));
    2. *Al-Akhbar* (a Lebanese daily newspaper: [www.al-akhbar.com](http://www.al-akhbar.com)); and
    3. *Al-Manar* (a Lebanese channel and website: [www.almanar.com.lb](http://www.almanar.com.lb)).
  - b. online anti-regime newspapers/websites:
    1. *All4Syria* (a Syrian news website: [www.all4syria.info](http://www.all4syria.info));
    2. *Al-Arab* (a London-based daily Arabic newspaper: [www.alarab.co.uk](http://www.alarab.co.uk));
    3. *Alsouria* (a Syrian news website: [www.alsouria.net](http://www.alsouria.net)); and
    4. *Al-Hayat* (a London-based daily Arabic newspaper: [www.alhayat.com](http://www.alhayat.com)).

Despite an intensive effort to do so, it was nearly impossible to compile a larger parallel corpus, as it is a difficult task to locate and collect online Arabic translations of English texts concerning the war in Syria. Parallel data is extensively rare in this field. However, Bowker and Pearson (2002, p. 45), who have extensively studied the issue of using corpora while working with specialised languages, proposed that “there are no hard and fast rules that can be followed to determine the ideal size of a corpus. Instead, you will have to make this decision based on factors such as the needs of your project, the availability of data and the amount of time that you have.”

Similarly, Habert (2000) addressed the issue of corpus size by contrasting the ‘big is beautiful’ approach with ‘the

insecurity in big corpora', such that the former "inevitably produces a sample more and more representative of the language dealt with" (Habert, 2000, p. 17), whereas the latter perspective (insecurity in big corpora) "constitutes sets with conditions of production and reception more clearly defined and correlated to their linguistic characteristics" (Habert, 2000, p. 18). Indeed, 'big' is not always 'beautiful'. Very often, much more useful information is found in a small corpus that has been carefully chosen and compiled, as is the case in this study, than in a large corpus in which data do not meet the specific expectations of researchers.

The examples presented in the sections below could be considered representative of the various pro- and anti-regime stances in the Arab world, and they are illustrative of the language used by different media on both sides to describe and analyse the Syrian conflict and its impacts and consequences.

### FRAMING DEPICTIONS AND RESPONSES TOWARD EVENTS

Frames are ingrained in us at an unconscious level. We are only aware of them when we find and encounter a system of beliefs that is different from ours, which triggers us to defend and confirm our own system. Lakoff (2014, p. xi) proposed that "about 98 percent of what our brains are doing is below the level of consciousness. As a result, we may not know all, or even most, of what in our brains determines our deepest moral, social, and political beliefs. And yet we act on the basis of those largely unconscious beliefs."

In considering the impact of framing in the political sphere, Lakoff (2014, p. xi-xii) asserted that "frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. In politics our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out policies."

Ideology is 'relatively stable' (Van Dijk, 2006); one does not become communist, socialist, feminist, etc. overnight, nor does he/she change his/her ideological stances from one day to the next. As such, reframing is a highly difficult and complex process based on repetition and focus; it requires a change in public discourse and a very sophisticated system of communication.

In language, words are defined according to specific conceptual frames. As Lakoff (2014, p. xii) elucidated, "when you hear a word, its frame is activated in your brain." In this context, even "when you negate a frame, you activate the frame" (Lakoff, 2014, p. xii). Reframing aims to totally alter how people perceive social and political reality, which cannot be accomplished merely through the use of attractive slogans. As Lakoff (2014, p. 33) explained: "slogans only work when there has been a long—often decades-long—campaign of framing issues like taxation and abortion conceptually, so that the brains of many people are prepared to accept those phrases [...]. Effective reframing is the changing of millions of brains to be prepared to recognize a reality."

Such statements indicate how strong frames are and how deep ideology is rooted into our conception and ingrained in our life.

### Framing in American Political Life

The first example of framing in American politics concerns the concept of voting and the American election of 2000. "People do not necessarily privilege their self-interest in voting. They vote their values, what they believe in, they vote their model. They vote their identity. And if their identity fits their self-interest, they will vote for that. For example, during the election in 2000, Gore was always saying that Bush's tax cuts would go only to 1% of the population and this percentage represented the rich part of the population. And he thought that people will follow their self-interest and vote for him. But poor conservatives did not vote for him because they believed that those who had the money deserved to keep it as a reward of being disciplined" (Lakoff, 2004, p. 19).

Later, in the 2012 American presidential election, "democrats argued that Mitt Romney's policies would only help the rich. But most poor conservatives still voted Republican against their self-interest, even though Romney was recorded saying not very nice things about the poor in general" (Lakoff, 2004, p. 17).

As we will see in the following examples, translators of politically-oriented texts often use and activate multiple specific frames in rendering both the titles and texts of articles to appeal to a certain community of readers. Their act is undoubtedly deliberate because they know very well to whom they are translating and for whom they are working.

### APPLYING FRAMES TO THE SYRIAN SITUATION

#### Al-Manar versus Al-Arab

*Example 1* (ST by *Reuters* published on 15 August 2013 and TT by *Al-Manar* published on 17 August 2013):

<b>ST (Title)</b>	<i>New Saudi-supplied missiles boost rebels in south Syria</i>
<b>TT (Title)</b>	صواريخ سعودية للمسلحين في سورية عبر الأردن والأمير سلمان يقود غرفة عمليات بعمان
<b>Gloss</b>	Saudi missiles sent to armed men in Syria through Jordan and Prince Salman heads an operations room in Amman

In this case, *Al-Manar*, a Lebanese Hezbollah channel and website, changed the title and translated it differently into Arabic. Its ultimate aim was to denounce Saudi Arabia's actions in supplying weapons to the rebels and specifically excoriate Prince Salman for heading the operations room in Syria. Where is the frame here? By mentioning Prince Salman bin Sultan, a nephew of late Saudi King Abdullah and senior security official, the translator is choosing a language that fits the readers' view of the war: the royal Saudi family is leading the war in Syria and 'boosting' the cause of the rebels.

*Example 2* (ST by *Reuters* published on 15 August 2013 and TT by *Al-Arab* published on 18 August 2013):

<b>ST (Title)</b>	<i>New Saudi-supplied missiles boost rebels in south Syria</i>
<b>TT (Title)</b>	أسلحة السعودية تعطي دفعا قويا لثوار الجنوب
<b>Gloss</b>	Saudi missiles give a big boost to the rebels in South Syria

Where is the frame here? The translator added ‘big’ to ‘boost’. For there to be ‘big boost’, there must be an endeavour to do so by the party who is exerting significant effort. A ‘booster’ is an agent who is positively aiding efforts. If people attempt to stop the agent or agents, those people are trying to hinder such efforts.

Another example of framing entails creating a ‘frame of suspicion’. In this case, *Al-Arab* quoted a senior western diplomat and translated the plural word ‘moderates’ used by the diplomat as معتدلين in reference to the rebels in south Syria. However, the same quotation was mentioned by *Al-Manar* with the word معتدلين (moderates) put between brackets. Such extralinguistic symbols, i.e. the brackets added to the translation of the original word, explicitly demonstrate the translator’s position and intention to create ‘a frame of suspicion’ that might lead to negate the moderate status of the rebels.

#### Al-Hayat versus Al-Akhbar

*Example 4* (ST by *Reuters* published on 30 March 2016, TT1 by *Al-Hayat* published on 31 March 2016 and TT2 by *Al-Akhbar* published on 31 March 2016):

<b>ST (Title)</b>	<i>Exclusive: Russia, despite drawdown, shipping more to Syria than removing</i>
<b>TT1 (Title)</b>	روسيا بعد سحب قواتها... تشحن إلى سورية أكثر مما تنقل منها
<b>Gloss 1</b>	Russia, after the withdrawal of its troops, shipping more to Syria than removing
<b>TT2 (Title)</b>	روسيا تشحن إلى سوريا أكثر مما تسحب
<b>Gloss 2</b>	Russia shipping more to Syria than removing

Where is the frame here? It is obvious that like *Reuters*, *Al-Hayat* wanted to highlight that Russia is still supplying Assad’s regime with weapons despite the fact that it has withdrawn its troops from Syria; however it does so somewhat differently than the manner in which the source text mentioned it: Russia, despite drawdown... (أي تقليص العدد/عديد قواتها)

However, the Lebanese pro-regime newspaper *Al-Akhbar* did not highlight any withdrawal from Syria because:

1. The staff and/or readers of *Al-Akhbar* believe that Russia is making a change in the Syrian war for the sake of the regime;
2. They believe that, despite a drawdown of the Russian troops; and/or
3. “They have a frame and they only accept facts that fit that frame” (Lakoff, 2014, p. 18).

#### Al-Alam versus All4Syria

In the article titled ‘Key powers mulling possibility of federal division of Syria’ published by *Reuters* on 10 March 2016, the author of the original text wrote that the opposition was

against any form of division taking place in Syria. He stated the following: “This week, Syria’s Saudi Arabian-backed opposition rejected a suggestion by Russia, which like Iran supports Assad’s government and has intervened militarily on its side, that the peace talks could agree on a federal structure for the country.” The author also highlighted the position of the Syrian government concerning national divisions by citing the Syrian president: “in a September interview Assad did not rule out the idea of federalism when asked about it, but said any change must be a result of dialogue among Syrians and a referendum to introduce the necessary changes to the constitution.”

Whereas this information was translated into Arabic largely faithfully by the online anti-regime website *All4Syria* on 11 March 2016, it was completely modified in the translation done on 12 March 2016 by the Iranian pro-regime online channel *Al-Alam*. Using a frame that complies with its beliefs and those of its readers, the latter media outlet chose to attribute the idea of rejection of federalism to the regime and not to the opposition. The objective was to enhance the good image of the regime as the party that is playing the role of unifier in the country.

Lakoff (2014, p. xiv) underlined the power of frames, their stability over the time and their fixity in the brain by stating that “if the facts don’t fit the frames in your brain, the frames in your brain stay and the facts are ignored or challenged or belittled.” In this context, some questions that might spring into mind are: (1) What does framing involve? and (2) How are pictures used in the Arabic TTs? To begin with the first question, framing involves the following:

1. The text: selection or de-selection of information (removing information); headlines; subheadings and quotes;
2. The meaning: shifting and foregrounding (focusing on something); selecting positive/negative terms for Us/Them; and
3. The extralinguistic elements of communication and the use of different pictures.

With respect to the second question, pictures cannot be separated from texts in news media. In fact, illustrations can be seen as “nonverbal expressions that supplement the verbal means of expression” (Affeich, 2016, p. 157). Visuals can have an enormous influence on readers’ involvement and feelings toward an event. In this connection, Galinski and Heribert (1997, p. 58) held that: “thus we can imagine the expansion of the writing systems and representational forms of expression found in traditional texts toward the use of visual and other nonverbal forms of representation designed to provide more complete, multifaceted communication to a broader range of user groups.”

In this context, the photographs associated with the first article discussed above are quite different in *Al-Manar* from those used in *Al-Arab*. The photograph used by the latter depicts a large group of rebels who are clearly prepared to fight for their country against the Syrian government ([www.alarab.co.uk](http://www.alarab.co.uk)). The framing conveyed through this picture is that the rebels are heavily and very well-armed. By contrast, *Al-Manar* ([www.almanar.con.lb](http://www.almanar.con.lb)) used two photographs to highlight different frames:

1. The first photograph indicates that rebels are still in the learning process and lack professionalism and strength. Hence, this picture also depicts a western soldier who is showing them how to use the rocket launcher.
2. The second photograph highlights the professionalism of Assad's forces as they stand at readiness on the front lines; its caption reads قوات الأسد تعيد تنظيم صفوفها i.e. 'Assad's forces reorganise their troops'.

### WHY ARE TRANSLATORS USING FRAMES?

Although frames are unconscious structures in our brains, we can recognise them through their consequences. As Lakoff (2014, p. xiii) explained, "frames are ideas, not slogans." However, as indicated above, we can also understand frames through language. Translators rely on frames and try to activate whatever frames seem important and persuasive while excluding those that are less convincing. As further elucidated below, translators use frames for two main reasons: to express political messages and to achieve purposes related to marketing.

#### Political purposes of framing

In political framing, the process of shifting, deleting and foregrounding is done by the translator in order to thematise a certain message that suits either (1) the publishers' own interests or (2) the interests, values and beliefs of the readers. To clarify this point, four examples are presented below.

*Example 1* (ST by Reuters published on 15 August 2013 and TT by *Al-Arab* published on 18 August 2013):

<b>ST (Title)</b>	<i>New Saudi-supplied missiles boost rebels in south Syria</i>
<b>TT (Text)</b>	قالت مصادر بالمعارضة السورية ومصادر دبلوماسية في العاصمة الأردنية إن السعودية تتحرك في سرية تامة لدعم المعارضة السورية لتغيير موازين القوة عسكريا على الأرض، فضلا عن تحركاتها الدبلوماسية التي قادها مؤخرا رئيس الاستخبارات الأمير بندر بن سلطان، للدفع باتجاه حل سياسي عبر جنيف 2.
<b>Gloss</b>	Sources in the Syrian opposition and diplomatic sources in Amman said that Saudi Arabia is working secretly to help the opposition change the balance of power on the ground, and is leading a diplomatic move recently initiated by the <b>director general of the Saudi Intelligence Agency Prince Bandar bin Sultan</b> to push for a political solution through Geneva 2.

In this article, *Al-Arab's* citation of Prince Bandar bin Sultan does not appear in the source text. This insertion aimed to highlight the role of Bandar bin Sultan, a well-known figure in the Arab world, who had been tasked with managing Saudi policy in the Syrian civil war, as well as that of Saudi Arabia in playing a positive role to appease this conflict.

*Example 2* (ST by Reuters published on 26 November 2014, TT1 published by *Al-Manar* on 27 November 2014 and TT2 published by *Alsouria.net* on 27 November 2014):

<b>ST (Text)</b>	At a desert base, Gulf state Qatar is covertly training <b>moderate</b> Syrian <b>rebels</b> with U.S. help to fight both <b>President Bashar al-Assad</b> and Islamic State and may include more overtly Islamist <b>insurgent</b> groups, sources close to the matter say.
<b>TT1 (Text)</b>	مصادر مطلعة قولها "رويترز" نقلا عما سمته "أشارت وكالة قطر تدرب سرا مقاتلين من المعارضة السورية بمساعدة" إن الولايات المتحدة الأميركية في قاعدة بالصحراء للقتال ضد البرنامج قد" النظام في سوريا وتنظيم داعش،" وأضافت ان "يشمل تدريب مقاتلين من جماعات إسلامية علنا
<b>Gloss 1</b>	According to Reuters which quoted informed sources, "Qatar is covertly training Syrian <b>fighters</b> with the help of the U.S. at a desert base to fight both the regime in Syria and Islamic State and the program may include more overtly Islamist fighters."
<b>TT2 (Text)</b>	قالت مصادر مطلعة، إن قطر تدرب سرا مقاتلين من المعارضة السورية المعتدلة بمساعدة الولايات المتحدة الأميركية في قاعدة بالصحراء، للقتال ضد قوات نظام بشار الأسد وما يسمى تنظيم البرنامج قد يشمل تدريب "الدولة الإسلامية، وأشارت إلى أن "مقاتلين من جماعات إسلامية علنا
<b>Gloss 2</b>	At a desert base, Qatar is covertly training <b>moderate</b> Syrian <b>fighters</b> with U.S. help to fight both <b>Bashar al-Assad's forces</b> and the said Islamic State and "the program may include more overtly Islamist fighters," sources close to the matter say.

This article highlights lexical choices and changes in the use of terminology. The translation by *Al-Manar* did not describe the rebels as 'moderate', as stated in the source text, but only named them as *fighters* مقاتلين. In contrast, *Alsouria.net* used the correct Arabic equivalent to 'moderate' المعتدلة; however, it operated other changes that would fit into its model.

As we can observe, *Alsouria.net* is not recognising Assad as President and refers to the Syrian army as قوات نظام بشار الأسد, i.e. *Bashar al-Assad's forces*. From this particular use of lexical items, we could deduce that the translators were aiming at selecting negative terms/meanings to describe 'Them' while using positive terms/meanings to describe 'Us' (Van Dijk, 2006). This choice could be explained in terms of polarisation that could affect both forms and meanings (Van Dijk, 2006). In other words, *Alsouria.net* is trying to enhance and emphasise the 'negative properties' of [President] *Bashar al-Assad* in contrast to the 'positive properties' of the *Syrian rebels* or the *fighters*. However, *Al-Manar* is using an opposite strategy by de-emphasising the positive image of the Syrian rebels described as *moderate* in the source text.

*Example 3* Certain paragraphs in the article shown above were not translated by *Alsouria.net*, such as 'Reuters could not independently identify the participants in the programme or witness activity inside the base, which lies in a military zone guarded by Qatari Special Forces and marked on signposts as a restricted area.' The reason for this omission is likely that this anti-regime website aimed to avoid mentioning anything related to this secret and protected zone where the participants and activities are 'unknown', as mentioned in the source text.

## Example 4

ST (Reuters)	Qatar runs covert desert training camp for Syrian rebels
TT1 (Alsouria.net)	قطر تدير معسكراً سرياً لتدريب مقاتلين سوريين
Gloss 1	Qatar runs covert desert training camp for Syrian fighters
TT2 (Al-Manar)	رويترز: قطر تقيم معسكراً سرياً لتدريب مقاتلين للمقتال في سوريا
Gloss 2	Reuters: Qatar runs covert desert training camp for fighters in Syria

Returning to a consideration of the above title, there is a significant difference between the translation done by *Al-Manar* and that by *Alsouria.net* in terms of how each depicts the nationality of the fighters. The source text clearly identified the fighters as being of Syrian origin. Whereas *Alsouria.net*, the anti-regime website, did not make any changes to the title in its translation, *Al-Manar*, the pro-regime website, made a radical change by concealing the nationality of the fighters and indirectly pointing out their various origins.

## Marketing Purposes

In the domain of literature, Jauss and Benzinger (1970) coined the term ‘horizon of expectation’ to describe readers’ expectations in relation to literary works. As they explained (Jauss & Benzinger, 1970, p. 10): “a literary work is not an object which stands by itself and which offers the same face to each reader in each period. It is not a monument which reveals its timeless essence in a monologue. It is much more like an orchestration which strikes ever new chords among its readers and which frees the text from the substance of the words and makes it meaningful for the time.”

In this context, publishers often market themselves in order to gain influence with readers, which in some cases can come to exceed that wielded by politicians. In doing so, publishers attempt to understand the audience and their interests to achieve their dual goals of power and profit. The translator is not the only decision-maker; most of the time, he/she is bound to follow the ideology of the publisher, who has a certain agenda and message that he/she wishes to promote. In fact, it is the readers who hold the power in making the institution successful. Market forces are significant in making decisions about translation, editing, publishing and distribution, as the reception of the resulting content is an important factor that cannot be disregarded.

To illustrate this point, we can examine the following example:

Example 5 (ST by Reuters published on 15 August 2013, TT1 published by *Al-Manar* on 17 August 2013 and TT2 published by *Al-Arab* on 18 August 2013):

ST (Text)	Rebels in southern Syria have fired newly acquired anti-tank guided missiles supplied by Saudi Arabia in a significant boost to their battle against President Bashar al-Assad, rebel, intelligence and diplomatic sources say.
TT1 (Text)	المعارضة السورية نقلت وكالة رويترز عن مصادر في والمخابرات العربية والغربية ومصادر دبلوماسية قولها ان جماعات مسلحة في جنوب سورية، بدأت في استخدام صواريخ مضادة للدبابات حصلت عليها مؤخرا من السعودية.

**Gloss 1** Reuters quoted sources in “the Syrian opposition and Arab and western intelligence and diplomatic sources” as saying that armed groups in southern Syria started to use anti-tank missiles recently supplied by Saudi Arabia.

**TT2 (Text)** وأكدت المصادر أن معارضين مسلحين في جنوب سوريا بدأوا في استخدام صواريخ مضادة للدبابات حصلوا عليها مؤخرا من الرياض مما يعطي دفعة جديدة لمعركتهم ضد نظام الأسد، النصر” الذي” وإفشال تدخل حزب الله اللبناني والعودة به حقيقاه إلى نقطة الصفر.

**Gloss 2** Armed opponents in southern Syria have started to use newly acquired anti-tank missiles supplied by Saudi Arabia, which gives a significant boost to their battle against Bashar al-Assad’s regime, and thwart the intervention of Lebanese Hezbollah and make the “victory” achieved return back to square one, sources say.

In TT1, the pro-regime website *Al-Manar* makes use of addition to describe ‘the intelligence sources’, which are described as ‘Arab and western’ in an attempt to show that these sources are particularly knowledgeable regarding what the rebels are doing in Syria. The strategy of addition is used differently by the anti-regime website *Al-Arab*, where a reference to Lebanese Hezbollah is added in the text to highlight that this specific party is intervening in the Syrian war for its own ends and that the objective of the rebels is ‘to foil its plans’ by using their newly acquired missiles.

Where are the frames here? Through adding ideas in their respective texts, each website is using the form of communication that best advances its own agenda and most strongly influences its readers’ beliefs. In other words, they are using powerful frames that represent things that the people they speak to are ready to hear and accept as the only facts on which to rely (Lakoff, 2014, p. 34).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The concept of ideology is ubiquitous in our daily lives. Questioning ideology in translation and communication entails studying its critical role in oral and written discourses and in the translation of such discourses. As Lakoff (2014, p. 52) argued, “there is no ideology of the moderate. A moderate progressive has mostly progressive views, but also some conservative ones. A moderate conservative has mostly conservative views, but also some progressive ones. But there is no single set of policies that defines a ‘middle’.”

In the context of the Syrian war, what translators have done greatly reflects their thoughts, interests, ideas and belief systems and by extension, those of their readers. In this respect, Tymoczko (2003, p. 183) explained: “the ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience. These latter features are affected by the place of enunciation of the translator: indeed they are part of what we mean by the ‘place’ of enunciation, for that ‘place’ is an ideological positioning as well as a geographical or temporal one.”

Our texts show how ideology is produced by powerful news media institutions through the collective management of the translated texts to reflect their positions and beliefs and those of

their readers by applying conceptual frames through language. In other words, through the translation of politically-oriented texts dealing with the Syrian conflict, the translators have re-framed the reality as it appeared in the STs in a manner that enhances and propels their own frames, the readers' frames and the publishers' frames, which are all contiguous.

The question of neutrality is highly problematic in the context of the role of ideology in translation because the translator is committed to a certain framework, whether it be that of "the source culture, the receptor culture, a third culture, or an international cultural framework that includes both source and receptor societies" (Tymoczko, 2003, p. 201).

Archibald (2016, p. 4) argued that "the translator as a professional no different from the physician is bound by the basic ethical principle of *noli nocere*." However, the question of ethics and loyalty and the importance of applying ethical principles when translating political texts can certainly be revisited in light of the data and analyses presented above. Translation scholars need to re-examine and redefine the relationship between translation and ethics in this field. In many ways, the position of the translator can be encapsulated in the famous Italian saying 'traduttore, traditore', i.e. 'translator, traitor'. As reflected through the above translations of texts reporting on the war in Syria, the role of language ideology in news media is clearly indicative of the translator's close involvement in enacting multiple changes to advance varying ideologies and multi-levelled agendas of "subversion that elude dominant control" (Tymoczko, 2003, p. 201). On the practical level, it is critical to ask questions and introduce new modes of thinking about the role of translation in enhancing human understanding, communication, mediation and the building of bridges between cultures, as well as consider the profile and professional identity of the translators and their social responsibility and socially responsible working practices.

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