THE USE OF METAPHORS IN POLITICAL FEATURE ARTICLES TRANSLATED FORM ENGLISH INTO ARABIC

A Contrastive-Critical Discourse Analysis

A thesis in Translation Studies (English-Arabic)

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By

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Supervised by: Dr Raymond Chakhachiro
Dedication

To my father whom I left behind in order to achieve my dreams.
To the soul of my mother who certainly would have been happy to witness such a success.
To my brother, Muhammed, whose ambition and infinite support inspire and encourage me.
To my beloved family who endured all to ensure I have all I need.
Acknowledgement

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Statement of Authentication

I hereby acknowledge that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other institution. I also undertake that this work is original and a result of my own research endeavour unless otherwise appropriately cited.

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Acronyms used in the study

AT: Arabic text
ET: English text
TET: translated English text
AAME: authentic Arabic metaphoric expression
AEME: authentic English metaphoric expression
TEME: translated English metaphoric expression
ST: source text
TT: target text
CA: Contrastive Analysis
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
C-CDA: Contrastive-Critical Discourse Analysis
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Abstract

Metaphors constitute a key element of political discourse in just about any language. That being said, little has been done to investigate the use of metaphors in political-feature articles translated from English into Arabic. Therefore, with the aim of analysing how metaphors are employed in such political-feature articles, a set of three feature articles: (1) authentic Arabic feature articles, (2) authentic English feature articles, (3) and the translations of the English feature articles into Arabic, was examined to investigate how writers employ metaphors in each of those datasets. The authentic texts, written in both Arabic and English, involve Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in which texts are analysed in order to examine how writers in both languages employ metaphors in the original texts. The translated texts from English into Arabic involve CDA and Contrastive Analysis (CA) wherein texts are analysed before being compared and contrasted with the authentic texts. The results of the study show a significant level of reliance on metaphors for communicating political messages with the target audiences in the STs. This, in turn, requires an adequate translation from English into Arabic so as to preserve the intended messages. In other words, the present study shows the critical importance of accurately translating political metaphors from English into Arabic, which could be further justified from the perspective of conveying the most appropriate and accurate message to the target audience.

ملخص البحث

تشكل الاستعارة عنصرًا مهمًا من عناصر الخطاب السياسي في مختلف اللغات. وتعد الدراسة الحالية محاولة لردم الفجوة المعترف بها في استخدام الاستعارة في المقالات الصحفية السياسية المتاحة من اللغة الإنجليزية إلى اللغة العربية؛ حيث تم تحذير بالقدر الكافي من البحث. تهدف الدراسة إلى تحليل طريقة استخدام الاستعارة في ثلاثة أنواع من المقالات الصحفية: مقالات مكتوبة باللغة العربية ومقابلات مكتوبة باللغة الإنجليزية وترجمات المقالات الإنجليزية؛ بدءًا من الوصول إلى طريقة توظيف الكتاب والاستعارة في كل نوع من تلك المقالات. وقد استخدمت التحليل النقدي للخطاب عند تحليل النصوص الأصلية المكتوبة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية كما استخدمت كلًا من التحليل النقدي للخطاب والتحليل المقارن عند تحليل النصوص المرتبطة من الإنجليزية إلى العربية لمعرفة طريقة استخدام الاستعارة في النص المترجم الأول وما إذا كان المترجمين ترجموا الاستعارات بدقة يمكنهم إيصال الرسالة المراده في النص الأصلي ثانياً. وقد خلصت الدراسة إلى أن كتاب النصوص الأصلية في اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية اعتمدا على الاستعارة بشكل لافت في إيضاح رسائل محددة بما يتطلب من مترجم المقالات من اللغة الإنجليزية إلى اللغة العربية دقة عالية في ترجمة الاستعارات لضمان إيصال الرسالة المقصودة في النص الأصلي. وبعبارة أخرى، فإن أهمية الدقة في ترجمة الاستعارة من اللغة الإنجليزية إلى اللغة العربية يمكن النظر إليها من زاوية ضرورة إيصال الرسالة المقصودة إلى الجمهور المستهدف كما أرادها كاتب النص الأصلي.
0. Significance of the study

Without exception, the use of metaphors is a common issue in various disciplines including literature, linguistics, social studies, political science, and translation studies. Metaphors have attracted so much interest, thanks to the effective role they can play in communicating messages. This study situates itself in the fields of both translation of metaphors and political arena. It tackles the use of metaphors in political feature articles translated from English into Arabic, an area that has markedly been under-researched to the best of my knowledge. Therefore, the notable presence of the purposeful use of metaphors in feature articles as well as the ways in which metaphors are tackled when such texts are translated from English into Arabic have motivated this research in its attempt to fill a gap in this field by investigating the use of metaphors in political feature articles translated from English into Arabic.

On the other hand, this study shall endeavour to assist translators, readers, and newspaper agencies who deal with translation of political feature articles, especially with regard to translation accuracy. For instance, the analysis of authentic Arabic and English texts could offer an insight into how metaphor is employed in political feature articles in both languages. This, in turn, would offer writers insights into how metaphors are utilised by influential writers. Moreover, the analysis of translated texts will show whether translators have succeeded when it comes to conveying metaphors into Arabic.
Chapter 1 Background of the Study

1.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview and brief definitions of the major terms used in this project. Different researchers have tackled these terms in a variety of settings; however, the overview provided here shall determine the particular intended sense of each metaphor under study, highlighting the term ‘metaphor’ as the central issue.

1.2 Definition of “metaphor”

The root of the word metaphor dates back to the late 15th century. Our modern word is derived from the middle French métaphore, which in turn is derived from the Greek metaphorá, meaning a transfer. It is ultimately derived from the Greek verb metapherein, meaning to “transfer, carry over, change, alter; to use a word in a strange sense”. Dictionary.com breaks the word down as follows: The compound meta- “over, across” + pherein “to carry, bear” (“Metaphor”, n.d.). When analysing, for instance, ‘الحكاية أنهم لا يفهمون أن الحظيرة ليست إغراء كبيرا آخرين من دونهم’ : ‘The story is that they do not realise that the “pen” is not widely tempting except for them’ (Kandil, 2016). The writer claims a similarity between those who blindly follow the regime and powerless animals living in a pen. The reader realises that pen is a zone made for animals only, and by no means meant for humans. However, those who turn blinds and completely dedicate themselves to the regime’s favour are likened to animals living in a pen. Hence, the word “pen” suggests a similarity between regime loyalists and animals. Apparently, this example makes no mention of animals, but it can be reasonably recognised that ‘الحظيرة’ : ‘the pen’, is only for animals.

1.3 The Concept of Metaphor in Dictionaries

The translation of the English word “metaphor” into Arabic is a source of controversy. Many bilingual dictionaries and English-Arabic literary glossaries provide different views concerning the definition and translation of the concept. Some define metaphor as الاستخدام المجازي  ‘the figurative use of words and expressions against the factual use’. Others differentiate between two terms: المجاز والاستعارة : “trope” and “metaphor”. For instance, Baalabaki and Baalabaki (1997) translated metaphor as المجاز،
1.4 Metaphor in English literature

Non-Arab rhetoricians and linguists have comprehensively tackled the concept of metaphor. In the English language, for instance, one can find many different and complex definitions for metaphor. According to Procter (1982) in the Longman New Universal Dictionary, metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is applied to another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” (Procter, 1982, p. 619). Such a definition considers the notion of borrowing a word or phrase (for another’s sake) to affirm the relationship between two unrelated ideas or objects. Goatly (2005) asserts that metaphor happens when a unit of discourse refers unconventionally to a process, concept or object. This definition of metaphor, which seeks to broaden the scope of metaphor, is based on the fuzzy premise of “unconventional” use of discourse, which is also problematic as it does not define the nature of such “unconventional” use.

Other definitions in various sources and dictionaries have almost the same view in considering a broad sense of similarity in metaphor even though these definitions neglect how the metaphor is structured. For instance, according to (TheFreeDictionary.com, 2016), a metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a term or phrase is applied to something to which is not literally applicable in order to suggest a resemblance”.

With regard to classification, “many linguists have tried to classify metaphors and confine them to a certain number [of types]” (Yaseen, 2013, p. 53). Among those linguists is (Newmark, 1988) who offered seven types: dead, cliché, stock, cultural, adopted, recent, and original metaphors. However, following Ghazala (2012), it may not be easy today to clearly differentiate between dead and cliché metaphors, for instance. Leech (1985) offers another classification scheme where he distinguishes four types of metaphor: (a) humanising, (b) animistic, (c) abstract, and (d) synesthetic. Following (Ereksoussi, 2014), these types lack “clear cut boundaries between these proposed types” even though they consider a variety of
aspects including the structure and nature of the borrowed concept and usage. For more insights on metaphor types, see Yaseen (2013, pp. 56-69) where he includes various metaphor types that consider a variety of aspects from which metaphors can be looked at.

1.5 Metaphor in Arabic Literature

Metaphor has been of concern among Arab linguists and rhetoricians in both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic eras. Not surprisingly, the early study of rhetoric can be traced back to the 8th century, when ancient Arab scholars started publishing in various Arabic disciplines, including syntax, phonics, prosody, and rhetoric. Rhetoric, then, was not an independent discipline until Abu-Obaidah Mâmar bin Al-Muthanna dictated1 a book in the 8th century entitled ‘مجاز القرآن’ literally The Trope of the Holy Quràn. This key book tried to distinguish between the metaphoric and non-metaphoric use of expressions in the Holy Quràn (Sazkeen, 1988). Thereafter, many publications have addressed various aspects of rhetoric as a dependent discipline, such as ‘البيان والتبيين’ ‘The Eloquence and Demonstration’ by Al-Jahiz, the founder of rhetorical studies. In this book, edited by Haroun (1993), Al-Jahiz identified metaphor ‘الاستعارة’ ‘Istî’ara’ as “the borrowing of one aspect of a word and attributing it to another” (Haroun, 1993, p. 61).

Undeniably, ‘أسرار البلاغة’ literally ‘The Secrets of Rhetoric’, is another key publication in the field, written by Imam Abdul-Qahir Al-Jerjany, one of the most prominent rhetorical studies from the 11th century, edited by Shakir (2002). Al-Jerjany defines metaphor as “borrowing the attribute of one aspect and attributing it to something else, in order to imply the characteristics of that aspect to the other aspect” (Shakir, 2002, p. 55).

Although these ancient Arab rhetoricians widely addressed the concept of metaphor, ambiguity remains, for none of them distinguished metaphor from other similar rhetorical devices that are also based on similarity between two different objects. However, Al-Sakkaki, a well-known Arab rhetorician of the 12th century, dedicated the third chapter of his pioneering work entitled ‘مفتاح العلوم’, literally The Key of Knowledge/Sciences, edited by Zarzour (1987), to rhetoric and semantics. He offered, perhaps, the most panoramic view of metaphors when he pointed out that metaphor can be recognised in utterance or writing "where you mention one of the entities involved in simile while intending the other, claiming that the similised entity has become the one similised-to, and providing a proof that by

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1 The early form of publications in the Arab world was known as ‘كتب الأمالي’, ‘dictated publications’, where scholars taught orally while their students wrote down what they said.
asserting the similised entity one of the prominent features of the similised-to entity” (Zarzour, 1987, p. 369).

Ancient Arab rhetoricians addressed two major types of metaphor, explicit and implicit, based on the absence of topic or image, respectively. An example of the explicit metaphor is 

لاستعارة

المشبه به : ‘‘I saw a lion” where ‘‘the topic: human’ is removed while

المشبه به

‘‘the image: lion’ is presented. An example of the implicit metaphor is

تعضنا الأيام بنابها

‘‘days bite us with fangs’, where the image, the human or predator, is omitted although offering a sign of the removed item: “bite” and “fangs”.

Metaphor definitions provided by ancient Arab linguists and rhetoricians focus on the broad sense of the phenomenon as a rhetorical tool that carries meanings beyond the literal sense. For example, the definitions offered by Abu-Obaidah Màmar bin Al-Muthanna, Al-Jahiz, and Al-Jerjany intertwine many rhetorical tools as they apply to simile, metonymy, trope, and so on. However, it seems that Al-Sakkaki takes into account the variations between these concepts and, as a result, offers a peculiar definition that distinguishes metaphor from other types of figurative speeches. Due to such complexity in defining this phenomenon, the word ‘metaphor’ is henceforth deemed to be an equivalent of the Arabic term ‘الاستعارة’ but with the limits suggested above by Al-Sakkaki.

1.6 Feature Articles

Feature articles are a prominent category in the media that one finds in periodical publications such as newspapers and magazines (TheFreeDictionary). The existence of feature articles is rooted in the birth of newspapers as an integral component of press activity, which began in 1622 in the English-speaking world and 1880 in the Arab world. They address a variety of daily life affairs, such as social, political, sporty and commercial issues, and provide a detailed and analytical view of what has happened or is expected to happen in a well-structured manner. Feature articles render newspapers and magazines informative, and effectively provide “something more than a dry account of the events of the day” (Conboy, 2010, p. 2).

One could reasonably claim that feature articles always target a certain audience. Those who write for the public tend to use ordinary language to make their writings accessible, whereas authors writing to elites rely on a higher register. Writers are thus required to vary their language depending on the target audience.

Political feature articles are usually written with different classes of readers and issues in
mind. Broadly speaking, feature articles can be persuasive, informative, supportive, instigative, critical, delighting or mocking. Interestingly, it is worth noting that either printed or online newspapers, the normal home of feature articles, have tended to limit themselves to one field, such as policy, economy, sport, culture, religion or social issues. Consequently, such specialty has often ended up with many Arab governments imposing censorship over those who dare write on political issues.

1.7 The employment of metaphor in feature articles

Not only is metaphor a tool that writers strive to use when writing creatively, it is also a vital part of our thinking system. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, p. 453), “much of our ordinary conceptual system and the bulk of our everyday conventional language are structured and understood primarily in metaphorical terms”. Therefore, creative writers naturally rely on such a tool as metaphor to express their ideas effectively in any issue they address. “[Metaphors] also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, p. 454).

Considering the significant presence of metaphor in different situations, let us recall the following example discussed regularly amongst social activists and writers.

Family is construction. الأسرة بيت / بناء

Family is conceptualised here as a home/construction that consists of many fundamental or secondary components. When writers tackle different issues relevant to family matters, they draw many pictures related to this metaphorical expression, such as the following:

Divorce makes a family collapse. يؤدي الطلاق لانهيار الأسرة

The husband and wife are the two pillars of the family. الزوج والزوجة هما ركنا الأسرة

Marriage house/marriage nest. بيت الزوجية / عش الزوجية

Children are an adornment of the home. الأطفال زينة الدار

Therefore, the metaphoric expressions employed here are ways in which people think and tackle such an issue, and this is what is meant by a “conduit metaphor” when Reddy referred to it in Ortony (1993, p. 170): “ideas are objects, linguistic expressions are containers, and communication is about sending objects through those containers”. The next two sub-sections will illustrate, with further detail, that the purpose of employing metaphors in feature articles is either aesthetical or ideological.
1.7.1 The aesthetic value of using metaphor in feature articles

The systematic ubiquity of metaphor, as acknowledged above, demands a far deeper reflection on the value it offers when employed in feature articles. Metaphor is a strong and effective rhetorical tool used in the writing of feature articles for various purposes. For the purpose of elaborating the aesthetic value of this instrument, the examples below, taken from my data, may draw attention to this particular purpose.

In the article entitled “Sisi and the Curse of Rabàa” (see appendix 4), Hearst (2014) describes Sisi’s regime in Egypt as a “blood-soaked regime”. Here, the metaphorical expression insinuates that the European Union and the United States of America are blind enough to continue rendering their support to the Egyptian government despite the bloodshed committed during the military coup. The reliance on the image of a brutal person hellbent on shedding more blood (or notably the image of blood-sucking vampires) suggests that EU and USA support for the regime is unacceptable and unlawful.

A metaphor can also be used to show the relevance of something, say an event, for the purpose of creating contrast. This is possible because metaphors possess the ability to exaggerate and emphasise events (Newman, 2001). Seemingly well-aware of such a capacity in the metaphor, Hearst (2014) calls the King Abdul-Aziz necklace “the ultimate honour”. Exaggeration of the importance of that necklace and contrasting it with the move to have it around the neck of a man with no honour, in Hearst’s perspective, drives the point home.

1.7.2 The ideological value of using metaphor in feature articles

Metaphors are part and parcel of political writings as they help writers communicate certain messages in a more effective way. Their use in politics can stir emotions, for they can be brought to bear on the latent cognitive structures (Charteris-Black, 2011). Moreover, this figurative language is useful for making political claims. For instance, in his feature article entitled “Sisi and the Curse of Rabàa”, (Hearst, 2014) states that the Egyptian authority committed mass killings simply by employing the expression ‘blood-soaked regime’. The use of such a horrific metaphor evokes the terrifying picture of a regime hell-bent on murder which in turn delivers a clear political message that this regime must remain unrecognised and unsupported at the global level. Hence, it can be said that although metaphors can be highly manipulative, they are also very informative and effective when serving just causes. No matter the circumstance, language can become a very powerful tool when it draws on
metaphor. The present study has outlined how metaphors can serve ideology through its effective delivery of political messages.
Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Overview

As stated earlier in chapter one, metaphor, as an important type of figurative language, has received increasing attention in various knowledge domains over the past sixty years, thereby suggesting that the subject is inexhaustible, as Black (1993) confirms. Metaphor has been studied in linguistics, rhetoric, psychology, philosophy, epistemology, political science, and of course translation, among others.

Nowhere is the use of metaphor more poignant and pervading than in political discourse, while media houses provide the platform for the propagation of political discourse and its messages. The close relationship between politics and the media has been called into question for quite some time now. As Rosenbloom (1978) observed, “for years, politically involved members of the community have been convinced that their newspapers often contain propaganda rather than news” (Rosenbloom, 1978, p. 42). Furthermore, as Ponton (2016) observes, the question of how public speakers attempt to persuade their listeners has informed much of modern political analysis, in spreading propaganda and influencing opinion through the media. Much of the analysis has focused on the use of metaphor to achieve that, with recent publications on political discourse dedicated to this figure of speech (see Musolff (2004); Carver and Pikalo (2008); Charteris-Black (2014).

The aim of this chapter is to review influential research relevant to the objective of this enquiry with a view to establishing its relevance and identifying gaps in the literature vis-à-vis the use of metaphor in original and translated political discourse. It seeks to situate the analysis in the linguistic, cultural and political contexts of metaphor in order to understand the significance of metaphoric use and the complexity of translating metaphor into another language—in this case, Arabic. To accomplish this task, relevant models of translation and the main issues that have been at the centre of debate over political discourse translation are also surveyed in this chapter, with the aim of grounding the analysis of data in the conceptual and theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 3 Methodology. Consequently, this chapter also discusses methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Contrastive Analysis (CA) that have been used in the analysis of metaphoric use in both original political feature articles and parallel translations.
2.2 Why Is Metaphor Important?

The importance of metaphor is derived from the notion that it is an indispensable basis of language and thought, as Goatly (2005) confirms. A metaphor, according to D'Angelo (1980), can make abstract ideas concrete. He explains that “it can describe, clarify, delineate and point out logical relationships between things. It can also reveal attitudes and feelings and make judgements about the subject of the metaphor” D'Angelo (1980, p. 413). Derman (2017) reckons that most of the words we use to describe our feelings are metaphors. But metaphors are not confined to feelings. According to Cacciari (1998), we use metaphors for conceptualizing abstract concepts in terms that are apprehendable. “Metaphors are often used to express ideas that are inexpressible by literal language” (Cacciari, 1998, p. 121).

Consequently, it may be said that the importance of metaphor goes beyond the linguistic manipulation of language to the mapping and schematic organization of concepts and ideas in terms that are readily understood. In this connection, Gluksberg (2001) maintains that individuals are incapable of avoiding metaphors, although literal meanings demonstrate a clear sense within the context. He contends that metaphorical meanings are apprehended whenever they are available. His study shows that metaphorical meanings can be accessed as quickly as literal ones.

Finally, the importance of metaphor is captured in Kenneth Burke’s (1984) argument: “It is precisely through metaphor that our perspectives, our analogical extensions, are made – a world without metaphor would be a world without purpose” (Burke, 1984, p. 194). Metaphor is thus an all-encompassing, all-pervasive figure of speech that facilitates our understanding of how we experience the world.

2.3 Approaches to the Analysis of Metaphor

Several approaches have been developed for the analysis of metaphor, all of which fall into two major categories: (1) the Aristotelian group of theories, (2) the Cognitive Metaphor Theories. As Nöth (1995) observes, thousands of treatises have dealt with the subject of metaphor since Aristotle. “The long history of meta-morphology […] has created a Myth of Metaphor [emphasis in original]” (Nöth, 1995, p. 129). Black (1993) groups the Aristotelian theories of metaphor into three types: substitution theory, comparison theory, and interaction theory. These theories will not be discussed at length, given the limited space and scope of the present research. Suffice it to say, the aforesaid theories have had their supporters and detractors, with criticisms paving the way for contemporary cognitive theories. The debate
over the Aristotelian approaches has centred on whether metaphor is substitution, interaction or similarity. However, as Lanham (1991) has pointed out regarding Aristotelian clarification of how a metaphor works, it is considered not only as comparing two elements, but as finding a new meaning as a third element.

2.3.1 Contemporary theories of metaphor

Recent studies have introduced new theories of the metaphor. As already mentioned, most notable and relevant to the present research is the Cognitive Metaphor Theory advanced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b). Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) posits that metaphor works based on the level of thinking. Since the 1980s, this view has prevailed in discourse analysis and replaced other views that considered the use of metaphor as literary or decorative use of language. In this regard, Deignan (2016) argues that metaphor connects two key domains in terms of source and target. The source domain includes a set of processes, attributes, relationships and literal entities that are connected semantically (Deignan, 2016). The central ideas of CMT demonstrate that metaphors do not always have to be verbal since metaphor reflects thinking of one aspect in relation to another. This relationship can be conceptual, verbal, and/or visual.

More recent studies have challenged the Cognitive Metaphor Theory for its overemphasis on the conceptual aspects of metaphor while downplaying the role of language. As a response, the theory of the Context-Limited Simulation (CLS) is based on the model of perceptual simulation for the use and interpretation of language (Barsalou, 1999). Through this connection, Ritchie (2016) argues that metaphors are used and amended accurately when a writer or speaker is having difficulty expressing subtle ideas or certain strong emotions (Ritchie, 2016).

Another challenge or response to CMT is the Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models Theory and Metaphor (LCCM), which is concerned with lexical representation and construction of meaning (Evans, 2016). Moreover, Evans (2016) argues that in this theory, words do not carry meaning. Meaning emerges from a situated interpretational process, while utterance is activated by constructing meaning (Evans, 2016).

Finally, to address the shortcomings of CMT, the discourse dynamics framework posits that language is a dynamic interplay between thought and culture. Thought and culture are inseparably interconnected and dynamic in nature. In this connection, Cameron (2008) explains that metaphor takes on a wide range of interconnected dimensions that are affective,
linguistic, cognitive, cultural, and physical. The discourse dynamics framework distinguishes several types of metaphor, including: process metaphor, linguistic metaphor, metaphor clusters, systematic metaphors, primary metaphor, conventionalized metaphor, and etymological metaphor. Looking at language as a complex dynamic system, discourse dynamics framework holds that the link between agents and factors of human systems establishes the context of the system (Cameron, 2008).

2.4 Cultural Dependency and Translatability of Metaphor

As the foregoing survey of key contemporary theories of metaphor has revealed, the inherent relationship between metaphor and culture has gained attention in various studies of metaphor, and it is now acknowledged that metaphor has a cultural environment from which it is derived and in which it operates. Ayling (2002) argues that levels of acceptable figurativeness are culturally defined, and that the metaphor serves to broaden categories by expansion. Consequently, metaphors are the product of culture. Metaphor is a cognitive and cultural concept. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) reckon that metaphor uncovers the manner in which we understand our culture and the world in which we live. They argue that key cultural values are coherent with the structure of metaphor. They add that metaphor is prevalent in daily activities. Our thoughts and actions are governed by the metaphorical nature of our ordinary conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). As a natural conclusion, Gannon (2011) observes that a cultural metaphor by definition includes a significant amount of symbolism. One phenomenon, activity or institution is used to describe the values, attitudes, and behaviours of a group (Gannon, 2011).

Metaphors represent both the cognitive and cultural aspects of human experiences and how culture affects these experiences (Mackenthun, 1997), which can be paradoxical across cultures. An example of such paradoxical metaphor is the grave metaphor. In English, a “shallow grave” refers to someone buried in a hurry, unceremoniously, and in suspicious circumstances (probably murdered), as opposed to a six-feet deep grave, which is the standard practice in western cultures. The practice was associated with the plague. Soniak (2012) explains that as the plague was pervasive in London, the mayor introduced laws to deal with the bodies so as to limit the infection of the disease. The mayor ordered that all grave must be at least six-feet deep (Soniak, 2012). In contrast, in the Arab-Islamic culture, a deep grave signifies a curse or damnation while “shallow” graves are the preferred practice (at least half the height of the deceased).
Furthermore, traditions, symbols, life conditions and representations of human experience are some of the major differences among cultures that reduces or limit the translatability of metaphor. The greater the cultural gap between cultures, the less amenable to translation metaphors become. Conversely, the smaller the gap, the easier it is to translate a metaphor. To a large degree, this explains why it is easier to translate some of the universal metaphors that denote almost similar meanings across cultures.

2.4.1 Translatability of Metaphor

During the second half of the twentieth century, the question of translatability occupied a considerable space in the debate on translation, which continues to be a central issue in translation studies. Taking a dynamic equivalence approach to translation, Nida (1976) argues that the question of untranslatability has too often been discussed in absolute terms without taking into account relative equivalence. In the debate on translatability, the translation of metaphor has been the bugbear of translation studies, as one of the major problems is the translatability of figurative speech. As (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a) contend, figurative language represents a fundamental element of cognition and communication. They reject the traditional false assumption that all conventional and daily language is literal and not metaphorical. The intertwining of language and thought entails a similar complexity to be encountered in translation. In this regard, Newmark (1988, p. 104) argues that the main issue in translating a metaphor has to do with the choice of a translation method for the text and metaphor. For Newmark (1988), metaphor refers to any figurative expression that transfers the sense of a word to a nonliteral sense. He reckons that whenever you come across a grammatical sentence that does not make sense, it is important to test a probable metaphorical meaning. Dagut (1976) proposes a tentative hypothesis that the structure of "possible" metaphors consists of a combination of the cultural experience of people and their semantic associations. Consequently, it can be said that in light of Dagut’s assertion, a metaphor’s translatability is specific to the language pair in question.

2.5 Political Metaphor

It is widely acknowledged that politics is all about rhetoric and persuasion—winning presidential debates, swaying public opinion, taking a nation to war, winning the hearts and minds of occupied nations, and so on. These are all achieved through the art of persuasion.
and influence, and the creation of new realities through the use of figurative language, and more specifically, metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) argue that metaphor is an ornamental feature of language and a means of expressing beliefs, values and attitudes, and therefore an essential component of human communication with political significance (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b). Political studies have emphasized the central role of metaphor in political discourse. As Otieno (2016) confirms, these studies have discussed the significance of metaphors in terms of their persuasive and rhetorical application in political discourse. Yet, despite the recent boom in publications about both metaphor and political discourse, there seems hardly any definition(s) of political metaphor. What makes political metaphor different from any other type of metaphor? Gavriely-Nuri (2013) offers the following explanation: “political metaphor is an encounter between two semantic fields, or the echoing of these two semantic fields, with the condition that one of these fields is linked to political issues” (Gavriely-Nuri, 2013, p. 68). This definition highlights the inherent connection between political metaphor and political issues. The expressions “puppet government”, “banana republic”, “landslide victory”, “lame duck”, and “melting pot” are only a few examples of political metaphors that permeate political discourse and explicitly or implicitly tie the “image” to a certain political dimension.

Metaphors of political discourse and political thought have been viewed with scepticism in the past, and only recently has such a view changed towards a more positive account of political metaphors. Quoting Thomas Hobbes’s assertion that metaphors carry the danger of leading the human mind into intellectual and political confusion, Musolff (2004) notes the shift in linguistics, psychology, and philosophy towards a more favourable account of the relevance of metaphor for social and political conceptualization, particularly the school of cognitive metaphoric analysis, advanced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b). This shift has inevitably come about probably because politicians have always used political metaphors, consciously or unconsciously, to influence the electorate into believing in a given course of action (Edelman, 1985). In line with this assertion, linguists have studied political metaphors using real-world examples from a corpus of political discourses, and various scholars have focused on the analysis of metaphors in diverse political contexts. For example, Paris (2002) conducted a study where she analysed the use of metaphor in the Kosovo debate. The United States’ invasion of Kosovo garnered both supporting and opposing views, represented in the political metaphors employed to advance these views. She cites “Munich” and “Powder keg in the Balkans” as two metaphors that were used in the course of the debate. The author points out that the word “Munich” was used metaphorically to show that the situation in
Kosovo could be likened to Hitler’s Germany. The reaction to the use of this metaphor significantly demonstrates the opposing stances taken by those who supported the invasion and those who opposed to it and refused to accept that the Yugoslav president could be likened to Hitler (Paris, 2002). The expression “Powder keg in the Balkans” was another recurrent phrase in the Kosovo debate (Paris, 2002). The phrase was previously used to refer to the conflict that caused the First World War. In the context of Kosovo, it was used to show that the Kosovo crisis could quickly end in a disaster of epic proportions. The use of this metaphor is purported to have facilitated the understanding of the crisis in Kosovo.

As stated earlier, politicians seek to win the support of the people in order to implement their mandate. In this regard, (Mio, 1997) conducted a study of political metaphors and found that those metaphors enhanced the persuasive nature of politics. In the early stages of the research, he noted that the electorate’s perceptions of debates by politicians in the mainstream media were influenced by the electorate’s previous opinions of those politicians. Notably, metaphors were used to: (1) simplify otherwise complex information, (2) manipulate past facts, and (3) appeal to emotions. By using these three functions of metaphor, politicians were able to easily influence the electorate.

However, such power of the metaphor is not always readily attainable, and so the media may sometimes step in to manipulate these political metaphors for maximum impact. In this regard, Landau and Keefer (2014) examined metaphoric framing as a device of communication. Using newspaper headlines that carried metaphors used by politicians or political issues reported by the media, they found that metaphoric framing pervades public discourse. Citing various metaphors, they concluded that realisation of the metaphor's impact on political attitudes provides insight into difficult political conflicts (Landau & Keefer, 2014). For example, the metaphor ‘fall off a cliff’ makes sense from a metaphoric perspective to an audience who have experienced struggles, since it is well-known that falling off a cliff can never be positive.

2.5.1 Setting the Agenda of Political Discourse

It has been argued that the news media, with political discourse as a corollary, are a primary source of the pictures in our imagination in what is now known as ‘agenda-setting’. In this regard, McCombs (2013) argues that the role of agenda-setting is to change saliency from pictures in the mass media to pictures in our heads. One could further argue that metaphors are a vital instrument in the transfer of such pictures since metaphors evoke mental pictures.
of the political issues being portrayed by metaphors. It follows that different political agendas have different approaches to the use of metaphors.

2.6 The Translation of Political Metaphor

The use of metaphor involves an artistic presentation of whatever message the speaker intends to convey. The translation of political language happens on different media platforms, written or audio-visual, when reporting information to people from different backgrounds and languages. These media platforms often focus on winning people’s confidence by making conversations from interviews and reports on publications available to the reader. However, they sometimes commit errors, some of which result in irreparable damage due to the mistranslation and misinterpretation of the metaphoric expressions involved.

Wang and Wang (2013) conducted a study aimed at understanding idioms and other forms of figurative speech between English and Chinese cultures. One of the issues addressed in this study is the use of political metaphors across cultures, most of which involve using words that could have no anterior meaning in the Source Language (SL). Moreover, as long as the translator understands the said meaning, he or she could be in a position to use the appropriate word in the Target Language (TL), and thus create a meaning similar to what the speaker intends to convey.

In his study of translating irony in political commentary texts from English into Arabic, Chakhachiro (2011) found that decoding hidden meanings in figurative texts is not always straightforward. For instance, irony in political commentary articles, including metaphoric expressions, has often proved to be difficult to translate. Rendering them into a different language would require that the translator builds up an environment similar to the one present in the source language. Creation of such environments is often difficult, which only adds to the complexity of the translation effort.

Finally, political language may include more than one group of people and may therefore need translation. The notion of translation has led to a growing study of the issue in the context of political discourse (Sharifian, 2009). The author found figurative language to be an instrumental part of the political language. Politics often involve discrediting one’s opponents and placing the preferred candidate in a winning position. Therefore, a politician would often count on figurative language to ensure that the message is well received. However, misinterpretation of metaphorical expressions could even cause a rift between two countries. Sharifian (2009) specifically used a quotation in which the Iranian president stated that
“Israel should be wiped off the map” (Sharifian, 2009, p. 420). Many people interpreted the text in different ways, most of which led to propaganda that the president had provoked Israel to war, even though the Iranian president was only questioning the legitimacy of Israel’s borders (Sharifian, 2009).

It can be argued that politics would not be as comprehensible without metaphor (Maalej, 2008). In light of this assertion, understanding metaphor in the translation of political discourse is a question of necessity. Undeniably, there exists a wide gap between Arabic and English due to the significant linguistic, cultural, and political diversity between the two worlds as it were. Such gaps make the study of the use of metaphor across the two languages, in various settings, informative for political linguistics scholarship.

2.7 Translation assessment

Examining the accuracy of translated metaphorical expressions from one language to another requires in-depth revision of the translation to maintain the intended messages in STs. Such revision helps revisers guarantee that metaphors are as well-functioning in the TTs as in the STs. Chakhachiro (2005) recalls that there has been increasing interest in revision for translation. The main purpose of such revision is to maintain quality control and integrity of both the source and target texts. The author criticises the role of incompetent revisers who lack specialist expertise and stylistic sensitivity. Revision is necessary to examine the accuracy of translation in both style and meaning. Nevertheless, the author also explains the parameters of revision. Revision requires professional translators with qualification and specialisation in language(s). Revisers should be independent of translators, agencies and clients. Furthermore, high-quality assessment criteria and ethical behaviour represent a key guidance for revision. The three disciplines of revision (contrastive analysis, translation theory, and translation criticism) indicate that stylistic problems represent the key concern of translation criticism. For example, revisers may implement contrastive analysis to establish equivalence across languages. The author of the article agrees that revision is a subfield of translation criticism.

2.8 Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis

Since its emergence in the 1970s as a new way of discourse analysis that acknowledged the important role of language in shaping power relationships in society, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has evolved as a contemporary practice of language analysis in context. It
has developed into several methods that provide the frameworks, procedures and strategies for analysis and assessment of discourse, with a broad range of applications across disciplines. Discourse analysis studies the relation between language and its contexts. CDA refers to a contemporary method used in studying languages as well as discourses that exist within social institutions. It borrows heavily from the critical linguistics and post-structuralist discourse theory to examine how spoken and written texts are used to construct social relations, power, knowledge, and identity (Gee, 2014). CDA has interrelated implications in the sociology of education and educational studies. Although there are several fields in which CDA performs a valuable function, it fits better in the social field of politics as a tool that can uncover hidden and embedded messages in discourse.

CDA typically examines links between ways of thinking and talking with respect to ideological and cultural meanings in written and spoken texts but with a wider scope of language analysis. Various political settings, such as debates, demonstrations, presidential campaigns, and parliaments, constitute ideological battlefields enriched by metaphors. The relevance of CDA to the field of politics is notable where different interest groups are at loggerheads and power struggles are often at stake (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Political groups compete well when they are organised and ideologically conscious, allowing them to engage metaphors in expressing their individual concerns.

2.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse

The ability to persuade and impress the electorate, constituents, and a broad range of audiences, both domestic and international, can help politicians and state leaders win elections, arguments, as well as the hearts and minds of their audiences in a continuous power struggle. The power of well-written materials cannot be underestimated in political discourse. Consequently, it is crucial to apply critical reading to comprehend reality and examine the extent to which information can be distorted through the delicate use of language skills.

Utilising the methods and protocols of CDA in written political discourse analysis reveals that politicians sometimes resort to discursive persuasion tactics and strategies to convince their followers and constituencies on certain positions or controversial issues. The tactical use of persuasive texts rhetorically works to the advantage of politicians (Henderson, 2005). These constituencies usually help political writers communicate with their audiences. In this regard, it can be claimed that political feature articles’ writers use metaphors to serve their agenda by delivering their messages effectively.
2.8.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Metaphor Translation

It can be argued that translation involves a great deal of analysis for both the source text and product of the translation process. Consequently, the integration of CDA and translation analysis, which began with Katherina Reiss’ functional theory of translation in the 1970s (Munday, 2016), seems to be a natural development in Translation Studies (TS). The most pivotal work in this connection, advocating the incorporation of CDA into translation studies, is Hatim and Mason (1990). Their work provides the foundations for a translation-focused CDA model.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, metaphor translation is an area that has received close attention among scholars in modern TS. Developments in empirical research and translation quality assessment of translations, literary and non-literary, have highlighted figurative language as one serious problem area in translation that affects the accuracy of translation. As a result, the translation of metaphor has become a unique area of inquiry within TS. Granted, metaphor translation presents diversity and sometimes conflict depending on the approach being applied when processing metaphorical expressions. Translation is an art which is concerned with translating words, styles, as well as meanings from one language to another. Notably, analysts of political metaphors have taken into consideration the literary aspect of metaphors using conventional metaphoric theories. Although metaphor is an important linguistic and conceptual tool in the political discourse, it has rarely been addressed as a special case of metaphor that requires special consideration (Almasaeid, 2013). The profound impact of erroneous or inadequate translations of political metaphors can be felt in their repercussions and may be analysed and assessed using tools and methodologies from CDA. Choosing the appropriate CDA methodology that lends itself to the analysis of metaphors’ translation is crucial for the evaluation of accuracy and appropriateness of the translated metaphors.

2.8.3 Linguistics and Translation of Metaphor

A metaphor is essentially a linguistic device despite the fact that it can be looked at from different perspectives and employed in various contexts. As mentioned above, the use of metaphor is one such case of communication in which parties could find it hard to understand the meaning unless the metaphor is effectively engaged. However, understanding messages passed through metaphorical language is a path riddled with many ambiguities, which calls for an analysis of the expressions utilised to transport such messages.
Traditionally, text has been classified into five major types: (1) narrative; (2) descriptive; (3) directive; (4) expository; and (5) argumentative. These types are general semantic-functional concepts and are not the same as text forms. All of these types, in their various textual forms, utilise a raft of linguistic devices to produce the intended meanings and messages.

In *Monitoring and Managing*, Shunnaq (1992) discusses four main models of translation: grammatical model, cultural model, interpretive model, and the text linguistic model. These models are informed primarily by linguistics. Applying stylistic analysis, including the theory of register, the language of broadcasting and journalism, and the methods of discourse and text analysis, he holds that stylistics in general is the application of linguistic knowledge to the study of style. In this regard, the study of the use of metaphor as a stylistic device precedes all other studies on the use of metaphor (Mio, 1997). This stems from the fact that metaphors were first used stylistically before people discovered that they could also be helpful in other facets of life.

### 2.9 The Relevance of CA to Translation

Contrastive Analysis (CA) has been an effective tool in teaching and learning of languages. This has raised certain questions about the relevance of CA to translators, as Hoey and Houghton (1998, pp. 46-47) contend. However, they argue that at the practical level, CA is more beneficial in demonstrating aspects where direct translation of a phrase or term might not be conveyed in an accurate manner in the second language. They further argue that at the international level, CA causes translators to consider a wide range of issues such as the accuracy of the discourse structure in both languages.

It follows then that considering CA in the revision of metaphor in translation would demonstrate the extent to which metaphor is effectively or defectively processed. Moreover, it helps in the translation of metaphor by offering an insight into how metaphor is used in different contexts and languages.

### 2.10 Metaphorical Devices

The appreciation for employing metaphor in political texts from the perspective of Contrastive Critical Discourse analysis requires one to tangibly point to the metaphoric devices involved in the text. Hence, the analysis of such devices provides concrete evidence for the interpretations of how a writer employs a certain metaphor to communicate a certain message. Consequently, this analysis validates the interpretations offered for employing
metaphoric devices in written feature articles. Chakhachiro (2011) analysed a wide range of such devices by looking at ironic devices in political commentary texts; he then asserted its validity for understanding the text practically. Below is a brief revision of such devices, which will be used later to analyse the study data.

**Collocation** uses overstated clichés and demonstrates an exaggeration in contrast to the subject matter, e.g. ‘the man with the big heart’.

**Synonyms or near synonyms** are explicit and empathic exaggeration. It is viewed as a tautological device, such as ‘without care and attention’.

**Repetition** is used as an affirmation device to emphasise one’s ideas and viewpoint.

**Antithesis** refers to two contrary ideas put together to make a contrasting effect.

**Stylistic placing** takes place when the writer uses words out of place but which carry specific connotations for the reader.

**Formulae** are expressions that derive their meaning from the context and can often involve the ungrammatical use of a language.

**Colloquialism** demonstrates the culture of language to a specific community.

Adopted from Chakhachiro (2011, pp. 89-101)

**Addition** is known as ‘verbose style’. Political speakers often make elaborative statements about their own actions and horror stories about their opponents (van Dijk, 1997).

**Naming** represents a significant ideological tool where various names for an object indicate a wide range of manners of perceiving it (Clark, 2006).

**The frequencies of nominal clause-type** is used by the writer as an ironic strategy to support her or his claims and statement.

Adopted from Chakhachiro (2011, pp. 89-101)

### 2.11 Conclusion

The preceding literature review has established that there is consensus among researchers in various fields and disciplines that metaphor plays a critical role in political discourse. It helps shape and communicate the political message or debate in poignant and vivid ways that ordinary language cannot easily do. The review has also shown that the discussion of metaphor occupies a large space in the political discourse debate and language communication in general. A cognitive function of metaphor helps build a metaphor-based conceptual system of meaning that aids in thinking and understanding of abstract concepts and ideas that cannot be readily or easily expressed in ordinary language. In translation,
metaphor remains a major concern in translation studies, irrespective of the translation approach adopted — be it traditional, prescriptive, dynamic, functional or cognitive. In understanding political metaphor, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Contrastive Analysis (CA) have proven to be useful tools for both the analysis of metaphors in their original environments and assessment of their translations into other languages. Whether original or translated, political metaphors continue to effect change in people’s perception of political issues. The review has also touched upon some important aspects of this process of change and the transfer of specific metaphoric pictures into the minds of the target audience.
Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Overview

The primary aim of this thesis is to investigate the use of metaphors in political feature articles translated from English into Arabic. As acknowledged earlier in the preceding chapter, metaphor translation is a problematic area of translation studies that requires further investigation, especially into the different modes of discourse development and a research methodology that allows for a systematic analysis of the problem.

This chapter addresses the methodology of the research in relation to research design, data collection, and methods of analysis. This chapter also defines the scope of the research and outlines the limitations of the research design. In addition, it situates the research within a qualitative-interpretive, Contrastive-Critical Discourse Analysis (C-CDA) framework, which is meant to examine and analyse the salient features of the observed phenomenon using metaphors in political feature articles translated from English into Arabic. In the current study, the interpretive C-CDA approach is based on the notion that political discourse is essentially identified by its actors or authors, as opposed to politicians according to van Dijk (1997), and hence the analysis of political feature articles as a primary source of political discourse for the present study.

3.2 Conceptual Framework and Research Model

The research methodology is based on investigation and observation of how metaphors are used in political feature articles and translated from English into Arabic. This will determine the extent to which metaphoric translation has succeeded in conveying the intentions of the original discourse. Such an objective calls for the methods of analysis of both source text and target texts. As a result, a conceptual and theoretical framework shapes the methodology and includes the following:

- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)
- Contrastive Analysis (CA)

The framework is illustrated in the following figure:
As explained earlier in the introductory chapter, this thesis sought to investigate the use of metaphors in political feature articles translated from English into Arabic. This objective will be achieved through a combination of Contrastive Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis.

3.2.1 Relevance of the Model to the Current Study

CDA plays an important role in translation evaluation at various levels. It is concerned with the study and analysis of the relation between language and the contexts in which it is used. In the context of the present research, CDA is adopted as a tool to uncover the idiosyncrasies of metaphoric use in the data of this research. CDA will help with understanding and can tangibly prove how writers employ metaphors to communicate messages in three sets of feature articles: Authentic Arabic, English, and the translated English texts. Given the qualitative approach of the present research, CA neatly lends itself to the analysis of small sets of linguistic data in both languages.

The relationship between translation and discourse analysis – both CDA and CA – within the context of translation analysis of political feature articles is almost axiomatic. By employing CDA, it is possible to understand the original text in terms of lexis, grammar, style, and context. By the same token, employing CA enables the researcher to investigate the translation against the source, having been informed by a critical analysis of the source as well as the translation.

3.3 The Research Model

To provide the conceptual framework and theoretical basis for the research and data analysis, a three-analytical-concept model, taken from Amer’s (2008) study: implication, emphasis/de-emphasis, and presupposition, will be adopted. This model will combine CDA and CA by
focusing on these three categories. The appeal of these categories lies in the fact that they lend themselves to an analysis of translation of metaphors in terms of three major categories: implication, emphasis/de-emphasis, and presupposition. In so doing, the adoption of these three concepts is aimed at examining: (1) how the writers employ metaphors to impact the readers, (2) emphasise or de-emphasise the issues discussed, and (3) presuppose something in order to draw attention to the topics being tackled. As a model of analysis, this one was deemed highly relevant to the present research since it uses CDA to investigate political discourse in English and Arabic.

3.3.1 Research Questions

This research will address the following questions:
RQ1 - How do writers employ metaphors in authentic Arabic political feature articles?
RQ2 - How do writers employ metaphors in authentic English political feature articles?
RQ3 - Were political metaphors in the English feature articles translated accurately into Arabic?

CDA and CA will be interactively utilised to answer the research questions over how the feature articles’ writers and translators use metaphors to communicate their message. Furthermore, CA will be employed to determine whether translators succeeded in conveying the political messages imbedded in metaphoric expressions in the set of data at hand. Also to be determined is whether translators of the English texts used the preferred metaphoric devices that Arab writers used when translating texts into Arabic.

Implication

As acknowledged before, writers rely on metaphors to impact their audience by delivering certain messages embedded in metaphoric expressions. “The main theoretical importance of implication lies in the fact that to understand speakers [or writers] fully we must know what they implicate” (Davis, 2007, p. 9). Therefore, analysing implication in this study is meant to be an instrument to help readers of feature articles infer meanings beyond what has been embedded in metaphoric expressions. This requires reflecting on the devices the author employs to communicate messages, or as Davis (2007) puts it, “to understand what has been implicated, the audience needs to make an inference” (Davis, 2007, p. 128). And so, this analysis involves various linguistic devices, such as lexical choice, grammar, antithesis, formula, intertextuality, and colloquialism. The implication “can be invited by the fact that a
certain word is used, which (because of linguistic conventions) has the function of inviting that inference” (Sbisà, 1999, p. 6). For example, Ôrabi (2106) (see appendix 1) writes ‘Neither can an Egyptian flee those dilapidated crumbling structures nor decry skyrocketed prices that smash him every single moment’. Here, the writer employed the lexical choice ‘تسحقه’ : ‘to smash’ as a metaphoric device that evokes the picture of a powerless person suffering from increasing prices, which are of great concern to the Egyptian people. Thus, she suggests that those who intend to leave the country should not be blamed. Moreover, using the word ‘يفر’ : ‘to flee’ indicates that life at home has become a threat and, therefore, the only means to survive is to leave the country. Consequently, the employment of lexical choice enables the writer to impact his/her readers.

**Emphasis/ de-emphasis**

Reliance on the power of metaphor helps writers emphasise or de-emphasise the messages being communicated. Therefore, an author can put more or less emphasis on a particular component of the discourse. The following example, taken from the data, illustrates the efficacy of employing antithesis as a lexical device to make an emphasis:

Despite statements criticising the mass killings as disproportionate, both the EU and US continue to actively support this blood-soaked regime. Washington suspended a portion of its military aid in October last year, but in April this year it announced its intention to release ten Apache helicopters and $650m in aid on the basis that it aids US counter-terrorism and national security interests (Hearst, Middle East Eye, Mon 11/08 2014).

Here, the writer employs two contradictory words—suspended vs. release—to indicate the untenable nature of aiding a regime with such a record of criminality. However, the word ‘actively’ presents the intention by the USA and EU to provide aid to the military regime in Egypt despite the official statements and criticism they received. Hence, the antithesis effectively indicates the writer’s intent to emphasise such a criticism.

**Presuppositions**

Presuppositions, as Hinkel (1995) asserts, “refers to the implicit information of proposition embedded in a sentence or utterance” (Hinkel, 1995, p. 523). It takes place when an author assumes that a part of discourse is already known and, thus, expects that the reader needs to
focus on another part. For example, Oborne (2015) (see appendix 5) writes: ‘History relates that this well-meaning policy ended up with the foul morass of the Iraq invasion of 2003’. Here, the word ‘relates’ stresses the fact that there is an important correlation with the well-meaning policy and how it ended up with the situation of civil war with no near solution in sight. The moral dilemma comes when it appears that minor infringements of otherwise important ethical principles (e.g. no killing or torture) might be greatly beneficial.

Following Amer (2008), the study will address the following questions:

- What are the implications of constructing metaphoric expressions?
- What elements of the clause or text are emphasised or de-emphasised?
- What are the presuppositions behind the construction of metaphoric expressions? (Amer, 2008)
3.4 Study Procedure

The analysis of the data collection consists of the following key steps:

1. English political feature articles originally written in English were searched for and selected from various influential English-language sources.
2. Arabic political feature articles originally written in Arabic were searched for and selected from various Arabic-language sources.
3. The translations of the English feature articles were obtained from two e-newspapers purported to be well-acquainted in political affairs.
4. The feature articles were gathered while paying special attention to the metaphors contained in those articles.
3.5 Data Collection

The data for the study was collected by the researcher during the period from 2014 to 2016. The data were collected randomly from various official e-newspaper websites representing a variety of standpoints, as follows:

- Authentic English feature articles were obtained from the Middle East Eye, Daily Mail, Guardian, and Town Hall.
- The translations of English feature articles were sourced from *Arabi21* and *Albayān*, UAE.
- Authentic Arabic feature articles were obtained from *Arabi21* and *Al-Arabi Al-Jaddeed*.

A total of nine feature articles, namely three authentic ones in Arabic, three authentic ones in English, and the three translations of the authentic English texts into Arabic, all of which were ordered and coded according to the dates of publication.

Metaphoric expressions were coded based on the order in the texts. For example, AAME1 would be interpreted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Element</th>
<th>Stands for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Authentic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Metaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>The sequential order of the metaphoric expression in the text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Code for interpreting authentic Arabic texts

AEME05 would be interpreted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Element</th>
<th>Stands for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Authentic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Metaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>The sequential order of the metaphoric expression in the text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Code for interpreting authentic English texts
TEME10 would be interpreted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Element</th>
<th>Stands for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Translated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Metaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The sequential order of the metaphoric expression in the text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Code for interpreting translated English texts

The order of the feature articles will be taken into consideration when coding metaphoric expressions.

Quotations taken from Arabic sources as well as authentic Arabic texts will be translated into English by the researcher and labelled as “my translation”. Moreover, Arabic texts translated from English will be back-translated into English.

### 3.6 Data Analysis Strategy

Based on the three sources of data described in the foregoing Data Collection section, the approach to data analysis in this research is a three-pronged Contrastive-Critical Discourse Analysis (C-CDA) strategy.

![Figure 3: A Three-pronged C-CDA Analysis Strategy](image-url)
3.7 Data Analysis Technique

The analysis will show which metaphorical devices are employed to: (1) impact the readers, (2) emphasise/de-emphasise issues in question, and (3) presuppose a particular part of the discourse. The analysis of each set of feature articles ends with suggestion about the preferred metaphoric devices writers use in authentic Arabic and English. On the other hand, the analysis of the translated English feature articles into Arabic shows whether translators met the preferred devices used in the original Arabic texts.

3.8 Text Rhetorical Meaning

Once texts have been analysed, each text will be followed by statements presenting the rhetorical meaning of the text. Following Chakhachiro (2011, pp. 89-91), there are three stylistic situational aspects of a text’s rhetorical meaning: attitude, province, and participation. Attitude indicates the viewpoints of the writer towards tone and linguistic feature(s) of the text. Province offers the general idea of the text at hand. Finally, participation indicates the relationship between writer and readers. The later analysis and discussion will illustrate that metaphors used within texts contribute to the rhetorical meaning of the authentic texts, as writers heavily rely on various metaphoric devices to communicate their message. For example, Oborne (2015) (see appendix 5) emphasises that the invitation extended to three dictators was unlawful and an act that goes against UK policy. In so doing, the writer uses metaphoric expressions such as ‘a bestial creature, bloodthirsty, and launder reputation’. In employing these metaphors, the writer clearly projects an image of unacceptable action by Western nations. Consequently, this highlights the contribution of metaphors to the rhetorical meaning of the text. On the other hand, the examination of such contribution will help us assess whether the translated metaphors made an equivalent contribution in the translated texts.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter describes the methodology of the research and its conceptual framework. In addition, the methods of data collection are described in this chapter, which also outlines the data analysis strategy and techniques designed specifically for the research. The results of the research clarify the methodology by allowing the translation of metaphors to be analysed and assessed within a C-CDA framework.
Chapter 4 Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to address three questions regarding the ways in which feature-article writers use metaphors in original English (ETs), Arabic texts (ATs), and how translators of the English texts tackled metaphoric expressions in the data when translating them into Arabic — i.e. whether the translators succeeded in conveying the intended messages of the source texts (STs). The analysis and discussion will propose our preferred metaphoric devices for the three sets of data.

4.2 Analysis of metaphoric expressions in the Arabic texts

4.2.1 Analysis of the Arabic Text 1 (AT1)

Feature article

متنوع من الأمل لدعا عسكري

Hope Denied for Military Reasons (my translation)

يطل/ أيات عرابي

By Ayat Ørabi,²


AAME01:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الشاويش بعضشي، فرعون مصر الحديث، الذي كان هامانا من قبل، فسعى بانتقلابه أن يصبح فرعونا، فارتكب أو ارتكبت ميليشياته جريمة جديدة في كفر الشيخ</td>
<td>Sergeant Bâdhashi, the current Egyptian pharaoh, a former Haman, strived to become pharaoh through a military coup. He and his militia committed the recent crime in Kafr El-Sheikh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² An anti-coup feminist activist. She identifies herself on LinkedIn as a broadcaster and journalist, and the founder of مجلة نون النسوة (Noonelnnesswa Magazine) and al-gornal.com.
³ Refers to an Egyptian protagonist in a comedy play called سيديتي الجميلة (My Fair Lady, 1969), which was inspired by Shakespeare’s The Taming of the Shrew.
The metaphoric expressions: ‘‘الشاويش بعضشي’’ :’‘Sergeant ʻBàdhashi’’, ‘‘فرعون مصر الحديث’’ :’‘the current Egyptian pharaoh’, ‘‘الذي كان هامانا’’ :’‘who used to be Haman’.

The topic: ‘‘المشبه’’ : The Egyptian president Sisi.

The image: ‘‘المشبه به’’ :’‘the sergeant ʻBàdhashi’’, ‘‘فرعون مصر الحديث’’ :’‘the current Egyptian pharaoh’, ‘‘هامان’’ :’‘Haman’.

- Implication

**formula**: The writer tries to persuade readers by referencing political figures who either ruled or played a dominant role in Egypt: ʻBàdhashi’, Pharaoh, and Haman. Using such references, the writer portrays the current authoritarian regime in Egypt and its tragic fate. Moreover, according to Ibn Kathir (1999), ‘‘pharaoh’’ is well-known as a sort of tyrant, while ‘‘Haman’’ is known as an insatiably wealthy man. Here the writer employs these historical items metaphorically to represent the situation in Egypt where the military controls policy and economy while the majority of Egyptians live in poverty.

AAME02:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وتدْرُ الرواية الإلاقاتية على تقديم الأمر بلهجَة تشتم فيها الشعور بالفخر بالإنجاز الذي تحقق، وتمسَ العملية (إحباط هجرة غير شرعية).</td>
<td>The overwhelming coup account involves approaching the issue with language that implicates pride in the accomplishment, calling the operation the ‘‘abortion of illegal immigration’’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘‘لهجة تشتم فيها رائحة الشعور بالفخر بالإنجاز’’ :’‘approaching the issue with language that implicates pride in the accomplishment’’.

The topic: ‘‘لهجة/ الرواية’’ :’‘account’’.

The image: ‘‘Something that smells fishy’’.

- Implication

**Word choice**: The word ‘‘يَشَمّ’’ :’‘to smell’’ is a morphological form from the root verb ‘‘ّمَشَي’’ :‘‘to smell’. In this context, the augmented verb ‘‘اشتم’’ rhymes with ‘‘افتعل’’ and indicates

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4 In Arabic grammar, the letters: ʻ‘ف’, ʻ‘ع’, ʻ‘ل’’ : are called ‘‘الميزانا المنصفي’’ :’‘the morphological scale’’ by which the roots of Arabic words are identified. Augmente or unaugmente words can also be recognized through applying these letters to their counterpart in the examined word. See Muhammed and Al-Masri (2005) for further insight into how the morphological scale functions in Arabic.
exaggeration (Muhammed & Al-Masri, 2005, p. 81). The exaggeration is portrayed here by expressing how the military’s everyday stories have become unacceptable to the public, which itself can be expressed using this morphological form, and which further implies an untenable situation at home.

**Intertextuality:**
This metaphoric expression portrays ‘كلام تشتم منه رائحة’ : ‘a speech that reeks of dishonesty’. This expression is commonly used in standard Arabic to indicate negativity. By using the word ‘تشتم’ : ‘to smell’, the writer points to dubious nature of the account offered by the military regarding migration.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**

**Interpersonal function:** In Arabic, as in many other languages, the agent can be of two types: an implicit or explicit pronoun. While explicit pronouns appear in spoken and written forms, implicit pronouns in Arabic disappear after the verb in both forms. Here, the writer employs the present tense with the implicit pronoun أنت ‘you’ which refers to the readers by implying that individuals at large are affected, and thus everyone has the responsibility to act accordingly.

- **Presupposition**

**Stylistic misplacement:** When a reader encounters the topic ‘لهجة’ : ‘accent’ referring to ‘رواية’ : ‘account’, he or she expects something related to hearing. However, the writer successfully shifts the expectation from hearing to sniffing. Using this expression, the writer presupposes an emerging awareness among the public regarding the situation in Egypt beyond the everyday statements proffered by the authorities. However, the word ‘تشتم’ : ‘to smell’ is associated with and evokes a negative impression towards the issue being discussed, namely tyranny and political corruption. In contrast, this word is also used in Arabic metaphorically to indicate a discovery of something that is hard to see or hear. Hence, it can be said that the writer may use such words to indicate that stories the military provides are no longer a secret.

**AAME03:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وتبدأ رائحة (الزفارة) كما يقول الأمريكيون، تتصاعد من</td>
<td>The grease smell, as the Americans put it,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
began to rise from the pro-coup military’s account of people jumping into water from a fishing boat to their deaths upon seeing the Border Guard troops.

Metaphoric expression: ‘the grease smell begins to rise from the pro-coup military’s account’.

The topic: ‘the pro-coup military’s account’.

The image: something that smells badly.

- Implication

Word choice: To put the word ‘رواية’ (the story) in context, officials along with loyalist media agencies provided a different account to the one offered by victims’ families and anti-coup activists. Here, the feature article suggests that migration happened due to an untenable situation in Egypt, while officials claimed that acts of illegal immigration were on the rise. For instance, the religious reference to the story of the prophet Moses trying to save the children of Israel from the oppressive Pharaoh is likened to the case of Egyptians under the rule of President Sisi.

Colloquialism: the word ‘الزفارة’ (the grease) is used metaphorically in colloquial Levantine to indicate ‘البذاءة في القول or السفاهة’ (indecent statement/story). Here, the writer employs this word to impact his readers by claiming that the story the military provided is evidently refused. However, the writer seems to have used the wrong word, for according to Freiha (1995), ‘زنخ or زناخة’ literally ‘meat rottenness’ is used metaphorically to describe ‘قذارة الإنسان في كلامه’ (indecent/dirty statement/story). Thus, the writer is trying to impact his readers by way of recalling the cultural usage of a word that resembles the everyday stories provided by the military coup.

Collocation: ‘it begins’ and ‘escalating’ are two collocated present-tense verbs widely used to describe rapidly building smokes. Using these words to portray greasy food, the writer emphasises that the country is becoming uninhabitable. Consequently, the act of migration is logically legitimised.

- Emphasis/De-emphasis

Adjective: The writer describes ‘رواية’ (the story) offered by the authorities by using the adjective ‘انقلابية’ (the coup’s story) to suggest a certain stance towards the current regime.
Notably, the writer, who temporarily left the country after the coup while the news agency s/he worked for was blocked in Egypt, supports those against the coup.

AAME04 and AAME05:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>من الواضح أننا بصدد جريمة قتل جديدة ارتكبها ميليشيات الجيش المصري بني آدم إلى غرق عدد من الأبرياء، لم يعادوا أحداً، ولم يعودوا على أحد، فقط أرادوا الإبحار بعيداً عن واقعهم المظلم، أرادوا توديع تلك الخراب المنصوصة في بلادنا منذ خمسينيات القرن الماضي.</td>
<td>Obviously, we are facing the crime of murder newly committed by the militias of the Egyptio-Israeli army, who caused the drowning of a number of innocents. Those innocents did not show any hostility nor assaulted anyone. All they wanted was to sail away from their bitter reality. They wanted to say goodbye to those dilapidated crumbling structures still standing in our country since the 1950s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AAME04:
Metaphoric expression: ‘الجيش المصري’ : ‘the Egyptio-Israeli army’.
The topic: Egyptian army
The image: Israeli army

- Implication

**Compound adjective:** The Egyptian army is the biggest army in the region, and is also a key player in the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, the use of such an unconventional compound word represents a shift in the military’s belief towards serving Israeli interests instead of defending Egypt, which, in turn, poses a threat to Egyptians.

**Word choice:** The use of ‘ميليشيات’ to describe the Egyptian army, along with ‘جريمة قتل’, depicts how the regular army has turned into gangs. Here, not only does the writer criticise the military’s intrusion into Egyptian political life but also portrays the consequence of such involvement.

AAME05:
Metaphoric expression: ‘أرادوا توديع تلك الخراب المنصوصة’ : ‘They wanted to say goodbye to those dilapidated crumbling structures still standing’.
The topic: Egypt.
The image: dilapidated properties.

- **Implication**

**Word choice:** The use of ‘الخرائب’ : ‘dilapidated properties’ called ‘الخراب’ : ‘the ultimate form of plural’ in Arabic indicates the magnitude of the poverty that ravages the country, rendering it an undesirable place to live in.

The writer uses the word ‘توديع’: ‘farewell’ for maximum emotional impact on readers, along with an image of involuntary parting.

**Intertextuality:** By using this metaphoric expression to describe the country, the writer recalls the Qur’anic phrase ‘يخربون بيوتهم بأيديهم’ : ‘they destroy their dwellings by their own hands’ (Surat Al-Hashr: 59:2) to call upon Egyptians to rise up against the military coup that has plunged the country into upheaval.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**

**Antithesis:** The writer implies that governance entails running errands to develop the country. However, given the opposing words ‘الخرائب’ : ‘dilapidated’ and ‘المنصوبة’ : ‘standing’, the writer palpably portrays a country under a military takeover that has turned home into an unpopulated place. Consequently, walking away would be reasonable.

**Collocation:** The Arabic collocation ‘البيت الخرب’ : ‘the dilapidated house’ is commonly used to describe demolished properties unsuitable for living. Hence, the writer emphasises the unsuitability of life in a country under military governance and consequently legitimatises migration to Europe.

AAME06:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>لا يحق لمصري أن يفر من تلك الخرائب، ولا يحق له أن يصرخ لارتفاع الأسعار التي تسحقه كل لحظة، حتى بات البحث عن عشاء ضرباً من المأسا.</td>
<td>Neither can an Egyptian flee those dilapidated structures nor decry skyrocketed prices that smash him every single moment to the extent that looking for dinner is a sort of abject misery.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘يصرخ لارتفاع الأسعار التي تسحقه كل لحظة’ : ‘decry skyrocketed prices that smash him every single moment’.

The topic: skyrocketed prices.
The image: a giant smashing someone.

- Implication

Word choice:
The writer employs the word ‘تسحق’ : ‘to smash’ to evoke the picture of a powerless person suffering from increasing prices, which are of great concern to the Egyptian people. Thus, she suggests that those who intend to leave the country should not be blamed.

Using the word ‘يفر’ : ‘to flee’ indicates that life at home has become a threat and, therefore, the only means to survive is to leave the country.

- Emphasis/De-emphasis

Redundancy: The writer repeats the disaffirmed verb ‘لا يحق’ literally ‘cannot’ in delivering the message regarding the situation in Egyptian by saying ‘لا يحق لمصري أن يفر ولا يحق له أن يصرخ’ : ‘Neither can an Egyptian flee nor decry’. Therefore, the writer emphasises the absence of freedom preventing Egyptians from leaving the country or complaining about their suffering.

AAME07:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>البخار المحتبس في القدر شارف على الانفجار، والانفجار هذه المرة لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر، ولن يرحم أحداً.</td>
<td>The pressured steam in the cooking pot is about to explode. The explosion this time will leave no stones together, and won’t be merciful to anyone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘البخار المحتبس في القدر’ : ‘the pressured steam in the cooking pot’.

The topic: The public wrath.

The image: pressured steam in a cooking pot.

- Implication

Word choice: ‘البخار المحتبس’ : ‘pressured steam’ and ‘في القدر’ : ‘in the cooking pot’

By using the expression ‘pressured steam’ instead of the conventional image of ‘غليان الماء في القدر’ : ‘boiling water in a cooking pot’ to depict the degree of anger among the Egyptian public, the writer implies an insuperable obstacle and, consequently, she calls upon the public to act against the military coup.
Emphasis/De-emphasis

The Arabic phrasal verb ‘شارف على’ ‘came to’ in this context implies that people are restless and impatient and have become too aggravated. In Arabic, this phrasal verb is always used to indicate coming to a final stage, such as ‘شارف على النفاد’ ‘about to end’, ‘شارف على الانتهاء’ ‘come to a depletion’ and ‘شارف على الموت’ ‘on the verge of death’.

formula

‘لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر’ ‘will leave no stones together’.

This phrase implies a complete split within the Arab community. Such a reference may impact Egyptians from all walks of life by stressing the consequences of the national unrest, itself caused by the absence of freedom and abject poverty.

Text’s rhetorical meaning

Attitude

As a revolutionary Egyptian woman, the writer criticises the military’s involvement in the drowning of Egyptians trying to migrate to Europe. Although the text is short, it includes a number of metaphoric expressions. To do so, the writer uses an extensive variety of metaphoric devices to express her view on either the present incidence in particular or the involvement of the Egyptian military in political life in general.

Province

The writer criticises the political participation of the Egyptian military, resulting in a significant number of economic and political crises. The text begins and concludes with the reference to widely-known stories of tyrants in ancient history, some of which took place in Egypt, such as those of Pharaoh and Haman. The writer presents the consequences of the military’s insistence on ruling the country by employing various devices in the text, such as the compound adjective ‘الجيش المصرياني’ ‘An Egyptio-Israeli army’, the collocation ‘البيت الخرب’ ‘the dilapidated property’, and the formula ‘لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر’ ‘will leave no stones together’. Moreover, the presence of religious reference to Qur’anic stories along with the images of a harsh life at home, compounded by an inability to leave the country, evoke a bleak picture of the past, present, and future for the people if the military continues to rule.

Participation

The expected audience is anti-coup Egyptians from different political, religious, economic, and educational classes, all of whom have certain interests. Bearing this in mind, the writer
varies the metaphoric expressions employed in the text to make them accessible to all these classes by addressing each group with a clear voice. For instance, the employment of the religious stories of Pharaoh and Haman would appeal to religious people, whereas the use of the intertextual 

‘‘: ‘‘a smell is reeked of it’’, ‘‘: ‘‘destroy their homes’’, and colloquial expression ‘‘: ‘‘the grease is meant to provoke the public. On the other hand, the use of the compound phrase ‘‘: ‘‘the Egyptio-Israeli army’’ is aimed at nationalists who oppose the Zionist occupation.
4.2.2 Analysis of the AT2

Feature article

الدستور النوايا الحسنة

The well-meaning Constitution (my translation).

نيفين ملك

By Neven Melek,⁵


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>على أي حال وبدون التدخل في النوايا التي لا يعلمها سوى الله التقط عدد من الكائنات السياسية التنفيذية إشارة الرادار للبدء في إعداد حملات الاستجابة الفورية لتوتلى تلك الكائنات الطفيلية فيما بعد تسويق قبول تلك الرغبة الفرعونية السامية.</td>
<td>Anyway, and without questioning intentions, which are known only to God, some of the executive political creatures have obtained a radar signal to initiate immediate-response campaigns so that those parasitic creatures could afterwards market the acceptance of that sublime pharaonic desire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric Expression: ‘الكائنات السياسية التنفيذية’ : ‘the executive political creatures’.

The topic: media personnel loyal to the military coup.

The image: powerless creatures that only follow orders.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**

  **Repetition:** ‘الكائنات السياسية التنفيذية’ : ‘the executive political creatures’ and ‘الكائنات الطفيلية’ : ‘the parasites’.

The writer uses this strategy to stress the utilitarian relationship between media personnel and political leadership. Moreover, employing this repeated word ‘الكائنات’ : ‘creatures’ helps the writer suggest mistrust of media personnel by labelling them with such derogatory attributes.

**Double adjective:** ‘الكائنات السياسية التنفيذية’ : ‘the executive political creature’.

Here, the writer emphasises the role these media personnel play, doing only what they are asked for the political leadership and personal interests, setting aside professional ethics according to which the media should be totally independent.

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⁵ An Egyptian lawyer and anti-coup activist.
Genitive construction: ‘إشارة الرادار’. ‘the radar signal’.

Here, the writer uses this strategy to imply a systematic response to orders where roles are determined in advance.

AAME09:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وبالطبع تلك الإنجازات القوية تجعلنا في موقف لا يعبأ كثيرا بعمليات التجميل السياسي ومراعاة النصوص الدستورية أو التشريعية أو مبادئ الفصل بين السلطات ومبادئ حقوق الإنسان والحريات وغيرها من الأمور الكلاسيكية والتي اعتاد نظام مبارك الضعيف على مراعاتها وضعها في إطار التجميلي والمحافظة على أكبر قدر ممكن من مساحيق التجميل لإخفاء تشوهات الزمن وواقع نظامه المريض والمسن.</td>
<td>Of course, those strong achievements make us careless about <strong>the cosmetic political operations</strong>, consideration of constitutional and legislative provisions, principles of dividing powers, human rights and freedom, and other classic issues. Mubarak’s brittle regime used to keep them in a cosmetic frame, and ensure as much makeup as possible to conceal time distortions and the reality of his ailing and aged regime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘عمليات التجميل السياسي’. ‘the political cosmetic operations’.

The topic: trying to cover political incompetency.

The image: plastic surgery.

- Implication

Genitive construction: using the phrase ‘عمليات التجميل’: ‘cosmetic operations’ in this context, the writer implies how the authority accelerates its efforts to enshroud political corruption. Hence, the writer is portraying an incompetent regime.

AAME10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ولكن الوجه الآخر لانتصار موقفة الخمسين إعلاميا تحول سريعا الآن وبعد تصريحات دستور الثانية الحسنة إلى مشهد كاذب وفاضح للنوافذ الفعلية لدى النظام وإعلاما صريحا لهؤلاء أنكم قد وقعت سواء بقصد أو بغير قصد في شرك وشباك الديكتاتورية.</td>
<td>After the statements of the well-meaning constitution, the other side of the victory of the fifty-media-personnel battle has quickly transformed into a farcical and flagrant scene for the regime’s clandestine intentions. It is a pronouncement that you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
have fallen, willy nilly, into the mantrap and snare of dictatorship.

Metaphoric expression: ‘في شرك وشباك الديكتاتورية’ :‘in the dictatorship’s trawl net and mantrap’.

The topic: the dictatorship.

The image: a snare.

- Implication

**Antithesis**: ‘النوايا الفعلية’ :‘the real intentions’.

Using this strategy, the writer suggests a discrepancy between overt intentions which show kindness on the one hand, and covert intentions which appear to be a threat on the other.

Consequently, the supposedly antithetical phrases ‘النوايا الحسنة’ :‘the good intentions’ and ‘النوايا الفعلية’ :‘the real intentions’ imply intentional disregard for the anti-coup proponents.

**Formula**:

The writer makes a reference to a popular Egyptian saying that links a person with good intention to stupidity ‘حاب النية الطيبة عبيط’.6 Recalling such cultural usage, the writer convinces people that supporting the dictator would end badly. Therefore, the writer urges those who have yet to be involved to be farsighted.

**Emphasis/De-emphasis**

**Synonymy**: ‘كاتشف وفاضح’ :‘farcical and flagrant’ and ‘شرك وشباك’ :‘mantrap and snare’.

Although synonymy is common to the Arabic style, the use here of those synonymous words helps the writer hint at the consequences of supporting the dictator, as in the end supporters of the regime would be among the victims.

**Text’s rhetorical meaning**

**Attitude**

This article is notably replete with metaphoric expressions that represent the mindless obedience and contradictory stances taken by the coup loyalists. However, the metaphoric expression ‘شرك وشباك الديكتاتورية’ :‘the dictatorship’s mantrap and snare’ stands out, partly

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6 See more about the dialectical meaning of ‘عبيط’ (‘abet’) in ‘اللهجات المحكية/عبيط’ (Spoken Dialects).

https://ar.mo3jam.com/term/%D8%B9%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B7#Egyptian
because it represents the consequences of a dubious political dependency where today’s proponents could be tomorrow’s victims.

Province
The understanding of this text’s context requires that the reader be familiar with the circumstances under which the constitution was drafted after the July 3 coup and the parties involved in the process, e.g. the fifty’s committee that drafted the constitution, the military coup media loyalists, and President Sisi. During the so-called ‘Sisi Meeting with University Youths’, Sisi criticised the July 3 constitution, written after the coup, by saying that ‘this constitution has been made with good intention, and this is not how nations are built’. Many politicians and constitutionalists raised concerns that such a criticism implies the president’s interference with judicial and legislative authorities. The text presents two main issues: the violation of the law by the president and the mindless obedience of the media personnel who accepted both the constitutional draft and the president’s violation of certain articles.

Participation
The writer comments on the constitutional draft and violations made by the president following the adoption of the constitution with 98% of the vote. Therefore, the assumed audience are either the regime supporters (who fully stand behind the decision makers’ actions vis-à-vis the constitution regardless of the discrepancies shown) or the Egyptian people at large (to raise awareness among them). The text delivers a message to those who blindly follow the authorities, claiming that they could be the next victims of a regime whose intention is to rule the country with total authority at any costs.

7 See, for example, Almasry Alyoum, the official newspaper: http://today.almasryalyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=477793
4.2.3 Analysis of the AT3:

Feature article

عن حق العودة إلى جنة السيسي

About the Right to Return to Sisi’s Paradise (my translation).

By Wael Kandil,


AAME11:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ينطبق ذلك على مراسل التلفزيون المصري وقضائية نجيب ساويرس السابق، كما ينطبق على غيره من التنسيق الرئاسة المصرية ومثقفوها بقصصهم، في تكرار كوميدي سخيف لما عرف بقضية ‘العائدين’، ومصدر السخيف هنا أنهم يجترون عناوين بليدة، يحاكون بها تلك العناوين التي عرفتها الصحافة الأمنية في التسعينات، مثل ‘العائدين من أفغانستان’.</td>
<td>This applies to the former correspondent of Egyptian TV and Naguib Sawiris’s channel. The same is true of others whose stories in a ridiculous comedy known as ‘the Returnees issue’ are repeatedly enjoyed by the Egyptian presidency and intellectuals. The mockery of which stems from regurgitating useless headlines to imitate those of the press that fully supported the regime during the 1990s, such as ‘Returnees from Afghanistan’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘يجترون عناوين بليدة’: ‘regurgitating useless topics’.

The topic: the Egyptian presidency and intellectuals.

The image: regurgitating animals.

• Implication

Word choice: Using the word ‘يجترون’, the writer likens Egyptian officials and intellectuals to ruminating animals due to their repeated discussion of frivolous topics. Such a metaphor provides a conventional negative image in Arab societies for those animals whose sole interest is feeding.

• Emphasis/De-emphasis

Addition: the war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union during the 1990s involved many fighters from different parts of the world. When things stabilised in Afghanistan, many of

8 An Egyptian journalist and editor-in-chief of Al-Arabi Al-Jaddeed.
those fighters returned homes, most of whom were not welcomed and considered terrorists. Here, the use of ‘Returnees from Afghanistan’ implies the authority’s view of those anti-coup citizens who intend to return to Egypt. Moreover, this addition suggests justification for the authority’s concerns and legitimizes actions taken against them.

**AAME12:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الحكاية أنهم لا يفهمون أن الحظيرة ليست إغراءا كبيرا لأخرين من دونهم.</td>
<td>The story is that they do not realise how the pen [lit: ‘the fold’] is not very tempting except for them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘they do not realise that “the fold” is not widely tempting except for them’.

The topic: the military coup loyalists
The image: the fold.

- Implication

**Word choice:** in Arabic, the word ‘الحظيرة’: ‘the fold’ refers to an unplanted area or farm where animals are usually kept. In a political sense, the word ‘الحظيرة’: ‘the fold’ portrays, either willingly or unwillingly, infinite obedience. It is widely common in Arabic that this word collocates with words such as ‘حظيرة الطاعة’: ‘obedience fold’ and ‘عاد إلى الحظيرة’: ‘s/he comes back to the fold’. Therefore, the writer is implicating the position taken by the Egyptian regime loyalists in these situations.

**AAME13:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وأغلقوا الزنازين على كل من لا يخفض رأسه، ولا ينحني لعاصفة الفاح والرداءة.</td>
<td>They slammed the cells to everyone who did not lower his head or bend for the hideous and lousy storm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘the hideous and lousy storm’.

The topic: reviling words.
The image: a storm.

- Implication
Word choice: using the word ‘العاصفة’: ‘the storm’ for the image, the writer portrays the media’s dependency on the regime and bias against its opponents.

- Emphasis/De-emphasis

Colloquial: ‘يخفض رأسه لتمر العاصفة’ : ‘to lower his/her head for the storm to pass’ and ‘ينحني لتمر العاصفة’ : ‘to bend for the storm to pass’. Using such collocations, the writer tries to convince readers/opponents of the regime that their trouble will be over soon.

AAME14 and AAME15:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>لكن، حين تتحول المسألة إلى تجارة عاطفية رخيصة وأبتلعا عاطفي مصنوع، بغية الوصول إلى مربط الفرس في الموضوع، وهو وصم المعارضة من الخارج بالخيانة، واعتبارها حطينة تستوجب تقديم طلبات توبة إلى مصلحة العفو السيسية، فهذا ما لا ينبغي السكوت عليه، أو إهماله، ومن أراد الحظيرة فهي له وهو لها، من دون أن ينثر رذاذ خسته على آخرين، لا يستطيعون التصالح مع صناع المقتلة.</td>
<td>However, when it comes to contemptible emotional trade and fabricated emotional blackmailing, to tackle the crux of the matter i.e. accusing the opposition from abroad of treason and considering it a sin that requires submitting a ‘repentance requests’ to the ‘Sisi Amnesty authority’, this is something that must not be neglected. The pen is only for those who want it, without bothering others who cannot reconcile with the massacre’s perpetrators.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AAME14: ‘تقدم طلبات توبة’ : ‘repentance applications’.
The topic: seeking amnesty.
The image: lodging an official application to receive a service.

- Implication

Genitive construction: ‘تقدم طلبات’ : ‘submitting requests’.
The writer ironically likens the process of returning home to filling out a form that proves the eligibility of expatriate Egyptians to return home. This collocation implies that returning home is a complicated process requiring one to seek permission to do so. Consequently, the writer shows how opposing the military regime becomes a sin that demands repentance.

AAME15: ‘مصلحة العفو السيسية’ : ‘Sisi’s Amnesty Authority’.
The topic: the place where people receive permission to return home.
The image: a governmental department.

- Emphasis/De-emphasis

**Genitive construction:** ‘ムصلحة العفو’ : ‘Amnesty Authority’. Returning home should not under normal circumstances have to go through an official process such as filling out forms. However, in the Egyptian context, the writer hints at the complexity of a long and officially approved process that Egyptians must undergo in order to return home.

**Adjective:** ‘السيسي’ : ‘Sisi’s’, the writer ascribes the division caused by the need to receive permission to return home to President Sisi. Consequently, the writer tries to emphasise the ascendancy of the president as one who wants to become the sole source of power.

AAME16:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ويكي هذه السلطة البلیدة فخراً أن ‘حق العودة’ بات متناولًا للمرة الأولى في تاريخ علاقة دولة بمواطنيها، ولم يعد قاصراً على حالة الاحتلال الصهيوني وتعامله مع الفلسطينيين النازحين والمهجرين، نتيجة مذابح عصابات الانقلاب.</td>
<td>This stupid authority should be sufficiently proud that the ‘right of repatriation’ has come into vogue for the first time in the longstanding history of the relationship between a state and its citizens. The right of repatriation is no longer restricted to the case of the Zionist occupation when dealing with displaced Palestinians due to the massacres of pro-coup guerrillas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘حق العودة’ : ‘right of repatriation’.

The topic: the Egyptians’ right to return home.
The image: the Palestinians’ right to return to Palestine.

- Implication

**Collocation:** the collocated phrase ‘حق العودة’ : ‘right of repatriation’ has exclusively been used within the context of the Palestinian conflict. However, the writer borrows this expression and uses it for the Egyptian context where many politicians are banned from returning to Egypt unless they choose to support the coup and thereby reverse their positions.
Text’s rhetorical meaning

Attitude
The text addresses restrictions upon return faced by some Egyptians living abroad. The writer uses several metaphoric expressions that overall portray the restrictions on return and the conditions associated with permitting politicians to return. For example, the writer uses ‘الحظيرة’ : ‘the fold’ and ‘حق العودة’ : ‘right of repatriation’ to evoke the situation at home, indicating the absence of freedom and restrictions on people living inside and outside of Egypt, under which opposition politicians cannot return to their own country. Thus, the metaphoric expressions employed in the text serve its attitude.

Province
The text offers an account of the restrictions on returning imposed on opposing politicians. In doing so, the writer addresses the case at home where opposition is forbidden and the only way to avoid being jailed is to declare unconditional loyalty. Such an idea is manifested through the use of the metaphoric word ‘الحظيرة’ : ‘the fold’ in describing loyalist personnel in the media. Moreover, the writer describes the absence of freedom of speech in Egypt through the metaphoric expression ‘يجترعون عناوين بليدة’ : ‘regurgitating useless topics’, which indicates the unbearable situation for those living outside the country. On the other hand, the opponents living outside Egypt will not be able to return home unless they become proponents. This is illustrated through several metaphoric expressions: ‘تقديم طلبات توبة’ : ‘lodging repentance applications’, ‘مصلحة العفو السيسية’ : ‘Sisi’s Amnesty Authority’, and ‘حق العودة’ : ‘right of repatriation’.

Participation
The writer serves as the editor-in-chief for the newspaper ‘Al-Arabi Al-Jaddeed’, based in London. The newspaper’s webpage is blocked in some Arab countries, Egypt being one of them. Thus, the assumed audience is expatriate Egyptians. The issue in the text is ironically addressed with yet more criticism of the restrictions imposed on those wishing to return home due to political controversy.

Conclusion
The discussion and analysis of this section are aimed at answering the first research question, namely: how do Arab writers of feature articles use metaphors to communicate political
messages? The analysis of metaphorical expressions leads to the consideration of three concepts: implication, emphasis/de-emphasis, and presupposition. This, in turn, leads to the following metaphor devices that Arab writers may use in communicating political messages (see Figure 4). Those suggested metaphor devices are by no means exhaustive.

**Implication**
- Formulae
- Word Choice
- Intertextuality
- Colloquialism
- Compound adjective
- Antithesis
- Synonymy
- Collocation
- Genitive construction

**Emphasis/De-emphasis**
- Adjective
- Phrasal verb
- Genitive construction
- Personal function
- Double adjective
- Formulae
- Collocation
- Antithesis
- Redundancy
- Colloquialism
- Synonymy
- Repetition
- Addition

**Presupposition**
- Stylistic placing

**Figure 4: Metaphoric devices employed in the Arabic texts**
4.3 Analysis of the English Texts

4.3.1 Analysis of the English Text 1 (ET1)

Feature article
Sisi and the Curse of Rabàà
By David Hearst

AEME01:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Despite statements criticising the mass killings as disproportionate, both the EU and US continue to actively support this blood-soaked regime. Washington suspended a portion of its military aid in October last year, but in April this year announced its intention to release ten Apache helicopters and $650m in aid on the basis that it aids US counter-terrorism and national security interests.</td>
<td>بالرغم من التصريحات التي وصفت القتل الجماعي بأنه قتل غير متكافئ الأطراف؛ فإن الاتحاد الأوروبي والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ما تزالان تدعمان بفاعلية ذلك النظام المتسربل بالدم. وكانت واشنطن قد علقت في أكتوبر من العام المنصرم جزءاً من مساعداتها العسكرية، إلا أنها أعلنت في شهر أبريل من العام الجاري عن نيتها منح مصر عشر طائرات هيلوكوبتر من نوع أباتشي إضافة إلى مساعدات تبلغ قيمتها 650 مليون دولار في إطار المساعدات التي تقدمها أمريكا لحلفائها في الحرب على الإرهاب وخدمة المصالح الأمنية القومية.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘this blood-soaked regime’.
The topic: the Egyptian regime.
The image: a bloodthirsty person.

• Implication

Word choice: The metaphoric expression ‘blood-soaked’ is a compound word that acts as one lexical unit. The prepositional meaning of this compound expression seems intended to draw an image of the regime that has shed blood and killed many people in various incidents.

Formula: The writer tries to convince readers that support for such a regime is unjustifiable due to its apparent cruelty to the masses. Such expression is deliberately used to exemplify the brutal nature of the regime.
• Emphasis/De-emphasis

Word choice: The writer deploys many words in the context of the metaphoric expression ‘this blood-soaked regime’, all of which delegitimise the wrongful US and EU support for the regime. These words are ‘statements’ that indicate reliability; ‘criticism’, which indicates an opposing opinion; ‘a mass killing’, which describes the situation; and ‘disproportionate’, which indicates the excessive killing of innocent citizens.

AEME02:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a wider point. The people who committed crimes against humanity are still attempting to gain international currency.</td>
<td>وعلى نطاق أوسع، فهاهم أولئك الذين ارتكبوا جرائم ضد الإنسانية يبذلون جهوداً حثيثة لإكتساب الشرعية واعتراف المجتمع الدولي.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘to gain international currency’.
The topic: power holders.
The image: tactical middlemen

• Implication

Word choice:

Gain: International recognition can be received without hassle when power is transmitted democratically. Here, the verb ‘gain’ implies the non-existence of international recognition, and therefore needs to be acquired.

Adjectival clause: ‘who committed crimes against humanity’.

This strategy helps the writer draw a picture of the terrifying actions taken by the Egyptian regime against citizens, labelling it with the image of ‘committing crimes against humanity’.

Therefore, the writer is trying to convince his readers that the attempt to gain international recognition should be rejected due to such a record of criminality.

Verb tense: The writer uses the present continuous – ‘are still attempting’ – to imply an ongoing endeavour towards achieving the goal of receiving international recognition.

• Emphasis/De-emphasis

Verb tense: The writer uses ‘are still attempting’ to imply a consistent ongoing effort to seek international supporters.
Presupposition

**Word choice:** Legitimacy in the West is driven by the general public through a democratic process that, in turn, receives respect from the international community. In using here the word ‘international’, the writer presupposes that the Egyptian regime receives no support or recognition at the local level, and that is why it is trying hard to receive recognition from the international community.

**AEME 03:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The battle to establish the truth of what happened in Cairo on 14 August last year has only just begun.</td>
<td>وللتو بدأت المعركة لبيان حقيقة ما حدث في القاهرة في الرابع عشر من أغسطس العام المنصرم.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The topic: Revealing the truth.
The image: the battle.

Implication

**Word choice:** Using the word ‘battle’ in this context conveys to readers how hard Human Rights Watch (HRW) has been working to investigate and expose the true reality of the dispersal in Cairo.

**Modality:** ‘Only’ and ‘just.’ By saying ‘has only just begun, the writer stresses the fact that such unscrupulous acts need to be investigated thoroughly so as to highlight the real face of the perpetrator of these heinous acts. Furthermore, these words ‘only and just’ imply that the attempt to establish the truth of what happened on August 14th is only the tip of the iceberg.

Emphasis/ De-emphasis

**Word choice:** The word ‘battle,’ which evokes the image of a vicious war between two opposing parties, implies the efforts exerted to obstruct the report. Therefore, the writer emphasises the role played by Human Rights Watch (HRW) as an impartial humanitarian body to expose the truth of unjust practices against citizens.
**Text’s rhetorical meaning**

**Attitude**
The presence of metaphoric expressions throughout the text helps the writer address an issue, claiming to stand for people who are treated unjustly. In so doing, the writer heavily relies on various metaphoric devices to tackle this issue. For instance, when the writer describes the mass killing in Cairo on August 14, he uses the image of a brutal killer (‘blood-soaked’) to draw attention to the mass killing.

**Province**
The text offers an account of two main ideas being tackled throughout the text. Firstly, it criticises the Egyptian regime which takes over the country through a military coup and kills civilians. Secondly, the efforts exerted by two states and an international body with regard to the case in Egypt: the US and UK offering support for the regime and the Human Rights Watch (HRW) organisation striving to unveil the truth of the case in Egypt. The metaphoric devices employed in this text provide a view of the writer’s standpoint toward these issues, such as ‘blood-soaked’, ‘to gain international currency’ and ‘the battle’.

**Participation**
The assumed audience are westerners who appreciate democracy and freedom. The writer, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, addresses the issue of the dispersal that took place in Rabàa Square, Cairo. The writer draws attention to this issue with the employment of various metaphoric expressions, as discussed above, to convince his readers of the view he holds. Bearing in mind such an audience, the writer brings different images that would be considered horrific to his readers, such as ‘crimes against humanity’ and ‘blood-soaked regime.’
4.3.2 Analysis of the ET2:

Feature article
Is there any tyrant so blood-soaked we won’t roll out the red carpet for him?
By Peter Oborne

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History relates that <strong>this well-meaning policy ended up with the foul morass of the Iraq invasion</strong> of 2003.</td>
<td>وها هو التاريخ يخبرنا أن تلك السياسة ذات النوايا الحسنة قد انتهى بها المطاف في مستنقع نتن إبان غزو العراق عام ٢٠٠٣.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘This well-meaning policy ended up with the foul morass of the Iraq invasion’.

The topic: British foreign policy.
The image: a worthless object that should be thrown away.

- **Implication**

**Word Choice:** The metaphorical expression “well-meaning policy” is an adjectival phrase that refers to British foreign policy before Gordon Brown took over as head of the government. The writer likens Brown’s foreign policy to Cameron’s well-meaning policy towards affairs in the Middle East. Thus, it is claimed that such policies will primarily serve the national interests of the UK.

**Emphasis/ De-emphasis**

**Word Choice:** In the metaphorical statement ‘foul morass of the Iraq invasion of 2003’, the adjectival phrase ‘foul morass’ refers to the illegal and unscrupulous US foreign policy that led to the Iraq invasion with tacit British support. The well-meaning policy is also metaphorical in nature as it leads to never ending immense human and material loss. Instead of acting morally to prevent such a human catastrophe, Britain became part of the destructive decision made by the invading group.
• Presupposition

Word choice: The word ‘relates’ stresses the fact that there is a high correlation with the so-called well-meaning policy that ended up with the situation of civil war, with no clear solution in sight.

AEME05:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is almost no torturer too brutal, no mass-murderer too bloodthirsty nor dictator too autocratic for David Cameron not to extend an invitation to visit Britain.</td>
<td>لا يكاد يوجد طاغية ممن ارتكبوا أبشع جرائم التعذيب الوحشي أو قاتل متعطش للدماء أو دكتاتور مستبد لم يقدم ديفيد كاميرون له الدعوة لزيارة بريطانيا.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: bloodthirsty
The topic: a tyrant ruler
The image: vampires.

• Implication

Word Order: the metaphoric expression ‘bloodthirsty’ has been used to depict the power-hungry ruler who would go to any extent to satisfy his thirst for power.

• Emphasis/De-emphasis

Word choice: ‘Mass Murderer’. The noun ‘mass murderer’ has been attributed to a head of state who murdered scores of innocent lives to acquire the throne. Thus, the writer is drawing a picture of the awful reality of the ruler by labelling him with such an attribute.

Adjective: by using the adjective ‘brutal’, the writer stresses the negative feature of the head of state that destroys the lives of common people on his way to power. Therefore, the writer criticises the invitation extended to an official with such attribute.

• Presupposition

The writer implies the supposed belief that as British Prime Minister, he should advocate an ethical policy of justice and morality, hence he should not extend an invitation to someone who bears the image of mass murderer.
And we now hear reports that the President of Kazakhstan, a bestial creature called Nursultan Nazarbayev, is soon to come to London – which would complete an unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests for the PM.

Metaphoric expression: which would complete an unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests for the Prime Minister.

The topic: the invitation of a third tyrant to London by David Cameron.

The image: scoring three goals in one game.

- Implication

**Word choice:** the adjectival phrase a bestial creature refers to another head of state who is notoriously famous for human right violation. The common people narrate scores of untold stories of sufferings at the hands of this autocratic leader.

- Emphasis/De-emphasis

**Adjective:** the adjective ‘unedifying’ highlights the public outcry and discomfort at the invitation of such a head of state to their country.

The metaphoric expression ‘unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests’ highlights the negative persona each one of them carries with regard to human rights violation. Even though they are head of their respective states, their manner of power acquisition has great similarity.

- Presupposition

Official visit by a head of state to Britain always carries a great value, purpose and significance. However, in this context the writer presupposes and then identifies the three visits as a hat-trick of despotic guests due to the unethical manner in which they have attained their position, not to mention the way they continue to serve their self-interests. The host is also equally responsible and seems complicit for not only ignoring their corruption but inadvertently or consciously extending support by inviting them over to England.
Mr Cameron has removed the requirement that his ministers should obey either international law or Britain’s international treaties in order to uphold justice. **Morality is thus thrown out of the window.**

Metaphoric expression: Morality is thus thrown out of the window.

The topic: morality.

The image: Turning a blind eye to moral consciousness.

- **Implication**
  
  **Word choice:** the metaphor ‘morality is thus thrown out of window’ points to the moral situation Britain has stooped to by inviting such dictators. Once regarded as the epitome of justice and protector of human rights, David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the UK, seems to have instructed his ministers to deliberately ignore the concept of human rights and moral consciousness. This indicates that morality and the principle of justice only work at the will and whims of the Prime Minister.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**
  
  **Word choice:** The adjunct phrase ‘removing the requirement to obey international law or Britain’s international treaties by British head’ shows the shaky morality he trudges along with his colleagues, whereas his predecessor was known to follow in principle a high sense of morality. The international community expects great responsibility from heavyweights like Britain in maintaining morality.

- **Presupposition**
  
  **Word choice:** The phrase ‘uphold justice’ signifies the parameter at which great nations are honoured and admired. The writer presupposes the moral degradation Britain has stooped to by sending invitation to these leaders.
AEME08:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My own view is that he has gone too far. By inviting President Sisi, he does more than launder the reputation of one of the world’s most unsavoury tyrants.</td>
<td>من وجهة نظري، فإنه [كاميرون] قد تمدّى في غيّه، فدعوة الرئيس السيسي تعد أكثر من مجرد تبييض سمعة واحد من أبشع طغاة العالم.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: launder the reputation.
The topic: reputation
The image: dirty clothes that can be laundered.

- Implication
  
  word choice: the metaphoric expression ‘launder the reputation’ evokes unpleasant feelings towards a responsible nation like the UK that was known for its virtues and humanitarian support. Such actions of inviting known tyrants sabotage the very principle upon which the grand foundations of the nation are built.

Text’s rhetorical meaning

Attitude

The writer enriches the text with a variety of metaphoric expressions to support his point of criticising the foreign policy adopted by the UK’s Prime Minister. The supporting metaphoric devices employed in the text help the writer draw the readers’ attention to this malpractice against democratic principles through extending invitations to four infamous tyrants.

Province

The text offers an account of the foreign policy of the UK under the rule of David Cameron. In so doing, the writer offers many images related to authoritarianism, despotism, and oppression the cited presidents are accused of practising such as a bestial creature, bloodthirsty, and laundering one’s reputation. The writer employs various metaphoric devices throughout the text to link the invitations offered by the PM to the policy that ended up with British participation in the invasion of Iraq.
Participation

The assumed audience of the text is the British people. The writer seems to forewarn his readers about the consequences of malpractices advocated by the PM. The text starts with a criticism of wrongful policy in recent history with Britain involvement in the war in Iraq. The employment in the text of a variety of metaphoric devices helps the writer substantiate his claim that history will repeat itself unless people protest against such a failed policy.
4.3.3 Analysis of the ET3:

Feature article
Ideologues Make for Dangerous Politicians.
By: Victor Davis Hanson.
Published in Townhall.com on 22/06/2016. Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/BqArZN

AEME09:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politicians glad-hand, pander and kiss babies as they seek to become megaphones for majority opinions. But ideologues are different. They often brood and lecture that their utopian dreams are not shared by the supposedly less informed public.</td>
<td>يعتمد السياسيون لإلقاء التحية بكل سرور، وارضاء الجمهور، وتقبل الأطفال، في مساع ليصبحوا أبواق لأراء الأغلبية، إلا أن المذهبيين مختلفون، فهم يحاضرون في كثير من الأحيان عن أحلامهم السياسية المثالية التي لا يشاركن فيها الجمهور الذي يفترض المذهبيون أنه أقل اطلاعا.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: to become megaphones for majority opinions.
The topic: politicians’ actions in public.
The image: megaphones.

- Implication

Syntactic
The noun ‘glad-hand’ carries syntactic ambiguity which can be understood as well as interpreted by intelligent readers in more ways than one. Intelligent readers read between the lines and understand the warm greetings and feelings exhibited by today's politicians and the underlying hypocritical intentions they have behind such warm greetings.

- Presupposition

Word choice: the word ‘megaphone’ metaphorically portrays the inherent quality of politicians to brag about the wishes of the masses and then change their opinion once they feel it is against those of the common people. They are indeed like a chameleon in behaviour and appearance with no moral principles or values.
To gain power, of course, ideologues can temporarily become political animals. Barack Obama ran in 2008 on popular positions such as reducing the national debt and opposing gay marriage and immigration amnesties, only to flip after he was re-elected and no longer needed to pander to perceived majority opinions.

Metaphoric expression: ideologues can temporarily become political animals.

The topic: ideologue politicians.
The image: animals.

- Implication

Formula: the writer recalls the Aristotelian aphorism ‘a man is a political animal’ due to his social creature with the speech power and moral reasoning. Hence, the writer uses this expression to evoke the image of politicians’ hunger for power.

The infinitive "to gain power" is being used as a subject complement to draw the meaning that ideologues can stoop to any levels in order to achieve their political ambition.

- Presupposition

Aphorism: the metaphoric expression ‘to pander to perceived majority opinions’ imparts that all the great promises and words of wisdons will be left behind once the objective of being in power is achieved. The masses elect their leaders in order to see them fulfil their promises, but politicians’ attitude and behaviour leave the electorate totally devastated.

A homophobic, radical Islamic terrorist in Orlando shouted "Allahu Akbar" as he mowed down the innocent in a gay nightclub. He called 911 to make sure the
world knew that his killing spree was in service to the Islamic State.

Metaphoric expression: as he mowed down the innocent.
The topic: people killed in a nightclub.
The image: cutting grass with a lawn mower.

- **Implication**
  
  **Colloquialism:** The metaphoric expression ‘mowed down’ creates an horrific image of the innocents’ killing by a homophobic who creates fear among the masses to send his message wide and clear.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**
  
  **Compound noun:** ‘killing spree’.
  The writer recalls a horror film from 1987 where a man killed few men assuming they all had affairs with his wife. Thus, the writer stresses wrongful action by the homophobic radicalised individual who is intolerant of progressive society values. Consequently, the writer says that such a violent act taken by a radical man in Orlando is based on wrong beliefs about the victims.

**AEME12:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>My translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In general, politicians are rank opportunists, but at least <strong>most of them are malleable</strong> and attuned to public opinion. But ideologues are far more anti-empirical — and thus dangerous.</td>
<td>وعلى وجه العموم، فإن السياسيين انتهازيون وإن كان أغلبهم غير متضمن مع رأي العامة، في حين أن المذهبيين غير متسقين مع الواقع تماماً وذلك مكن الخطر فيهم.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: most of them [politicians] are malleable.
The topic: flexible politicians who change their opinions to fit the majority’s opinion.
The image: a flexible object that can be reshaped easily.

- **Implication**
  
  **Word choices:** Metaphoric expression "Politicians are rank opportunists" points to the general perception that politicians in general are rank opportunists in that all their efforts in
the political field is to achieve their own interests. They promise to bring the moon to the public but in reality they are there to fulfil their own ambitions.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**
  
  **Word choices:** The metaphoric expression ‘politicians are malleable and attuned to public opinion’ is paradoxical in nature and can be considered a pun, too. They are not what they say they are or seem to be, rather they dance to the tune of public sentiments.

- **Presupposition**
  
  **Juxtaposition:** The metaphoric expression ‘ideologues [are] more anti-empirical’ is juxtaposed with an opportunistic one. Overt politicians are ‘customized’ by circumstances and therefore they follow the majority’s opinion. On the other hand, ideologues overtly refuse to go with the flow.

**Text’s rhetorical meaning**

**Attitude**

The writer takes a neutral stance as he criticises the actions taken by both parties without any preference. The metaphoric expressions used in the text represent what politicians and ideologues would do to gain votes.

**Province**

The metaphoric expressions hover over a comparison between two opposing images of flexible politicians who always make revocable decisions based on the majority trend among the electorate. On the other hand, ideologues who tend to neglect the electorate’s aspirations and commit to their own ideologies would try to find ways to get through to the public through these agendas. The writer uses the American presidential race as example to present discrepancies shown by politicians such as Obama. The text was written at an important moment in the US when election campaigns were just starting for the 2016 presidential race.

**Participation**

The assumed targeted readers of this text are the American electorate. The last presidential race witnessed an unprecedented division where some republicans offer their support to the democratic president-elect. Here, the writer tries to raise awareness among the electorate that whether they support politicians, democrats, ideologues or republicans, the result will make
no difference. The reason is that, as the writer puts it, each of them strives to accomplish certain agendas regardless of voter expectations.

**Conclusion**

The preceding section is meant to cast light on how metaphors are employed in authentic English texts by analysing the implication, emphasis/ de-emphasis, and presupposition embedded in metaphoric expressions. Such an analysis will ultimately be used to illustrate how political messages embedded in metaphoric expressions were tackled or conveyed when these English texts were translated into Arabic, as shown in section 4.4 below. The following figure shows the metaphoric devices employed in the data analysed.

**Preferred Metaphoric Devices in English Texts**

![Figure 5: Metaphoric devices employed in the English texts](image-url)
4.4 Analysis of the translated English texts (TETs):

4.4.1 Analysis of the TET1:

Feature article

سلمى ولعنة رابعة: Sisi and the Curse of Rabàa

بقلم ديفيد هيست: By David Hearst


Overview:

In this section, I will analyse the translations of metaphoric expressions used in authentic English texts. This section also tries to determine whether the translators have appropriately and accurately rendered the English metaphoric expressions into Arabic.

TEME01:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful Back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Despite statements criticising the mass killings as disproportionate, both the EU and the United States continue to actively support this blood-soaked regime.</td>
<td>رغم ما صدر عن الاتحاد الأوروبي والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية من شجب وانتقادات وصفت أعمال القتل بأنها لم تكن مبررة، إلا أنهما لا يزالان يدعمان بفاعلية هذا النظام المغموسة أياديه في دماء المصريين.</td>
<td>Despite the condemnation and criticism of the European Union and the United States of America that the killings were unjustified, they still actively support this regime, which has blood of the Egyptian people on his hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘النظام المغموسة أياديه في دماء المصريين’; ‘this blood-soaked regime’.

The topic: targeting Egyptian demonstrators in Rabàa square.

The image: blood-soaked clothes.

- Implication

Predicative adjective: The translator rendered the expression ‘blood-soaked’ as ‘المغموسة أياديه’ in Arabic syntax, involves three items: the depicted item ‘النظام’، the adjective ‘المغموسة’ describing a particular attribute of this item, and the item to be described ‘أياديه’. 
• Presupposition

Formula

Near synonymy: The words ‘شجب’ : ‘condemnation’ and ‘انتقادات’ : ‘criticism’ are common in Arabic context as a flippant way to dismiss an unfortunate reality. This effectively presupposes awareness of the intention by the U.S. and E.U. to support the unjust regime in Egypt despite the criticism.

However, this translation does not reflect the sense of the original. The original suggests brutality, ruthlessness, and violence, while the Arabic word used in the target text, ‘المغموسة’ , does not faithfully reflect the original. ‘المغموسة’ : ‘blood-soaked’ tones down the original message as the verb ‘يغمس’ : ‘to dip’ indicates an optional and smooth motion. Furthermore, the phrase ‘الأيدي المغموسة’ : ‘the dipped hands’ can suggest a pleasant, sensuous action, such as ‘منغمس في الملذات الشخصية’ . Therefore, ‘المغموسة أيديه في دماء المصريين’ : ‘which has blood of the Egyptian people on his hand’ is unidiomatic. An idiomatic equivalent would be ‘الواط في دماء المصريين’ : literally ‘lapping in the Egyptian blood’. These translations are commonly used in the political arena and evoke expressive images that describe horrific bloodshed.

TEME02:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The people who committed crimes against humanity are still attempting to gain international currency.</td>
<td>الأشخاص الذين ارتكبوا جرائم ضد الإنسانية يسعون لتحقيق قبول دولي واعتراف بأدوارهم.</td>
<td>Persons who have committed crimes against humanity continue to seek international acceptance and recognition of their roles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The translator rendered the metaphor into a non-metaphoric equivalent ‘مزالوا يسعون لتحقيق قبول’ : ‘are still attempting to gain international currency’. Such rendering diminishes the impact of the original metaphorical expression, which portrays an impotent unbearable government begging for international recognition. On the other hand, the translator settled for conveying the prepositional meaning rather than the pragmatic meaning intended in the ST. Therefore, the translator failed to maintain the impact of the source metaphor and instead provided a non-metaphoric substitution. Moreover, the analysis of the
Arabic texts in section 4.1 has outlined the preferred metaphorical devices that Arab writers tend to employ when communicating political messages. However, here, the translator rendered the intended message ‘to gain international currency’ as ‘recognition’ which is unidiomatic. Hence, an idiomatic alternative would be ‘legitimacy’.

**Suggested translation:** الأشخاص الذين ارتكبوا جرائما ضد الإنسانية مازالوا يحاولون اكتساب إمكانية دولية واعترافاً بها.

**Faithful back-translation:** Persons who committed crimes against humanity continue to seek international legitimacy and recognition of their roles.

---

**TEME03:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The battle to establish the truth of what happened in Cairo on 14 August last year has only just begun.</td>
<td>لقد بدأت معركة إحقاق الحق والكشف عما جرى بالضبط في القاهرة يوم ٤ أغسطس من العام الماضي.</td>
<td>The battle to establish the truth has just begun to unfold what exactly happened in Cairo on August 14 last year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Metaphoric expression:** ‘معركة إحقاق الحق’ : ‘the battle to establish the truth’.

The topic: ‘إحقاق الحق’ : ‘revealing the truth’.

The image: ‘المعركة’ : ‘battle’.

**Implication**

**Word choice:** ‘المعركة’ : ‘the battle’. The validity of this word is presented in the discussion of AEME03 in section 4.3.1 on p. 58.

**Emphasis/De-emphasis:**

**Redundancy:** The phrase ‘إحقاق الحق’ : ‘to establish the truth’ implies the virtuous effort exerted by Human Rights Watch (HRW) to uncover the truth. However, the English expression in the ST ‘to establish the truth’ can be more accurately and idiomatically rendered in Arabic as ‘إماطة اللثام’ : ‘unveil’.

**Suggested translation:** وبدأت معركة لإماطة اللثام عما جرى في القاهرة في الرابع عشر من آب / ٤ أغسطس.

**Faithful back-translation:** the battle to unveil what happened in Cairo on 14 August has only just begun.
4.4.2 Analysis of TET2:

Feature article
 هل بقي طاغية يداه ملطختان بالدماء لم نفرش له السجادة الحمراء؟
Is there any tyrant so blood soaked we won’t roll out the red carpet for him?

By Peter Oborne.

Published on November 1, 2015, Arabi21. Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/vlBSuq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History relates that <strong>this well-meaning policy ended up with the foul morass of the Iraq invasion of 2003.</strong></td>
<td>يخبرنا التاريخ بأن هذه السياسة ذات النوايا الحسنة لقيت حتفها، حينما غرقت في المستنقع النتن لعملية غزو العراق في عام 2003.</td>
<td>History tells us that <strong>this policy of good has died when it sank into the stinking quagmire of the 2003 invasion of Iraq.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphoric expression: ‘هذه السياسة ذات النوايا الحسنة لقيت حتفها، حينما غرقت في المستنقع النتن لعملية غزو العراق’ : ‘this policy of good will died when it sank into the stinking quagmire of the 2003 invasion of Iraq’.

The topic: wrongful policy.
The image: a worthless object that can be thrown away.

- **Implication**

**Word choice:** ‘المستنقع’ : ‘marsh’, and ‘النتن’ : ‘stinky’.

The word ‘marsh’ implies an unfit place where undrinkable water turns the land into a morass and, consequently, a source of disease. Moreover, the word ‘النتن’ : ‘stinky’ implies an unbearable situation where no one can stay.

**Stylistic structure**
The translator rendered the whole segment by means of storytelling. Therefore, the translator offers a fully-fledged, tragic short story as s/he tries to satisfy the following elements that constitute the story:

Character: ‘السياسة ذات النوايا الحسنة’.
• Emphasis/De-emphasis

**Formula:** ‘ذات النوايا الحسنة’ : ‘this well-meaning’; although the translator renders the exact message as intended here, such a rendering is suggestive of a colloquial expression in Egypt: ‘صاحب النية الطيبة عبيط’ : ‘a well-meaning person is an idiot’. Consequently, the translator tries to link the foreign policy of the UK to the formulaic usage of such an expression in the Arab world.

**Collocation:** Using the expression ‘يخبرنا التاريخ’ : ‘history tells’, the writer implies that the dispersal of sit-ins has become a basic truth of political life. Here, the writer recalls the saying in both Arab and Western communities: ‘التاريخ لا يكتب’ : ‘History does not lie’.

However, the meaning of ‘end up’ in the source text is erroneously interpreted with ‘died’ and, therefore, the word ‘لقيت حتفها’ : ‘died’ is an inappropriate translation for ‘ended up’. The metaphoric meaning of ‘ended up’ in Arabic is ‘آل بها الأمر’ : ‘it has ended up’. In Arab culture, the expression ‘انتهى بها المطاف’ : ‘end up’ indicates something coming to an end usually after a long time. Therefore, such a translation meets the intended meaning in the ST as well as fulfils the conventional usage, as explained in section 1.3 by Goatly (2005).

**TEME05:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is almost no torturer too brutal, no mass-murderer too bloodthirsty, nor dictator too autocratic for David Cameron not to extend an invitation to visit Britain.</td>
<td>لا يكاد يوجد طاغية متعطش للدماء، ولا دكتاتور مستبد ينكل بشعبه بكل ألوان التعذيب ويرتكب بحق أمه المجازر الجماعية، لا يتورع دافيد كاميرون عن توجيه دعوة له لزيارة بريطانيا.</td>
<td>There is not hardly any bloodythirsty tyrant, nor tyrannical dictator who tortures his people with all kinds of torture and massacres his nation, who did not receive a bold invitation from David Cameron to visit Britain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The topic: ‘الحاكم الطاغية’ : ‘a tyrant ruler’.
The image: ‘مصاصو الدماء’ : ‘vampires’.
• Implication

**Word choice:** 'الطاغية': 'tyrant', 'دكتاتور': 'dictator', 'مستبد': 'despotic', 'المجازر الجماعية': 'genocides'. By using these words, the writer tries to convince his readers that the invitation is unjustifiable by means of terrifying authoritarian attributes.

**Phrasal verb:** 'ـبـلـّيـنـكـلُ بـهـ' : 'to torture'. This phrasal verb in Arabic suggests extreme premeditated violence, while the victims are absolutely powerless. Moreover, it offers an image of various kinds of torture, such as burning, beating, and so on.

• Emphasis/De-emphasis

**Word choice:** using the expression 'متعطش للدماء': 'bloodthirsty', the writer emphasises the dictator's intent to continue killing innocents by recalling vampires. In this way, the writer criticises the two previous invitations, and forewarns the British Prime Minister of going ahead with the scheduled invitation.

The translation of this segment is structurally incoherent in Arabic, owing to the literal adoption of the English structure. Thus, a suggested translation would be:

وعلى ما يبدو فإن دافيد كاميرون لا يتورع عن دعوة أي طاغية متعطش للدماء أو ديكتاتور مستبد ينكل بشعبه بكل أنواع التعذيب ويرتكب بحق أمه المجازر لزيارة بريطانيا

Faithful back-translation: Apparently, David Cameron has no scruples to invite any bloodthirsty tyrant or brutal dictator, who who tortures his people with all kinds of torture and massacres his nation, to visit Britain.

**TEME06:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>And we now hear reports that the President of Kazakhstan, a bestial creature called Nursultan Nazarbayev, is soon to come to London – which would complete an unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests for the PM.</td>
<td>والآن نسمع تقارير تفيد بأن رئيس كازخستان، وهو كان بهيمي متوحش يدعى نور سلطان نزربايف، سيحل قريبا ضيفا على لندن، وبذلك تكتمل سلسلة الضيوف الطغاة لدى رئيس الوزراء.</td>
<td>Now we hear reports that the president of Kazakhstan, a wild animal named Nursultan Nazarbayev, will soon be visiting London, thus completing the series of tyrant guests of the Prime Minister.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Metaphoric expression: ‘و بذلك تكتمل سلسلة الضيوف الطغاة لدى رئيس الوزراء’; ‘the series of the PM’s guests would complete’.

The topic: the invitation of a third tyrant to London by David Cameron.

The image: scoring three goals in one game.

• Implication

Interjectional sentence ‘وهو كائن بهيمي متوحش’, ‘a bestial creature’.

Using this strategy, the writer draws attention to the guest whose criminal record is full of inhumane acts against his people. Therefore, the writer advises his readers to assume a common stance against the invitation.

• Emphasis/De-emphasis


The writer employs this word to suggest that such an attribute is the common denominator among the PM’s guests. Consequently, the writer emphasises the carelessness and self-interest that the PM’s invitation towards dictators mean.

Apart from the employment of the aforesaid interjectional sentence, ‘وهو كائن بهيمي متوحش’, and the word ‘الطغاة’, the translation of the metaphoric expression ‘which would complete an unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests for the PM’ is inaccurate and incoherent. The original message includes a sports metaphor. According to Dictionary.com, ‘hat-trick’ means ‘any achievement of three points, victories, awards, etc. within a given period, especially three goals scored by the same player in a soccer match’. Furthermore, the expression ‘سلسلة الضيوف’ in Arab cultures does not suggest the exact ironic image of the source metaphor. Moreover, it can be noted that the original metaphor was translated into a cliché metaphoric expression that necessarily tones down the image intended in the ST. The metaphor in the ST specifies the number of tyrants in question, which is notably overlooked in the TT.

Suggested translation: ‘و بذلك يكون رئيس الوزراء قد أحرز الهدف الثالث المريع في مرمى الديمقراطية’.

Faithful back-translation: The Prime Minister, then, has scored the third goal in democracy.
Mr. Cameron removed the article requiring his ministers to abide either by international law or by international treaties, which Britain had signed for the administration of justice; thus, morality had been thrown out of the window.

Metaphoric expression: ‘Morality is thus thrown out of the window’.

The topic: political ethics.

The image: a worthless object that can be thrown away.

Here, the translator uses an overly literal translation of the metaphoric expressions. While the phrase ‘Morality is thus thrown out of the window’ might be acceptable and valid in colloquial English, the translation ‘وبذلك تكون الأخلاق قد ألقي بها من النافذة’ is an unidiomatic metaphor in Arabic which, in turn, lacks accuracy. An acceptable cultural equivalent in Arabic could be ‘وذلك يكون رئيس الوزراء قد ضرب بالأخلاق عرض الحائط’ : ‘The Prime Minister has thrown morality aside’. Such an expression conveys an intentional carelessness that befits the intended meaning in the ST. Notably and following Goatly (2005), it can be clearly seen here how the translator portrays the uselessness of morality by using the conventional image in Arabic ‘ألقي بها من النافذة’ : ‘thrown out of the window’ despite the fact that it is unidiomatic.

My own view is that he has gone too far. By inviting President Sisi, he does more than launder the reputation of one of the world’s most unsavoury tyrants.

I see that he has gone far in his pragmatism; by inviting the Sisi to London, he is doing more than just clean up the reputation of one of the most despicable tyrants of our time.
Metaphoric expression: ‘تنظيف سمعة’ : ‘launder the reputation’.
The topic: ‘سمعة’ : ‘reputation’.
The image: dirty clothes that can be laundered.

- **Implication**

  **Word choice:** using the word ‘تنظيف’ : ‘launder’, the writer describes the notorious nature of the Egyptian regime, which is totally unacceptable. The writer forewarns the PM that such an invitation would in turn damage the reputation of the UK as a democracy.

- **Emphasis/De-emphasis**

  **Superlative adjective:** ‘أبشع طغاة الأرض’ : ‘the most unsavoury’.

  While the first instance implies that endless aid is being offered to the guests by the PM, the latter superlative adjective ‘أبشع طغاة الأرض’ : ‘the most unsavoury’ portrays the guest himself.

  Consequently, this strategy helps the translator emphasise his criticism of the invitation.

- **Presupposition**

  **Genitive construction:** Here, the metaphoric expression ‘تنظيف سمعة’ : ‘launder the reputation’ suggests the consequences of the invitation extended by the PM. Namely, the translator presupposes that the act would constitute a flagrant violation of democratic principles, in that it would strengthen the relationship between the U.K., which claims to uphold democracy, and the current Egyptian government with its significant history of dictatorial governance.

  The translation of this segment, however, does not sound natural in Arabic, as the word ‘تنظيف’ : ‘launder’ does not usually collocate with ‘سمعة’ : ‘reputation’.

  A suggested translation for this expression that conforms with common Arabic usage would be ‘تلميع صورة’ : ‘shining an image’.
4.4.3 Analysis of the TET3:

Feature article
Ideologues Make for Dangerous Politicians.
By Victor Davis Hanson
Published on August 26, 2016
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Politicians glad-hand, pander, and kiss babies as they seek to become megaphones for majority opinions. But ideologues are different. They often brood and lecture that their utopian dreams are not shared by the supposedly less informed public.

Metaphoric expression: ‘ابواق لأراء الأغلبية’; ‘to become megaphones for majority opinions’.

The topic: politicians.
The image: ‘ابواق’; ‘megaphones’.

**Implication**

**Word choice:** by using the word ‘ابواق’, the writer presents the prevailing tactic of politicians in terms of trying to visibly demonstrate their infinite commitment to the electorate’s aspirations.

By using ‘glad-hand, pander’ and ‘babies’, the writer portrays the kindness of politicians as they attempt to express it in public.
• Emphasis/De-emphasis

Word choice: ‘يعمد’ : ‘premeditate’. This word asserts that politicians’ actions in public are all planned for ulterior motives. Therefore, the writer calls upon people to distrust politicians unless they have carefully examined their behaviours.

Here, the translation lacks the accuracy and idiomatic nature of the original text when conveying the original message. For example, ‘They [ideologues] often brood and lecture that their utopian dreams’ is rendered as ‘يحاضرون في كثير من الأحيان عن أن أحلامهم السياسية’; ‘[...] often arguing that their passionate political dreams’. Here, the translator failed to convey the intended meaning idiomatically and accurately. Moreover, ‘by the supposedly’ was translated as ‘على نحو مفترض’; ‘presumably’, whereas the intended meaning is ideologues who believe that the public is less informed than them. Consequently, ideologues neglect the majority’s opinion when making decisions due to their condescending perception of the general public. A suggested translation that meets the original message would be: ‘يعمد السياسيون لإلقاء التحية بكل سرور، وإرضاء الجمهور، وتقبل الأطفال، في مساعٍ لتصبح أبواقاً لآراء الأغلبية، إلا أن أصحاب الأيديولوجيات مختلفون، فهم يحاضرون في كثير من الأحيان عن أحلامهم السياسية المثالية التي لا يشاركم فيها الجمهور الذين يفترض أنهم أقل اطلاعاً.

Politicians purposefully greet people gladly, please them, and kiss children in an effort to become megaphones for majority opinions. However, ideologists are different as they often lecture about their ideal and political dreams unshared by the public seen as less knowledgeable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To gain power, of course, ideologues can temporarily become political animals. Barack Obama ran in 2008 on popular positions such as reducing the national debt and opposing gay marriage and immigration amnesties, only to flip after he was re-elected and no longer needed to pander to perceived</td>
<td>In order to gain power, ideologists can become political animals, temporarily, in the sense of becoming very interested in the social and political issues. Barack Obama has been nominated in 2008, based on taking popular positions, such as reducing national debt, opposing gay marriage, amnesty and</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
majority opinions.

immigration, to change his views after the success of his re-election process, where he does not need to lead to the views of the majority.

Metaphoric expression: 'يمكن أن يصبح الايديولوجيون حيوانات سياسية، مؤقتاً' : 'ideologues can temporarily become political animals'.

The topic: 'السياسيون المؤدلجون': 'ideologue politicians'.

The image: animals.

The image recalled here dates back to the 19th century when two politicians representing democrats and republicans were likened to a donkey and an elephant, as a way of performance criticism. However, the image was subtly altered in a positive manner to indicate huge interest in social and political affairs. Consequently, the metaphor ‘ideologues can temporarily become political animals’ is meaningful in English due to the cultural background of this expression. However, the literal translation 'يمكن أن يصبح الايديولوجيون حيوانات سياسية، مؤقتاً' is unnatural and meaningless in Arabic due to the absence of this cultural background. Therefore, the translator added an explanation in the Arabic version: 'بمعنى الاهتمام، بشكل كبير، بالقضايا الاجتماعية والسياسية': 'in the sense of becoming very interested in social and political issues'. The intended meaning, identified by the metaphoric expression, is that politics is often seen as the practice of either directly or indirectly meeting election cycle requirements. Such a meaning can be metaphorically rendered in Arabic as 'وتتلون مواقفهم: 'Politicians hold chameleon-like stances towards the issues they stand for'. This translation fulfils the cultural usage in the Arab world where changing stances perpetually is likened to chameleon-like behaviour.

### TEmE11:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
<th>Faithful back-translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In general, politicians are rank opportunists, but at least <strong>most of them are malleable</strong> and attuned to public opinion. But ideologues are far more anti-empirical -- and thus dangerous.</td>
<td>يعتبر السياسيون، بشكل عام، أشخاصاً أنهزاميين، وبجدارة، ولكن معظمهم، على الأقل، يتسمون بالليونة والتناغم مع الرأي العام.</td>
<td>Politicians are generally considered opportunists, but most, at least, are soft and in tune with public opinion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Metaphoric expression: ‘مَعْظُومَهُ، عَلَى الاقلْ، يُتَسَهَّمُونَ بَاللَّيْوَةُ’ ‘at least most of them [politicians] are malleable’.

The topic: politicians have the flexibility to change their opinions based on the majority’s opinion.

The image: a flexible material that can always be easily reshaped.

As stated earlier, this metaphoric expression serves in the ST to portray politicians’ ability to change stances and positions according to the circumstances. However, the translator rendered this metaphoric expression literally. Despite delivering the message in a broad sense, the translation tones down the voice of the original metaphor since the Arabic phrase ‘يتسمون بالليونة’ implies a positive attribute and at best does not reflect major changes. In Arab culture, politicians’ dexterity and resourcefulness are best portrayed with the historically fixed expression ‘المحافظة على شعرة معاوية’ ‘preservation of a Muàawya Hair’ which means a very tenuous link to keep the ball rolling. Such a translation maintains the metaphoric sense of the ST as well as offering a metaphoric equivalence which is well-recognised in the Arab culture as the intended message for ‘most of them are malleable’.

Suggested translation:

السياسيون بشكل عام انتهازيون، ولكن معظمهم على الأقل يحرصون على أن يبقى بينهم وبين الناس شعرة معاوية.

Faithful back-translation: politicians are generally opportunists, but most at least try to maintain a Muàawya Hair, meaning ‘a very tenuous link’, with people to keep the ball rolling.

The last sentence of the ST ‘But ideologues are far more anti-empirical — and thus dangerous’ is omitted in the TT. This part of the sentence, along with the former, serves as a conclusion to the feature article summarising the writer’s opinion about each party in question. Therefore, the omission of the part about ideologues lacks the neutrality of the TT.

A suggested translation for the whole segment would be:

يظل السياسيون بشكل عام، انتهازيين ولكن معظمهم على الأقل يحرصون على أن يبقى بينهم وبين الناس شعرة معاوية، أما المؤدجو فإنهم مغرقون في السير على نهج محدد بعيداً عن خوض تجارب جديدة وذلك مكمن الخطر فيهم.

Faithful back-translation: politicians are generally opportunists even though most at least try to maintain a very tenuous link with people to keep the ball rolling. But ideologues are far more to following a certain approach away from new experiences, and that is why they are dangerous.

The figure below shows the metaphoric devices that translators used to convey messages in English into Arabic.
Conclusion

This section dealt with the translations of some authentic English texts into Arabic. The analysis has shown how the translators tackled metaphoric expressions to faithfully render the messages delivered in the original texts. However, I will point in the table below to the metaphoric devices employed in the authentic and translated feature articles when communicating political messages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphoric devices employed in the Arabic texts (ATs)</th>
<th>Metaphoric devices employed in the English texts (ETs)</th>
<th>Metaphoric devices employed in the translated English texts (TETs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implication</td>
<td>Implication</td>
<td>Implication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• word choice</td>
<td>• word choice</td>
<td>• word choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• stylistic structure</td>
<td>• word choice</td>
<td>• stylistic structure</td>
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<tr>
<td>• interjectional sentence</td>
<td>• formulae</td>
<td>• interjectional sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• phrasal verb</td>
<td>• word order</td>
<td>• stylistic structure</td>
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<tr>
<td>• predicative adjective</td>
<td>• formulae</td>
<td>• interjectional sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis/ De-emphasis</td>
<td>Emphasis/ De-emphasis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• word choice</td>
<td>• redundancy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• collocation</td>
<td>• formulae</td>
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<td>• formulae</td>
<td>• superlative adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presupposition</td>
<td>Presupposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>• near synonymy</td>
<td>• formulae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• genitive construction</td>
<td>• formulae</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Metaphoric devices employed in the translated English texts
Here, it can be seen that Arab writers used a number of devices to deliver their message. For example, there is a considerable tendency among Arab writers to employ quite a number of metaphoric devices as an emphasis tool, such as redundancy, colloquialism, synonymy, repetition and addition, while both authentic English and the translated texts are devoid of such devices, as shown in Table 4 above. Furthermore, the translated English texts are more than halved in terms of employing metaphoric devices in terms of implication and emphasis.
The metaphoric devices employed by translators include those employed in authentic texts. This indicates that the translators complied with the way in which Arab writers use metaphors albeit influenced by the STs in some other instances. Given that the translators to some extent conveyed the intended messages in many instances, it can be claimed that there is no obvious ideological reason for why some metaphoric expressions were mistranslated (see appendices 7, 8 and 9). Thus, the inaccuracy found when analysing the translated texts is claimed to be due to a lack of aptitude translation competency, which caused mistranslations in some instances.
Chapter 5 Results and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will take a closer look at results of the analysis of feature articles in terms of how writers employ metaphors in authentic Arabic and English texts. On the other hand, it shows how translators dealt with metaphoric expressions when translating messages from English into Arabic. It will also briefly show how the writers employ certain metaphoric devices to deliver messages in the authentic texts, and whether the translators succeeded in conveying the intended meanings in the translations. Finally, the chapter will also offer further recommendations for related future works.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Results from the analysis of the Arabic texts

The analysis of the metaphoric expressions employed in authentic Arabic feature articles has revealed a heavy reliance on metaphors to communicate political messages. The analysis was meant to lead the researcher to some reliable results as to how Arab writers deploy metaphors in such texts. Consequently, a yardstick could be suggested in order to help translators convey messages embedded in metaphors into Arabic appropriately and accurately. Furthermore, the analysis of the Arabic texts would aid feature articles’ Arab writers and translators on how to use metaphors effectively in political writing. The analysis ended up uncovering Arab writers’ tendency to use specific metaphoric devices when communicating messages within feature articles.

With regard to the metaphoric devices used by Arab writers, there is a significant presence of named items with a total of 41 elements that function metaphorically. For example, الشاويش، بعضشي، فرعون، الجيش المصري، الخراب، عمليات التجميل السياسي، حق العودة، الخزيمة، مصلحة العفو السيسية، تقديم طلبات توبة (examples taken from the ATs: sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3). The writers heavily relied on the power of naming items that represent metaphoric expressions. Following Clark (2006, p. 209), “naming is a powerful ideological tool. It is also an accurate pointer to the ideology of the namer. Different names for an object represent different ways of perceiving it”. These items, scattered throughout the texts, reflect the ideological motivation behind employing such names. Consequently, employing these names in a
metaphorical sense helps writers communicate the notions intended to be conveyed to readers.

Given the significant presence of metaphoric expressions in the ATs, the writers utilise the power of metaphors to deliver ideological and political messages. For example, in line with Ôrabi’s attitude, the writer of Arabic text 1 (see appendix 1, regarding the Egyptian regime after the July 3rd military coup, the writer uses various metaphoric elements to draw a complete picture of the topic tackled by way of ‘الجيش المصري’ : ‘the Egyptio-Israeli army’, ‘ارتفاع الأسعار التي تسحقه’ : ‘saying goodbye to those dilapidated crumbling structures’, ‘The pressured steam’ and ‘لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر’ : ‘will leave no stones together’. Here, it can be noted that with the use of such a series of metaphoric expressions, the writer tries to persuade her audience about the reality at home where the military do not serve in citizens’ interest, prices are unaffordable, and home becomes undesirable. Consequently, the writer instigates Egyptians to act against the regime via the image of extreme impatience ‘البخار المحتبس في القدر’ : ‘the pressured steam’ and ‘لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر’ : ‘will leave no stones together’.

Notably, the Arabic texts are replete with references to religion, specific cultures, historical events, and formulaic expressions and symbols. For instance, ‘فرعون’ : ‘pharaoh’, ‘هامان’ : ‘Haman’, ‘حق العودة’ : ‘right of repatriation’, ‘العائدين من أفغانستان’ : ‘Returnees from Afghanistan’ and ‘يجترون عناوين بليدة’ : ‘regurgitating useless headlines’. These metaphoric expressions are culturally conventional and clearly derived from the Arab environment, which make them all the more comprehensible and accessible to Arab readers.

5.2.2 Results from the analysis of the English texts

As stated earlier, the analysis of English texts was meant to illustrate the extent to which writers utilise the power of metaphor to communicate messages in political feature articles. Metaphors helped writers communicate with their audiences when delivering messages. The writers of English texts 1 and 2 adopt a position of opposition against the Egyptian regime and the international attitudes towards it. Such a stance can be read through the metaphors employed in the texts, such as ‘blood-soaked regime’, ‘to gain international currency’, ‘the battle to establish the truth’, ‘the foul morass’, ‘bloodthirsty’, ‘morality is thrown out’ and ‘laundering reputation’. The writers describe the unlawful practices adopted by either party in order to draw their audiences’ attention towards their position and stand against these practices. Thus, the use of metaphors in English texts 1 and 2 serves the writers’ attempt to
convince by way of employing persuasive metaphors to bring readers to their viewpoint, as shown in Chapter 4. ET3 presents a comparison between two American parties — ideologues or ‘Republicans’ and politicians or ‘Democrats’ — and then claims to be neutral by way of criticising both parties in equal measure.

The writers rely on the persuasive power of metaphor in delivering their messages. Hence, the employment of metaphoric expressions helps writers communicate their messages effectively by way of convincing readers to stand for a particular issue. For example, in the English text 1, the writer (see appendix 4) deploys various images to persuade readers to embrace his standpoint, e.g. ‘people who committed crimes are still attempting to gain international currency’ and are ‘blood-soaked’. Such images enable the writer to deliver the intended messages which would not have been possible with ordinary language — all thanks to the impact such images would have on the intended western readers.

5.2.3 Results of the analysis of the translated English texts

The analysis and discussion of the translated English texts presented in section 4.4.3 show the extent to which those texts have been translated accurately in terms of maintaining the intended messages in metaphoric expressions. The translation of ET1 and ET2 were sourced from one newspaper agency showing variable levels of accuracy in some instances. To some extent, the translators maintained the embedded messages albeit with some distortions, such as omissions and mistranslations found in the analysis. Such distortions clearly affect the intended messages in many instances by way of providing inaccurate translations or toning down the embedded meaning in the STs. For example, in the authentic English text 2 (ET2), the metaphoric expression 04 (AEME04) ‘this well-meaning policy ended up’ was translated into ‘لقيت حتفها’ : ‘has died’ even though the ST never mentions death. Even though ‘لقيت حتفها’ : ‘has died’ is the appropriate collocation in Arabic, this translation actually tones down the intended messages due to the inappropriateness of using this collocation to convey the meaning of a wrongful policy. Therefore, such a translation does not comply with how ‘end up’ is appropriately rendered in a similar Arabic context. Moreover, the translator overestimated the image of policy by stating ‘لقيت حتفها’ : ‘has died’, as this one tends to exaggerate the image than ‘ended up’. Consequently, it can be noticed how the mistranslation of this expression distorts the intended message by offering a flawed image for Arab readers (the target audience) due to its unconventionality.
The translated English texts 1 and 2 are sourced from the same newspaper agency, from
where the authentic Arabic texts 1 and 2 were sourced. This helps us in comparing how the
target audience is addressed, either in authentic or translated texts.

STs are significantly enriched by various metaphors that are employed to serve certain
messages, as shown in section 4.3. The TTs are expected to fulfil the meaning of the
metaphors and their contribution to the overall rhetorical meaning of the texts. It can be
shown in the analysis of the translated English texts (see section 4.4) that there are some
distortions and mistranslations throughout the three texts although we must state that the
translators, at times, properly conveyed the intended messages in a few instances. On the
other hand, the inaccurate translations (see the translated English metaphoric expressions 09
and 10) and the omission of the message (see the translated English metaphoric expression
11) undermine the use of metaphors to deliver the right message.

5.3 Conclusion

This study has shed light on the use of metaphor in political feature articles translated from
English into Arabic. In so doing, the study provides a brief account of the metaphor regarding
definition and classification as well as offering an overview of the use of metaphor in Arabic
and English literature. The relevant literature was reviewed so as to seek insights from
researchers in the field and consequently to show how this study would situate itself within
the existing relevant literature. In view of the research questions, I analysed authentic feature
articles written in Arabic and English concerning how writers deliver political messages
within feature articles. On the other hand, I also analysed the translation of English texts into
Arabic in order to examine the accuracy of the translations in terms of whether the translators
succeed in conveying the intended messages when translating English feature articles into
Arabic.

The analysis of the data has shown a certain reliance on metaphors to communicate messages
in authentic Arabic and English texts. Without such appropriate use of metaphors, messages
would never have been delivered effectively. Thus, for the target readers to receive the
appropriate message, the intended meaning in the STs requires accurate rendition with the
same influence. The study has tackled three questions: 1) how do writers employ metaphors
in authentic Arabic political feature articles? 2) how do writers employ metaphors in
authentic English political feature articles? and 3) were political metaphors in the English
feature articles translated accurately into Arabic? The investigation into the translation of
metaphors in this study examined whether messages were accurately conveyed and offered suggestions where those messages were distorted. Given that metaphors are powerful and purposefully employed in political feature articles to communicate certain messages, the translations of metaphors demand that such a translation accurately convey the embedded meanings when translated into Arabic. Referring to the analysis of the three sets of data, the Arab writers tend to use certain metaphoric devices to deliver their intended political messages in terms of how writers impact, emphasise, and/or presuppose issues related to the topics on hand. Likewise, the writers of authentic English texts use certain metaphoric devices, albeit with some overlap with those used by Arab writers. On the other hand, the suggested translations have shown that in many instances, translators should have avoided trying to be faithful, and at times literal, in their translation of political metaphors, as they did not adequately deliver the punch lines intended by the original writers. Since political metaphors are cultural, fixed, and idiomatic, a free approach should have been adopted to deliver the embedded messages more accurately. This free approach may necessitate substituting the English metaphor, even adding new metaphors in certain instances.

The study results are begging for expanding the work on this issue. For example, a study that analyses authentic and translated texts sourced from the same agency would assist in examining the ways in which writers employ metaphors and translators tackle metaphors to communicate certain messages with their audience in their own language and in translation. Further metaphoric devices can be extensively examined in a longer project to illustrate how metaphors function in political writings as a means to deliver certain messages. An important aspect worth investigating is how the approach adopted by a translator of metaphors from English into Arabic can lead to delivering the wrong messages with serious consequences for the stock exchange, political situation, bilateral relationship, peace, image of the West, etc. Finally, a future research work could perhaps examine whether translators of metaphors in political feature articles from English into Arabic depart from conventional images in the Arabic language or comply with the target language when treating metaphors in translation.


Ayling, D. (2002). Language can be thought of as metaphor. Is this an appropriate metaphor? *Introduction to Literary Criticism*.


Spoken Dialects. Retrieved from https://ar.mo3jam.com/term/%D8%B9%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B7-%D8%AF-%D8%AF-


Appendices

Appendix 1: The Arabic text 1

ممنوع من الامل لدواع عسكرية

آيات عربية

في القرآن، أمر الله موسى وهارون عليه السلام أن يذبهما إلى فرعون ليقولوا له (أرسل معنا بني إسرائيل).

كان جزءا من أبطال الله لهم أن يظلوا تحت عذاب فرعون وهامان وجنودهما.

تقرأ القصة في القرآن، فتدرك أن جل أمانيهم وقتها كان الخروج من مصر، وهو الحدث الذي تصادمت معه أحداث القصة، لتنتهي ببطء فرعون لهم وغرقه وجنوده في البحر.

الشاويش بضعي، فرعون مصر الحديث، الذي كان هامانا من قبل، فسعي بانقلاب ليمارس الحكم في مصر ويصبح في ملك فرعون، فسعي بإعداد جيش جديد.

تقول الرواية الانقلابية إنهم اجتماعوا 9 جماع غارقة لمسرحيين ومصريين، ونجحوا في إحباط هجرة غير شرعية، وألقوا القبض على 127 شخصا، وتصويف الرواية الانقلابية أن ما استدعى إحباط العملية تم بتعاون بين الميليشيات العربية وحرس الحدود.

وتصر الرواية الانقلابية على تقديم الأمر بلغة تشتم فيها إرادة الغزاة بالانفجار لانجاز الذي تحقق، وتمس عملية إحباط هجرة غير شرعية، وتكاد تحسن أمك صورة الجنرال السمين بصفته المتحدث الرسمي للجيش المصري رقم (1) عن نجاح قواته في إغراق مركب الهجرة غير الشرعية، وقبض على الجناة، ثم تبدأ المارشات العسكرية في الغزاة.

وتبدأ راحة (القازفة)، أما يقول الأمريكان، تتصاعد من الرواية الانقلابية حين تقرأ أن ركاب مركب الصيد حين شعروا بوجود قوات حرس الحدود قفزوا في المياه، ما أدى لغرقهم.

وذلك إصرار على ترديد عبارة (من ذوي البشرة السمراء) كما لو كانت تلك الجملة ستكشف من تأثير الخبر، وهي عجرفة غير مستغربة على عسكر عربات البليلة الذين يضعون أنفسهم في مرتبة أعلى من مرتبة البشر.

في الصور المشتركة للحدث، تتيح عجرفة ولا مبالاة لمراقبة على وجه الواقفين حول جثث أمير الغروق، إحدى الصور تستعرض بشدة حين ترى رجلا سمينا يمسك بنالى جهة ينظر في عدد أشكال لجثامين الطفل يذكرك بالطفل السوري الغارق على سواحل تركيا.

لا تعرف من الصورة إن كان الطفل مصريا أم سوريا أم صومالي، ولا تقرأ سوى العبارة القبيحة (من ذوي البشرة السمراء).

من الواضح أننا بصدود جريمة قتل جديدة أرتكبت مليشيات الجيش المصري، أدت إلى غرق عدد من الأبرياء، لم يعادوا أحدا، ولم يعترف على أحد، فقط أرادوا الإبحار بعيدا عن واقعهم المظلم، أرادوا توديع تلك الخرابات المنصوبة في بلدنا من خمسينيات القرن الماضي.

لا أمل في معرفة حقيقة ما حدث إلا إذا تسربت أجزاء من الرواية الحقيقية للحدث عبر أحد الناجين. فالعسكر يطبقون
قواعد التعتيم الإعلامي على ما يحدث، كما يفعلون في سيناء.
لا يمكنك وأن تكون منظور إلى جثة الطفل الغارق وتقرأ الرواية الانقلابية إلا تتذكر تلك السيدة المصرية في سيناء، التي أطلق عليها جنود أحد الكمائن الرصاص، فأصابوها في قدمها، وأصابت الرصاصة الثانية بطنها، فقتلت طفلتها ذات الشهور السبعة، والصورة التي تسربت عبر صفحة سيناء 24 ثم الرواية العسكرية الضبابية التي تحدثت بعدها عن رجال الصاعقة الذين تحولوا إلى سوبرمان وانتفخوا وهم يطاردون التكفيريين الذين أصابهم الذعر.
لا يمكنك أن تصرخ لارتفاع الأسعار التي تسحقه كل لحظة، حتى بات البحث عن عشاء ضربا من المأساة.
تحولت مصر على يد العصابات العسكرية إلى أنقاض وخرابات لا يمكنها مغادرتها، ولا يمكنها العيش فيها.
لا يمكن أن تفر، ولا يمكن لك أن تنشكي، ولا يمكن أن تصرخ، أنت ممنوع من السفر، ومنمنوع من الكلام، ومنمنوع من الشكوى، ومنمنوع حتى من الدعاء على الظلمين.
أنت ممنوع من السفر والهجرة، ممنوع من الكرامة والحرية، ممنوع من الأمل، ممنوع من كل شيء لدواعي القتل والاستعباد.
mezaj لا تجده إلا في قصص الطغاة في القرآن، فرعون وهامان والتمرود وكفار قريش.
البخار المحتبس في القدر شافع على الانفجار، والانفجار هذه المرة لن يبقى حجرًا على حجر، ولن يرحم أحدًا.
دستور النوايا الحسنة

نفين ملك

- ادخل الحمام برجلك اليمين.
- دستوركم يا أسيادنا عايز ترقع.
- ودندخل برجلنا اليمين على برلمان الترقع.
- تلميحات سيدتك أو أمر عسكري يا أقدم.
- أحلام سعادتك أوامر يتم تنفيذها فورا.

هذا لسان حال هؤلاء من الكائنات الطفيلة السياسية التي فور ما لوح السيد عبد الفتاح السيسي يفكر دستور النوايا الحسنة الذي كتب بنوايا حسنة وبالطبع في مثل المصري صاحب النوايا الحسنة والطيب عادة يكون (عيبطا)، وهذا من غير المتصور في انتقاء لجنة الخمسين.

والتي راح البعض منها يقول إن الرئيس كان يهدف من خلال قوله هذا للثناء على هؤلاء وليس للحط من قدرهم والعياذ بالله.

على أي حال وبدون التدخل في النوايا التي لا يعلمها سوى الله التقط عدد من الكائنات السياسي التنفيذية إشارة الرادار للبدء في إعداد حملات الاستجابة الفورية لتتويج تلك الكائنات الطفيلة فيما بعد تسويق قبول تلك الرغبة الفرعونية السامية.

وتحت التهديد أو التخويف، ونحن مازلا في مرحلة الحرب على الإرهاب، ومن القرار السابق للسيد عبد الفتاح السيسي، بإعطاء نفسه حق إعفاء رؤساء وأعضاء الهيئات المستقلة والأجهزة الرقابية من مناصبهم، بهدف الإطالة بهشيش جمهورية رئيس الجهاز المركزي للمحاسبات، ومرورا بالقوانين الاستثنائية التي تمت المصادقة عليها، والتي وصلت رقم قياسي خلال عام واحد من بعد 3 يوليو والتي يتحتم أن يتم مراجعتها ومناقشة من قبل اللجان المختصة بمجلس النواب القادم والذي سيكون قاضيا ويجدد المشهد المصري على الفئة المنصرمة للنظام الحالي ورجال الأعمال من رجال مبارك وسليم مرورا أو عموما.

والمستخرج إلى حواريات المرحلة وناجلو مطل حكم إعداد الوجبات السريعة جاهزة التحضير، وبحسب الطلب الذي سيطل عليه جوازة برلمان ما بعد النوايا الحسنة.

وفي الوقت الذي توقع فيه عدد من أعضاء لجنة الخمسين (النوايا الحسنة) أن القافلة ستسير وتحت الرجال مع اقتراضها لتشكل نظام تم تسويقه ولو ظاهريا وطيفا لتصارع الخمسن تلك وأن النظام سيدي ذكاء سياسيا للمحافظة على تلك التصور، ولو ظاهريا وإسوأ حال الأمر الخارجي، ولكن فاتهم أننا وطيفا للبيان الصادر من المجلس الاقتصادي للعالم لم تعد ندرد كثيرا لصورة تآمر العالم الخارجي مع انتصارات كبرى نتفق على الأرض مثل ما صرح به إعلامي مصري في برنامج "صخ الثور" على قناة "التحريج" من أن "هيلاري كلينتون قالت إن "هيلاري كلينتون قالت إن" الهيلاري كلينتون قالت إن"aisyتية: "... ودندخل إلى إسكندرية بس فوجي بطائر روسي طوره الجبه المصري، بالتحليق فوق وقفة وقفة بمحاصرته و..."
وابن الإعلامي: "وتحت الضغط البشرية، بقيادة مهاب مميش، في أسر أحد قيادات البوارج بالأسطول السادس الأردني، قبل رابعة العدوية.
وكان ذلك إن جنرال مصر، ضعف بالأعمال، أحمد إدريس، مع الرئيس الأمريكي باراك أوباما، وابن تهديدين من السيسي، بضرورة أن ينعى الأسطول السادس من السواحل المصرية وإلا سيقنع ما فعله بالمجلس السادس الأمريكي للعالم.
وبالمثل تلك الإنجازات القوية مؤرخة في موقف لا يعبء كثيرا بعمليات التجميل السياسي، ومراعاة النصوص الدستورية أو التشريعية أو مبادئ الفصل بين السلطات ومبادئ حقوق الإنسان والحريات وغيرها من الأشياء الكلاسيكية، والتي اعتاد نظام مبارك قمعه على منع وضعها في الإطار التجميلي والمحافظة على أكبر قدر ممكن من مساحيق التجميل لإخفاء توشات الزمن وواقع النظام المريض والمسن.
لم تترد السلطة في الانقلاب على أعضاء لجنة الخمسين من المقربين والموالين ولن تتردد في الانقلاب على أي طرف يدخل في دائرة حساباتها وسعيا للسلطة المطلقة.
فمراسم تنصيب الفرعون دائما ما تصاحبها لعنة الفراعنة والتي أخشى أن تكون قد أصابت أعضاء لجنة الخمسين وخاصه بعد إلقاء عربة الفرعون للسهام والتي سريعا ما ستصبح لكل من شارك في تلك المراسم.
ويتبقى وقائع الجلسة الإعلامية لجنة الخمسين وأعضائها حسني النوايا والتي وعدت الكثير من المواطنين حسني النوايا أيضا بوثيقة ولا أوهاي كاذبة الحقوق والحريات وتنشرها، وراءها حسب دولة حديثة وراء نظام التجميع، ويرجع ليقومها وضعها وسياسة القانون لا الأشخاص ولو شكليا.
ونزل هؤلاء المواطنون من حسني النوايا للاحتفال بالانقلاب الزائف حتى ولو كان انتصار نورمبرج انتصارا لمن يحمل السلاح.
ولكن الوجه الآخر لانتصار موقعة الخمسين إعلاميا تحول سريعا الأمل بعد تصريحات دستور النية الحسنة إلى مشهد كاذب واضح لجنة النوايا الفعلية لدى النظام، وإعلانا صريحا لهؤلاء: أنتم قد وقعتنا سواء بقصد أو بغير قصد في شركة ديكتاتورية.
لسادة أعضاء لجنة الخمسين (أصحاب النوايا الحسنة) عاثوا أنفسهم عن خذلان الوطن وعن إسقاط التجربة الديمقراطية وإعادة بناء نظام الفرعون من جديد.
عن حق العودة إلى جنة السيسي

24-03-2016

وائل قنديل

وكان مصر قضت على كل أمراضها، وخلت كل مشكلاتها، ولم يبق لها إلا قضية طارق عبد الجابر مدخلا مبتدأ لمسألة الصحافي والإعلامي المعزم لسلطة الانقلاب الخارجي.

في البداية، لم يبق من التأكيد على أن حق السفر والعودة مكول بالسند والقانون لأي مواطن في أي دولة محترمة في العالم. وفي الحالة المصرية، من حق كل مصري في الخارج أن يعود إلى وطنه في الوقت الذي يحدده، وليس بناءً على توصية من مثقفين أو مناصرين، فرح بلقاء مع رأس النظام، أو استفادة إلى طلب استرخاء أو وثيقة استطاعاف، أو دراما استثمارية مضحكة.

ينطوي ذلك على مسائل التلفزيون المصري وقضية نجيب ساويرس، السابق، كما ينطبق على غيره من "السيسي أمر بعودته وملف الراغبين في العودة يتولاه الرئاسة".

كانوضوع يتحول إلى ملف رئاسي ساخن، فهذا يعني أن حضارات السادة الطغاة، وتواجد، مزعومون من أي صوت في الخارج لا يبرد أثاثية الفائدة، ويعطي موشراً قوياً على أن انفجار "ميلودراما عبد الجابر" الذي يبيكه حنيناً إلى "أيام الكثافة في كواليس قضية نجيب ساويرس". في هذا الوقت، ليس من قبل المصادفات، بل تتم وفقاً لسناريو ردي، لا يضع طللاً قصدوا منه استعداد هذه الحالة المصنوعة، وتعميها على كل الإعلاميين في المجهر، الاحتياطي لبعضهم، والإجبار لأخرى، حيث صيح هناك، في نهاية المطاف، ملف ذو رنين وريق اسمه "قضية التآمر عن المعزورة"، ينطلق فيه الحابل بالنابل، الإعلامي الحقيقي والذي "جعله إعلاميا" رغم أنه، ورغم أنف المهنة، مع الوضع في الاعتبار أن "سفر الخروج" من عقود طويلة يبيننا بأنه دائما هناك نسبة للمكون الأمني في حالات الخروج، ووضعت في غلطة من المجموع، وتطل هذه النسبة في حالة ك dön وخمول، حتى تشتت فجأة محدثة ضخمة، كما في حالة "تائب نجيب ساويرس".

فقصة كلها أن نظام السيسي، ب냅بيه وسياسيه ومثقفيه وإعلاميين، لا يريد أن يصدق أن هناك من لا يستطيع التعايش مع كل هذا الفتح الساكن في مقرتهما السعيدة، ولا يقبل أن يخدع نفسه، ومن يصدقونه من قراء ومشاهدين، بأن هذه هي مصر، كما يعرفها التاريخ والجغرافيا، كما يراها المحامون القانونيون.

الحكاية أنهم لم يفهموا أن "الحظيرة" ليست إغراء كبرى لأخرى من دونهم. وبالتالي، لن يقبلوا عندما يقرؤون عناوين ضخمة في صحافة السيسي، تقول "رئاسة الجمهورية تبدأ ترتيبات عودة "التآمر" من قنوات الإخوان إلى مصر"، وتنطق عن "التائب الأول" أنه سيعود أول الشهر (إبريل) والنظام بعد يده للجميع. وتعتبر التأكيد على البيان رقم واحد، وفيه "السيسي أمر بعودته وملف الراغبين في العودة تولاه الرئاسة".
مرة أخرى، لا مصادرة على حق أحد في اختيار قرار العودة، وقتما يشاء، وكيفما يشاء، حتى لو كانت هذه العودة على
طريقة "مسحول أستنبول الثالث"، طمعا في "الكفاءة"، أو خوفا من "الهربة" أو طلبا للعفو واللمعفرة من شياطين شيدوا قصورا للإيذادة في المزارع، وجعلوا "السجن مطرح الجنينة"، وأطلقوا الكلاب في الشوارع، وأغلقوا الزنازين على كل
من لا يخفض رأسه، ويحلمي لعاصفة القبحة والبرد.

لكن، حين تحول المسألة إلى تجارة عاطفية رخيصة وابتزاز عاطفي مصنوع، بغية الوصول إلى مربط الفرس في
الموضوع، وهو وصم المعارضة من الخارج بالخيانة، واعتبارها خطيبة تستوجب تقديم "طلبات توبة" إلى "مسلحة
العفو السيسية"، فهذا ما لا ينبغي السكت عليه، أو إهماله، ومن أراد الحظيرة فهي له وهو لها، من دون أن يثير رذاذ
خسته على آخرين، لا يستطيعون التصالح مع صناع المقتلة.

ويكفي هذه السلطة البليدة فخراً أن "حق العودة" بات متدعياً، للمرة الأولى في تاريخ علاقة دولة بمواطنيها، ولم يعد
قابلاً على حالة الاحتلال الصهيوني وتعامله مع الفلسطينيين النازحين والمهجرين، نتيجة مذابح عصابات الانقلاب.
Appendix 4: The English text 1


Sisi and the curse of Rabàà

David Hearst

The HRW report incriminates Sisi of crimes against humanity and may be the first step to his countless victims getting justice

The King Abdulaziz necklace is the highest honour the Saudi Kingdom can bestow on international statesmen. It has graced the necks of such "men of high standing" as George W Bush, Vladimir Putin, and Bashar al-Assad. On Sunday, the Custodian of the Two Mosques placed the ultimate honour around the balding head of Egypt’s Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, the man whom Human Rights Watch today says should be investigated for crimes against humanity.

The timing of the accolade accorded to Sisi by his paymaster could be accidental. More likely, it is a nervous reflex action to a larger and more ominous event. This week sees the first anniversary of two massacres in the centre of Cairo which HRW say will go down in history as one of the world’s largest killings of demonstrators on a single day - more than massacre in Tiananmen Square and on a par with Andijan in Uzbekistan. That is a big claim and this organisation has some experience of the subject.

HRW does not pull its punches. An exhaustive year-long inquiry into massacres which occurred when the military coup authorities forcefully dispersed two mass sit-in of protesters at Rabaa al-Adawiya and al-Nadha squares on 14 August last year names Sisi and two others as having direct command responsibility. Not only that, these massacres were premeditated, Human Rights Watch charge. Interior ministry officials revealed in a meeting with human rights organisations nine days before the dispersal that they anticipated a death toll of up to 3500.

As defence minister, Sisi held a command role over the armed forces and acknowledged spending “very many long days to discuss all the details” of the Rabaa dispersal. Interior Minister Mohamed Ibrahim formulated the dispersal plan and admitted ordering Special forces to “advance and purify” key buildings in the square. Medhat Menshawy, head of special forces and commander of the Rabaa operation boasted that he told Ibrahim that “we will attack whatever it costs us”.

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The head of the General Intelligence Services, Mohammed Fareed Tohamy, eight ministry of interior deputies, three army leaders and several high-ranking civil servants are all implicated in the HRW report.

Extensive witness evidence established that the number of firearms used by members of the sit-in was limited. Ibrahim himself said that 15 guns had been seized. If this is true, it would corroborate evidence that police gunned down hundreds of unarmed demonstrators, firing indiscriminately into the crowds by standing on the top of APC’s and rooftops, behaviour which did not indicate fear of being fired on themselves. The Egyptian government both planned for, and executed, a violent dispersal that would result in widespread killings of protesters without any serious effort to implement warnings or safe exits, HRW says.

The importance of this report is three-fold. This is the first time the chain of command, and command responsibility - both key factors of a successful prosecution in the International Criminal Court in The Hague - have been investigated and identified by an international human rights organisation of this size and reputation. While Egypt is not a state party to the ICC, and the ICC itself has set obstacles in the way of a prosecution, HRW reports are credible and may prompt national jurisdictions to bring charges against members of the Egyptian government. It is also the first time that the Egyptian government’s excuse, that they were replying to force used against them, has been thoroughly exposed as hollow. Third, it establishes the continuing culpability of those governments who continue to arm and deal officially with Sisi’s regime in Egypt.

Sisi’s human rights abuses are not over by a long chalk. The killing of more than 1,000 protesters in August last year proved to be only the start of a reign of terror visited on the whole spectrum of political opposition, secular as well as Islamist, including even those groups which initially supported the violent overthrow and imprisonment of the former president Mohamed Morsi. Mass killings followed on October 2, 2013 and on January 25 this year. At least 22,000 people have been arrested in the crackdowns.

Despite statements criticising the mass killings as disproportionate, both the EU and US continue to actively support this blood-soaked regime. Washington suspended a portion of its military aid in October last year, but in April this year announced its intention to release ten Apache helicopters and $650m in aid on the basis that it aids US counter-terrorism and national security interests.

Sarah Leah Whitson, the HRW Middle East director - who with Kenneth Roth, the HRW executive director, was banned from entering Egypt this week - hoped the report would form the basis of a ban on all military aid to Egypt by the US Congress. She said: "We are making
a very clear recommendation that we do not want to see weapons being used for domestic repression to be provided by the international community, particularly the US. We have already called on [Secretary of State John] Kerry to make clear that Egypt does not meet the requirements for military aid.”

There is a wider point. The people who committed crimes against humanity are still attempting to gain international currency. Tohamy, for instance, is the man in charge of efforts to negotiate a truce between Israel and the Palestinian resistance groups in Gaza. Sisi can travel to the US without fear of arrest, and yet the crimes for which he should be investigated are grave enough to fall under the universal jurisdiction of domestic US, European and British courts.

HRW's case is simply put. If Egypt’s response to massacres is to award bonuses to the people who committed them and erect monuments in their honour, it is time the international community acted, be that in the form of a UN commission, or the Arab League or African Union. Nothing will happen, of course, because the bottom line is that, like a generation of Latin American dictators before them, these men are western allies, whom the US and the EU protect by their silence. They will enjoy this protection even though they could easily become involved in other conflicts like Libya, using helicopters supplied by the US. As long as he continues to enjoy impunity for his crimes, Sisi is in fact a major destabiliser of the Middle East.

The battle to establish the truth of what happened in Cairo on 14 August last year has only just begun. Although Sisi's road to perdition may be a long one, the HRW report will ensure that the Egyptian leader will be haunted by the ghosts of his victims at Rabaa.
PETER OBORNE: Is there any tyrant so blood soaked we won't roll out the red carpet for him?

Nearly two decades have passed since Robin Cook — then newly installed as Foreign Secretary — called a now-infamous press conference in the Locarno Suite of the Foreign Office.

Mr Cook proudly announced that Tony Blair’s government, which had just scored a famous election triumph, would pursue an ‘ethical Foreign Policy’. There is no doubting Robin Cook’s decency — or his naivety.

History relates that his well-meaning policy ended up with the foul morass of the Iraq invasion of 2003.

Today, David Cameron is constructing his own approach to foreign affairs. Unlike Robin Cook, he has not announced it publicly, perhaps because Mr Cameron’s version is the exact opposite of the ethical model trumpeted by Cook.

Though the Prime Minister does not say so, Cameron’s Britain now pursues what the late Mr Cook would term a ‘venal foreign policy’.

There is almost no torturer too brutal, no mass-murderer too bloodthirsty nor dictator too autocratic for David Cameron not to extend an invitation to visit Britain.

Let’s examine the PM’s busy autumn schedule. Earlier this month, the president of China — a country notorious for human rights abuses and the suppression of minorities — arrived in Britain on a state visit.

Most Britons felt that the spectacle of Xi Jinping staying at Buckingham Palace, and being grovelled to by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor, was a little shaming. But worse is to come. Much worse.

This coming week, President Field Marshal Sisi of Egypt arrives in Britain on an official visit.

It is just more than two years since Sisi seized power in a military coup d’état from a democratically elected government.

Since then, an estimated 1,500 protesters have been shot dead in the streets by security forces, while an estimated 41,000 protesters have been arrested.
The past few months have seen a disturbing new trend as Egyptian citizens are seized in the streets, in some cases never to be seen again. Despite all the horror, Britain has remained firm friends with Egypt. Nearly three months ago, Michael Fallon, David Cameron’s underpowered Defence Secretary, paid a sycophantic visit to the country to praise Sisi’s ‘vision of a more prosperous, more democratic society’.

Indeed, the Cameron government has been so afraid of upsetting the Sisi regime that not once has a minister called his bloody military takeover by its true name: a coup.

According to the respected Reporters Without Borders organisation, 46 journalists were arrested in Egypt last year — more than any other country with the exception of the Ukraine, where 47 journalists suffered the same fate.

Some of these journalists still rot in Egyptian jails. Why in God’s name has this bloodthirsty man of violence been invited to Britain to be feted and flattered by our Prime Minister?

By any standards, Field Marshal Sisi is a torturer, a mass-murderer and a tyrant. David Cameron loves to talk about what he calls ‘the British values’ of decency, compassion and tolerance.

His invitation to Sisi makes a mockery of that sort of language. And we now hear reports that the President of Kazakhstan, a bestial creature called Nursultan Nazarbayev, is soon to come to London — which would complete an unedifying hat-trick of despotic guests for the PM.

As a British patriot, I hope this is not true. All one needs to know about the Kazakh president is that he is one of those from the select group of torturers and murderers advised by Tony Blair’s flourishing political consultancy (Blair advises Sisi, too).

The appalling Prince Andrew is another friend of President Nazarbayev. Indeed, in 2007, the President’s son-in-law purchased the Prince’s former marital home, Sunninghill, near Windsor, for the suspiciously large sum of £15 million.

This extremely dubious transaction occurred not long after a senior member of the Kazakh opposition, his bodyguards and his driver were all shot dead, allegedly by members of the Kazakhstan Security Service.

Reports of torture are commonplace in Kazakhstan. The mere thought of President Nazarbayev coming to this country fills one with disgust.

To be fair to the British Prime Minister, there is a strong pragmatic argument for inviting the Chinese President on a state visit. Like it or not, China has emerged as the largest and most dynamic world economy, and there is no avoiding doing business with the Chinese.

Inviting Sisi or Nazarbayev to London is another matter entirely.

Before entering No 10, the PM’s understanding of ‘abroad’ was confined to comfortable
family holidays in southern European villas.
Since then, he seems to have concluded that it is best to base his decisions on commercial interests and nothing else.
Don’t believe me? Last week it emerged that the Ministerial Code — which guides government members on ethics and integrity — has been quietly changed.
Mr Cameron has removed the requirement that his ministers should obey either international law or Britain’s international treaties in order to uphold justice. Morality is thus thrown out of the window.
In retrospect, Robin Cook’s attempt to place virtue at the heart of our foreign policy was doomed.
The world is an ugly place, and no substantial trading nation can afford to cut itself off from the world. So there is something to be said for Mr Cameron’s pragmatism.
My own view is that he has gone too far. By inviting President Sisi to London, he does more than launder the reputation of one of the world’s most unsavoury tyrants.
He makes a mockery of British values, and exposes this country to international contempt.
Chilcot and Whitehall's dark arts
David Cameron last week expressed his deep ‘frustration’ about the long delay to the publication of the Chilcot Inquiry into the Iraq war.
These protestations from the Prime Minister are pure hypocrisy. The truth is that Chilcot could have been published years ago, had Mr Cameron wanted.
Though Sir John Chilcot certainly deserves his share of the blame for the late arrival, much of the responsibility lies with Whitehall procrastination orchestrated by the Cabinet Secretary, Jeremy Heywood (otherwise known as Sir Cover-Up).
Heywood has denied this, saying: ‘It frustrates me that I’m being accused of trying to get in the way, or covering things up, because that is just absolutely not the way in which I’ve approached it.’
More worryingly, as Richard Norton-Taylor, respected defence and security writer for the Guardian, revealed last week, some blockages seem very sinister indeed and could be seen to amount to sabotage. Norton-Taylor revealed that Whitehall (code for very senior civil servants and intelligence bosses) failed to hand Chilcot all the information he needed.
They kept a tight hold on vital material explaining the decision to wage war, which they then showed to those criticised in the first draft of the report.
This meant those individuals could challenge Chilcot’s conclusions using documents of which he was unaware. Cameron could and should have put a stop to this cynical act of Establishment sabotage.

He failed to do so. The Prime Minister can bleat as much as he likes about the late report. It would have arrived much sooner had he really wanted.
Ideologues Make for Dangerous Politicians

8/22/2016 12:01:00 AM - Victor Davis Hanson

Hillary Clinton is a seasoned liberal politician, but one with few core beliefs. Her positions on subjects such as gay marriage, free-trade agreements, the Keystone XL pipeline, the Iraq War, the Assad regime in Syria and the use of the term "radical Islam" all seem to hinge on what she perceives 51 percent of the public to believe on any given day. Such politicians believe truth is a relative construct. Things are deemed false by politicians only if they cannot convince the public that they are true -- and vice versa. When the majority of Americans no longer believe Clinton's yarns about her private email server to the point of not wanting to vote for her, then she will change her narrative and create new, convenient truths to reflect the new consensus.

Donald Trump is an amateur politician but a politician nevertheless. He is ostensibly conservative, but he likewise seems to change his positions on a number of issues -- from abortion to the Iraq War -- depending on what he feels has become the majority position. And as with Clinton, Trump's idea of truth is defined as what works, while falsity is simply any narrative that proved unusable.

Politicians glad-hand, pander and kiss babies as they seek to become megaphones for majority opinions. But ideologues are different. They often brood and lecture that their utopian dreams are not shared by the supposedly less informed public.

To gain power, of course, ideologues can temporarily become political animals. Barack Obama ran in 2008 on popular positions such as reducing the national debt and opposing gay marriage and immigration amnesties, only to flip after he was re-elected and no longer needed to pander to perceived majority opinions.

But otherwise, Obama the ideologue seems to believe that big redistributive government is always necessary to achieve a mandated equality of result -- regardless of whether it ever works or should work in reality. He opposes a reduction in capital gains tax rates even though he concedes that such cuts might bring in more revenue.

The administration has deemed the Affordable Care Act successful even though Obama's
assurances that it would lower deductibles and premiums, give patients greater choices, and ensure continuity in medical providers and plans have all proven to be untrue.

No matter: Obamacare fulfills the president's preconceived notion that state-mandated health care is superior to what the private sector can provide.

Abroad, Obama starts from the premise that an overweening U.S. is not to be congratulated for saving the world in World War II, winning the Cold War and ushering in globalization. Instead, its inherent unfairness to indigenous peoples, its opposition to revolutionary regimes and its supposed interventionist bullying disqualify it from being a moral and muscular leader of the world.

As a consequence of all this, facts often must be created to match pre-existing ideology.

A homophobic, radical Islamic terrorist in Orlando shouted "Allahu Akbar" as he mowed down the innocent in a gay nightclub. He called 911 to make sure the world knew that his killing spree was in service to the Islamic State. And in the midst of his murdering, he even called a local TV news station to brag on his jihadist martyrdom in progress. No matter. To Obama, who asserts that radical Islamic terrorism, which he refuses to identify in such terms, poses little threat (far less of a threat, he has said, than the dangers posed by accidental falls in bathtubs), the Orlando shooting was instead a symptom of a lack of gun control or endemic homophobia -- anything other than what the killer himself said it was.

Guns, of course, had nothing to do with the 3,000 people killed on 9/11, with the Boston Marathon bombing, or with recent terrorist attacks in Oklahoma and at the University of California at Merced perpetrated by blade-wielding assailants. Tight restrictions on semi-automatic weapons could no more stop shootings in Europe than stop an epidemic of inner-city shootings in Chicago. No matter: The Orlando shooting must be ascribed to the availability of guns rather than to radical Islamic terrorism.

In both word and deed, Iran, Cuba and Turkey are revolutionary societies in turmoil that have often voiced anti-Americanism. But to Obama, who at times has warmed up to all three, those regimes fit his deductive notion that America's past behavior has earned it understandable antipathy from countries with legitimate grievances.

Bipartisan analyses agree that the withdrawal of all troops from Iraq in December 2011 threw away the victory obtained by the American surge of 2007, eroded the foundation of the nascent Iraqi democracy, and helped to birth and empower the Islamic State.

But to an ideologue like Obama, the withdrawal simply reflected a universal truth that the U.S. must get out and leave the Middle East to its rightful owners -- even if the president has been forced to send nearly 5,000 troops back into Iraq.
In general, politicians are rank opportunists, **but at least most of them are malleable** and attuned to public opinion.

But ideologues are far more anti-empirical -- and thus dangerous.
Appendix 7: The translated English Text 1


السيسي وٌلعنة رابعة

ديفيد هيرست

قلاطة الملك عبد العزيز هي أعلى وسام يمكن أن تصنفه المملكة العربية السعودية على رؤساء الدول الزائرين. وقد زينت رقاب “رجال مومفين” من أمثال جورج ديليو بوش، وفلاديمير بوتين، ومشار الاسد. يوم الأحد الماضي، وضع خامد الحرميين الشريفين القلاادة حول عنق رئيس مصر عبد الفتاح السيسي، الرجل الذي قالت عنه اليوم منظمة هيومن رايتس

وانتهى يثبت أن يحقق معه في تهم بارتكاب جرائم ضد الإنسانية.

قد يكون إشفاء هذا الشرف الرفيع على السيسي من قبل مموله مجرد صدفة. إلا أن المرجع أنه رد فعل عصبي آخر على حدث أكبر وأكثر شدمة، إذ يصادف هذا الأسبوع الذكرى السنوية الأولى لمنجيتيك انتركتب في وسط القاهرة تقول منظمة هيومن رايتز واتش إنها سيبذل في التاريخ على أنهم من أكبر جرائم القتل التي ارتبطت بحق متعلقات في يوم واحد، أكثر من مذبحة ميدان تيانمان (في العاصمة الصينية) وتضحيات حجم منظمة أنديجان في أوزبكستان. لاشك أن ذلك إدعاء كبير، ولكن هذه المنظمة لديها من الخبرة والدراية ما يولدها قول ذلك.

ولست منظمة هيومن رايتز واتش من المنظمات التي تسلم أو تنتج عن القيام بواجبها. ها هي المنظمة تصدر تقريراً شاملاً يوقّر تحققات قامت بها على مدى عام كامل في أحداث المجازر التي وقعت حينما فرضت السلطات الإقليم في مصر اعتصامين كبيرين في ميدان رابعة العدوية وفي ميدان التفاحة في الرابع عشر من أغسطس من العام الماضي.

يسمى التقرير السيسي واثنين آخرين من المسؤولين مهما أيام بالمسؤولية المباشرة لإصدار الأوامر بالقتل. ليس هذا فحسب، بل تنتهي هيومن رايتز واتش هؤلاء الأشخاص بأنهم خلطوا ارتكاب المجازر سلفًا، بدلاً أن المسؤولين في وزارة الداخلية كانوا قد كشفون النتائج في لقاء بمنظمات حقوق الإنسان تسعية أيام قبل قضي الإعتصامين بأنهم يوقعون أن يصل عدد القتلى إلى 3500 إنسان.

وبوصفه وسيلة التغطية انذاك، كان السيسي هو صاحب الأمر، والذي تدخل من خلال القوانين المسلحة وقد اعتبر بأنه قضي "أياماً طويلة جداً في التفاصيل" المتعلقة بقضية اعتصام رابعة. أما محمد إبراهيم، وزير الداخلية، فهو الذي وضع خطة الفض، واعترف بأنه أمر القوات الخاصة بأن "تتقدم وتطهر" المثاليا داخل البلدان. وأما مدحت منشاري، قائد القوات الخاصة والمسؤول عن تنفيذ عملية رابعة، فقد تفاخر بأنه أخبر محمد إبراهيم بأنه "سوف نهجي همأ كلفنا ذلك.

إضافة إلى ذلك يوجد تقرير منظمة هيومن رايتز واتش تماماً بالضيوع في ارتكاب المذابح إلى كل من: محمد فريد التهامي، رئيس المخابرات العامة، وإلى ثمانية من نواب وزير الداخلية، إلى ثلاثة قادة من داخل الجيش، وإلى عدد من كبير موظفي الدولة.

تغيب الأدلة المتوقعة من أقوال شهود العيان أن عدد الأسلحة النارية التي استخدمها أشخاص ينسبون إلى المتخصصين كانت محدودة، فمحمد إبراهيم نفسه قال بأنه تم حيازة خمس عشرة بنكهة. إذا كان ذلك، فإنه يعزز الأدلة التي تشير إلى أن الشرطة فكنت بيد بعض المتظاهرين غير المسلمين وأنها فتحت النار بشكل عشوائي على جمهور المعتصمين من مواقع
اتخذتها على أساطين البنادق أو من على ظهور العربات المصفحة، ولن دل ذلك على شيء إلّا أن عناصر الشرطة لم تكن تخشي من أن يبادلوا أحد إطلاق النار. لقد خططت الحكومة المصرية لتمyeah عملية القمع العنيفة مع علمها السليب بأنها يمكن أن تقع عن قتل عدد كبير من المعتصمين، ولم تبذل أدنى جهد في إدار الناس وتوفير مدارج آمنة لهم، كماitis تقرير منظمة هيومن رايتس واتش.

لكل التقرير أهمية بالغة، ويمكن تقصيل ذلك إلى ثلاثة أبعاد. أولاً، بعد الأول ي يتعلق بمواقع القيادة وبالمسؤولية عن إصدار الأوامر، وكلاحما أساسية إذا ما أريد التناقض بينجاح أمام المحكمة الجنائية الدولية في لاهاي، وذكر أنّها المرة الأولى التي يجري فيها التحقق وتحديد هوية المتهمين من قبل منظمة حقوق الإنسان عالمية بهذا الحجم وبهذة المكانة المرموقة. ورغم أن مصر ليست دولة طرفًا في المحكمة الجنائية الدولية، ورغم أن المحكمة الجنائية الدولية ذاتها وضعت عراقيل في طريق مقاضاة المسؤولين عن المذابح، إلا أن تقارير منظمة هيومن رايتس واتش ذات مصداقية عالية وقد تحسّن على تفعيل صناعات وطنية معينة (في دول حول العالم) تعود إلى توجيه تهم تاركّب جرائم ضد الإنسانية بحق أعضاء الحكومة المصرية. وهذه هي المرة الأولى كتلك التي تبث فيها التحري والتنقيض بطلان حبّة الحكومة المصرية.

أُعلن قواتها كانت ترد على الذين كانت تعتنّ عليها.

ثانياً: يوسم التقرير للمسؤولية الجنائية المستمرة للتلك الحكومات التي تستمر في تسليح نظام السيسي في مصر وتستمر في التعامل معه بشكل رسمي.

لم تتوافر بتأتي انتقادات نظام السيسي لحقوق الإنسان، بل قد أثبت قليل ما يزيد عن آلفي متظاهر في أغسطس من العام الماضي أن ذلك لم يكن سوى بداية عهد من الروع تسلّح على مختلف مكونات الطيف السياسي المعارض له، سواء كانت عمانية أو إسلامية، وشمل حتى تلك الجماعات التي نزعت في البداية نحو تأييد الانقلاب الدموي الذي أُطلّق بالرئيس السابق محمد مرسي بل وأيدت اعتقاله وسجنه. ما أنّت جرائم القتل الجماعي أن تواتّر، مثل ما جرى في الثاني من أكتوبر 2013، وفي الخامس والعشرين من يناير من هذا العام، ويدّر عدد الذين ألقى القبض عليهم في عمليات القمع والملاحقة بما لا يقل عن آلف شخص.

رغم ما صدر عن الاتحاد الأوروبي والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية من شجب وانتقادات وصفت أعمال القتل بأنها لم تكن مبررة، إلا أنها ما يزالان بدعام بالفعلية هذه النظام المغموسة آيديه في دماء المصريين. كانت واشنطن قد علقت جزءًا من مساعداتها العسكرية في أكتوبر من العام الماضي إلا أنها أعلنت في إبريل عن تهيئتها لرفع الحظر عن تسليم عشر طائرات عسكرية من نوع أباتشي وما يحققها 650 مليون دولار من المساعدات على اعتبار أنها تساعد في مكافحة الإرهاب وتحقيق المصالح الأمنية القومية.

أعرب ساره ليتاتسون، مدربة قسم الشرق الأوسط في منظمة هيومن رايتس واتش - والتي منعت ه graduate and المدير التنفيذي للمنظمة كينيث روث من دخول مصر هذا الأسبوع - عن أملها في أن يشكّل هذا التقرير الأساس الذي يعمد عليه الكونغرس الأمريكي في حظر كل أشكال الدعم العسكري لمصر، وقالت: "نتوصيّنا الواضحة من خلال هذا التقرير أننا لا نرغب في رؤية السلام الذي يستخدم في قمع الناس محليًا يرد إلى مصر من المجتمع الدولي ويشكل خاص من الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. وقد دعوانا وزير الخارجية الأمريكي جون كيري إلى التصريح بوضوح أن مصر لا تتفق عليها شروط استحقاق المساعدة العسكرية.

وهناك نقطة تتعلق بإطار أوعس، حيث أن الأشخاص الذين ارتكبوا جرائم ضد الإنسانية ما يزالون يسعون لتنقيض قبول دولي واعتراف بإدارتهم، فالهامي على سبيل المثال هو الشخص الذي يتزعم جهود التفاوض على هيئة بين إسرائيل
وفصائل المقاومة الفلسطينية في غزة، وتمكن السيسي السفر إلى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية دون أن يخشى الاعتقال، رغم أن الجرائم التي ينبغي أن يحقق معها بشأنها بلغت من الخطورة ما يجعلها خاضعة للمساءلة أمام جهات الاختصاص القضائي على المستوى العالمي ومحلية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وأوروبا وأمام المحاكم البريطانية.

القضية التي تتبناها منظمة هيومن رايتس واتش يمكن عرضاً ببساطة على النحو التالي: إذا كان رد مصر على الجرائم التي ينويها وأن تكشف عن ما يجعلها خاضعة للمساءلة أمام جهات الاختصاص القضائي على المستوى العالمي في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وأوروبا، فإن الأوان لتفقد المجتمع الدولي، سواء من خلال هيئة تابعة للأمم المتحدة أو الجامعة العربية أو الاتحاد الأوروبي. إلا أن شيئًا من ذلك لن يحدث، بالطبع، لأنه - وكما كان عليه الحال مع جيل من طراقيا أمريكا اللاتينية من قبل - هؤلاء الرجال ما هم إلا حلفاء للغرب، توفر لهم الولايات المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي الحماية من خلال الصمت على ما يرتكبونه من جرائم. ولذلك، يمكن إضافة إلى ما حاصل الآن أن يكون لهم دور في الصراعات الأهلية الأخرى مثل الصراع الدائر في ليبيا. لكي يكون أنه تم توليد السيسي في التمتع بالحماية من الملاحقة والمحاسبة على جرائمه، فإنه سيظل صمداً أساساً من مصادر انتشار الفوضى والقاتل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط.

لقد بدأت لتوها معركة إحقاق الحق والكشف عما جرى بالضبط في القاهرة يوم 14 أغسطس من العام الماضي. رغم أن طريق السيسي نحو الهلاك قد يكون طويلاً طويلاً إلا أن تقرير منظمة هيومن رايتس واتش سيضمن أن يظل زعيم الانقلابيين في مصر مطارداً من قبل أشباح ضحاياه في رابعة إلى أن يهلك.
Appendix 8: The translated English text 2


هل بقي طاغية يداه ملطختان بالدماء لم نفشر له السجادة الحمراء؟

كتب بيتر أوبورن: مر عقدان تقريبا منذ أن عقد روبرت كوك، وزير الخارجية الذي كان قد استلم منصبه للتو، مؤتمر الصحفي الذي باعتزاز عقده روبرت كوك، وزير الخارجية الذي كان قد استلم منصبه للتو، مؤتمر الصحفي الذي باعتزاز عقده. حينها، أعلن السيد كوك بكل افتذاز أن حكومة طوني بلير، التي كانت تعود إلى انتخابات شهيرة، سوف تنتهج "سياسة خارجية أخلاقية". لا مجال لشك في نزاهة السيد كامبرون، مناصفة تماما للنموذج الأخلاقي الذي بشر به روبن كوك.

ورغم أن رئيس الوزراء لا يقول ذلك صراحة، إلا أن بريطانيا في عهد كامبرون تسعى وراء ما كان الراحل السيد كوك يطلق عليه مصطلح "سياسة خارجية مرتشية".

لا يكاد يوجد طاغية متغطض للدماء، ولا دكتاتور مستبد ينكل بشعبه بكل ألوان التعذيب ويرتكب بحق أمته المجازر. لا يتورع دافيد كاميرون عن توجيه دعوة له بตรง به، في زيارة رسمية. في الاحترام.

ومع ذلك، تشعر معظم البريطانيين أنه كان من المخزي أن يحل زي جينبينغ ضيفا على قصر باكنغهام بالاس، بينما يتذلله كل من رئيس الوزراء ووزير المالية. ولكن، إذا كان ذلك معذرا للشعور بالعار، فالسويت، بل، إنه في ملك، في مجالات حقوق الإنسان.

وفي هذا الأسبوع يصل إلى بريطانيا رئيس مصر المشير السيسي في زيارة رسمية.

وبالرغم من كل الفظائع التي يرتكبها النظام، إلا أن بريطانيا بقيت صديقة لمصر، كما تقول منظمة "صحفيون بلا حدود" التي تحصل في المملكة المتحدة، بقيامها باستكشاف أحكام وحقوق الصحفيين في مصر.

يديس أن لقي فيها 47 صحفيا في مصر، وهو عدد يتجاوز عدد الصحفيين الذين اعتقلوا في أي بلد آخر باستثناء أوكرانيا التي لقي فيها 46 صحفيًا، وهو رقم يتجاوز عدد الصحفيين الذين اعتقلوا في أي بلد آخر باستثناء أوكرانيا التي تقص فيها 47 صحفيًا.

ومثلا، كما فتحت حكومة كامبرون تسهيلات بأي إزواجه للنظام السيسي، لدرجة أنه لم يحدث بiantsa أن وصف أي من وزرائها استيلاء العسكر على السلطة بهاء كان انتقاله.

ويحسب ما تقوله منظمة "صحفيون بلا حدود" التي تتحلى بالاجتماع والتزام، اعتقال صحفيين في مصر خلال العام الماضي وحده 46 صحفيًا، وهو رقم يتجاوز عدد الصحفيين الذين اعتقلوا في أي بلد آخر باستثناء أوروبا التي تقص فيها 47 صحفيًا.

وفقًا للصحفيين، يعتبر الشهري السياسي للمسؤولية عن أعمال التعذيب والقتل الجماعي. يحل دافيد كامبرون الحديث عن مصطلح "القيم البريطانية" يبحث بالذكر منها المكافحة والإصلاح والسماحة.

بعض هؤلاء الصحفيين مازالوا يقبعون داخل سجون مصر في أسوا أحوالهم، بل وهم يحققون علي السفارة، له تلقي فيها. في هذا السياق، يحمل الشهري السياسي للمسؤلية عن أعمال التعذيب والقتل الجماعي. يحل دافيد كامبرون الحديث عن مصطلح "القيم البريطانية" يبحث بالذكر منها المكافحة والإصلاح والسماحة.
إن دعوته للسيسي تجعل مثل هذه اللغة مدعية للسخرية. والآن نسمع تقارير تفيد بأن رئيس قازخستان، وهو كائن يهمني، وحيد من مجموعة مختارة من الجلادين والقادة الذين يتلون النصوح والأرشاد من وكالة الاستشارات التابعة لطوني بلير، والأخيرة بالإلزام، (كما أن بلير يقدم المساعدة للسيسي أيضا).

كما أن الأمير أندرو، سبي الصيغة، هو الآخر صديق للرئيس نزار باييف. وبالفعل في عام 2007، اشترى زوج ابنته الرئيس منزل الزوجة الذي كان يملكه الأمير بجانب قلعة ويندسور، وامته صانينغهيل، مقابل بيع ضخم يدفع على الربية.

يقل انه 15 مليون جنيه استرليني.

أبرمت هذه الصفقة المريبة ليس بعد وقت طويل من تعريض عضو كبير في المعارضة القازخستانية وحراسه وسائقه للقتل.

وبالواضحة، من وكالة الأمن القازخستانية حسبما يزعم.

وهكذا تفيد التقارير بشيوع ممارسة التعذيب في قازخستان، وإياها ذلك لا يملك المرء إلا أن يشعر بالتقزز كلما تذكر أن الرئيس نزار باييف قد يزور البلد.

من باب الإنصاف بحق رئيس الوزراء البريطاني، هناك حالة برازاغمانية قوية لدعوة الرئيس الصيني لزيارة بريستول رسمية.

فسواء أعجبنا ذلك أم لم يعجبنا، يبرز الصين كأكبر وأنشطة اقتصاد في العالم، ولا مفر من التجارة مع الصين.

أما دعوة السيسي أو نزار باييف إلى لندن فأمر مختلف تماما.

قبل أن يدخل إلى مقر رئاسة الحكومة في رقم 10 داونينغ ستريت، كان إدراك رئيس الوزراء لما يعتبر "الخارج" مقترحا.

على ضوء رحلة استحماج ممتعة في فلل جنوب أوروبا.

منذ ذلك الحين يبدو أنه خلق إلى أنه من الأفضل له أن يتخذ قراراته بناء على المصالح التجارية، وليس بناء على أي شيء آخر.

إذا كنت تستمعون تصدق ذلك، فما عليك سوى التأمل فيما جرى الأسبوع الماضي حين كشف النقاب عن أن القواعد المضاعفة لسلوك الوزراء – التي تشدد أعضاء الحكومة حول معايير الأخلاق والنزاهة - قد تم تغييرها بهدوء.

قام السيد كاميرون بإزالة المادة التي تتطلب من وزرائه الالتزام بإما بالقانون الدولي أو بالمعاهدات الدولية، التي توقع عليها بريطانيا من أجل إقرار العدل؛ وذلك تكون الأخلاق قد ألقى بها من المواجهة.

بالعودة إلى الماضي، يمكن القول إن محاولة روبن كوك وضع الفضيلة على قلب السياسة العالم الذي نعيش فيه غاية في الفضيل، ولا تملك دولة ذات مصالح تجارية كبيرة عزل نفسها عن هذا العالم؛ ولذلك يمكن للبعض أن يجد ما يقوله دفاعا عن الازدراء.

أما أنا، فأرى أن فضيلة هو دائما في الازدراء؛ فهو من خلال توقيعه للرئيس السيسي إلى لندن يقوم بأكثر من مجرد تنظيف.

 Saying محمد أن يكون من أصعب عناصر الأرض في زمننا هذا.

أجده يحيل القيم البريطانية إلى مسخرة ويعرض البلد إلى الازدراء أمام أمم العالم.
تعتبر هيلاري كلينتون، سياسية ليبرالية مخضرمة، ولكن بمعتقدات أساسية قليلة، إذ يبدو أن موافقتها من مواضيع كافياً في التجارة الحرة، وخط أنابيب كيستون، والحساسات الاجتماعية والسياسية. لقد ترشح باراك أوباما عام 2008، بناءً على اتخاذ موقف شعبي، كخفض الضرائب، ومكافحة زواج المثليين، والعفو، والهجرة، ليغير آراءه بعد نجاح عملية إعادة انتخابه، حيث لا يتحلى بالألف تحية للجمهور الأقل استعدادًا، على نحو مفترض.

وهدف الوصول إلى السلطة، يمكن أن يصبح الأيديولوجيون حيوانات سياسية، مؤقتة، بمغنا الاهتمام، بشكل كبير، بالقضايا الاجتماعية والسياسية. لقد ترشح باراك أوباما عام 2008، بناءً على اتخاذ موقف شعبي، كخفض الضرائب، ومعارضة زواج المثليين، والعفو، والهجرة، ليتغير آراءه بعد نجاح عملية إعادة انتخابه، حيث لا يتحلى بالألف تحية للجمهور الأقل استعدادًا، على نحو مفترض.

ولكن من ناحية أخرى، يبدو أن أوباما الأيديولوجي، يعتقد بأن الحكومة الكبيرة المعاد ترتيبها، دائما ما تكون ضرورية لتحقيق المسئولية، في نظر أوباما، إذا كانت مفيدة أم لا في الواقع. ويعتبر تقليل مكاسبات أرباح رأس المال من معدلات الضرائب. على الرغم من أن تلك التخفيضات، تجعل المزيد من الأعيان.

في الخارج، يبدأ أوباما بالقول إنه لا يمكن الإشادة بأميركا لحفظ العالم في الحرب العالمية الثانية، والفوز بالحرب الباردة،
والدخول في العالم. وعوضًا عن ذلك، فإن ظلمها المتواصل لشعوب القديمة، ومعارضة النظام الثوري، وما يفترض بأنه بلطجة، ينحيهما من كونها دولة أخلاقية وقوية تقوى العالم. و نتيجة لكل ذلك، غالبًا ما يجب إيجاد الحقائق لتطبيق الأيديولوجيات الموجودة.

لقد عمد متشدد في أورلاندو لقتل الأبرياء في نادٍ ليلي، بينما حرص على الاتصال لخدمة الطوارئ، ليؤكد للعالم أن فورته الغادرة، كانت لخدمة تنظيم "داعش"، حتى إنه في خضم هجوم، دعا محطة التلفاز المحلية الإخبارية لتفاخر بالعملية التي نفذها.

لكن هل من المؤكد أن ليس للسلاح أي علاقة بالثلاثة آلاف شخص الذين قلوا في أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر، وتفجير ماراثون بوسطن، أو بالأعمال الإرهابية الأخيرة في أوكلاهوما، وفي جامعة كاليفورنيا، التي قام بها مهاجمون بالأسلحة البيضاء.

ولا يمكن أن يسهّل فرض المزيد من القيود المشددة على أسلحة الشبه أوتوماتية في وقف إطلاق النار في أوروبا، مقابلة بوقف إطلاق النار داخل مدينة شيكاغو. وبغض النظر عن ذلك، من المفترض أن يتم نسب إطلاق النار في أورلاندو لتوفير السلاح بدلا من الإرهاب.

بالنسبة إلى ما يتعلق بالقول والفعل، فإن إيران وتركيا وكوريا مجتمعات مضطربة، كثيرة ما أعربت عن عدنها للأمركة. إلا أن أوباما الذي سبق له تحذير كل من الدول الثلاثة السابقة، فإن تلك الأنظمة تلائم كل أفكاره الاستنتاجية في أن تصرفات أميركا في الماضي، أكسبها كراهية مفهومة من البلدان ذات المظالم المشروعة.

ويوافق تحليل متعلق بحزبين، أن سحب كل الجيوش من العراق في شهر ديسمبر من عام 2011، أطاح بالإطاحة الفعلي للأميركا عام 2007، وعمل على تأكيد الأسس الديمقراطية الوليدة للعراق، فضلاً عن المساعدة على ولادة تنظيم "داعش".

ولكن بالنسبة إلى شخص أيديولوجي، كباراك أوباما، فإن الانسحاب يعكس حقيقة كونية، تتمثل في أنه يتعين على أميركا الخروج، ومغادرة الشرق الأوسط، وتركه لأصحابه الشرعيين، وحتى لو تم إجبار الرئيس الأميركي على إرسال جيوش مكونة من نحو خمسة آلاف جندي للعراق.

يعتبر السياسيون، بشكل عام، أشخاصاً اتهاريين، وبدلاً، ولكن معظمهم، على الأقل، يتسوع باليونية والتناغم مع العالم الرأي.