Assessing the Arabic Translation of the Western Politicians' Representations of Islamists' Political Ideologies

Doaa Hazem Fathi Muhammad
Assistant Lecturer in English Department, Faculty of Arts,
Helwan University

Abstract

This paper analyzes and assesses the translation of using presupposition. Besides, the paper sheds light on the way some Western analysts on the Washington Institute website portray Islamists' political ideologies during ex-president Muhammad Morsi's reign of Egypt via using presupposition. These analysts' articles are collected from the site of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (www.washingtoninstitute.org). Further, and most important, the present paper assesses how Western politicians' representations of Islamists' ideologies are translated and transmitted from the English source texts (STs) into their equivalent Arabic target texts (TTs). This is carried out on the basis of intertextuality, i.e. how rendering such representations and ideologies from the ST into the TT highlights the intertextual relation between both texts. In addition, this study attempts to distinguish between Islam as a religion and Islamism or Political Islam as a political movement via underlining the salient facets of Islamists' political ideologies as represented by Western analysts during Morsi's reign.

Key words: CDA, political discourse, ideology, translation, intertextuality, presupposition.

ملخص

تصوير السياسيين الغربيين لأيديولوجية الاسلاميين السياسية و تقويم الترجمة الى العربية

هذا البحث يحلل ويقيم ترجمة استخدام الافتراض. وإضافة إلى ذلك ، يلقى البحث الضوء على الطريقة التي يصور بها بعض المحللين الغربيين الايديولوجيات السياسية للإسلاميين خلال فترة حكم الرئيس السابق محمد مرسي لمصر عن طريق استخدام الافتراض المسبق. تم الحصول على المقالات المستخدمة فى التحليل من خلال الموقع الخاص بمعهد واشنطن لسياسات الشرق الأدنى (www.washingtoninstitute.org). كذلك، يرتكز البحث على تقويم ترجمة الافتراضات المسبقة (فى النص الهدف) التى استخدمها السياسيون الغربيون فى تصوير أيديولوجيات الاسلاميين السياسية (فى النص المصدر). و يعتمد ذلك على مفهوم التناص فى الترجمة.

و قد تبيّن ان فى عهد الرئيس السابق محمد مرسي، وعن طريق استخدام الافتراض المسبق، يجسّد السياسيون الغربيون أيديولوجيات الإسلاميين السياسية فى صورة التوطيد المستمر لسلطاتهم والتطرف والعنف والتعصب الديني وموقفهم المعادي للغرب. ينبغى الإشارة أيضا إلى أن عملية الترجمة في هذا البحث تعمل على تسليط الضوء على أوجه التشابه والاختلاف في ترجمة هذه الإيديولوجيات من النص المصدر باللغة الانجليزية الى النص الهدف باللغة العربية. وفي هذا البحث، ينتج التناص عن التناقضات القليلة بين الافتراض المسبق المستخدم فى النص المصدر و ترجمته فى النص الهدف؛ فإن هذه الاختلافات ان وجدت لا تؤثر تأثيراً ضاراً على انتقال الأيديولوجيات المنقولة من النص المصدر الى النص الهدف.

1. Introduction:

1.1. Context of the study:

Linguistic analysis and translation play substantial roles in unveiling how some of the Western politicians of the Washington Institute depict the political affairs of the Arab region which, in turn, inevitably lays undeniable impact upon other foreign countries to a great extent. First initiated in Tunisia in December 2010, the Arab Spring revolutions – with all their crucial consequences – constitute a fruitful resource of analyzing such political affairs. Among the political parties, which played vital roles in these revolutions, are the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafist Nour parties. Those have been termed as 'Islamists' or 'الإسلاميين', by the media for they are believed to use religion for achieving political goals or, in other words, to pursue political targets behind the curtain of the religion of Islam.

1.2. Objectives of the study:

This paper mainly targets the investigation of the Western politicians' representations of the political ideology of 'Islamists' in Egypt during Morsi's reign of Egypt. It also targets the assessment of the translations of those Western politicians' representations in their articles concerning the Islamists' ideologies from the English source text (ST) to the Arabic target text (TT). These two targets are achieved via employing presupposition in data analysis.

1.3. Research questions:

The present paper attempts to answer the following questions:
1) How does the CDA tool of presupposition reveal both of the Westerners' representations and Islamists' ideologies during ex-president Morsi's reign of Egypt?
2) What role does intertextuality play in assessing the TT with respect to the Islamists' ideological aspects revealed?

1.4. Significance of the study:

It is hoped, through this paper, to deduce the distinctive ideological aspects of Islamists and their representations by the Western analysts of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy during Morsi's governance of Egypt. Furthermore, it is hoped that this paper would help in illustrating the difference between Muslims and Islamists. That is, this study aims at differentiating between followers of the religion of Islam

and those who interpret Islamic legislations according to their political agenda.

1.5. Rationale of the study:

The paper in hand specifically detects Islamist political parties' ideologies in Egypt through Western politicians (of the Washington Institute) to criticize and portray the Islamist parties' political ideologies. Islamists have occupied a central part in the political domain after the Egyptian revolution of the 25th of January 2011.

Hence, the primary reason behind selecting the data is that the articles included in this data reflect Washington's representations of Islamists' political ideologies. Besides, the reason of choosing to investigate Islamists' ideologies and some Western representations specifically during Morsi's reign of Egypt is that this phase is fruitful with a lot of crucial events and serious consequences resulting from the Arab Spring revolutions.

2. Methodology*:*

2.1. Data and data collection:

The data investigated are extracted from the website of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (www.washingtoninstitute.org). The era of Islamists' reign of Egypt start from the 30th of June 2012 until Morsi's ouster in the 3rd of July 2013. The articles chosen are also translated into Arabic by the same political online institute.

2.2. Data analysis:

The data analysis applied is carried out in the following way (all interpretations are based on the Western analysts or articles themselves):

1) **Analysis of ST:**

a. Attempting to identify the Islamists' ideologies by employing the CDA tool of presupposition
b. Explaining how presupposition is related to the ideology investigated

2) **Assessing the TT:** with respect to Nord's (1991; 1997) notion of intextextual coherence.

2.3. Tools of analysis:

Presupposition is the basic CDA tool employed in this paper by the Western analysts to depict Islamists' political ideologies during Morsi's reign of Egypt.

3. Review of the Literature:

The basic CDA tool employed in this paper is presupposition. Presupposition, according to Yule (1996), is characterized as "something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance" (p. 25). He also discusses the following types of presupposition:

1) Existential presupposition: This exists in possessive constructions (such as 'your car' >> 'you have a car') and definite noun phrases.
2) Factive presupposition: It refers to the presupposed information following specific verbs or expressions like 'know', 'realize', 'be aware'.
3) Lexical presupposition: In this type, the use of one form with its asserted meaning is conventionally interpreted with the presupposition that another (non-asserted) meaning is understood. (e.g. 'He stopped smoking' >> He used to smoke)
4) Structural presuppositions: Herein, specific sentence structures conventionally assumed to be true, e.g. using the wh-question construction in English (like 'When did he leave?' >> He left).
5) Non-factive presupposition: This type is assumed not to be true. This follows verbs like 'dream', imagine' and 'pretend', e.g. 'I dreamed I was rich >> I was not rich).
6) Counter-factual presupposition: Here, what is presupposed is not only not true, but is the opposite of what is true or contrary to facts by using the if-conditional clause. (pp.27-29)

It is obvious that presupposition is related to unveiling the implicit presupposed meaning that lurks in sentences. Therefore, this paper employs translation to assess how presupposed meanings of Western analysts' representations highlight Islamists' ideologies during Morsi's reign. In this way, the present paper interweaves translation with presupposition.

For translation, Newmark (2003) mentions that there is no one basic definition for translation. Newmark traditionally refers to translation as

"taking the meaning from one text and integrating it into another language for a new and sometimes different readership" (p. 55).

However, translation goes far beyond such traditional views. Translation plays a vital role in bridging vast gaps between diverse communities using various languages, and it functions as a substantial channel of communication all over the globe. Translation can be employed to transmit ideologies, cultures and knowledge from one language to another. Accordingly, Nord (1997) modifies viewing translation as an 'activity', stating that

> [t]ranslating is an activity. This means that a theory of translation can be embedded in a theory of human action or activity. […] Human actions or activities are carried out by 'agents', individuals playing roles. When playing the role of senders in communication, people have communicative purposes that they try to put into practice by means of texts. […] Communication takes place through a medium and in situations that are limited in time and place. […] Situations are not universal but are embedded in a cultural habitat, which in turn conditions the situation. Language is thus to be regarded as part of culture. And communication is conditioned by the constraints of the situation-in-culture. (p. 1)

That is, Nord (1997) refers to the translation process as a purposeful activity carried out for communicative purposes from one language to another to exchange diverse cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, Nord characterizes translation as a way of comparing cultures where translators "interpret source-culture phenomena in the light of their own culture-specific knowledge of that culture … depending on whether the translation is from or into the translator's native language and - culture" (p. 34).

Concerning being a *critical* linguistic approach, Fairclough (1992) clarifies that the term *critical* "implies showing connections and causes which are hidden" (p. 9). That is, CDA attempts to analyze the hidden relationships that lurk between the lines of a text where these relationships can either denote social, cultural, ideological or political meanings.

CDA is acknowledged to be intricate and multi-branched due to its multidisciplinarity and the diverse meanings and relationships it is tied to.

In other words, CDA is related to various theories, domains, meanings and disciplines. For instance, Weiss and Wodak (2003) contend that CDA is tied to opaque relationships of dominance and power. They define CDA as

> fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). (p. 15)

Furthermore, van Dijk (1993) points out that exercising power presupposes mind management "involving the influence of knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values" (p. 257). Hence, Weiss and Wodak (2003) shed light on dominance, discrimination and power as the core constituents or relationships analyzed in CDA. In brief, van Dijk (2008) summarizes CDA in the following points:

- It principally sheds light on social problems and political issues.
- It comprises multidisciplinary approaches.
- It tries to explain discourse structures in terms of social interaction and social structure.
- It focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society. (p.86)

These social problems, political issues and power relations encompass ideological dimensions. With respect to ideology, van Dijk (2001) pinpoints that "[w]ithin a CDA framework, 'mind control' involves even more than just acquiring beliefs about the world through discourse and communication" (p. 357). Controlling other groups' minds, or rather exercising power over them, involves controlling their ideologies, cultures, force and knowledge.

Like CDA, ideology cannot be easily defined. Simpson (1993) asserts this aspect, stating that "[t]here is, unfortunately, a proliferation of definitions available for the term *ideology*, and many of these are contingent on the political framework favoured by the analyst" (p. 5). Therefore, ideology is acknowledged to occupy an undeniable position in the domain of politics. Any word is liable to have political and ideological implications. Fairclough (1992) mentions that "an innocently used word can have political and ideological definitions" (p. 123). Freeden (2006) asserts that "ideologies actually exist as salient political

entities" (p. 18). Politics, in turn, is tied to power which also has to do with ideology as ideology is employed to exercise power over powerless people. Bayram (2010) explains, thus, that "politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour and often to control their values" (p. 28). Hence, ideology, politics and power are all related to dominance or, in other words, controlling others via using political ideology.

Additionally, ideology can also be conveyed via intertextuality. That is, the relationship between intertextuality and ideology is that intertextuality weaves the diverse ideologies implicitly constituted within various texts, interrelating them together. Fairclough (2003) provides a broad perspective of the notion of intertextuality. Fairclough views intertextuality as "the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotations" (p.39).

Like ideology and CDA, intertextuality cannot be straightforwardly defined. Haberer (2007) contends that it is most doubtful to have one accepted mainstream definition for the notion of intertextuality. Yet, he emphasizes that intertextuality can be understood as being related to three basic issues or words. He argues that the notion of intertextuality is to be construed as "a symptom of the vital importance of the issues at stake and of the impossibility of any final knowledge about them, as they concern, to put it in three simple words, man, language and the real" (p. 61). That is, intertextuality ties together three of the most substantial life issues: real life, linguistic and humans' issues.

Rendering meanings from one text to another symbolizes relations between texts; these relations represent the process of translation. Hence, Vermeer (1989, as reprinted in Venuti, 2000) pinpoints intertextuality in translation through intertextual coherence as follows:

> [w]e can speak of a degree of 'intertextual coherence' between target and source text. This notion thus refers to a relation between *translatum* and source text, defined in terms of the skopos. For instance, one legitimate skopos might be an exact imitation of the source text syntax, perhaps to provide target culture readers with information about this syntax … The point is that one must know what one is doing, and what the consequences of such action are, e.g. what the effect of a text created in this way will be in the target culture and how much the effect will differ from that of the source text in the source culture. (p. 223)

Concerning the types of intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) refers to two types, namely: manifest and constitutive intertextuality. Fairclough further clarifies that, in *manifest intertextuality*, other texts overtly exist in the text analysed, and "they are 'manifestly' marked or cued by features on the surface of the text, such as quotation marks" (p.104). As for the *constitutive* type of *intertextuality*, Fairclough describes it as "the configuration of discourse conventions that go into its production" (p.104) by means of, for example, the structural or stylistic integration of texts. That is, this latter type of intertextuality constitutes the traditional regulations of producing discourse via integrating structural and stylistic elements of texts.

4. Data analysis and discussion:

4.1. Lexical Presupposition:

Example 1:
The following example refers to the emergence of the jihadists in Egypt and how their violence after 2011 should be ended. Jihadists are known as extremist Islamist groups represented, for instance, in Ansar al-Sharia groups and al-Taliah al-Salafiyah al-Mujahediyah (TSM). This example also reveals that during Morsi Muslim Brothers have cooperated with these extremist groups:

Jihadist groups are emerging as a major threat in Egypt because of three developments: the permissive atmosphere for Islamist mobilization in general since Hosni Mubarak's February 2011 ouster, the ruling Muslim Brotherhood's tolerance toward its fellow Islamists, and the weakness of the Egyptian state. **To help inhibit violence by such groups**, Washington should approach Cairo with a mix of economic inducements, diplomatic pressure, and intelligence sharing.

أصبحت الجماعات الجهادية تشكل تهديداً كبيراً في مصر بسبب ثلاثة تطورات: المناخ المتسامح للتعبئة الإسلامية بشكل عام منذ الاطاحة بحسني مبارك في شباط/فبراير ٢٠١١، وتساهل جماعة «الإخوان المسلمين» الحاكمة تجاه زملائها من الإسلاميين، وضعف الدولة المصرية. **وللمساعدة على كبح العنف الذي تمارسه هذه الجماعات**، ينبغي على واشنطن أن تتقرب إلى القاهرة من خلال مجموعة من الحوافز الاقتصادية والضغط الدبلوماسي وتبادل المعلومات الاستخباراتية.

(*Jihadists on the Nile: The Return of Old Players*, by: *Aaron Y. Zelin*, *17/1/2013,* **الجهاديون على ضفاف النيل: عودة اللاعبين القدامى**)

1) Analysis of ST:

a) <u>The CDA tool:</u>

The lexical type of presupposition is included in this example where the fact of inhibiting violence in "To help inhibit violence by such groups" lexically presupposes that these Jihadist groups have previously committed violent actions against Egyptians.

b) <u>How presupposition is related to the ideology investigated:</u>

The lexical presupposition in this example mirrors Zelin's representation of Islamist Jihadists, namely that they use or, rather, manipulate political Islam to justify being violent against all non-Islamists in order to seize political power. The chaotic situation in Egypt that has prevailed since Mubarak's ouster in February 2011 empowered those Islamists' violent ideologies to emerge, attempting to exclude non-Islamists from the political arena. Consequently, Zelin embodies those Jihadists as "a major threat in Egypt".

2) Assessment of TT:

Like the ST lexical presupposition, "وللمساعدة على كبح العنف الذي تمارسه هذه الجماعات" also presupposes the same ST presupposition which is that inhibiting Jihadists' violence (or "كبح العنف") presupposes that they have a long history of violent attacks against non-Islamists. This equivalence on the pragmatic level enhances the interrelation of intertextual coherence between the ST and the TT, relaying the Jihadists' violent ideologies.

Example 2:

This example involves the title of the article itself written by Eric Trager. This article depicts how Morsi made enormous promises during his reign, stressing how he did not intend to fulfill any of them:

Egypt Will Be Unstable **until Morsi Delivers on Domestic Promises**

لن تشهد مصر استقراراً **حتى يفي مرسي بوعوده الداخلية**

(**Egypt Will Be Unstable until Morsi Delivers on Domestic Promises**, by: *Eric Trager, 29/1/2013,* لن تشهد مصر استقراراً *حتى يفي مرسي بوعوده الداخلية*)

1) Analysis of ST:

a) <u>The CDA tool:</u>

In this example, the lexical presupposition included in "until Morsi Delivers on Domestic Promises" and "حتى يفي مرسي بوعوده الداخلية" presupposes that Morsi has not yet delivered on domestic promises. The words "until" or "حتى" basically imply such presupposition as they both refer to the fact that Morsi has not yet fulfilled his promises which may guarantee Egypt's stability.

b) How presupposition is related to the ideology investigated:

As a Western politician, Trager, the author of article, here attempts to transmit a negative, but realistic image of Morsi's reign and his Islamist Brotherhood party represented in being careless to salvage Egypt's stability and fulfilling his promises. Morsi's failure to resolve Egypt's economic woes and security issues infected the public with profound frustration at that time. This reveals how those Islamists have not been that keen to salvage Egypt's interior security conditions and that they focused more on political dominance and power consolidation to be exercised over the public.

2) Assessment of TT:

Relaying the ST lexical presupposition "until Morsi Delivers on Domestic Promises" as "حتى يفي مرسي بوعوده الداخلية" in the TT conveys the same implied meaning and ideology where both presuppose Morsi's and the entire ruling Muslim Brotherhood party's negligence to fulfill the promises they've given to Egyptians. This equivalence generated in relaying similar presupposition in the ST and the TT yields, in turn, intertextual coherence between both at the pragmatic level.

4.2. Existential Presupposition:

Example 1:
The following example refers to Morsi and the way he obeys his Islamist Muslim Brotherhood party even in salvaging Egypt from socio-political woes:
And on the economic front, **his Brotherhood colleagues** have forced him to backtrack from various attempts at raising new revenues and cutting expenditures.

وعلى الصعيد الاقتصادي، أرغمه **زملاؤه في «الإخوان»** على التراجع عن محاولات مختلفة لزيادة الإيرادات الجديدة وخفض النفقات.

(*Egypt Will Be Unstable until Morsi Delivers on Domestic Promises*, by: *Eric Trager, 29/1/2013,* *لن تشهد مصر استقراراً حتى يفي مرسي بوعوده الداخلية*)

1) Analysis of ST:

a) The CDA tool:

This example encompasses the existential type of presupposition in which "his Brotherhood colleagues" involves the possessive construction "his", presupposing that ex-Islamist president Muhammad Morsi has

Brotherhood colleagues and that he primarily and ultimately belongs to his Islamist Muslim Brotherhood political party.

b) <u>How presupposition is related to the ideology investigated:</u>

This existential presupposition highlights how the author emphasizes the fact that the Muslim Brothers or "Brotherhood colleagues" used to rule Egypt through Morsi according to their Islamist ideologies, forcing him to apply important decisions.

2) Assessment of TT:

The possessive construction "his colleagues" that characterizes the ST existential presupposition is equivalently rendered in the TT as "زملاؤه", relaying the same presupposition. This results in yielding the interrelation of intertextual coherence between the ST presupposition and the TT one on the pragmatic level.

Example 2:

The present examples highlight Muhammad Morsi's last round of gubernatorial appointments in 2013. He has exclusively appointed these positions to Islamists and marginalized all non-Islamists, provoking his non-Islamist opponents:

A) Although Washington has long sought to moderate the **Brotherhood's behavior** through quiet diplomacy, **Morsi's inflammatory political appointments** suggest that this approach has failed.

(Not translated in TT)

B) Egyptian president Muhammad Morsi's latest round of gubernatorial appointments, announced Sunday night, demonstrates **his preference for consolidating his base** rather than pursuing genuine dialogue with his critics.

توضح الجولة الأخيرة من تعيينات المحافظين التي أصدرها الرئيس المصري محمد مرسي، والتي أعلنت مساء الأحد، **بأنه يفضل تعزيز قاعدته** بدلاً من انتهاج حوار حقيقي مع منتقديه.

C) he expanded the **Muslim Brotherhood's power** while also appointing some military officers to maintain **his tenuous partnership** with the armed forces.

فقد وسع مرة أخرى من **قوة «الإخوان المسلمين»**، في حين عيّن أيضاً بعض ضباط الجيش للحفاظ على **شراكته الهشة** مع القوات المسلحة.

D) The fact that Morsi now counts the group as a key member of **his governing coalition** indicates a hostile tilt in Egyptian policy.

إن الحقيقة بأن مرسي يعتبر الآن "الجماعة الإسلامية" عضواً رئيسياً من **ائتلافه الحاكم** تشير إلى حدوث انحدار معادي في السياسة المصرية.

E) During the past month, Egypt's loosely organized non-Islamist opposition has highlighted **Morsi's noninclusive governing style** through the Tamarod ("rebellion") petition campaign

فخلال الشهر الماضي، أبرزت المعارضة غير الإسلامية -- الضعيفة التنظيم في مصر **أسلوب مرسي المحدَّد في الإدارة** خلال عريضة حملة "التمرد"

F) Although this more assertive approach is unlikely to yield immediate reversals given the **Brotherhood's apparent commitment to noninclusive rule**, it would serve two important purposes.

وعلى الرغم من غير المرجح أن يسفر هذا النهج الأكثر حزماً عن حدوث تغييرات فورية بالنظر إلى **التزام جماعة «الإخوان المسلمين» على ما يبدو بحكم مُحدَّد**، إلا أن ذلك قد يخدم غرضين هامين.

(*Morsi's Provocative Appointments*, by: *Eric Trager, 18/6/2013,* تعيينات مرسى الإستفزازية)

1) Analysis of ST:

a) The CDA tool:

The instances above comprise existential presuppositions, which are composed of possessive constructions, presupposing basically that Morsi's political appointments are provocative, i.e. his provocative appointments result from his focus on consolidating power and being committed to exclusive governing style as illustrated below:

- Instance (A) presupposes the Muslim Brothers' immoderate, extremist behavior and Morsi's exclusivist appointments through which most newly appointed governors are Muslim Brothers, leading to inflammatory, unstable political position in Egypt.
- Instance (B) presupposes that Morsi does not seek to achieve Egypt's political stability; he rather prefers to consolidate his Muslim Brotherhood's political power during his reign than including his oppositionists in the political domain.
- Instance (C) presupposes that the Muslim Brothers consolidated major political power during Morsi's reign. It also explains that Morsi's relationship with the SCAF became fragile after his unfair gubernatorial appointments where only five governors are army generals and the majority of newly appointed governors belong to the Brotherhood's party.
- Instance (D) presupposes that the Muslim Brothers represent Morsi's governing coalition, asserting their exclusivist ruling strategy through which they deprive other parties from sharing political dominance with their Islamist Brotherhood party.
- Instances (E) and (F) presuppose that Morsi's and the Muslim Brotherhood's governance mode is primarily based on excluding

other parties from the political arena in order to consolidate the entire political power in Egypt.

b) <u>How presupposition is related to the ideology investigated:</u>

All these instances emphasize that the Muslim Brotherhood's hardline, radical political ideology is the base of their exclusivist governance of Egypt during Morsi's reign. Morsi and his Brotherhood's colleagues exclude non-Islamist political parties from the political field and disallow the latter from practicing their political activities.

2) Assessment of TT:

In consonance with the ST existential presuppositions, it is obvious from the TT ones that they presuppose the same implied meanings and ideologies, i.e. Morsi and his Brotherhood governing coalition ideologically prefer to consolidate political dominance or power rather than achieving Egypt's stability via ruling Egypt exclusively, depriving non-Islamists from their political rights. This is evident in the following TT presuppositions: "شراكته , "قوة «الإخوان المسلمين»" , "بأنه يفضل تعزيز قاعدته" "التزام , "أسلوب مرسي المحدَّد في الإدارة" , "ائتلافه الحاكم" , الهشة مع القوات المسلحة" "جماعة «الإخوان المسلمين» على ما يبدو بحكم مُحدَّد". This similarity boosts the intertextual coherence between the existential presuppositions of the ST and the TT on the pragmatic level.

However, instance (A) in the ST (including the existential presuppositions "Brotherhood's behavior" and "Morsi's inflammatory political appointments") is not rendered in the TT. This hinders transmitting the ideological concepts implied in the ST existential presuppositions. Further, not relaying these ST presuppositions into the TT lessens the intertextual coherence between both texts. It is worthy to mention that the website of the Washington Institute, from which data are collected, does not translate into Arabic the first introductory lines in some of its articles.

4.3. Counter-factual Presupposition:

Example 1:
The context of the following example is that the Obama administration was attempting to tell the Muslim Brotherhood group, during Morsi's reign, that its focus on power consolidation at the expense of governance is destabilizing Egypt. The international community, as mentioned in this article, would not strengthen an Islamist government that exerts little domestic control while overseeing a rapidly deteriorating economy:
Given the deep divisions among its opponents and the military's distaste for governing, the Muslim Brotherhood can prevail politically despite

failing in policy. Therefore, **if left to its own devices**, the group will have little incentive to implement crucial reforms, which it fears would bolster its opponents and undermine its pursuit of greater power. The Brotherhood also expects foreign economic aid to continue flowing even after it wins the next parliamentary elections, since other governments will want to maintain relations with Cairo.

نظراً إلى الانقسامات العميقة بين معارضي جماعة «الإخوان المسلمين» ونفور الجيش عن الحكم، فإن الجماعة يمكن أن تنتصر سياسياً رغم فشلها في السياسة. و**إذا تركنا الأمر برمته لتدبير الجماعة** فلن يكون لديها حافز قوي لتنفيذ أي إصلاحات هامة حيث تخشى الجماعة أن تدعم تلك الإصلاحات المعارضة وتقوض سعيها لترسيخ نفوذها. كما يتوقع «الإخوان» أن يستمر تدفق المساعدات الاقتصادية الأجنبية حتى بعد الفوز في الانتخابات البرلمانية المقبلة نظراً لأن الحكومات الأخرى سترغب في الحفاظ على علاقتها مع القاهرة.

(*Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Set to Prevail Despite Policy Failures*, جماعة «الإخوان المسلمين» في مصر ستفوز بالأغلبية by: *Eric Trager, 19/3/2013,* (رغم الإخفاقات السياسية)

1) Analysis of ST:

a) <u>The CDA tool:</u>

This example comprises an instance of counter-factual presupposition which is signaled by the usage of if-conditional clauses to presuppose what is contrary to truth. This presupposition of "if left to its own devices" presupposes that, during ex-president Muhammed Morsi, the MB has been struggling with other non-Islamist parties to consolidate utter political power. Thus, this presupposition presupposes that it is not yet left to the Muslim Brothers' own devices due to such struggle with other non-Islamist opponents over power. Otherwise, as Trager explains, if the MB seizes absolute power, it will not implement any crucial reforms in the country in spite of Egypt's suffering, during that period, from severe economic and political woes.

b) <u>How presupposition is related to the ideology investigated:</u>

Through the usage of such counter-factual presupposition, Trager, as a Western politician, highlights the Islamist Muslim Brothers' greatly blind thirst for the 'power consolidation' ideology to the extent that they will not pay attention to restore any of Egypt's crucial financial or political issues "if left to its own devices." It is noteworthy that Trager, within this article, affirms the MB's pursuit of power by also stressing that its focus on power consolidation at the expense of governance has led to destabilizing Egypt, and that the international community will not

encourage a government that exerts little domestic control and causes failing economy.

2) Assessment of TT:

The ST counter-factual presupposition "if left to its own devices" is relayed equivalently into the TT "إذا تركنا الأمر برمته لتدبير الجماعة", using if-conditional structure like the ST. Rendering the ST presupposed implied meaning in this TT counter-factual presupposition results into intertextual coherence between the ST presupposition and the TT one on the pragmatic level.

5. Conclusion:

During ex-president Muhammad Morsi, the West depicts Islamists' ideologies in forms of power consolidation, radicalism, violence, religious intolerance and anti-Western stance. Concerning power consolidation, exclusion of non-Islamists is one of the most apparent ideological facets that depict Islamists' power consolidation during Morsi's reign of Egypt. The Islamist Muslim Brothers' political ideologies are based on power consolidation and the exclusion of non-Islamist parties. These ideologies drove them to fail to fulfill their promises, leading to escalating instability and economic problems. In this way, as a Western politician, Trager's representation of those Islamists reflects their confined ideologies and their permanent thirst for seizing power. This emphasizes the Islamist Muslim Brothers' ideologies of targeting sovereignty rather than salvaging the state from economic and political woes. This, in turn, results in further instability of Egypt.

Consequently, instability results from Islamists' power-hunger or, in other words, their permanent pursuit of power consolidation during their governance of Egypt. The Islamist governance, represented in Morsi's reign of Egypt, has been more interested in consolidating power and excluding its non-Islamist opponents than in solving such economic and socio-political dilemmas.

Besides, the escalating emergence of violent jihadists in Egypt during Morsi's reign has constituted a major threat for Egypt's stability as Islamist jihadists are known to have extremely radical ideologies which are basically rooted in violence. Al-Qaeda – globally acknowledged as a terrorist organization with a long history of radical violence – involves large numbers of jihadists. The appearance of Al-Zawahiri, for instance, among instigators in Egypt during Morsi's Islamist reign symbolizes the arousal of Islamists' radicalism and violence at that time. Islamists or

terrorist groups as such are represented as having religious intolerance as part of their radical ideologies.

It has also been evident from many Western politicians' articles in the Washington Institute that Islamist Muslim Brothers' ideology rejects some Western political aspects or advances like electoral politics, political non-Islamism and pluralism. In other words, they reject to accept other diverse political views and processes than those of Islamists, although it is acknowledged that democratic electoral processes and people having different opinions is a healthy political activity that can achieve stability in any country. They, thus, refuse to integrate other political parties in any political process, seeking to seize power and utter domination.

It can also be concluded that presuppositions play an efficient role in unveiling the presupposed meanings of Western analysts' representations of Islamists' political ideologies. The types of presuppositions used in this study include lexical, existential and counter-factual presuppositions. Data analyses convey that such presuppositions summarize how Westerners refer to Islamists' political ideologies during all phases, presupposing their immoderate, intolerant and much aggressive political beliefs. Throughout the assessment process of TTs on this level, it is deduced that presuppositions have been relayed from the STs into the TT equivalently with very few incongruities between both texts, leading them to be intertextually coherent.

It is worth pinpointing that the translation process herein serves to highlight the similarities and differences of translating such representations and ideologies from the English STs to the Arabic TTs. Thus, this study is basically a contribution to the fields of translation and CDA as it employs a CDA tool like presupposition to clarify the West's representations and Islamists' ideologies, then assessing their translations in the TTs with respect to intertextual coherence. In this study, intertextual coherence results from the reduced discrepancies between the analyzed ST linguistic items and their translated TT equivalents; even if found, these differences do not lay damaging impact upon the transmission of the representations and ideologies conveyed in the ST into the TT.

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