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## Analyzing the English-Arabic Representation of Iraq Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) in Western Media

### ABSTRACT

Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) has made a paradigm shift in the recent years by liberating Iraqi territories invaded ISIS. Western mass media try their best to defame the reputation of PMF by describing it as an affiliated para-military to Islamic Republic of Iran or calling it a militia. The researchers attempt to highlight the representation of PMF in the Arabic translation via the same media foundations; of course, to find answer of whether ST or TT versions of news are positively or negatively represented. BBC, CNN, France 24 outlets websites were selected and analyzed based on for an eclectic model of van Leeuwen's social actor representation (2008) and Venuti's translator's invisibility via Foreignization and Domestication methods (1995/2004). The results have proved that the PMF is negatively represented in both English and Arabic Services.

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## تحليل التصوير اللغوي لقوات الحشد الشعبي في الاعلام الغربي من الانكليزية العربية

ا.م.د. ابراهيم طلعت ابراهيم / كلية الآداب / الجامعة العراقية

**الخلاصة:**

أحدثت قوات الحشد الشعبي تغييراً حقيقياً في السنوات الأخيرة من خلال تحرير الأراضي العراقية من تنظيم داعش الإرهابي. وتحاول وسائل الإعلام الغربية جاهدة تشويه صورة الحشد الشعبي من خلال وصفها بقوات شبه عسكرية تنتمي إلى الجمهورية الإسلامية الإيرانية أو نعتها بالمليشيات. ويحاول الباحثان تسليط الضوء على التمثيل اللغوي لصورة الحشد الشعبي في الترجمات العربية لمواقع الإعلام الغربية الناطقة باللغة العربية ويعمل الباحثان الإجابة على ما إذا كان نصوص لغة المصدر أو نصوص لغة الهدف قد صورت الحشد الشعبي بأسلوب إيجابي أو سلبي. واختيرت مواقع البي بي سي والسي إن إن وفرنسا 24 للتحليل استناداً إلى آلية التحليل الانتقائية والمكونة من آلية العالم فان لويين التمثيل الاجتماعي 2008 وآلية فينوتي التقريب والتغريب 1995-2004. واثبتت النتائج صحة الفرضية التي تشير أن تمثيل الحشد في الإعلام الغربي سلبياً في المواقع الإعلامية الانكليزية والعربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التقريب والتغريب والعراق وقوات الحشد الشعبي والتمثيل الاجتماعي

## Introduction

Iraq in 2014 witnessed a dramatic event in its history after ISIS invasion of a number of northern governorates, leading to highly-dangerous situation not only locally, but also regionally and internationally. Suddenly, thousands of Iraqi soldiers disappeared, of course with hundreds of military tanks disappeared and damaged. More than 2000 Iraqi young soldiers from the southern governorates were killed in Tikrit, in an anti-human crime known as Spikers. Tens of questions are still looking for solid answers from Iraqi and American officials. ISIS killed and raped hundreds of Iraqi minorities, like Yazidis. As a direct reaction, Ayatollah Sayyed Ali Sistani issued in June 2014 his famous fatwa to face the new threat, leaving aside any sectarian perspectives. Thousands and thousands of Iraqis, Muslims and Christians volunteered and organized themselves into people mobilization forces, or later known as Al-hashid Al-shaabi. Iraqi Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) is a legitimate government organization due to a parliamentary majority voting and an executive order in November 2016. It works under the umbrella of Iraqi Cabinet. As a consequence, with hundreds of martyrs, PMF has been playing an integral role in fighting ISIS, to liberate two-third of Iraq from terrorism.

However, this organization is viewed negatively by many Iraqi neighbours like Saudi Arabia and UAE by calling it militia and calling its loyalty to Iran. Also, many Iraqis use the same calls; of course, an agenda is behind. Similarly, the west and their media still repeat the calls of militia due to the ideological reasons. The US, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and many European officials have calls for regarding Iraqi PMF a terrorist organization. From the early days of Sistani's fatwa, the western media have been trying their best to undermine PMF activities by affiliating its units to Islamic Republic of Iran and describe its units as a group of militias. These statements show that these western media try to weaken PMF role in the liberation of Iraq from ISIS and deny all the sacrifice by referring to them as Iranian-backed militia, although it is a government organization and it receives direction from Iraqi Prime Minister Office. One of the dramatic consequences of Trump's negative calls is the direct assassination of PMF vice-leader, Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis in Baghdad international airport in Jan 3, 2020. The present study tries to reveal this PMF representation in BBC, CNN and France 24 English and Arabic outlets via van Leeuwen's Social Actors. It is of special importance to the area of relevance of Critical Discourse Analysts and translators because it helps them understand how ideology is used and

shaped in translation, especially if Venuti's Foreignization and Domestication are considered. These two were first highlighted by Schleiermacher in the early 19th century when he said that there were only two possible translation strategies can be followed by translators, they are as follows: "either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" (Venuti, 2004:49). The terms "domestication" and "foreignization" per se were coined by Scholar Lawrence Venuti, who was one of the first advocates of the latter method, insisting on the fact that foreignization method "entails choosing a foreign text and developing a translation method along lines which are excluded by dominant cultural values in the target language" (Venuti, 1995, cited in Munday, 2008:145). While domestication is after reducing the impact of foreignness in the target text due to ethnocentric trends that motivate the translator in question to elevate his own cultural references and keep them intact from other alien ones. The following excerpts are examples taken from news articles under investigation: To do this, it gives an answer to whether the Western media have positively or negatively represented Iraqi PMF in ST and TT. To best knowledge of the researchers, only one study tackled by Qasim & Abdulsahib (2014) to identify ISIS representation via Social Actors in American newspapers. It has concluded that ISIS was included more than excluded, and ISIS is socially active although it was represented in a passive way. And although American newspaper acknowledges ISIS ability, it did not depict it positively.

#### Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Approach

The 'Social Actor Approach' or 'Social Actor Network', as Wodak & Meyer (2009a: P.144) described it, concentrates on the social agent than the social structure. For this reason, it is based on two hypotheses: first, the lack of bi-uniqueness of language which can be found in the means the agency is analyzed; and second, meaning is culturally bound, that is "meaning belongs to culture rather than to language" (van Leeuwen,1996: P.32). Van Leeuwen (1993, 2008, and 2009) defines his approach as 'Discourse as Recontextualization'. It is also clarified by van Leeuwen (1995) as 'a sociological grammar' and 'a socio-semantic inventory' (1996). It is impacted by a series of sociological and linguistic approaches like those of Malinowski, Parsons, Bernstein, Foucault, Halliday and Bourdieu. It is impacted by Brown and Yule's (1983) and Levinson's (1983) work of "background knowledge" and the work of Martin (1984, 1992)

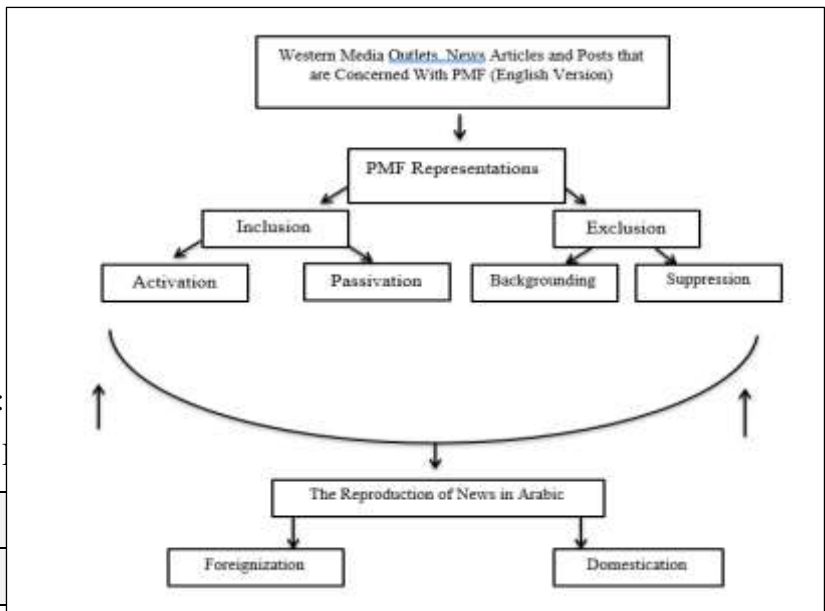
(Waugh et al., 2015:P. 83. Social Actors Approach is the way of how social actors defined from sociological and critical point of view before considering how they are linguistically realized (van Leeuwen, 2008:23). In other words, he is behind the grammatical processes concentrating on socio-semantic issues that are concerned with the semantic features of discourse like 'exclusion' for representing social practices (Rycker, 2014:P. 49), (see also van Leeuwen, 2009b:P. 281). For this reason, this approach relies on the sociological categories (such as agency) as a replacement of linguistic categories (like passive sentence) (Waugh et al., 2015: P.84). Van Leeuwen says that social actors are human beings they are represented as participants in clauses and they can be represented as subjects (agents) or objects (goals) in the clause as well (Baker & Ellege, 2011: P.133). Therefore, every actor is represented as an individual or as found in the body of a discourse (van Leeuwen, 2008: P.6). he employs the term "Exclusion" and "Inclusion" to highlight the social actors of the discourse. It is worth mentioning that actors can be excluded or even included basing on the purpose of the writer and his ideology as well. Exclusion is concerned with the process of removing actors with the employment of some linguistic tools for many reasons .Exclusion is highlighted between two subcategories, they are as follows suppression and backgrounding. As for the former, it is about excluding the social actors and their actions at the same time and removing any trace everywhere in a text. Whereas Backgrounding is about the fact that the social actors leave a trace in a text. On the other hand, Inclusion it is widely known in any text, it means that social actors are found clearly in a text.

### Methodology

van Leeuwen's Social Actor essential components (Inclusion: Activation and Passivation, Exclusion: Suppression and Backgrounding) and Venuti's translation methods (foreignization and domestication) were selected for the analysis of PMF representation in social media and how these media outlets reproduce these news in Arabic. In other words, the researcher compares between the English versions of news with their Arabic reproduced by the same media outlets. Four English articles with their Arabic translations were selected. The media outlets websites belong to the following agencies: BBC (two English-Arabic articles), CNN (one English-Arabic Article) and France 24 (one English-Arabic article). It is worth mentioning that the researchers selected different western media outlets to be in presenting the results of these news analyses, and to avoid biased analysis, not to mention checking the general representation of PMF in the

western media. The first BBC English-Arabic article is (Iraq paramilitary force blames US and Israel for mystery blasts), the English ST contained (27) representation: (Inclusion and Exclusion) with reference to PMF and its affiliated groups and figures, while the Arabic TT is titled ( الحشد الشعبي يتهم جهات أجنبية باستهداف قواعده ), referred to PMF and its affiliated groups and figures (15) times. The second ST by BBC English News website is titled (US Baghdad embassy attacked by protesters angry at air strikes) embraced (38) representation (inclusion and exclusion) of PMF, while the Arabic TT is (متظاهرون يهاجمون السفارة الأمريكية في بغداد). It consisted of (24) PMF representations only. The third article taken CNN news channel English Service website is titled (US embassy attack Rockets strike embassy compound in Baghdad). It highlighted (10) PMF representations only, while its Arabic TT titled ( سقوط 3 صواريخ في المنطقة ) (الخضراء ببغداد... ودوي صفارات الإنذار قرب السفارة الأمريكية) has (4) (Exclusion: Suppression) only. The fourth article is of France 24 English News Channel website, it is under the title of (Iraqi Shiite militia supporters attack US embassy compound in Baghdad); it contained (10) PMF (Inclusion and Exclusion representations), whereas its Arabic TT is ( محتجون غاضبون يقتحمون السفارة الاميركية في ) (بغداد) and reported (24) PMF representations. The model of analysis is seen in the following figure and tables.

Figure (1):  
Table (1):



Inclusion			
Activation			
"to prevent and deter future attacks."	Iraq paramilitary force blames US and Israel for	Last year, israel's defence minister suggested	The deputy head of the Popular Mobilisation which

	mystery blasts"	that it might attack suspected Iranian military assets in Iraq"	is dominated by Shia militias, alleged that US forces had brought four Israeli drones into the country"
"The Popular Mobilisation's fighters played a key role in the war against IS."	"A powerful Iran-backed paramilitary force in has said it holds the US responsible for a series of blasts at its bases in recent weeks."	"When asked by reporters on Monday about the explosions in Iraq, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said: Iran has no immunity, anywhere"	"To target its positions"
"they prevented IS militants reaching Baghdad in 2014 and later helped Iraqi security forces regain control of the country."	"To target its positions"	"We will act - and currently are acting - against them"	"The incident, which was blamed by some on hot weather and poor storage, prompted the Iraqi government to order all such facilities to be moved outside cities and to ban unauthorised military flights over Iraq - including by the US- led coalition."

<p>"It alleges that he advises Iran's Revolutionary Guards and that he has been involved in the bombings of Western embassies and attempted assassinations in the region."</p>	<p>"On Tuesday night, a large blast hit a Popular Mobilisation arms depot near Balad airbase in Salahuddin province , about 80km (50 miles) north of Baghdad."</p>		<p>"Earlier on Wednesday, the Associated Press reported that an Iraqi government fact-finding committee had concluded the explosion was the result of a drone strike (Exclusion : backgrounding and passivation) by an unidentified party."</p>
	<p>"The exact cause is not yet known, but a Popular Mobilisation source told Reuters news agency that the depot was targeted by an aerial bombardment"</p>		
	<p>"On 12 August, an even bigger explosion at a Popular Mobilisation arms depot at the al-</p>		

	Saqr military base near Baghdad killed one civilian and wounded 29 others"		
	"Earlier on Wednesday, the Associated Press reported that an Iraqi government fact-finding committee had concluded the explosion was the result of a drone strike (Exclusion : backgrounding and passivation) by an unidentified party."		
	"When asked by reporters on Monday about the explosions in Iraq, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said: Iran has no immunity, anywhere"		

	"Last year, Israel's then defence minister suggested that it might attack suspected Iranian military assets in Iraq"		
	"We will act - and currently are acting - against them"		
	"With the help of Iranian military advisers"		
	"The US, which also supported Iraqi security forces against IS, has said several of the Shia militias in the Popular Mobilisation are directly controlled by Iran"		
	"The US has designated one of the militias in the Popular Mobilisation, Kataiib Hezbollah"		

	(Hezbollah Brigades as a terrorist organisation."		
	"It has also listed Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis as a especially designated global terrorist"		

Table (2): BBC News Article 01 Arabic Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
قائلا المهندس "ولوح الحشد قوات إن ما كل" ستستخدم تكرار لمنع بوسعها الغارات هذه "وردها"	"الحشد الشعبي يتهم جهات اجنبية باستهداف قواعده"		"أكد رئيس هيئة الحشد الشعبي فالح الفياض ان الانفجارات التي استهدفت مخازن اسلحة الحشد كانت عملا اجنبيا مدبرا مشيرا الى ان التحقيقات مستمرة لمعرفة الجهة المسؤولة عن تلك التفجيرات"
الشع الحشد أن "يذكر بارزا دورا لعب بي تنظيم ضد الحرب الإسلامية الدولة بمساعدة ونجح، منع إيرانية، التنظيم مسلحي من المذكور بغداد إ الوصول وساند، 2014 عام	"أكد رئيس هيئة الحشد الشعبي فالح الفياض ان الانفجارات التي استهدفت مخازن اسلحة الحشد كانت عملا اجنبيا مدبرا مشيرا الى ان التحقيقات مستمرة لمعرفة الجهة المسؤولة عن تلك التفجيرات"		"وكان نائب رئيس الحشد، أبو مهدي المهندس، قد اتهم الولايات المتحدة وإ ائيل بالوقوف وراء الانفجارات قائلا إن "القوات الأمريكية استخدمت 4 طائرات مسيرة اسرائيلية إ العراق لاستهداف "قواعد الحشد"

الأمن قوات لاحقاً استعادة العراقية ع الحكومية السيطرة مسلحي من البلاد "الإسلامية الدولة"			
واتهم الأمريكيون ". هذه الميليشيات منشآت باستهداف أمريكية دبلوماسية من وحذروا العراق، قد الميليشيات هذه أن زّودت تكون باليستية بصواريخ "إيرانية"	أبو الحشد، رئيس نائب "وكان اتهم قد المهندس، مهدي انيل وإ المتحدة الولايات الانفجارات وراء بالوقوف الأمريكية القوات" إن قاتلاً إة مسطائرات 4 استخدمت لاستهداف العراق إ انيلية "الحشد قواعد	"يذكر أن الحشد الشع بي لعب دورا بارزا الحرب ضد تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية. ونجح، بمساعدة إيرانية، منع مسلحي التنظيم المذكور من الوصول إ بغداد عام 2014، وساند لاحقاً قوات الأمن العراقية استعادة السيطرة الحكومية ع البلاد "من مسلحي الدولة الإسلامية"	
يكون قد "وإنه هجمات متورطاً سفارات استهدفت ومحاولات غربية "المنطقة اغتيال"	يوم وقع يركب انفجار "وكان مستودع الما الثلاثاء يقع الشع للحشد عائد أسلحة الجوية بلد قاعدة قرب ع الدين صلاح محافظة الشمال إ ا كيلوم 80 مسافة بغداد العاصمة من		
	إ الانفجار سبب يعرف ولا مصدراً "ولكن "الآن، روي لوكالة ذكر الشع الحشد المستودع أن للأنباء ز جوية لغارة تعرض"		
	إ المتحدة، الولايات "ولكن القوات بدورها ساندت تنظيم ضد حربها العراقية		

	الآن تقول الإسلامية، الدولة الميليشيات من عددا إن لواء تحت المنضوية الشيعية إيران لسيطرة تخضع الحشد ة" المبا		
	قد المتحدة الولايات "وكانت ميليشيات إحدى أدرجت كتائب و ، الشع الحشد المنظمات قائمة الله، حزب الإرهابية."		
	مهدي أبو أدرجت "كما السوءاء قائمتها المهندس يعمل إنه قائلة للإرهاب الثوري للحرس مستشارا "ني الإيرا		

Table (3): BBC News Article 02 English Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
"US Baghdad embassy attacked by protesters angry at air strikes"	"Protesters angered by recent US air strikes targeting an Iranian-backed Iraqi militia have attacked the American embassy compound in Baghdad."	"Mr Trump first accused Iran of "orchestrating" he attack some nine hours earlier. Iran denied any involvement, and condemned the audacity of the US for making the accusation."	"US President Donald Trump blamed Iran for the attack, warning: They will pay a very big price!"
"Protesters	"US troops fired	"The US said it was	"Waving Kataib

angered by recent US air strikes targeting an Iranian-backed Iraqi militia have attacked the American embassy compound in Baghdad."	tear gas to disperse a crowd that got into a reception area in the compound, which is in the capital's heavily fortified Green Zone."	retaliating for a rocket attack on an Iraqi military base in Kirkuk on Friday that killed an American civilian contractor."	Hezbollah and other militia flags, and chanting anti-American slogans, the protesters threw stones at the compound's main gate, pulled down security cameras, attacked empty guard posts, and started fires."
"Iran will be held fully responsible for lives lost, or damage incurred, at any of our facilities," he wrote in a tweet. "This is not a warning, it is a threat. Happy New Year!"	"US President Donald Trump blamed Iran for the attack, warning: They will pay a very big price!"	"Any attack on or harassment of embassies and foreign delegations are acts that will be firmly prevented by security forces and severely punished by the law," he said."	"Waving Kataib Hezbollah and other militia flags, and chanting anti-American slogans, the protesters threw stones at the compound's main gate, pulled down security cameras, attacked empty guard posts, and started fires."
"while Kataib Hezbollah	"At least 25 fighters died when the US		"According to the Associated Press

leader Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, warned that its response would be very tough on the American forces in Iraq."	bombed bases associated with the Kataib Hezbollah militia in western Iraq and eastern Syria on Sunday"		news agency, a gate was smashed open and dozens of people pushed about 5m (16') into a corridor leading to the main embassy building, before being forced to retreat by tear gas fired by US troops."
"Tuesday's protest took place after funerals were held in Baghdad for the militia fighters who were killed in the US strikes."	"Tuesday's protest took place after funerals were held in Baghdad for the militia fighters who were killed in the US strikes."		"President Trump tweeted: "Iran killed an American contractor, wounding many. We strongly responded, and always will."
"Thousands of mourners including Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis and several other senior militia and paramilitary	"They were allowed by Iraqi security forces to enter the zone and gather on a street outside the US embassy compound."		"Now Iran is orchestrating an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Iraq"

leaders marched towards the Green Zone, where many Iraqi government offices and foreign embassies are located."			
"This embassy has been proved to be an embassy of plotting against Iraq, said Qais al- Khazali, head of the Asaib Ahl al-Haq militia."	"Waving Kataib Hezbollah and other militia flags, and chanting anti- American slogans, the protesters threw stones at the compound's main gate, pulled down security cameras, attacked empty guard posts, and started fires."		"The defense department said the militia had a strong linkage" with Iran's Quds Force, the overseas operations arm of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC), and had "repeatedly received lethal aid and other support from Iran."
"Waving Kataib Hezbollah and other militia flags, and	"Iraqi soldiers and riot police were reportedly later deployed in the area and the protest died		

<p>chanting anti-American slogans, the protesters threw stones at the compound's main gate, pulled down security cameras, attacked empty guard posts, and started fires."</p>	<p>down as night fell."</p>		
<p>"According to the Associated Press news agency, a gate was smashed open and dozens of people pushed about 5m (16ft) into a corridor leading to the main embassy building, before being</p>	<p>"Fifty people were treated for tear-gas inhalation at hospitals in Baghdad, a health ministry source told the BBC."</p>		

forced to retreat by tear gas fired by US troops."			
"A US official told CBS News that the compound had not been breached but that protesters had scaled a wall with a ladder and get into a reception area outside it."	"Hours after the protest began, Prime Minister Abdul Mahdi called on people to leave the area around the US embassy."		
"Kataib Hezbollah meanwhile called for protest outside the embassy until it was closed and the ambassador was expelled from Iraq, news website Al-Sumaria	"Why did the US target Kataib Hezbollah?"		

said."			
"The US said the militia had carried out repeated attacks on Iraqi bases that host US-led coalition forces fighting the Islamic State (IS) group"	"In response, it added, US forces conducted precision defensive strikes on Sunday against five facilities, including weapon stores and command and control locations, that would degrade its ability to conduct future attacks."		
"The defence department said the militia had a "strong linkage" with Iran's Quds Force, the overseas operations arm of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC), and had "repeatedly received lethal	"Since 2009, the US has designated Kataib Hezbollah as a terrorist organisation and listed Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis as a "global terrorist"."		

aid and other support from Iran".			
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Table (4): BBC News Article 02 Arabic Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
يهاجمون "متظاهرون السفارة الأمريكية بغداد"	متظاهرون، "هاجم جوية بات من غاضبون جماعة استهدفت أمريكية تدعمها مسلحة عراقية سفارة مجمع إيران، بغداد المتحدة الولايات قنابل أمريكيون جنود وأطلق لتفريق للدموع المسيل الغاز استقبال منطقة دخل حشد الموجودة السفارة مجمع شديدة الخضراء المنطقة بالعاصمة التحصين العراقية "	المتحدة الولايات "وقالت على ردا جاء الهجوم إن بالصواريخ هجوم قاعدة له تعرضت عراقية عسكرية لمقتل أدى الجمعة كركوك "مدني كي أمري مقال	كي الأمري الرئيس "واتهم إيران ترامب، دونالد ، الهجمات، "تنسيق"ب- تتحمل" سوف إنها وقال ".الكاملة المسؤولية
متظاهرون، "هاجم بات من غاضبون استهدفت أمريكية جوية مسلحة عراقية جماعة مجمع إيران، تدعمها المتحدة الولايات سفارة جنود وأطلق بغداد الغاز قنابل أمريكيون لتفريق للدموع المسيل منطقة دخل حشد مجمع استقبال	متظاهرون، "هاجم بات من غاضبون استهدفت أمريكية جوية مسلحة عراقية جماعة مجمع إيران، تدعمها المتحدة الولايات سفارة جنود وأطلق بغداد الغاز قنابل أمريكيون لتفريق للدموع المسيل منطقة دخل حشد مجمع استقبال	"وقال عبد المهدي إن أي اعتداء على السفارات والبعثات الأجنبية سوف يواجه بحزم"	"أما الرئيس الأمريكي ، دونالد ترامب، فقال تغريدة بموقع "تويتز " للتواصل الاجتماعي إن "إيران قتلت مقاولا أمريكيا وأصابت كثيرين. كان ردنا قويا، وسيكون دائما كذلك. الآن تنسق إيران هجوما على السفارة الأمريكية بغداد. سوف يتحملون

المسؤولية كاملة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، ننتظر من العراق استخدام قواته لحماية السفارة.			الموجودة السفارة شديدة الخ المنطقة بالعاصمة التحصين العراقية " .
"وأنه تلقى "أكثر من مرة مساعدات فتاكة ودعما آخر من إيران"	"عقب تشييع جنازات الذين قتلوا الذين المسلحين "الأمريكية الهجمات قتلوا"		"خرجت الاحتجاجات"
			"وشارك آلاف، بينهم أبو مهدي المهندس وقادة آخرون، المسيرات الاحتجاجية"
			"وقال قيس الخزعلي قائد تنظيم "عصائب أهل الحق" إن "هذه السفارة أثبتت أنها سفارة تأمر ضد العراق."
			المحتجون، "وقذف يرددون كانوا الذين مناهضة شعارات المتحدة للولايات بأعلام ويلوحون "الله حزب كتائب" مسلحة وفصائل المجمع أخرى، وحطموا بالحجارة الأمنية الكاميرات " .النيران وأضرموا
	"وتطور الوضع لاحقا مع"		"وتطور الوضع لاحقا"

<p>مع اقتحام جدار المجمع. وبحسب وكالة أسوشيتد برس للأنباء، حطم محتجون بوابة وتوغل العشرات منهم لمسافة خمسة أمتار داخل ممر يؤدي إلى المبنى الرئيسي لمجمع السفارة، قبل أن تجبرهم القنابل المسيلة للدموع التي أطلقها جنود امريكيون على التراجع"</p>	<p>اقتحام جدار المجمع. وبحسب وكالة أسوشيتد برس للأنباء، حطم محتجون بوابة وتوغل العشرات منهم لمسافة خمسة أمتار داخل ممر يؤدي إلى المبنى الرئيسي لمجمع السفارة، قبل أن تجبرهم القنابل المسيلة للدموع التي أطلقها جنود امريكيون على التراجع"</p>		
<p>"وقال مسؤول أمريكي شبكة " سي بي إس نيوز" الإخبارية إن المجمع لم يتعرض لاقتحام، موضحاً أن مجموعة من المحتجين عبروا السور باستخدام سلم ودخلوا منطقة الاستقبال الخارجية."</p>	<p>وأفادت تقارير بأن جنودا عراقيين وأفرادا بشرطة مكافحة الشغب انتشروا في المنطقة في وقت لاحق، وأن المظاهرات خففت مع حلول الليل.</p>		
<p>"في هذه الأثناء، دعا تنظيم "كتائب حزب الله" إلى الاحتجاج أمام السفارة حتى يتم إغلاقها وطرد السفير من العراق، بحسب موقع</p>	<p>وقال مصدر بوزارة الصحة العراقية لبي بي سي إن 50 شخصاً تلقوا علاجاً في مستشفيات عقب استنشاقهم الغاز المسيل للدموع.</p>		

"السومرية"الإخباري			
"قالت الولايات المتحدة إن التنظيم شن عدة هجمات على قواعد عراقية فيها قوات أمريكية كانت ضمن التحالف الذي حارب تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية"	بعد ساعات من اندلاع الاحتجاجات، طالب رئيس الوزراء العراقي ، عادل عبد المهدي، المحتجين بمغادرة المجمع.		
	لماذا استهدفت الولايات المتحدة كتائب حزب الله؟		
"وقالت وزارة الدفاع الأمريكية إن التنظيم المسلح على صلة وثيقة" بفيلق القدس الإيراني ، وهو ذراع العمليات الخارجية للحرس الثوري الإيراني ، "	وردا على ذلك، قالت الإدارة الأمريكية إن قواتها شنت هجمات يوم الأحد ضد خمسة مواقع، بينها مخازن أسلحة ومواقع قيادة، بهدف شل قدرة التنظيم على شن هجمات في المستقبل.		
	"ومنذ عام 2009، أدرجت الولايات المتحدة التنظيم ضمن قائمة المنظمات الإرهابية، وصنفت أبو مهدي المهندس على أنه "إرهابي دولي"		

Table (5): CNN News Article English Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
"Secretary of State Mike Pompeo	"the US embassy was the site of mass	"Three rockets hit US Embassy compound	

"expressed his outrage at the continued assaults by Iran's armed groups against US facilities in Iraq"	protests in response to US airstrikes on an Iranian- backed militia group"	in Baghdad, US official says"	
""The Secretary noted that we view last night's attack on the Embassy as an attempt to distract Iraqi and international attention away from the brutal suppression of peaceful Iraqi protesters by Iran and its proxies"		"Rep. Michael McCaul, the lead Republican on the House Foreign Affairs committee, said in a tweet Sunday that he is "closely monitoring reports of a rocket attack targeting the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad."	
""The security situation remains tense and Iranian-backed armed groups remain a threat"		""Violent acts against our diplomatic facilities are simply unacceptable. We must ensure the safety of American diplomats, troops and other Americans in Iraq."	
"So, we remain vigilant," a State		"Abdul Mahdi, the prime minister of	

Department spokesperson said Sunday. Since September there have been more than 14 attacks by Iran and Iranian- supported militias on US personnel in Iraq"		Iraq, condemned the attack and said Iraqi forces have been ordered to "deploy, search, and investigate to prevent the recurrence of such attacks, and to arrest those who launched these rockets so that they can be punished.""	
"Those strikes were launched in retaliation to attacks by an Iranian- backed Shia militia group known as Kataib Hezbollah"			

Table (6): CNN News Article Arabic Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
		"سقوط 3 صواريخ في المنطقة الخضراء ببغداد.. ودوي صفارات الإنذار قرب السفارة الأمريكية"	
		"3 صواريخ كاتيوشا صغيرة سقطت في المنطقة الخضراء ببغداد، في منتصف ليل الاثنين"	
		"وقال بيان خلية الإعلام الأمني العراقية إن الصواريخ سقطت دون التسبب في خسائر بشرية."	
		"يأتي هذا فيما تم تداول مقاطع فيديو قصيرة للحظة"	

	إطلاق الصواريخ، فيما أمكن سماع دوي صوت صفارات الإنذار القادمة من المنطقة القريبة من السفارة الأمريكية، بعد سقوط الصواريخ"	
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Table (7):France 24 News Article English Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
"Iraqi Shiite militia supporters attack US embassy compound in Baghdad"	"Yassine al-Yasseri, Iraq's interior minister, also appeared outside the embassy at one point and walked around to inspect the scene. He told the AP that the prime minister had warned the US strikes on the Shiite militiamen would have serious consequences.		"US President Donald Trump blamed for the embassy breach and called on Iraq to protect the diplomatic mission."
"Others then smashed the gates used by cars to enter and dozens pushed into the compound. The protesters stopped	the Iraqi troops would not move in to break up the crowd by force"		"Iran killed an American contractor, wounding many. We strongly responded,"

<p>in a corridor after about 5 metres (16 feet), and were only about 200 metres away from the main building. Half a dozen US soldiers were seen on the roof of the main building, their guns were pointed at the protesters. Smoke from the tear gas rose in the area"</p>			
<p>"The protesters raised yellow militia flags and taunted the embassy's security staff"</p>			<p>"Now Iran is orchestrating an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Iraq"</p>
<p>". They hung a poster on the wall declaring, "America is an aggressor" and sprayed graffiti on the wall and windows reading, "Closed in the</p>			

name of the resistance.””			
"He said more security will be deployed to separate the protesters (Inclusion: activation) from the embassy,"			

Table (8): France 24 News Article Arabic Version

Inclusion		Exclusion	
Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
"محتجون غاضبون يقتحمون السفارة الأميركية في بغداد"	"تنديدا بالغازات الجوية التي استهدفت ليل الأحد مقرات فصيل موال لإيران وأسفرت عن مقتل 25 مقاتليه"	"غضبا بين العراقيين. وجاءت الغازات ردا على مقتل أميركي في هجوم ب36 صاروخا استهدف قاعدة في شمال العراق فيها جنود أميركيون"	"وتمكنوا من اقتحام جدارها الخارجي مرددين "الموت لأمريكا!"، "
"هاجم آلاف المحتجين العراقيين السفارة الأميركية في بغداد الثلاثاء"	"وأطلقت قوات أميركية بعض العيارات النارية في الهواء، ثم قنابل الغاز المسيل للدموع وأخرى دخانية لتفريق المتظاهرين"	"واتهم دونالد ترامب إيران بالوقوف وراء الهجوم على السفارة الأميركية، قائلا عبر تويتر، "إيران دبّرت هجوما ضد السفارة الأميركية في العراق، وسيُحمّلون مسؤولية ذلك بشكل كامل"، داعيا العراق الى "استخدام قواته لحماية السفارة"."	"وحملّ الرئيس الأميركي دونالد ترامب إيران مسؤولية الوقوف وراء الهجوم"

<p>"وهي المرة الأولى التي يتمكن فيها المحتجون من الوصول إلى السفارة الأمريكية المحمية إجمالاً بشكل مشدد بسلسلة من حواجز التفتيش وهي تقع داخل المنطقة الخضراء المحصنة وسط بغداد"</p>	<p>"وأثارت ضربات جوية نفذتها القوات الأمريكية ليل الأحد ضد مواقع لكتائب حزب الله في غرب العراق وأسفرت عن مقتل 25 شخصاً"</p>		<p>"ورشقوا أبراج المراقبة بالحجارة"</p>
<p>"وتدفق رجال يرتدي عدد كبير منهم زي قوات الحشد الشعبي وبعض النساء في اتجاه السفارة واجتازوا الحواجز الأمنية وصولاً إلى الجدار المحيط بالسفارة من دون رد فعل واضح من قوات الأمن العراقية"</p>	<p>"وقال مراسل لوكالة فرانس برس إن أعلاماً لعدد من فصائل الحشد الشعبي علقت على الجدار الخارجي للسفارة"</p>		<p>"واقترحوا البوابة الرئيسية للسفارة"</p>
<p>"وقام محتجون بتحطيم كاميرات المراقبة المثبتة على الجدران الخارجية،"</p>	<p>"ودعا رئيس الوزراء العراقي المستقيل عادل عبد المهدي المتظاهرين إلى المغادرة "فوراً"، مشدداً على أن القوات الأمنية ستمنع "بصرامة أي تحرش بالممثلات الاجنبية"</p>		
<p>"ولم تتبن أي جهة المسؤولية عن الهجوم، فيما اتهمت مصادر أميركية كتائب حزب الله، إحدى فصائل الحشد الشعبي، بالوقوف خلفها"</p>	<p>"وقال عبد المهدي "أخبرني أن الولايات المتحدة ستضرب كتائب حزب الله وأخبرته أن ذلك سيكون عملاً خطيراً للغاية وقد يؤدي إلى"</p>		

	تصعيد"		
"وطالبت كتائب حزب الله العراقي والفصائل الموالية لإيران المنضوية في إطار الحشد الشعبي الذي يساند القوات العراقية، بعد الضربات الأميركية الأخيرة، بطرد "العدو الأميركي" من البلاد"			
"وحمل المحتجون قرب السفارة الأميركية اليوم لافتات كتب على إحداها "الى البرلمان: يجب إخراج القوات الأميركية وإلا سيتم طردهم"، فيما كتب على أخرى "أغلقوا السفارة الأميركية في بغداد"، و"الى أميركا.. سنردّ بقوة".			
"كما كتب المحتجون على جدار السفارة الخارجي عبارات بينها "قائدي سليمان"، في إشارة الى قائد "فيلق القدس" الإيراني قاسم سليمانى المسؤول عن العمليات الخارجية ومهندس الاستراتيجية العسكرية الإيرانية في المنطقة، و"نعم نعم". "الحشد"			

"وشارك عدد من أبرز قادة الحشد الشعبي في الاحتجاجات، بينهم رئيس هيئة الحشد الشعبي فالح الفياض ونائبه أبو مهدي المهندس وزعيم فصيل عصائب أهل الحق قيس الخزعلي."			
"ونصب بعض المتظاهرين خيما في الشارع المقابل للسفارة، مشيرين الى انهم سيبدأون اعتصاماً مفتوحاً"			
"وقال مسؤولون في وزارة الدفاع الأميركية لوكالة فرانس برس إن الفصائل الموالية لإيران تشكل الآن "تهديداً أكبر" من تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية بسبب الهجمات الصاروخية المتكررة على مصالح أميركية."			

The above eight tables show the analysis of PMF in ST and TT data. It is evident that all western mass media outlets have negative views towards Iraqi PMF by employing ideologically-loaded words that have negative meanings in their news, like 'militias', 'Iranian-backed' 'bombings', 'attacks', etc. Less focus has been given to the influential role of PMF in liberating Iraq from ISIS and helping Iraqis regardless of their ethnicities and religions. In other words, the western media, which are sponsored by foreign governments, want to hijack these great achievements made by PMF and make it ugly locally (inside Iraq) and internationally all over the world. The ideologically loaded words mentioned above are used intentionally by these media to

delegitimize the organization and make it in a weak position in the eyes of public. They used another tool like sectarian inclusion like ‘Shiti’ and exclusion like ‘Iranian-backed militias’; they insisted in referring to this governmental organization via sectarian terms, obvious neglecting any reference to Sunni tribal forces and Christian forces.

The news agencies were negative in representing PMF from all angles. In other words, they shaped PMF representation with different techniques such as inclusion and exclusion. As far as inclusion is concerned, they included PMF and its affiliated groups by titling them ‘the attacker’, ‘saboteur’, ‘the bad actor’, etc. They also made use of by backgrounding representation for reasons of delegitimizing its role in Iraq via describing it as ‘Iran’ or ‘Iranian Armed groups’; this is intentionally used to mean that PMF is not a legitimate organization, and consequently its activities are illegal, whereas suppression was mostly employed by the western media outlets for reasons of avoiding repetition and redundancy. The table below reports the number of social actor representation occurrences in the selected articles.

Table(9): Social actors in the ST

No.	English Versions	Inclusion		Exclusion	
		Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
1	BBC Article 01	4	16	3	4
2	BBC Article 02	13	15	3	7
3	CNN	5	1	4	zero
4	France 24	4	3	zero	3

Table (10): Social actors in the TT

No.	Translation Methods	Foreignization		Domestication	
		Social Actor Representations		Exclusion	
		Activation	Passivation	Suppression	Backgrounding
1	BBC Article 01	4	8	zero	3

2	BBC Article 02	10	9	2	3
3	CNN	Zero	zero	4	Zero
4	France 24	12	6	2	4
5	USA Today Iraq	10	zero	zero	3

The two tables above report a slight difference between English and Arabic news versions. It is also shown that some news agencies like BBC and CNN Arabic services removed in some parts of their news articles words like 'Iranian backed militia' and 'Iran' and they kept PMF as "الحشد الشعبي" in Arabic; whereas and France 24 Arabic version removed the sectarian word (shiti) from its translation. It is also understood now the translators of the agencies have adopted either foreignization or domestication methods. In other words, the translators who made use of foreignization method, their translations have included inclusion of social actors, while the translators who followed domestication method of translation, their translation consisted of exclusion of social actors, as shown in the following two tables.

Table (12): Examples of Domesticated Translation

No.	Domesticated Translation	
1	BBC News Article 01	Arabic Translation
	"to prevent and deter future attacks.	بوسعها ما كل " ستستخدم الحشد قوات إن قاتلا المهندس "ولوح "وردعها الغارات هذه تكرر لمنع"
2	France 24 News Article	Arabic Translation
	"Iraqi Shiite militia supporters attack US embassy compound in Baghdad"	"محتجون غاضبون يقتحمون السفارة الاميركية في بغداد"

Table (13): Foreignized Translated

No.	Foreignized Translation	
1	BBC News Article 02	Arabic Translation
	"Mr Trump first accused Iran of "orchestrating" he	هجوم على ردا جاء الهجوم إن المتحدة الولايات "وقالت الجمعة كركوك عراقية عسكرية قاعدة له تعرضت بالصواريخ

	attack some nine hours earlier. Iran denied any involvement, and condemned the audacity of the US for making the accusation."	" . مدني كي أمر بمقاول لمقتل أدى
2	France 24 News Article	Arabic Translation
	"Iran killed an American contractor, wounding many. We strongly responded,"	"وحمل الرئيس الأميركي دونالد ترامب إيران مسؤولية الوقوف وراء الهجوم"

### Conclusions

It is concluded that PMF is negatively represented in the Western Media outlets. As for PMF representation in the English news articles, they are negatively represented by affiliating it to Iran or describing as a militia, though it is an independent organization working under the command of Iraqi government. The same is true of Arabic versions of Western Media outlets, they are also negatively represented PMF by either keeping the same English choices in Arabic or by removing it from the translated news. The combination of CDA method represented by van Leeuwen's Method and Venuti's foreignization and domestication answered the question of the have proved that CDA and translation can be integrated to dig in depth of English-Arabic Texts to reveal how PMF are represented and reproduced in English – Arabic news articles of Western media outlets.

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