

The Paratextual Analysis of English Translations of Arabic Media Narratives on Daesh

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the role of media translations in reframing ‘reality’ and inserting ideologically-loaded concepts to promote certain agendas. It further examines the effectiveness of paratextual (re)framings as a strategic device in the manipulation of ‘reality’. It analyses the English translations of the Arabic media narratives on ‘Daesh’ employing the interdisciplinary approach of Baker (2006) narrative theory-informed. These English translations were published on the website of the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI); a Washington-based think tank that is largely quoted by the Western, mainly the US, prominent media outlets. The data collected for the purpose of this study consists of 46 Arabic editorials alongside their 25 English translations. The findings of this research suggest that paratextual devices including titles, introductions, headings, images and their captions, and endnotes and glossaries are significant (re)framing tools that function outside the immediate text. MEMRI is found to successfully reframe the Arabic narratives on ‘Daesh’ in an attempt to sustain and further the meta-narrative of the ‘War on Terror’. The significance of this study is specifically to draw the awareness of the public of the different rival narratives circulated by the media.

Keywords: Daesh; MEMRI; paratextual (re)framing; terrorism; translation

INTRODUCTION

The terroristic acts carried by ‘the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, ISIS’ (or most preferably its Arabic acronym *Daesh*) attract much attention from the local, regional and international media as well as the political and governmental agendas worldwide. Because of its threatening impact, *Daesh* has become an international concern represented in ‘the International Coalition against Daesh’¹. *Daesh* has its beginnings in 2004 as ‘Al-Qaeda in Iraq’ following the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Welby 2014). It then changed its name several times, in accordance with emerging organisational situations, including ‘Mujahideen Shura Council in Iraq’ and ‘the Islamic State in Iraq’². In 2011 with the erupting of the Syrian civil war, the group extended its coverage to Syria under the name ‘Al-Nusra Front’. In 2013, both ‘the Islamic State in Iraq’ and ‘Al-Nusra Front’ emerged to form *al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham, DAESH* (literally translated as ‘the Islamic state in Iraq and Syria’, ‘ISIS’). In 2014, resulting from ideological conflicts, Al-Nusra Front detached itself from ‘ISIS’ which then reformed itself as ‘the Islamic State, IS’ declaring a worldwide caliphate³.

Daesh is responsible for several terroristic acts in Syria, Iraq and elsewhere worldwide killing more than 1,200 people⁴ including the beheading of the two American journalists in 2014, the killing of 130 people in the 2015 Paris attacks, the burning to death of the Jordanian pilot Muath Al-Kassasba in January 2015, and the 2015 Ankara bombings that resulted in the death of 103 people², among many others⁵.

Daesh’s criminal acts have triggered much Islamophobia and criticism of Islam (Croucher et al 2013) under the claim that *Daesh* is a ‘true’ representative of Islam and

Muslims and that it follows the teachings of Al-Quran and Prophet Muhammad⁶. This in turn shifts the cultural and political discourse and communication especially in the West to either undermining or underlining some particularities of current rival narratives circulated about *Daesh* in line with the meta-narratives the ‘War on Terror’ and ‘Terror and Islam’. Western governments have recently labelled *Daesh* as a “brand of Evil” (Richards 2017). The media has been found to have the ability to subliminally reframe, renegotiate and reconstruct narratives thus reshaping official and public opinions (Gibson 2015). In this context, van Gilder and Massey further elaborate:

“[T]he linguistic choices made by media sources, such as framing the ISIS threat as a “threat of Islamic extremism,” shape perceptions and understandings of the conflict as whole, and of those members who are engaged in this conflict. That is, through simplified naming, media depictions of the conflict between the United States and ISIS discursively framed the threat of Islamic extremism as a threat from Islam as a religion”
(2015, p. 153)

THE NOTIONS OF NARRATIVE AND FRAMING

Narrative is “[a] spoken or written account of connected events; a story”⁷. Generally, scholars agree with this definition adding that narrative is a story of events experienced by us, and it changes and develops over time; it has a beginning, a plot and an end with temporal and causal sequences (Polkinghorne 1988, Denzin 1989, Abbs & Richardson 1990, Graesser et al. 1991, Champion 1997, Wennerstrom 2001). In this regard, Bruner (1991) emphasises that narrative is a way of giving meaning to a story while Whitebrook (2001) establishes that narratives allow us to understand one’s political perspective, ideology and identity. Narratives, therefore, “play a significant role in constructing and maintaining identities” (Brännlund et al. 2013, p. 74). Narrative theory comes to explain how news stories change people’s behaviour (Baker 2006). As Baker elaborates “it is our belief in these stories that guide our actions in the real world.” (2007, p. 151). Recent applications of narrative theory in translation studies i.e. Thawabteh (2012) and Winters (2017) argue that narrative theory allows the investigation of the translators’ ideological involvement in the translation, and that it further expands the analysis to non-textual and paratextual materials.

Framing, as Pan and Kosicki (1993) discuss it, is both a device of formulating and operating news discourse, and a property of the discourse itself. However, in Ziegler et al. (2015), framing refers to the temporal context that represents the rational paradigms set within narratives of violence. It is, to some extent, flexible, situational, internally sequential in reasoning and repetitive in form. The nature of framing as bi-directional and interactively negotiable allows “the strategic rendering of discourse positions: that is to say, for propaganda.” (p. 6). Framing, however, is culturally-specific and referential which represents and constructs world experiences in a narrative form rather than a stereotype. Similarly, Butler (2012) discusses that framing aims at advancing the public perception toward a given issue and increasing the general agreement on its ultimate proposed solution. Research on framing should focus on the study of framing effects more than framing process and content in order to draw a larger picture of the scene, and thus reach to a better understanding of the framing mechanism and its significance. Moreover, Butler considers frames as an advance level of schema set for certain interactions in which they operate as interpretive devices and parameters. According to Norris et al. (2003), frames are, in a wide sense, subtle devices – to leaders in simplifying and responding to social events, to journalists in briefing news by recalling similar past experiences from the culturally-specific reservoirs, and to the public in understanding and evaluating emerging events and phenomena. However, news frames, conventionally, do not offer a complete account of all particularities of a terroristic act. Rather they retain some ruling puzzles that trigger the preferred interpretation. Frames, where

international affairs is concerned, serve as agenda-setting by prioritising events as international matter, cognitive priming by identifying and explaining the threat, and as evaluative tool by suggesting resolutions. In a journalistic narrative of a terror scenario, news frames are shaped largely by three factors: the agreed facts on the terroristic acts, the interpretations of these acts by officials, and the weights of dissident groups. King and Wells define frames as “central organizing ideas that make sense of relevant events or situations and weave them into a basic narrative or storyline.” (2009, p. 6). Wendland (2010) similarly defines frames as a cognitive schema that contains a set of parameters for understanding and interpreting experiences by the public. They aim at influencing public opinions by providing manipulated versions of ‘reality’ in which they offer a judgment for further action(s). Wu (2017) concludes that “[c]onflicting ideologies and competing interests are the driving force for stance reframing in the context of conflict and violence.” (p. 15).

PARATEXTUAL FRAMING

In 1987, the term ‘paratext’ was introduced by the French literary theorist Gerard Genette in referring to a set of supplementary information to the main text such as the authors’ names, the works’ titles, prefaces and illustrations (Genette 1987 & 1997). Genette locatively unfolded paratext into *peritext* and *epitext* with accordance to their distance to the main text. Paratext functions as an introduction to the main text in order to ensure its presence, reception and consumption by the target audience (Marine-Roig 2017). However, while Genette considered paratext as additional elements to the text, Gray (2015) argued that paratext is an important, central, constitutive and integral part of the main text. The power of paratextual elements is realised in their ability of framing through positioning the reader and creating expectations (Baker 2006, Al Sharif 2009, Azariah 2011, Marine-Roig 2017). In other words, they largely control the reader’s complete reading experience of the text chiefly his interpretation and reaction. However, according to Wolf (2006), there are two kinds of paratextual materials i.e. ‘authorised’ (intracompositional) and ‘unauthorised’ (extracompositional). Authorised paratextual materials are those framing devices of the author of the original text. Unauthorised paratextual materials are those framing devices added to the framed original text by others including translators.

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE

In reporting political conflict narratives particularly on the War on Terror, the current literature argues that the media tend to undermine and challenge the certain narratives by means of reframing (Hazaea, Ibrahim & Mohd Nor 2014, Bolte & Keong 2014, Abdi & Basarati 2016). The research problem is realised in the injected ideological loadings (reframing) in translation that results from the social, cultural, political and ideological backgrounds of the translators that are inevitably involved in the interpretation and production of translation. Therefore, this research aims to reveal the strategies which enable MEMRI to reconstruct reality at the paratextual level within the context of the War on Terror and the contemporary civil war in the Middle East.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is qualitative in nature and its theoretical framework is built upon the idea that an event is framed in a source text by writers/journalists which in turn reframed in the target text by translators then interpreted by the audience based on the translators’ inserted

reframing devices that generate expectations and guide reactions to shape the final image of this event. Narrative analysis as adopted in this study is drawn upon the works of Bal (1985, 1997, 2009), Fisher (1987), Bruner (1991), Somers (1992, 1994, 1997), Somers and Gibson (1994) and Baker (2006, 2007, 2010) where narratives are:

“public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to and that guide our behaviour. They are the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live. The terms ‘narrative’ and ‘story’ are interchangeable in this context.”
(Baker 2006, p. 19)

Framing as adopted in this study is “an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality” (Baker 2006, p. 106).

DATA COLLECTION

For the purpose of this study, a corpus is specifically developed. This corpus contains 25 English translated articles published online by the advocacy group the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)⁸ and their 46 original Arabic editorials on *Daesh*. The difference in the number between the English translations and their originals is a result of MEMRI’s practice in combining translations of several source texts in a single article. The data collection was carried out manually through the search in MEMRI’s archives in the ‘Special Dispatch’⁹ section between 8 April 2013 and 8 April 2016. The data selection in this context is particularly significant in terms of the vast and worrying impact of MEMRI’s translations (for an exhaustive discussion see Hijjo, Forthcoming).

DATA ANALYSIS

The research data is analysed based on the narrative theory elaborated in Baker (2006). MEMRI’s translations are compared with their original Arabic articles. The data is coded into titles, introductions (prefaces), headings and subtitles, images and captions, and endnotes and glossaries. Following Baker (2006), the employed features of narrativity in MEMRI English translations are identified and discussed. After that, the paratextual framing devices found in the English translations are analysed. The effectiveness of these framing devices is then discussed.

FINDINGS

Having discussed the notions of ‘narrative’ and ‘framing’ and the role of media outlets in promoting or undermining conflict narratives, we now analyse the framing devices and strategies employed by MEMRI’s translators at the paratextual level. In the context of this study, these strategies and devices aim at undermining or underlining some particularities of current rival narratives circulated about the military terrorist group *Daesh* at the global level.

TITLES

The titles of textual works are the first to be read, and based on them, very often one makes the decision whether to continue reading the full article or not. They serve as signal devices to the content of the whole text. They also guide the readers’ understanding of the story. Some readers – due to the lack of sufficient time or to some other reasons – limit their readings to titles in order to receive the message of the full text. That is to say that some

readers keep up with news, articles or books only by their titles. “The first impression of a news headline influences people’s behaviour and if something catches the person’s attention; it will be more easily remembered” (Marine-Roig 2017, p. 183). In other words, titles are highly influential and play a crucial role in forming a pre-reading image of the text to come. In translation, since there is no absolute bias-free translation, titles are often the first sites of reframing – or, manipulating - of the original narrative and signal devices of a new ideologically-positioned narrative particularly on matters of conflicts of interest. The following patterns of MEMRI’s English translations of titles of the Arabic editorials on *Daesh* exemplify how the translation of titles is used to negotiate the original narratives.

For example, the title of the Arabic editorial¹⁰, is ‘لا بد من «عنوان آخر» و «أمن» للراغبين ‘ (there should be ‘another address’ and ‘security’ for the ones willing to fight in Syria). However, MEMRI’s English translation in Special Dispatch No. 5575¹¹ provides the title ‘*Saudi Journalist: The Notion of Jihad in Syria is not Wrong, but has been Twisted by Al-Qaeda*’. On the one hand, the Arabic title suggests that there are two problems faced by individuals that are seeking to fight in Syria. The suggested problems in the Arabic title are: (1) there is a need to replace the current guide (recruitment group) with another; and (2) the safety of these individuals should be guaranteed. On the other hand, the English title is completely at odds with the original. The author’s nationality ‘Saudi’—which only appears as a footnote at the end of the Arabic article—is added to the title of the English article. Furthermore, the Arabic title is interpreted in a different way than the one suggested in the source. The English title proposes that the *Saudi journalist*, as a representative of intellectual Arabs, Muslims, and more particularly the elite (Pro-USA), supports the civil war in Syria and encourages individuals to join it, as understood in ‘*is not wrong*’; in addition, it suggests that *Al-Qaeda* is misleading these individuals to its advantage, as understood in ‘*twisted*’. Significantly, ‘Al-Qaeda’ does not appear in the Arabic title and is only mentioned five times in a single paragraph of the six-paragraph article.

This framing by labelling in the translation of the article’s title signals a different narrative than of the source, thus leading the target audience to a framed interpretation of the text. Featuring ‘Al-Qaeda’ in the English title evokes and grants more weight to the meta-narrative of ‘Jihad and Terror’, to which MEMRI devotes a large fund under “The Jihad and Terrorism Project”. MEMRI’s narrative invites readers to believe that terrorism is a product, which is solely served and operated by Muslims based on Islamic teachings and that other beliefs, religions, races or individuality do not correlate to any terrorist behaviour and do not equate to acts of terror. To promote this narrative of terrorist Islam and Muslims, the Arabic word ‘جهاد’ [transliteration: *jihad*, translation: *fight*] is left without being translated in MEMRI’s English title. Nevertheless, as a Muslim and a native speaker of the Arabic language, the author argues that the Arabic ‘*jihad*’ in this context refers to ‘fighting’ since Muslims are fighting each other in Syria, and thus the notion of ‘*jihad*’ (based upon the theological meaning) does not fit in this case.

Another pattern is MEMRI’s translation in Special Dispatch No. 5718¹² of the titles of three Arabic editorials; ‘.. الجزية على المسيحي والقتل للمسلم’¹³ (Jizya on Christian and killing for Muslim..!), ‘¹⁴ داesh والجزية’ (Daesh and Jizya) and ‘¹⁵ هذا «الإسلام المسلح»: من أي تربة خرج؟؟’ (This ‘armed Islam’ from what soil [it] sprung??), into a single English title ‘*Jordanian Press Criticizes Extremism In Syria*’. MEMRI’s title signals to a completely different story than of the originals. While the first two Arabic titles discuss *Daesh*’s announcement of requesting Jizya (financial contributions) from non-Muslims who live under its control, the third title discusses the environment from which members of ‘Islamic’ armed groups in Syria are raised. However, MEMRI’s title indicates a general journalistic criticism on general extremism taking place in Syria. The first source article was published on the Jordanian’s *Al Rai* while the second and third articles were published on the Jordanian’s *Addustour*.

However, MEMRI's title generalises the opinion of the three source editorial articles from the two newspapers to "Jordanian Press" ignoring the fact that there are at least 19 Jordanian online newspapers with differing stances¹⁶. In addition, MEMRI's title generalises and summarises the current situation and daily life in the noun 'Extremism' which indicates that extremism is a norm in Syria. 'Extremism', in MEMRI's title, is vague. That is to say that the undefined noun refers to a general state rather than a specific aspect (requesting jizya from non-Muslims living under *Daesh's* controlled territories) as understood in the Arabic titles. Moreover, as Professor Adrienne Lehrer puts it: "many -ist/-ism terms can be used to insult." (1988, p. 182). She elaborated that:

"Thus the current new meaning of -ism is 'the unjust and unjustified belief of superiority of one group (of persons or things) and the corresponding inferiority of another group of other groups'. The connotation is decidedly negative in that the doctrine is to be judged pernicious and/or immoral. The meaning of -ist applies to anyone who holds the doctrine, and the -ist term is also negative and used as a term of reprobation." (p. 183)

In other words, the -ist and -ism terms are semantically-laden and serve as a function insulting/accusing of a group or an individual of 'superiority doctrine' which in turn lead to a rejection and conflict with the 'inferiors'. This argument of the negativity feature of the suffixes -ist and -ism is supported and discussed in Taboada et al. (2017) 'On Being Negative'. Moreover, in the case of 'extremism' "it was the whole word, not the suffix alone, that had the negative connotation at this earlier stage" (Lehrer 1988, p. 182). In addition, to support its narrative, MEMRI added a locative feature i.e. Syria to its title in order to evoke the image of the 'bloody conflict' in the readers' minds. The locative feature of Syria is not only absent in the Arabic titles, but also in the main text. The three Arabic editorials are chiefly concerned about the acts of *Daesh* rather than its geographical settings.

It is significant, therefore, that the MEMRI's translated titles are in a complete reframe than the originals. As Al-Sharif puts it "all the texts translated by MEMRI have different titles from their original" (2009, p. 77). It is also found that while all Arabic editorials employ titles (by definition), MEMRI makes use of the informative function of headlines. In other words, writers of Arabic editorials employ attractive titles seeking to trigger readers to read their full articles –literary genre-; however, MEMRI employs headlines that self-stand as a whole story and in turn do not attract readers. Arabic titles thus operate as signalling devices and follow a phrase structure; yet, MEMRI's titles summarise the full story and follow a sentence structure.

INTRODUCTIONS (PREFACES)

An introduction or a preface generally refers to the entry materials of a book or a lengthy article as in academia rather than editorials. According to the Chicago Manual Style Edition 16 (2010), an introduction is, more specifically, about the content of a book/article. It provides a brief on the covered subjects and it at times sets the terminological concepts that are used throughout the book/article. An introduction also discusses the way a book is read and used by general readers, teachers and students. However, a preface is about the work as a work (either a book or an article). It briefly explains the motives behind writing this work; the story of the work. Prefaces function as sites of the author's credibility establishment. For the purpose of this study, both introduction and preface refer to the text set before the main text and functions to "ensure that the text is read properly" (Genette 1987 & 1997, p. 197, emphasis in original). In Translation Studies, introductions and prefaces, among other paratextual materials, are useful additional introductory sites in the hands of the translators for reframing original narratives by guiding the reader's interpretation of the whole narrative

and repositioning “themselves, their readers and other participants in time and space” (Baker 2006, p. 133).

The norm of editorials is to begin the article with an introductory paragraph of a line or two to signal to the reader the discussion to come. In the current research data, all of the Arabic editorials have no special section for introductions/prefaces; rather, they are part of the main text. Only articles of interviews tend to discuss the content of the interview in its introductory paragraph. However, MEMRI allocates a special section generally of one or two paragraphs, but it can also be up to six paragraphs as in its Special Dispatch No. 5969 and up to eight as in its Special Dispatch No. 6124 to introduce the translation to come. For example, in its Special Dispatch No. 6288¹⁷, MEMRI introduced its translation of the Arabic editorial “هل فعلاً ليس للإرهاب دين”¹⁸ (Is terror really has no religion) with the following paragraph:

“In an article titled “Does Terror Truly Have No Religion?” in the pro-Iranian Iraqi newspaper Al-Akhbar, Iraqi journalist Fadel Boula came out against the claim, which is frequently heard in the Arab world and outside it, that the terror of the Islamic State (ISIS) and its ilk is completely unrelated to Islam. He pointed out that these terror organizations are motivated by an extremist Salafi ideology and claim that their atrocities represent Allah's will and directives”.

While the Arabic preface only indicates the publication date and the author’s name, MEMRI’s preface provides the title of the source article ““Does Terror Truly Have No Religion?””, the name of newspaper “Al-Akhbar” and its assumed affiliation “pro-Iranian”, its nationality “Iraqi newspaper”, the nationality of the author “Iraqi journalist”, his name “Fadel Boula”, the article summary “Iraqi journalist Fadel Boula came out against the claim, which is frequently heard in the Arab world and outside it, that the terror of the Islamic State (ISIS) and its ilk is completely unrelated to Islam.”, and the assumed main argument “He pointed out that these terror organizations are motivated by an extremist Salafi ideology and claim that their atrocities represent Allah's will and directives”. MEMRI’s preface reframes the original source text by adding supplementary information that does not exist in the original. It can be argued here that this insertion is ideologically laden as it carries information that has ideological values. It also repositioned the participants of the original narrative – the original and main author Fadel Boula becomes the subject of the translated text, while MEMRI becomes the author – rather than the translation agency - of the new text, and the readers of Fadel Boula become the readers of MEMRI, reading about Fadel Boula who is an Iraqi journalist at a pro-Iranian newspaper.

Another example that illustrates MEMRI’s reframing of the Arabic source text by preface addition is its Special Dispatch No. 5969¹⁹. In this Dispatch, MEMRI prefaces its English translation of a letter article of a Jordanian "Salafi-doctrine leader" Al-Maqdisi to the leader of *Daesh* about an exchange deal between the *Daesh*-prisoned Jordanian pilot Al-Kasasbeh with the Jordanian-prisoned *Daesh*-affiliated Al-Rishawi. The Arabic source article²⁰ prefaces the letter with the following two sentences.

السبيل - نشرت حسابات على مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي تابعة لسلفين جهاديين، اليوم السبت، رسالة قالوا إنها موجهة من منظر التيار السلفي الجهادي عصام البرقاوي الملقب بابي محمد المقدسي الى "أمير" تنظيم الدولة ابو بكر البغدادي.

[Literal translation: Al-Sabil – Some accounts on social networking sites that belong to the Salafi-doctrine fighters published, today Saturday, a letter that they said it was directed by the Salafi-doctrine fighting stream theorist Isam Al-Barqawi nicknamed Abo Muhammad Al-Maqdisi, to the "Emir" (leader) of the state organisation Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi.]

وبحسب الرسالة، التي يتضح انها ارسلت اثناء مفاوضات الاردن مع التنظيم للافراج عن الطيار معاذ الكساسبة، طالب المقدسي من البغدادي مبادلة الطيار بالسجينة ساجدة الريشاوي

[Literal translation: According to the letter, which seems to have been sent during Jordan's negotiations with the organisation to release the pilot Muath Al-Kasasbeh, Al-Maqdisi asked Al-Baghdadi to exchange the pilot with the prisoner Sajida Al-Rishawi.]

However, MEMRI's preface is of six paragraphs. The first paragraph is an addition – it does not exist in the original preface either explicitly or implicitly - that introduces the current efforts made by the Jordanian authorities to incite the public opinion against *Daesh* after its execution of the Jordanian pilot by setting free the anti-*Daesh* "Islamic thinker" Al-Maqdisi. The second paragraph cites an interview of Al-Maqdisi elsewhere with Jordan state television channel. In the interview, according to MEMRI's narrative, Al-Maqdisi criticises *Daesh* of burning Al-Kasasbeh to death and willingly losing the opportunity to free Al-Rishawi from the Jordanian prison. The third paragraph begins with "*It should be noted*", a signal to readers that the following is serious and should be taken into account in the process of interpreting this narrative, citing four of its reports and a Twitter account. The fourth paragraph discusses the settings of the translated letter adding information that does not appear in the Arabic source article such as the timing factor of releasing the letter "*After his release, a Jordanian daily published a letter*" as another support to MEMRI's elaborating narrative. The fifth paragraph outlines the main arguments of the Al-Maqdisi's letter to Al-Baghdadi. The sixth paragraph emphasises the first paragraph by rephrasing it. Both the first and the sixth paragraphs are MEMRI's own analysis and interpretation of the reasons behind releasing the letter to the media thus the public "*The publication of the letter can be viewed as...*". It is found that MEMRI replaced the original preface to the letter by inserting its own ideologically-laden analysis and interpretation of such.

Therefore, by means of adding introductions to its translations, MEMRI's framing recontextualizes the Arabic narratives under study thus signals to different interpretations than of the sources. Conflicting political public narratives of the 'extremist Salafi ideology', 'Salafi-jihadi stream', and 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, ISIS', as MEMRI labels and presents them in its introductions, defining MEMRI's institutional political position in the advantage of the 'War on Terror' narrative that in turn reframe and re-embed the Arabic narratives on *Daesh* in a wider political context (Baker 2010). The offered preface furthers explicitly the ideological frame established through the text (Winters 2017).

HEADINGS: IN-TEXT TITLES

Headings within the body of the text, in-text titles, intertitles or internal titles, are titles that make more sense to the involved reader rather than the table of content browser. In contrast to the main title, a heading is by no means an absolute requirement, at least to the existence of the text. Headings, therefore, are paratextual material employed by the author in order to thematically divide a text into sections for better readings. A unitary text thus contains no headings. In other words, in collections of texts, a heading is a necessity "for in these works their absence could easily cause the text to be mistaken at first for one continuous narrative" (Genette 1987 & 1997, p. 297). However, in a unitary work, a heading is avoided. In Translation Studies, the addition of headings (intertitles, as Genette 1987 & 1997 prefers to call them) is significant paratextual framing device (Baker 2006).

In this regard, MEMRI extensively utilises the addition of headings in its translations to grant coherence to its narrative as well as to create a strong link among its different components, directing the reader to its intended reading. MEMRI's addition of headings is of two main types. The first type is the addition of headings in its translation of several articles. In this case, MEMRI adds a heading to the translations of every article included. This heading which serves as the title of the translated article follows MEMRI's practice of translating titles as explained in section *Titles*. The second type of addition of headings is

MEMRI's addition of headings in its translation of a single original article that has no headings.

MEMRI's Special Dispatch No. 5911²¹ exemplifies the first type of addition of headings as follows. In this Special Dispatch, MEMRI compiles the translations of six Arabic original articles, each translated article was preceded by a heading and the whole text was given a title. The headings are as follows (bold type is reproduced from the original):

1. **Saudi Columnist: ISIS Fighters Are Mercenaries Of The U.S. Who Serve U.S. Aims**
2. **Article On Saudi Website: U.S. Created ISIS To Harm Sunnis And Ensure Flow Of Oil To The West**
3. **Saudi Writer: ISIS's Creation Aimed At Shifting International Terror Threat From U.S. To Iraq**
4. **Saudi Journalist: Even If ISIS Is A Foreign Plot, Fighting It Is Up To Us**
5. **Former Iraqi Ambassador To U.S.: The Claim That The U.S. Established ISIS Is Patently False**
6. **Saudi Columnist: We, Not The U.S., Created ISIS**

Examining MEMRI's narrative as presented in its headings which differ from the chronological order of the original articles, reveals an ideologically laden narrative. It suggests that the Saudi media earlier claimed that *Daesh* is a US product as in "U.S. Created ISIS" is now proven wrong by other Saudi journalists and that *Daesh* as a 'terror group' is an Islamic and Arabian product as understood in the last headings "We, Not The U.S., Created ISIS". MEMRI's six headings are suggested to correspond to the Arabic articles' titles which are:

1. "من صنع داعش؟!"²² (Who made Daesh?!)
2. "هل أن داعش صناعة أميركية بامتياز؟!"²³ (Is that Daesh an American made with distinction?!)
3. "هل داعش صناعة أميركية؟!"²⁴ (Is Daesh an American made?!)
4. "حان الوقت لدحر الأمريكان!"²⁵ (It is time to defeat the Americans)
5. "صناعة الكذب: أميركا أسست «داعش»!"²⁶ (The industry of lies: America established «Daesh»!)
6. "داعش «ليست «كوكا كولا»!"²⁷ (Daesh is not Coca Cola)

The Arabic narrative presented in the six titles suggests that Saudi media is merely questioning the possibility of *Daesh* being a US product. It does not offer any claims as suggested in MEMRI's headings. The Arabic titles come in a question form which invites the reader to read the article to find the answer. In contrast, MEMRI's headings come in a statement form that provides framed answers to the Arabic titles thus discourage the reader to read the full text.

Another example that illustrates this type of MEMRI's addition of headings is its Special Dispatch No. 5872. In this Dispatch entitled "Senior Saudi Salafi Cleric: 'ISIS Is A True Product Of Salafism'", MEMRI compiles the translations of two Arabic articles: "هل الإرهاب نبتة سلفية؟" (Is terror an ancestral plant?) and "سلاسل الماضي" (Past chains), which do not have any headings, of the same author Sheikh Aadel Al-Kalbani. In addition to the main title, MEMRI offers two headings in which each precedes the translation of one Arabic source article, as follows (bold type is reproduced from the original):

1. **"ISIS Is A True Product Of Salafism And We Must Deal With It With Full Transparency"**
2. **"We Remain Trapped In The Dungeons Of The Very Distant Past"; We Should "Rely On The Past As A Foundation" For Building The Present And Future, Not Destroying Them**

The narrative elaborated in MEMRI's added headings suggests two thoughts. The first is that *Daesh* –ISIS– is a creation of Salafism – with the negative –ism– as in "ISIS Is A True Product Of Salafism". *Daesh*, nevertheless, is not spelled-out in any of the two Arabic source texts. It is noticed that MEMRI uses direct quotes as its headings. However, the first direct quote represented in the first heading does not exist in the source text and that it grants a negative reference to Islam and Muslims. In this regard, Al-Sharif explains:

“Direct quotes are a particularly persuasive device that is widely used in the media to give the impression that the narrator [media outlet, or in this case MEMRI] is reliable. MEMRI highlights the 'extremism' of Arab intellectuals by using [negative] quotes attributed to them as headings for selected excerpts.” (2009 p. 195)

The other suggested thought in MEMRI’s narrative is that Muslims have to make a good use of their past in building a ‘better’ present and future. The second direct quote represented in MEMRI’s second heading exists largely in the Arabic source text and that it grants a positive statement to Islam and Muslims. In this regard, Al-Sharif argues that this is a typical pattern where MEMRI is concerned as it often includes “minor positive references here and there to indicate that its coverage is balanced. The cosmetic, occasional, one-off positive narration of some aspect of the Arab World serves as the exception that proves the rule.” (2009, p. 195).

IMAGES AND CAPTIONS

In our contemporary times, images have become essential to document events and to illustrate and summarise ideas and texts. Images grant more power on the public opinion and become an effective persuasive device of communications across languages. The selected images appear in media news participate largely in shaping the audience’s response to a news story. As Bill Nicholas puts it:

“[i]mages... contribute to our sense of who we are and to our everyday engagement with the world around us. What these signs never announce is that they are most fundamentally the *signifiers of ideology*.... After all, seeing is believing, and how we see ourselves and the world around us is often how we believe ourselves and the world to be.” (1981, p. 3, cited in Silverblatt et al. 2015, p. 68, emphasis added)

Images represent the existing state of illustrated particularities in a given time rather than a dynamic narrative as suggested by the media. In other words, “photos only capture an instant, which may not represent the reality occurring before and after the shot was taken.” (Silverblatt 2013, p. 220). Images’ interpretation is, therefore, framed which in turn may distort and/or eliminate significant elements in a narrative thus manipulates its understanding.

In Translation Studies, images including maps, cartoons and pictures and their captions are considered as active visual framing devices (Kim 2017). For example, while the Arabic source authors of the narratives under study do not insert any images/photos in their articles except their profile photos in some cases, MEMRI extensively inserts images and photos in its translations of these articles. MEMRI’s Special Dispatch No. 5575 illustrates clearly how MEMRI employs images as one of its framing devices in series. In this Dispatch, MEMRI, after its preface and before its translation, adds two photos of the author taken from sources elsewhere since the original article does not have any images. Below are the two added photos by MEMRI:



Jamal Khashoggi (image: Esharh.net, June 20, 2009)



Khashoggi in Afghanistan in 1989 (image: Sabq, Saudi Arabia, July 23, 2009)

While the first photo was, seemingly, taken recently and shows the author in his Saudi traditional costume illustrating a typical Saudi intellectual character, the second photo was taken in 1989 as stated in MEMRI’s caption “*Khashoggi in Afghanistan in 1989*” illustrating a fighter –Jihadi, in MEMRI’s term- with a Kalashnikov which reflects MEMRI’s intended

framed interpretation, as discussed earlier in its framing of the title, that the author as representative of Saudi intellectuals is not only supporting ‘terrorism’ but also participating in it. In inserting these two photos, MEMRI employs the narrativity features of temporality and spatiality to suggest certain meanings to its order of photos and to establish a connection between the author’s past [background] and present [ideas and thoughts]. The author’s photo with Kalashnikov which MEMRI states that it was taken in Afghanistan does not show the author in any military conflict site either in Afghanistan or elsewhere which leads one to question the reliability of the photo and its caption that may go unnoticed to the reader.

MEMRI’s Special Dispatch No. 5718 is another example that explains how MEMRI makes use of added images to frame the Arabic narratives under study. In elaborating its framed narrative represented in its framed title and preface as discussed earlier, MEMRI inserts the following image with its caption:



Al-Raqqa church used by ISIS as its headquarters (Image: Al-Quds AL-Arabi, London, December 3, 2013)

The added image shows a building written on the right side of its front wall: “The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria” and “The Office of Call, Al-Raqqa State” on its left side. This added image does not appear in any of the three Arabic articles that were translated in this Dispatch. Instead, each source article includes only a photo of its author. The caption of MEMRI’s added image “*Al-Raqqa church used by ISIS as its headquarters*” comes to elaborate its narrative of negative image of Muslims who are represented by *Daesh* that took a place of worship like a Church away from Christians in order to use it as an office for its call [to Islam]. This, in turn, encourages the hate of Christians against Muslims worldwide and suggests similar reactions by Christians, that is to say, to attack Muslims Mosques. The intended value-laden interpretation of this image and its caption serves strongly its framed translations to come that suggest an injustice situation of Christians committed by *Daesh* by imposing ‘poll-tax’ – rather than Jyzia.

The images added in the paratext of MEMRI’s translations function to undermine the Arabic public narratives of distinct cultures. This conclusion is exhaustively discussed in Baker (2006, 2010) and Al-Sharif (2009). Similarly, Al-Herthani argues that “[t]hus, images constitute an important paratextual device that can be employed by translators and/or mediators to locate a text within a specific narrative. The importance of images in translated texts lies in their ability to frame the target text, and to orient the process of reading before it starts.” (2009, p. 64).

ENDNOTES AND GLOSSARIES

Endnotes, footnotes and glossaries are paratextual materials that allow the author to further explain and support his argument in order to ensure the audience understanding as intended. These materials are usually placed at the end of the page and called footnotes, or at the end of the document and called endnotes or glossaries. They usually offer ‘framed’ definitions and links to materials outside the immediate text to support their point of view. In Translation Studies, endnotes, footnotes and glossaries give voice to translators and translation agencies by allocating a space where they can comment and express their views on the topic under

translation (Baker 2006). Translators and translation agencies, therefore, either support or challenge the source narrative. Providing links to original sources is a persuasive tool and a trust-gainer device. MEMRI, however, does not provide links to the original texts which in turn questions its creditability. Rather, it provides links to other materials elsewhere. In translating works of professional writers as in the case of the Arabic editorials under study, MEMRI's addition of paratextual materials including endnotes prevents the fluency of reading as Karamcheti elaborates on the effect of endnotes as follows:

"If readers wish to know that fuller explanation immediately, they must turn to the endnotes, surely a more disrupting interpolation than footnotes. If readers choose the "fluent" reading offered by this translation, they can read without knowledge, for the sound or for the contextual sense. Thus, this particular translation offers either the fluent reading or the stumbling one, the reading with cognitive holes. (1995, p. 191)...By setting up alternative ways of speaking, of telling the story on the same page, excessive translation distances the reader from the narrative, focusing instead on the fact of translation." (1995, p. 192)

While the Arabic editorials tend not to have any endnotes or glossaries other than the authors' names and designations, MEMRI's translations are full of endnotes. MEMRI's endnotes can reach up to 15 as in its Special Dispatch No. 6124 where only five endnotes cite the original sources and ten cite sources elsewhere. MEMRI's endnotes include links to sources elsewhere including to its own other articles, the publisher's name and country and the publishing date of the source texts, definitions of terms and concepts, its own ideologically-framed interpretations/comments of a narrative, and additional information on the source narrative either by citing sources elsewhere, or otherwise.

For example, in MEMRI's Special Dispatches No. 6221 and No. 5872, the Arabic indefinite word 'خوارج' (transliteration: khawarij, translation: outliers/rebel) was left without translation but the definition article 'the' was added in its endnote in an Englishnization attempt. MEMRI endnotes 'khawarij' in the first Dispatch as "*The Khawarij broke away from the forces of Caliph 'Ali bin Abu Taleb and formed Islam's first religious opposition group.*" and as "*Derogatory term referring to a rebel cult in early Islam that split off from the army of Ali ibn Abi Talib at the Battle of Siffin in 657.*" (Italics added) in its second Dispatch. In its endnotes, MEMRI defines the Arabic 'khawarij' as a group of armed Muslims who have shared religious beliefs that oppose the 'traditional school of Islam'. This group, according to MEMRI's narrative, was formed at the time of Caliph Ali bin Taleb. The Arabic 'khawarij', however, was used differently across time, according to Awaji (2001, Chapter three: a Study on Outliers), (1) at the time of Prophet Muhammad: it was called after an individual Muslim who refused to obey the Prophet's directions, (2) at the time of Caliph Othman bin Affan: some Muslims attempted to kill the Caliph and steal his money, (3) at the time of Caliph Ali bin Taleb: it was called after some Muslim who disagreed with the Caliph, (4) after the time of Caliph Ali bin Taleb to the end of the Ottomani Caliphate: it is called after any Muslim or group of Muslims who ideologically disagree with the ruler of the Muslim Caliphate, and (5) in the contemporary time: it is called after any individual or group of Muslims who oppose the government and not necessary having shared ideological beliefs – i.e. the opposition. The Arabic 'khawarij', therefore, is used to describe individual acts of some Muslims rather than a doctrine. MEMRI, however, uses this word in order to insert its sectarian agenda that categorises Muslims and divides them into groups which in turn promotes hate among Muslims and reflects a negative image on Muslims in the West eyes.

Examples of MEMRI's endnote citing sources elsewhere including its own are found in its Special Dispatches No. 5969, 6144, 5872, 5896 and 5718. The most significant and interesting example is MEMRI's own 'framed' interpretation added in its endnote number 5 of Special Dispatch No. 5969 "*Al-Maqdisi deliberately refrains from using the name "Islamic*

State" or the title "Caliph" in addressing Al-Baghdadi. This underscores that he views the Islamic State as an organization rather than an actual caliphate." (Italics added). While the Arabic source article does not provide such 'direct' interpretation, MEMRI's ideologically-framed interpretation may or may not be accurate. Rather, it is meant to direct the reader's interpretation of the narrative under translation by signalling that Al-Maqdisi does not acknowledge 'Al-Baghdadi' and his 'State' which reflects more conflict.

MEMRI also adds further information on topics and persons in its endnotes without relying on any source as in its Special Dispatches No. 5896, 6144 and 5575 where MEMRI defines *Daesh* as follows:

"ISIS is the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria – an organization established in April 2013 when the head of the Al-Qaeda affiliate Islamic State of Iraq, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, announced that his organization was expanding its activity to Syria. The organization champions extremist Salafi ideology and global jihad. It has established itself as one of the most powerful and influential forces in Syria thanks to thousands of foreign fighters who have joined its ranks. It sees itself as the nucleus of the future caliphate and insists that all fighters and organizations in Syria come together under the leadership of Al-Baghdadi, whom they consider the legitimate leader of the entire Muslim nation."

The above definition illustrates MEMRI's ideological framing of the Arabic narratives on *Daesh*. Firstly, it does not cite any source of information – the definition, thus, its own. Secondly, it does not indicate the original Arabic name '*Daesh*' which was used by the author of the source text. Thirdly, it evokes the negative meta-narrative of 'jihad and terrorism' as presented in its association "*the Al-Qaeda affiliate Islamic State of Iraq*" and "*extremist Salafi ideology and global jihad*". Fourthly, and most importantly, is MEMRI's association between *Daesh* and Islam to distort the image of Islam as in its "*ISIS is the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria*" and "*the legitimate leader of the entire Muslim nation*".

It is clear from the above examples that endnotes are strategically used in MEMRI's English translations of the Arabic editorials on *Daesh*. These endnotes are effective tools at the paratextual framing level by means of adding value laden information and definitions (Kim 2017). This means that endnotes ideologically recontextualize the original narratives thus affecting the reading experience as Kovala explains: "it is this context that determines possible modes of reading — including the resisting ones — even though this influence can only be detected from a distance" (1996, p. 141).

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we explained the notion of 'paratextual framing' and its significant function as a configuration set by the translator for his/her translations or part of in order to reconstruct the original narratives thus directing their interpretations. In other words, paratextual framing plays a vital role in signalling relations and negotiating interpretations as we illustrated under the sub-headings: titles, introductions (prefaces), headings and subtitles, images and captions, and endnotes and glossaries. Paratextual framing is then an effective device applied by MEMRI in subliminally undermining the current narratives on *Daesh* and inserting its own perspective in this regard.

The implication of this research may realise in the awareness of the policymakers and the public of the significant role of paratextual materials in reframing the original narratives which trigger different interpretations. We would point out that the insertions in MEMRI's translations are political and ideologically-laden, and that they present a reconstructed reality that differs from the source materials.

This paper focused mainly on the paratextual analysis; therefore, textual and contextual analyses are suggested for further studies on translations of conflict narratives.

Future research on paratextual framing in translation may look at the way ideology explicitly and implicitly plays a role in defining the translator's position and ensuring its presence in the paratext.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ <http://theglobalcoalition.org/en/home/> [accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ² <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/08/world/isis-fast-facts/> [updated on 17 April 2017, accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28082962> [published on 20 June 2014, accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ⁴ https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/03/25/world/map-isis-attacks-around-the-world.html?_r=0 [published on 16 July 2016, accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ⁵ <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/693421/Terror-attacks-timeline-France-Brussels-Europe-ISIS-killings-Germany-dates-terrorism> [published on 21 April 2017, accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ⁶ <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2015/07/sorry-but-you-cant-take-the-islam-out-of-islamic-state/#> [published on 4 July 2015, accessed on 3 May 2017]
- ⁷ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/narrative> [accessed on 18 June 2016]
- ⁸ <https://www.memri.org/>
- ⁹ <https://www.memri.org/categories/special-dispatch>
- ¹⁰ <http://www.alhayat.com/Details/574763> (published on 22 November 2013, accessed on 25 December 2015)
- ¹¹ <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/7690.htm> (published on 24 November 2013, accessed on 25 December 2015)
- ¹² <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/7945.htm> (published on 22 April 2014, accessed on 24 December 2015)
- ¹³ <http://www.alrai.com/article/635318.html> (published on 5 March 2014, accessed on 24 December 2015)
- ¹⁴ <http://www.addustour.com/17145/%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B4+%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%A9.html> (published on 5 March 2014, accessed on 24 December 2015)
- ¹⁵ <http://www.addustour.com/17144/%D9%87%D8%B0%D8%A7+%C2%AB%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%AD%C2%BB+%3A+%D9%85%D9%86+%D8%A3%D9%8A+%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A9+%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%AC+%D8%9F%D8%9F.html> (published on 4 March 2014, accessed on 24 December 2015)
- ¹⁶ <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/jordan.htm> [Last access 9 March 2016]
- ¹⁷ <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8344.htm> [published on 1 February 2016, accessed on 2 February 2016]
- ¹⁸ <http://www.akhbaar.org/home/2015/11/201614.html> [published on 18 November 2015, accessed on 2 February 2016]
- ¹⁹ <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8443.htm> [published on 19 February 2015, accessed on 29 December 2015]
- ²⁰ <http://www.assabeel.net/local/item/90462-%D9%86%D8%B5-%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%B3%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%8A-%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A8%D8%A9> [published on 7 February 2015, accessed on 29 December 2015]
- ²¹ <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8344.htm> [published on 22 December 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²² <http://www.al-madina.com/node/541805> [published on 29 June 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²³ <http://elaph.com/Web/opinion/2014/6/918077.html> [published on 28 June 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²⁴ <http://www.al-madina.com/node/555748> [published on 8 September 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²⁵ <http://www.alriyadh.com/991227> [published on 5 November 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²⁶ <http://www.alhayat.com/Opinion/Writers/4098171/%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%B0%D8%A8--%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A7-%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%B3%D8%AA-%C2%AB%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B4%C2%BB> [published on 13 August 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]
- ²⁷ <http://aawsat.com/home/article/229656/%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%84-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%87%D8%B2%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A/%C2%AB%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B9>

[%D8%B4%C2%BB-%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%B3%D8%AA-%C2%AB%D9%83%D9%88%D9%83%D8%A7-%D9%83%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A7%C2%BB](#) [published on 25 November 2014, accessed on 13 April 2016]

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