



The War-Zone Consequences of the Deformed Linguistic Image: Iraqi Simultaneous Interpreters during the US-led Invasion

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Abstract

Iraqi interpreters have played a very vital role in facilitating communication between the coalition forces and local people since the US-led war in 2003. There was, however, a tendency among the locals to view them as collaborators, traitors, or spies: many were killed and many others whose life remained under serious threat by insurgents belonging to different political or sectarian groups. Disloyalty to the homeland, therefore, has been their defining attribution. Such attribution has cast its shadow over translators as well, though only a few have worked with the coalition onsite, in camps or military bases. The reason that lies behind this stereotypical attribution is solely linguistic. To the Arab world novice people, for the profession and concept of an interpreter seems new as both a translator and an interpreter are referred to by Iraqis as 'مترجم' (mutarjim). The distinction between the two remain lexical via the post-modification elements 'تحريري' and 'شفوي' that characterize the medium written versus oral. Iraqi Print media have actively participated in glossing such linguistically deformed professional image of the translators, as news and reports typically overlooked the terminological distinction. Inspired by Charles Sanders Peirce's (1958) theory of signs, Eleanor Rosch's (2002) prototype theory, and Mona Baker's (2005;2006) initiative of narrative theory in translation studies, the present paper investigates the roots, means, and possible consequences of this misconception throughout the analysis of miscellaneous national and international newspaper materials released during the US-led invasion. It has been found that local media have energetically engaged in darkening the boundaries between the two professions.

Keywords: Translators and Interpreters, the Semiotics of Sign, Prototype Theory, Narrative Theory Al-Mada, and Al-Akhbaar Newspapers

عواقب منطقة الحرب على الصورة اللغوية المشوهة: المترجمون الغوريون العراقيون أثناء الغزو
الذي قاده الولايات المتحدة

المستخلص

لقد لعب المترجمون الشفويون دورًا حيويًا للغاية في تسهيل التواصل بين قوات التحالف والشعب العراقي بعد الحرب التي قادتتها الولايات المتحدة في عام ٢٠٠٣. ولكن كان هناك ميل بين السكان المحليين لاعتبار هؤلاء المترجمين متعاونين أو خونة أو جواسيس. وهذا هو السبب وراء تعرض العديد منهم للتهديد أو الهجوم من قبل المتمردين المنتمين إلى مجموعات سياسية أو طائفية مختلفة. لذلك كان عدم الولاء للوطن هو السمة المميزة لسلوك المترجمي الشفويين العراقيين. وقد ألقى هذا الانطباع بظلاله على المترجمين التحريريين ايضا، رغم أن القليل منهم فقط عمل مع التحالف في المعسكرات أو القواعد البعيدة.

والسبب وراء هذا التشويه لغوي بحت، حيث يشير العراقيون إلى المترجم التحريري والمترجم الشفوي باستخدام كلمة مترجم فقط، على الرغم من أن اللغة العربية توفر المضافات مثل "تحريري" و "شفوي" لتمييز المخرجات المكتوبة عن المخرجات الشفوية.

ساهمت وسائل الإعلام العراقية بفاعلية في تشويه الصورة المهنية للمترجمين التحريريين، حيث أغفلت أخبارها وتقاريرها التمييز الاصطلاحي.

بالاعتماد على نظرية الإشارة لتشارلز ساندرز بيرس (١٩٥٨)، ونظرية النموذج الأولي لإليانور روش (٢٠٠٢)، ومبادرة منى بيكر (٢٠٠٥؛ ٢٠٠٦) حول السردية في دراسات الترجمة، تبحث هذه الورقة عن جذور ووسائل والتأثيرات المحتملة لهذا الفهم الخاطئ من خلال تحليل مختلف المواد الصحفية في وسائل الاعلام المحلية والدولية التي صدرت أثناء الغزو. وتقع ضمن مجال علم اجتماع الترجمة. وقد وجد أن وسائل الإعلام المحلية قد شاركت بفاعلية في طمس الحدود بين المهنيين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المترجمون التحريريون والشفويون، سيمائية الإشارة، نظرية النموذج الأولي، النظرية السردية، جريدتي المدى والأخبار

1. Introduction

Though translation and interpreting are concerned with transforming messages from one language into another, they are two different fields with distinct processes under various work conditions and require certain skills. This independence is linguistically manifested in the terminological repertoire of many languages, such as in the English words 'translator' vs. 'interpreter' and their Arabic equivalents 'مترجم' (mutarjim) vs. 'ترجمان' (turjaman) or 'مترجم تحريري' (mutarjim tahriri) vs. 'مترجم شفوي' (mutarjim shafawi). A common misconception in Arabic, generated of course by the extended prototypical reference, it happens that they refer to both 'translator' and interpreter' as 'مترجم' (mutarjim). In war zones, Iraq in particular, this misconception has led to serious consequences, such as alienating translators and posed a threat to their lives. Intellectuals and independent institutions should have played a constructive role in clarifying the distinction between the two fields. Unfortunately, this has never happened as media, for instance, has directly and indirectly been involved in strengthening the misapprehension leading to the circulation of aggressive narratives against translators.

2. Theoretical Background

To Clarify the sources of the misconception that accompanies the use of the two words 'translator' and 'interpreter' and their Arabic equivalents, Peirce's (1958:232) semiotic elaboration on the nature of the sign is crucial:

I define a Sign as anything which on the one hand is so determined by an Object and on the other hand so determines an idea in a person's mind, that the latter determination, which I term the Interpretant of the sign, is thereby mediately determined by that Object. A sign, therefore, has a triadic relation to its Object and to its Interpretant.

There are, therefore, three interrelated components of the sign; the signifier, *its object, and its interpretant*. Among these, the interpretant is the most dynamic and problematic because the bond between the two (object and

signifier) associated with a certain sign may vary from one person to another based on different socio-political factors.

In the context of the English-speaking world, the word 'translator' denotes someone capable of bridging linguistic and cultural gaps, i.e., bilingual/multilingual and bicultural/ multicultural mediator using the written form of the two languages. The idea that this sign evokes is a person's dependence on the written mode of language to transfer messages. Similarly, the word 'interpreter' refers to a bilingual/multilingual and bicultural/ multicultural mediator whose reliance is typically on the oral form of language.

In the professional context of translation in Arabic, the signs used to stand for 'translator' and 'interpreter' should be 'مترجم تحريري' and 'مترجم شفوي' as two distinct subcategories. However, the boundaries that separate the two categories intended to label the two domains of the profession are obscured as the sign 'مترجم' is used to refer to a 'translator' and an 'interpreter'. Occasionally, the English sign 'translator' and the Arabic sign 'مترجم' may be used as 'typical representatives' of the two categories or as prototypes, where prototypes mean 'the clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people's judgments of goodness of membership in the category' (Rosch, 2002:259). The choice of these prototypes is based on a structural principle called family resemblance: 'a family resemblance relationship consists of a set of items of the form AB, BC, CD, DE. That is, each item has at least one, and probably several, elements in common with one or more other items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items' (Rosch and Mervis, 1975: 575). Hence, the use of the words 'translator' or 'مترجم' to resemble a family is recognizable in many aspects. For instance, many interpreters are members of translators' associations or 'جمعيات المترجمين'. Likewise, in academic departments of translation, or 'اقسام الترجمة', trainees are required to study and pass not only translation courses but also one or more interpreting ones. When moving to particularities, however, the application of prototype theory and family resemblance is no more workable. A distinction has to be made to specify features and related dimensions. That is why in English we have separate words referring to the different kinds of translators (e.g., literary and legal)

and interpreters (e.g., sight, consecutive, and simultaneous). In Iraq, as will be detailed below, no distinction is offered to the above kinds. This could be attributed to the socio-political circumstances under which Iraqis have lived.

The history of translation and interpreting in Iraq is peculiar. Iraqis have lived under a totalitarian regime for almost forty years. Interaction with the members of the international community visiting Iraq was restricted to authorized personnel who have always been monitored. Interpreting in all its forms was an unfamiliar profession as internationals were allowed to communicate with the people only through government-recruited/ monitored interpreters. The status quo of translation was slightly prominent. However, any translation activity has to obtain the official approval of the Ministry of Culture and Media. Censorship was strongly employed to filter any ethnic, social, and political aspect that might threaten the dominance of the ruling party. Consequently, such lack of knowledge in making the distinction between the two professions has led Iraqis to attach the transference of utterances and texts to the 'المترجم' (translator) who is physically more apparent in many aspects such as everyday life, academia, and media and used by experts as a prototype. That is to say, Iraqis as interpretants have in mind that this particular sign refers to the one responsible for rendering both oral and written messages. Such misconception has gradually entered and dominated media coverage of incidents taking place after the 2003 US-led invasion.

3. The Role of Media in Image Deformation

Media plays a very influential role in linguistically shaping and deforming the professional image of different personnel and institutions as it is endowed with the 'symbolic and persuasive power' that enables to 'control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions' (Van Dijk, 1995:10). It achieves such a task by presenting the narratives, or the 'public and personal stories' (Baker, 2005:4) in news according to certain frames, i.e., the 'structures of anticipation, strategic moves that are consciously initiated to present a narrative in a certain light' (Baker, 2006:167). Hence, social actors in the media 'participate in very decisive ways in promoting and circulating narratives and discourses of various types. Some promote peace, others fuel conflicts, subjugate entire populations; kill

millions' (Baker, 2005:12). They do so by relying on an 'evaluative criterion', also a 'feature of reframed narrativity', called selective appropriation (Somers and Gibson, 1994:27). Selective appropriation is mainly attained by drawing on 'practically linguistic and non-linguistic resources' (Baker, 2006:111) that try to render 'understanding only by connecting (however unstably) parts to a constructed configuration or a social network (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices' (Somers and Gibson, 1994:28).

Coalition-employed Iraqi interpreters accompanied the military forces patrolling and raiding civilian areas and actively participated in interrogating people in checkpoints and detention centres. Although their identities have been concealed through wearing masks as can be seen in the pictures (1-4) below, the locals never liked them as they have perceived them as collaborators and traitors. This perception has consequently shifted into a dominant public narrative that guided the local's actions, as many interpreters and 'their families faced threats, abduction, and even death' (El-Metwally: 2018). Influenced by sociopolitical constraints of the conflict, local media tend to consciously or unconsciously adopt this narrative and reflect to its audience (Baker, 2010:206). The currency of this public narrative has taken part in linguistically deforming the professional image of Iraqi translators as a result of the inaccurate adoption of prototype theory hinted above. In local media's coverage of interpreter-related issues, no distinction has been made between 'المترجم التحريري' (translator) and 'المترجم الشفوي' (interpreter), because readers, listeners, and viewers are accustomed to receiving the word 'مترجم' alone. That is why all accusations of disloyalty and spy attached to interpreters have cast their suspicious shadow over translators in Iraq.



Picture (1) 'An Iraqi interpreter, middle right, who works for Titan Corp. helps an American soldier, far right, inspect a man's identity papers while

an Iraqi soldier, left, looks on at a checkpoint near Baqouba, 35 miles northeast of Baghdad' (adopted from Krane, 2005).



Picture (2) 'An Iraqi interpreter wears a mask to conceal his identity while he assists a soldier delivering an invitation to an Imam for a meeting with an American colonel' (adopted from Packer, 2007).



Picture (3) An Iraqi interpreter, right, helps an American soldier, left, interrogates a farmer in a village, northwest of Baghdad (adopted from Mustafa, 2011)



Picture (4) An Iraqi interpreter wears a mask to conceal his identity while he accompanies an American division inspecting local areas (adopted from Warden, 2008).

One obvious example related to the present context is the media coverage of the abduction of an American journalist and her interpreter in Baghdad in 2006. Two different press organizations have taken the same news item and presented it differently to their audience. What is interesting though is the impact of language each has used to reflect the same story. As we read the

English news item covered by the CNN on January 10, 2006, we understand that the journalist was accompanied by an interpreter, not a translator:

American journalist abducted in Iraq

BAGHDAD, Iraq (CNN) - A freelance writer on assignment for The Christian Science Monitor was kidnapped Saturday in western Baghdad, and her Iraqi interpreter was killed, the newspaper said Monday [...] The interpreter, Allan Enwiyah, 32, was found dead nearby, shot twice in the head, the newspaper said, citing law enforcement officials.

On the other hand, an examination of the Arabic version presented in the Iraqi independent newspaper *Al-Akhbar* (i.e. *The News*) on January 7, 2006 shows that there is no terminological reference to ‘مترجم شفوي’ (i.e. interpreter) in the entire news.

اختطاف صحفية امريكية وقتل مترجمها

بغداد "تينا" - افادت مصادر في الشرطة العراقية ان مسلحين مجهولين قاموا بالهجوم على سيارة صحفية امريكية واختطفوها وقتلوا مترجمها. وقال مصدر في الشرطة العراقية رفض الكشف عن هويته: "ان مسلحين مجهولين اعترضوا السيارة التي تستقلها الصحفية الامريكية/جيل كروني/ التي تعمل في صحيفة/كريستيان ساينس مونتيرو/ومترجمها قبل ظهر اليوم السبت في حي العدل - شارع القادة". واذاف: "ان المسلحين قتلوا المترجم الذي يرافق الصحفية واقتادوها الى جهة مجهولة".

There is no doubt that the two versions are conveying the same story, but the difference lies in the terminological selection, or signs, used in reporting in Arabic. The immediate query that comes to an interested reader's mind is 'why does this variation take place?' Fairclough (1995:91) underlines this kind of variation, as he suggests that the news consists of two main facets, 'the actual *story*, a basic, chronologically ordered series of events including the participants (or 'actants') involved in them; and the *presentation*, the way which the story is realized and organized as a particular text (italics are original)'. Media organizations, like the two above, may depend on the same story, but the difference lies in the presentation or the signs used in reporting this story. This aspect will be investigated in detail below.

4. Data Analysis

The research data examined here come from two equally important sources. The first is the translation- and interpreting-related news items presented in

two well-known Iraqi independent newspapers, *Al-Mada* (<https://almadapaper.net>) and *Al-Akhbaar* (<https://akhbaar.org>), after the US-led invasion in 2003. The second is several international newspaper articles focusing on Iraqi interpreters' related incidents at the same period. The first step of analysis is to identify lexical items (hereby tokens or indicators) in the headline or body of the news article describing 'المترجم' (translator) in the two local newspapers. Then, these lexical items are summarized to draw a conceptual map for this entity. Finally, the presentation of the same story on interpreters in international newspapers is compared to the presentation in the local newspapers. The role of media in the deformation of the image of translators then becomes clear. The basis on which these data are selected and analysed is qualitative (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013:22). That is to say, the present study is qualitative as it 'consists of a set of interpretive material practices that makes the world visible' (Mohajan, 2018:23-24). It investigates 'the what, how, when, where, and why of a thing-its essence and ambiance' (Lune and Berg, 2017:12). Moreover, it 'seeks to explore personal experiences, meanings, and practices as well as the role of context in shaping these' (Skovdal and Cornish, 2015:5).

Al-Mada is an independent daily newspaper. It was established in Baghdad after the US-led invasion in 2003 as one of the projects of *Al Mada Foundation for Media, Culture, and Arts* (<https://www.jfoiraq.org>). It is among the fewest available media institutions from which locals obtained their information. It is one of the main resources on which one can depend to gauge the socio-political environment of the Iraqi street at that particular period. News items presented, therefore, can help understand the newspaper's and local's perception of translators and/or interpreters. The data under scrutiny is retrieved from the newspaper's archive. It encompasses the news published from 21-11-2003 to 12-9-2006. The focus of analysis is on the translator and/or interpreter-related lexical items. During these three years, the newspaper's presentation is characterized by the exclusive use of the word 'مترجم' (translator) as can be seen in Appendix (1). In most situations conveyed in the news, the reference to this particular item as a prototype is incomprehensive and misleading. Depending on the information delivered via the newspaper, it is expected that the audience started to draw an

inadequately deformed linguistic image of the 'مترجم' (translator). This deformed linguistic image has been gradually enhanced throughout the persistent exposure to this item and the contexts with which it is associated. From the local's perspective, most of these contexts are socially inappropriate. It is both shameful and disloyal, for example, to escort American and British troops. Therefore, the characteristics that take part in shaping the conceptual map of the 'مترجم' (translator) can be summarized as in Table (1). This territory consists of threats, kidnap, murder, terror, bribe, and so many other negative aspects.

Table (1) The Characteristics of the 'مترجم' (translator) Reflected in *Al-Mada*

Code	Characteristic indicated in the news headline and/ or body	Back translation of the characteristic
1	يقتل	Killed
2	جثثة في المشرحة	Corpse in the morgue
3	يغتال	Assassinated
4	يرافق القوات الامريكية والبريطانية	Escorts American and British troops
5	يرافق الصحفيين الامريكيين والبريطانيين	Accompanied American and British journalists
6	يعتقل	Arrested
7	يخطف ويقتل	Kidnaped and murdered
8	العراقي الملمم	The masked Iraqi
9	السكير	Drunkard
10	يهجم على المنازل	Raids houses
11	يموت متأثرا بجروحه	Died of wounds
12	يتهم بالرشوة	Accused of bribery
13	يدرب	Trained
14	يهاجمه المسلحين	Attacked by gunmen
15	سياف المجموعة الإرهابية	Swordman of the terrorist group
16	يتهم بالإرهاب	Accused of terror

To validate the foundations of misconception, and therefore deformation, discovered in *Al Mada*'s presentation, it is meaningful to examine *Al-Akhbaar*'s news coverage of translator- and/ or interpreter-related issues. *Al-Akhbaar* is an independent daily newspaper. It was established in Baghdad in 2005 (<https://akhbaar.org>). It is a very important information provider. It could be a credible authority to sense and determine the Iraqi sphere at the intended period. As is the case with *Al-Mada*, news items presented in *Al-Akhbaar* reflect the newspaper's and local's perception of translators and/or interpreters. The data selected is available in the newspaper's archive. It covers the news published from 12-5-2007 to 16-9-2010 so that the period

does not overlap with that of *Al-Mada*. The centre of attention is on the translator and/or interpreter-related lexical items. The newspaper's presentation is also characterized by the exclusive use of the word 'مترجم' (translator) as can be seen in Appendix (2).

It seems that *Al-Akhbaar* has also confined its reference to translators and interpreters to the prototype 'مترجم' (translator). Hence, it commits the same misstep of *Al-Mada* that has possibly taken part in distorting the recognition of Iraqi translators. Its audience may have started to sketch a deficiently disfigured image of the 'مترجم' (translator) that was progressively reinforced by the newspaper's coverage. To describe the 'مترجم' (translator), for example, as a traitor and unfaithful echoes the rejection and exclusion of this entity. The idiosyncrasies on which the conceptual map of the 'مترجم' (translator) is forged can be outlined in Table (2). Detention, assassination, betrayal, and treason are the most prominent negative traits defining his/her personality.

Table (2) The Characteristics of the 'مترجم' (translator) Reflected in *Al-Akhbaar*

Code	Characteristic indicated in the news headline and/ or body	Back translation of the characteristic
1	يقتل	Killed
2	جثته في المشرحة	Corpse in the morgue
3	يغتال	Assassinated
4	يرافق القوات الامريكية والبريطانية	Escorts American and British troops
5	يرافق الصحفيين الامريكيين والبريطانيين	Accompanied American and British journalists
6	يحتجز	Detained
7	يخطف ويقتل	Kidnaped and murdered
8	في خطر	In danger
9	يهدد	Threatened
10	غير امين	Unfaithful
11	يمنح اللجوء	Granted Asylum
12	ينجو	Survived
13	يستلم اجور مشجعة	Receives encouraging wages
14	عشيقة قائد سلطة الائتلاف المؤقت	Beloved of the leader of coalition provisional authority
15	يرهب	Terrorized
16	يحرر	Freed
17	هدف حي لايد من تصفيته	Moving target that should be hunted
18	خائن	Traitor
19	يتبع نظرية الترجمة	Follows theory of translation

During the six years of observation of their archives, neither *Al-Mada* nor *Al-Akhbaar* has used an alternative or extended lexical item to distinguish between a translator and an interpreter. That is to say, we could not find items like 'شفوي' (interpreting), 'فوري' (simultaneous) or 'تعاقيبي' (consecutive) attached or replacing the item 'مترجم' (translator) to illustrate these distinct professions. Such an act may have resulted in the audience's false conviction that the person with whom all the negative attributes are associated is the 'مترجم شفوي' (translator) not the 'مترجم شفوي' (interpreter). Iraqis have accumulated a unique distorted image; it belongs to the translator. To cross-check this phenomenon, it is necessary to shed light on whether the stories covered by Iraqi local newspapers and therefore the consequences resulted are confined to translators or interpreters by following the presentation of selected stories in two prominent international newspapers: *The Independent* and *The Guardian*. The credibility of this story and its presentation in these newspapers is unquestionable for many reasons and is irrelevant to the survey here. The first story is about the murder of a group of Iraqis working with the British troops in Basrah. It is reported in *The Independent* by Phil Sands on 17 November 2006. It is presented as follows:

Interpreters used by British Army 'hunted down' by Iraqi death squads
Iraqi interpreters working with the British Army in Basra are being systematically hunted down and killed.

At least 21 have been kidnapped and shot in head over the past three weeks, their bodies dumped in different parts of the city. Another three are still missing. In a single mass killing, 17 interpreters were killed.

From the text above, we understand that the Iraqis systematically hunted are the interpreters employed by British troops because they are viewed as collaborators, traitors, and spies. There is neither an explicit nor implicit reference to translators at all. This is, however, not the case in the Arabic text provided by *Al-Mada* on 10 November 2006. The newspaper does specify that the victims are 'مترجمين شفويين' (interpreters) as the use of the prototype 'مترجم' is incomprehensive and misleading.

المجهول يحيط بمصير ٣ مترجمين اختطفوا في البصرة أفاد مصدر أمني في البصرة أمس الاثنين إن الشرطة ما زالت تجهل مصير ثلاثة مترجمين عراقيين كانوا مع زملائهم الـ (١٧) الذين اختطفوا وقتلوا أمس في الشعيبة غربي البصرة. وأوضح المصدر أن المترجمين العراقيين الذين اختطفوا (الأحد) لدى خروجهم من مقر عملهم بالقاعدة البريطانية في منطقة الشعيبة" كان عددهم (٢٠) مترجماً عثر على جثث (١٧) منهم في أماكن متفرقة من البصرة مساء أمس الأول، فيما لا يزال مصير ثلاثة منهم مجهولاً. وكان مسلحون مجهولون قد اختطفوا عصر أمس الأول سيارة خارجة من القاعدة البريطانية في منطقة (الشعيبة) كان يستقلها (٢٠) مترجماً عراقياً يعملون مع القوات البريطانية المتواجدة في القاعدة التي تبعد (٣٥ كم) غربي البصرة.

Another significant story is reported by Michael Howard in *The Guardian* on 12 February 2008. It tackles the kidnap of a British reporter and his interpreter not translator:

British reporter kidnapped in Basra

Iraqi security forces in Basra were today engaged in "an intensive hunt" for a British reporter and his Iraqi interpreter who were abducted from their hotel by a gang of masked and armed men.

Basra police said the two men, who work for the US television network CBS, were seized at Basra's Sultan Palace hotel on Sunday morning. Police sources said one man had been detained on suspicion of involvement in the raid....

Al-Akbaar covered the same story on 13 February 2008. The major difference is, however, in the presentation as the newspaper's language gives the impression that the kidnapped Iraqi is a translator as the prototype 'المترجم' does not really reflect the identity of the victim:

مسؤول صديري: التوصل إلى اتفاق بإطلاق سراح الصحفي البريطاني ومترجمه

البصرة (اصوات العراق) - قال مدير مكتب الصدر بمحافظة البصرة انه تم التوصل الاربعاء إلى اتفاق مع خاطفي الصحفي البريطاني بتلر ريتشارد والمترجم العراقي وسيتم اطلاق سراحهما "عصر اليوم أو صباح غد الخميس في أقصى تقدير". وأضاف حارث العذاري في اتصال هاتفى مع الوكالة المستقلة للأنباء (اصوات العراق) أن "المترجم سيسلم إلى قيادة شرطة البصرة، أما الصحفي البريطاني فان الخاطفين يدرسون تسليمه إلى مكتب الشهيد الصدر بالبصرة الذي سيقوم بدوره بتسليمه إلى وفد رفيع المستوى من الحكومة العراقية". وأوضح العذاري أن المفاوضات تجري مع الخاطفين في حيلة وحذر شديدتين. وكان مصدر أمني من شرطة البصرة قد قال إن صحفياً إنكليزياً ومترجمه

اختطفوا من قبل مسلحين مجهولين، مساء الأحد، قرب فندق قصر السلطان وسط مدينة البصرة. وأوضح المصدر أن مسلحين مجهولين يستقلون سيارتين حديثتين قاموا بخطف الصحفي الإنكليزي بتلر ريتشارد الذي يعمل في وكالة س بي أس مع مترجم كان برفقته واقتادوهما إلى جهة غير معلومة. وأشار المصدر إلى أن الشخصين المخطوفين كانا نزليي فندق قصر السلطان الذي يقع وسط مدينة البصرة للقيام بمهمة صحفية. وتقع مدينة البصرة، مركز محافظة البصرة، على مسافة ٥٩٠ كم على الجنوب من العاصمة بغداد.

5. Conclusion

In view of available evidence, the following could be concluded:

1. The boundaries that separate translation and interpreting professions in the Iraqi street at the intended period are not clear-cut. The socio-political hard circumstances preceding the US-led invasion under which the people have lived after the 1960s had the greatest impact on the lack of understanding of these two fields.
2. The rejection and isolation of coalition-employed linguistic and cultural mediators are among the norms established and strengthened after the US-led invasion. The sign local media has used to describe these mediators is 'مترجم' (translator). This sign is incomplete and deceptive.
3. Local media has not played its expected role in clarifying the terminological distinction in Arabic between 'المترجم الشفوي' (interpreter) employed by the coalition forces and 'المترجم التحريري' (translator) who is a government or non-government employer assigned civil tasks such as rendering scientific, legal, literary, journalistic and religious texts.
4. Local media contributed to disfiguring people's perception of the translation profession by resorting to prototype theory in situations where a specification is both vital and has dangerous consequences.
5. The survey of the news in the local media has not shown attempts to clarify the terminological misconception, and therefore, relieve translators from suspicion and rejection.
6. The deep-rootedness of this misconception requires an extraordinary effort to classify the different categorize of translators and interpreters and their Arabic counterparts.

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Appendix (1) Al -Mada Coverage of Translator-and Interpreter- related Incidents

Code	Date	Headline	Tokens/ Indicators in the Body
1	21-11-2003	الموقف الأمني-صلاح الدين	هاجم مسلحون مترجما يعمل مع قوات الائتلاف
2	29-5-2004	مقتل صحافيين يابانيين وعراقي بهجوم مسلح	ان صحافيين يابانيين ومترجما عراقيا قتلوا/ من ناحيته أكد صباح نجم الدين ان احدى الجنئين الموجودتين حاليا في المشرحة تعود لشقيقه المترجم العراقي
3	21-4-2004	القضاء الإيطالي يعاني من ندرة في المترجمين العرب	ندرة المترجمين من اللغة العربية/ انصراف المترجمين العرب عن العمل في قضايا تخص التحقيقات/ والأشخاص المتمكنين من الترجمة من العربية إلى الإيطالية/ غياب المترجمين من العربية
4	29-8-2004	اغتيال رئيس قسم الترجمة في كلية آداب الموصل	اغتيلت صباح أمس السبت على أيدي مجهولين الدكتور إيمان عبد المنعم يونس رئيسة قسم الترجمة بكلية الآداب في جامعة الموصل
5	2-2-2005	المدى تحاور اراهبيين قبض عليهم في مثلث الموت...سياف المجموعة الارهابية يعمل مترجما لدى القوات الاميركية	واضاف بان قائد مجموعته رزاق سلطان علي ذكر له بان الراهابي سعدون صبيح الذي يعمل مترجما مع القوات الامريكية، هو الذي يتكفل بقطع رؤوس المواطنين و افراد الشرطة والحرس الوطني
6	3-3-2005	مقتل مترجمة عراقية في كركوك	ان مترجمة عراقية تعمل مع القوات الامريكية في القاعدة العسكرية الامريكية في مطار كركوك قتلت أمس
7	28-5-2005	مترجم الصحفيين الرومانيين متهم بالإرهاب وصديقه موقوف لقضايا مالية	أصدرت محكمة العدل الرومانية يوم أمس مذكرة توقيف بتهمة الإرهاب بحق مترجم الصحفيين الرومانيين / المترجم محمد مناف، وهو أمريكي من أصل عراقي ومتزوج برومانية، كان تحت حماية الأمريكيان. وقد جرمته المحكمة الرومانية بتهمة الإرهاب
8	4-8-2005	مقتل صحفي امريكي وإصابة مترجمته في البصرة	قتل مسلحون مجهولون الصحفي الأمريكي ... واصيبت مترجمته نور هويدي/ وجانبه المترجمة العراقية وقد اصيبت بجروح بالغة
9	4-1-2006	الامريكان في بيتي	شاء حظي ان اعثر بينهم على عراقي ملثم، وهو مترجم من مدينة كركوك/ فقد نام الاخ العراقي بعد ان شرب نصف زجاجة ويسكي وتركني وحدي حتى الفجر مع الامريكان الذين عاثوا في البيت خرابا
10	8-1-2006	خطف صحافية اميركية في بغداد	مجهولين اختطفوا أمس السبت صحافية اميركية في بغداد وقتلوا مترجما عراقيا كان يرفقتها/. المترجم العراقي ذكر ... ان المختطفة هي صحافية اميركية ثم قضى حتفه متأثرا "بجروحه

11	26-3-2006	بعد عودته الى شيكاغو.. اعتقال مترجم عراقي يحمل الجنسية الامريكية بتهمة الرشوة	اعلنت وزارة العدل الامريكية أمس الاول انها اعتقلت مترجماً عراقياً - امريكياً من شيكاغو بتهمة الرشوة وقالت الوزارة ان فيحان موسى سلام (٢٧ عاماً) قدم عشرات الالاف من الدولارات رشواوي لاشخاص داخل وزارة الداخلية العراقية/ وفيحان يعمل مترجماً في شركة تيتان كوربورش
12	8-4-2006	مترجمون عراقيون يتدربون في المانيا	حصلت وزارة الثقافة على فرصة لتدريب عدد من مترجمي الوزارة في المانيا / بتدريب عشرين مترجماً من دار المأمون
13	27-6-2006	استشهاد ملازم ومترجم	كما استشهد مترجم يعمل لدى القوات الامريكية/
14	10-9-2006	المجهول يحيط بمصير ٣ مترجمين اختطفوا في البصرة	ثلاثة مترجمين عراقيين اختطفوا وقتلوا أمس في الشعبية غربي البصرة/ أن المترجمين العراقيين الذين اختطفوا/ قد اختطفوا عصر أمس (٢٠) مترجماً عراقياً يعملون مع القوات البريطانية/ عملية خطف وقتل المترجمين
15	12-9-2006	اغتيال مترجم	قام مسلحون مجهولون صباح أمس باغتيال أحد المترجمين العاملين مع القوات الامريكية

Appendix (2) Al -Akhbaar Coverage of Translator-and Interpreter- related Incidents

Code	Date	Headline	Tokens/ Indicators in the Body
1	12-5-2007	حملة تمشييط امريكية بحثاً عن ثلاثة جنود مفقودين	إن الوحدة كانت ايضا تضم مترجماً/ إذا كان المترجم العراقي من ضمن المفقودين أو من ضمن القتلى
2	13-5-2007	تنظيم (القاعدة) يعلن مسؤوليته عن خطف الجنود الأميركيين بالعراق	وكانت مركبتان عسكريتان، تقلالن... مترجم / قد تعرضنا لكمين فجر السبت، مما أسفر عن مقتل أربعة جنود أمريكيين والمترجم العراقي
3	14-5-2007	القاعدة تحذر الجيش الأمريكي من البحث عن مفقوديه بالعراق	وكانت مركبتان عسكريتان، تقلالن على متنها سبعة جنود أمريكيين بالإضافة إلى مترجم / مقتل أربعة جنود أمريكيين والمترجم العراقي
4	31-5-2007	اللاجئون العراقيون... مأساة تفضح الفشل الأميركي	أجاز الكونجرس قانوناً يقضي بإضافة عدد ضئيل من العراقيين... جلهم من المترجمين. / أن عدد المترجمين الذين عملوا مع الأميركيين في العراق
5	11-7-2007	ألف دولار راتب شهري للمتطوعين 15 من اصول عربية او يتقنون العربية في الجيش الأمريكي	للعمل مترجمين في العراق برواتب مغرية/ ان التوظيف يشمل مهمات لغوية مثل الترجمة/ ويعد الموقع الامتيازات التي سيحصل عليها هؤلاء المترجمون في العراق/ ويفترض ..ان يقوم هؤلاء المترجمون
6	1-9-2007	الجيش الأميركي يقتل ١٢ ويعتقل (أمير) القاعدة في العراق... (مراسلون بلا حدود): مقتل أكثر من ٢٠٠ إعلامي منذ الغزو	مقتل المترجم انور عباس الذي كان يعمل مع شبكة (سي بي اس) الأميركية
7	22-12-2007	سري للغاية.. دور عشيقة بريمر - وداد !!فرنسيس - في حكم العراق	انضمت وداد فرنسيس الى طاقمه من ضمن المترجمين والمقربين من مكتبه
8	13-2-2008	مسؤول صديري: التوصل إلى اتفاق بإطلاق سراح الصحفي البريطاني ومترجمه	خاطفي الصحفي البريطاني بلتر ريتشارد والمترجم العراقي/ أن المترجم سيسلم إلى قيادة شرطة البصرة/ صحفياً انكليزيا ومترجمه اختطف من قبل مسلحين مجهولين
9	16-2-2008	قائد شرطة البصرة: المفاوضات مستمرة لإطلاق سراح الصحفي البريطاني المختطف	. بعد إخلاء سبيل زميله المترجم عقيل عباس / من جانبه، قال المترجم عقيل عباس الذي كان برفقة الصحفي البريطاني/ اقتادوا الصحفي البريطاني ومترجمه

10	19-6-2008	دراسة حالة: ميثولوجيا الاستشهاد في العراق	إلا أن المتمردين يقومون أيضا بارهاب "المتعاونين مع العدو" كالمترجمين
11	25-2-2009	تضارب حول مقتل ٤ جنود أميركيين ومترجم برصاص شرطيين عراقيين	قتل أربعة جنود أميركيين وأحد المترجمين/ أطلقا النار على الأميركيين... ما أسفر عن مقتل اربعة، بالإضافة الى مترجم كان برفقتهم
12	2-11-2009	محامية بريطانية: المتعاونون العراقيون لهم الحق في التعويض لفشل الجيش البريطاني في حمايتهم	أن يحتاج الجيش البريطاني ...إلى موظفين محليين يعملون لديه بصفة مترجمين/ قضايا المترجمين/ تفاصيل قضية المترجمين العراقيين/ مترجمين/ قضية المترجمين
13	16-9-2010	الترجمة في عصر العولمة	لا جدال في أن الترجمة/ تزداد الحاجة الى الترجمة/ عن طريق الترجمة المتبادلة/ النشاط الترجمي/ وجمهرة المترجمين المؤهلين/ نظرية الترجمة/ لنظرية الترجمة/ بنظرية الترجمة/ ان الترجمة/ ان التخلف في حقل الترجمة