Translating Ideational Meaning in Political Texts: A Systemic Functional Perspective

Yousif Ali Omer∗
English Department, College of Languages, Salahaddin University-Erbil, Kurdistan Region
E_mail: yousif.omer@su.edu.krd

Asst. Prof. Wrya Izzaddin Ali (PhD.)
English Department, College of Languages, Salahaddin University-Erbil, Kurdistan Region
E-mail: wrya.ali@su.edu.krd

Abstract:
Political texts are unlike other texts as they "are a part and/or the results of political events", and they are historically and culturally produced in which politics is the main subject matter (Schäffner, 2001:133). Transferring meaning of such text types in the translation process is difficult for translators due to specific terminologies, expressions and linguistic structure. Regarding meaning, Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) identifies three kinds of meaning of language, namely, Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. The major focus of this research is the Ideational meaning. From this perspective, this paper applies SFL to analyze and discuss the patters of equivalence and shift that are employed to transfer the Ideational meaning of journalistic texts, political texts in particular, in translating from English into Kurdish. With a corpus of 8 pairs of English source texts and their Kurdish translations, the analysis shows that a number of patterns are used to reproduce the source clausal Ideational meaning in the target texts. Finally, the study ends with the main findings and conclusions.

∗ **Corresponding Author:** Yousif Ali Omer , **E-Mail: yousif.omer@su.edu.krd**
Tel: +9647504489821. **Affiliation**: English Department, College of Languages, Salahaddin University-Erbil-Iraq

ترجمة المعنى الفكري في النصوص السياسية

في ضوء علم اللغة الوظيفي

يوسف علي عمر

ا.م.د. وريا عزالدين علي

جامعة صلاح الدين _ قسم اللغة الإنكليزية _ أربيل

الخلاصة:

تختلف النصوص السياسية عن بقية النصوص كونها "جزءاً و/أو نتاجاً للأحداث السياسية" والتي تم تشكيلها تاريخياً وثقافياً والتي موضوعتها السياسة(شافنر، 2001، ص. 133). من الصعوبة بمكان نقل معنى هكذا نوع من النصوص من خلال عملية الترجمة من قبل المترجمين نظراً لوجود اصطلاحات معينة وتعابير وتراكيب لغوية خاصة. يحدّد علم اللغة الوظيفي (المعروفة اختصاراً بـ (SFL فيما يخص المعنى ثلاثة أنواع من المعنى في اللغة، وهي المعنى الفكري، المعنى التواصلي، والمعنى النصّي. التركيز الأساسي لهذا البحث يتمثّلُ في ترجمة المعنى الفكري. ومن هذا المنظور، يقوم هذا البحث بتطبيق علم اللغة الوظيفي لتحليل واستعراض أنماط التكافؤ والتبدّل والتي تم توظيفها لتحويل النصوص الصحفيّة وبالأخص السياسية منها في ترجمة النصوص المصدر بالانكليزية الى النصوص الكردية المستهدفة. بوجود ثمانية من أزواج من مدوّنات لنصوص إنكليزية أصلية مع تراجمها الكردية، يوضّح التحليل أن عدداً من الأنماط تم تبنّيها لإعادة خلق المعنى الفكري للجمل المصدر في داخل النصوص المستهدفة. وفي الختام، يختم البحث برسم استنتاجات إعتماداً على النتائج الرئيسية.

1. INTRODUCTION

Systemic functional linguistics, also known as *SFL, Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG), Hallidayan linguistics*, and *systemic linguistics,* is a holistic theoretical model to the study of language (Capra, 1996)**,** which was developed and introduced by a British-born Australian linguist M. A. K. Halliday. The theory perceives language as a social semiotic system (Halliday, 1978), and it assumes that language is utilized to "make sense our experience, and to carry out our interactions with other people" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 24). Thus, from the perspective of SFL, language within specific social contexts, written or spoken, is employed to communicate and express intended meanings in communicative events.

In Halliday's view, **meaning** is conceived as an essential quality of translation process, to put it another way, "translation is a meaning-making activity" (Halliday,

1992: 15). In view of this, any activity is not considered as translation if there is not the creation of meaning (ibid.). Although producing a meaningful text is the objective of both translation and discourse activities, translation is rather a "guided creation of meaning, not only the production of meaning (ibid.).

Since translation is concerned with meaning, a linguistic theory which is employed in translation process must be "[…] a theory of meaning as choice", and it has to include **functional semantics**, specifically **'metafunction'** (ibid.). Thus, a linguistic model for translation should be relevant to functional semantics (ibid.: 16). However, Halliday shows his interest in a formal model but through functional semantics. To this end, Functional grammar which postulates a strong relation between wording and meaning is the most pertinent approach. Additionally, Halliday mentions that 'semantic equivalence' is contingent between texts and languages with reference to the function of an element in context (ibid.).

Meaning is a complex notion and it has, according to SFL, different interrelated types: Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual. Therefore, its transfer in the translation process is a multidimensional task, which is considered a very challenging process. In view of this, the present research stresses only the transfer of Ideational meaning and its forms in translating political texts from English into Kurdish, drawing on the SFL as a theoretical framework.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Translation Studies (henceforth TS) has, according to the relevant literature, become one of the predominant disciplines of research and studies with application of SFL theory. Since the development of this theory, various translation theorists and researchers have investigated TS from the standpoint of SFL and have yielded a fruitful result on the adoption of this theoretical model to study translation, for instance, Catford (1965), House (1977, 1997), Newmark (1987, 1989), Bell (1991), Munday (1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012), Mathiessen (2001), Teich (2003), Steiner (2004), Huang (2006), and Wang (2004). As a consequence, regardless of the different points of view, those systemically oriented TS works have made valuable contributions to TS discipline through proposing a number of theoretical concepts and translation models. Thus, the Hallidayan linguistic approach is currently in that position to serve the discipline of Translation Studies based on some powerful arguments and grounds.

2.1 SFL AND METAFUNCTIONS

SFL is a theory of linguistics which concerns with meaning, considering meaning as the main element of language. For Halliday, all languages are organized metafunctionally, and he proposes three kinds of meaning, namely Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual (Halliday, 1994: xiii). Ideational meaning which is aimed to comprehend the environment and describe individuals' experience (Ibid.) is the main focus of the present research, being discussed in the next section.

2.1.1. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION

The term Ideational metafunction is concerned with the way an individual utilizes language to describe experience and it is perceived as the function to explain human experience (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 30). In other words, this metafunction

pertains to the representation of meaning, i.e. how semiotic resources are employed to construe human experience and the world of phenomena. Furthermore, this stand of metafunction is the way through which people express in 'reality'.

The Ideational, for Halliday, is into two sub metafunctions: the *experiential* and *logical*. The former means the grammatical resources taking part in interpreting the experience by means of the element of the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). The latter is perceived as the grammatical resources for constructing grammatical items into complexes, for instance, for producing a clause complex from the combination of two or more clauses (ibid.). In that sense, if the function of experiential is to show how an individual construes experience in a clause, the logical is to investigate how the message is arranged among clauses. Additionally, the Ideational function creates Ideational meaning that a person realizes based on his experience of the world.

In the light of the SFL theory, the Ideational function reflects the Field dimension of the Context of Situation, and in turn it is also realized through the Transitivity system of lexicogrammar (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). According to this strand of metafunction, analyzing text includes examining the choices in the "Transitivity" system: combined with an analysis of the resources through which clauses are combined (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

2.1.2 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is conceived as a group of options through which the speaker expresses his experience of the processes of the outside world, and of the inside world of his awareness, along with the participants in these activities and the circumstances (Halliday, 1973: 134). In other words, according to (Eggins, 2004: 213), it is the integration of certain kinds "of process, participants, and circumstances carried out by the content words of clauses". Transitivity provides the realization of meanings relating to the three components of Transitivity. Eggins' configuration of Transitivity system (ibid.) shows the constituents of Transitivity system adopted in this research for the analysis of Transitivity resources, as illustrated in Table 3.2 below.

PROCESS TYPE	PARTICIPANTS	CIRCUMSTANCES
Material (doing or happening	- **actor** (who does the action) - **goal** (who the process is directed) - **range** (extent or process) - **beneficiary** (whom the process is benefited)	- **extent** (how long, how far) - **location** (when, where) - **manner** (how, with what, what like) - **cause** (why, what for who, who for) - **accompaniment** (with
Mental (thinking, feeling or perceiving)	- **senser** (who senses the process) - **phenomenon** (what being sensed)	
Behavioural (doing plus sensing)	- **behaver** (who behaves)	

		whom)
Verbal (saying)	- **sayer** (who says) - **receiver** (whom the process is directed) - **verbiage** (statement of process)	- **matter** (what about) - **role** (what as)
Existential (being with 'there')	- **exist** (event of process)	
Relational (being) — Attribute (classifying)	- **carrier** - **attribute**	
Relational (being) — Identifying (defining)	- **token** - **value**	

Configuration of Transitivity system   (Eggins 2004: 213)

It is obvious from the table above that there are six types of Processes: material, mental, behavioural, verbal, existential and relational with its sub-types, presented in the left column. The middle column presents the Participants which are involved in each of the Processes, and the right column features the kinds of Circumstances associated with each process type.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative research employing a content analysis method to thoroughly investigate how Ideational meaning is transferred in the translation of journalistic texts, political texts in particular. More specifically, it analyzes the patters of equivalence and shifts utilized in the transfer of Ideational meaning in the translated texts.

In a survey, 16 journalistic texts pertaining to the political issues were collected, comprising 8 English source texts along with their 8 Kurdish translations. The availability of the majority of the texts on their websites granted the researcher easy access to collect the electronic versions of the original texts and their translations from the official websites of the media organizations (see Appendix 1). Combining the source texts with the target texts builds up a corpus of around (**200**) words (see Appendix 1). SFL theory as an analytical approach to translation analysis is adopted to investigate meaning transfer and its patterns of the corpus selected for the present research, which will be applied in the next section in detail.

Based on the principal objective of the research and the scope of the study, the present study attempts to answer the following research question. What are the patterns of Ideational meaning transfer that are systematically employed in the translation of political texts?

3. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS
The main purpose of current work is to analyze a corpus of political texts in order to find and discuss how the Ideational meaning is transferred in the translation of English source texts into Kurdish target texts. More specifically, in this section, the equivalence

and shift patters adopted to render the English Ideational meaning into Kurdish are investigated.

3.1 IDEATIONAL MEANING

Ideational meaning is utilized to describe individual's all kinds of experiences of the world, referring to the representation of meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 30). Although it is comprised of two subtypes: Experiential and Logical meaning (Halliday, 1994: 179), this study deals with the Logical meaning under the Textual **meaning[1]**. As mentioned in chapter three, the Ideational meaning in a clause is realized downwards through the Transitivity system of lexicogrammar including Participants, Processes and Circumstances. The deep analysis and contrast of the Transitivity system, specifically of its three components, in the original texts and their translations employed in the study is a touchstone to find the patterns of meaning transfer in the political translation. The patterns, for Ideational meaning, are into four main kinds: equivalence, shift, addition, and omission.

4.1.1 EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

The term equivalence in translation refers to the replacement of a source language unit with its closet equivalent in a target language. The analysis of data reveals that the Ideational meaning of a clause is transferred semantically or pragmatically while translating news texts from English into Kurdish. In other words, the source and target text clause meanings are equivalence either literally or contextually, which will be given details below.

4.1.1.1 LITERAL EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

For Halliday, the clause is a practical level to be handled as a unit of translation. In view of this perception, what is employed to be the level of analysis is the clause. In doing so, the source and target clauses are equivalent in terms of Ideational meaning if the three components of transitivity, Process, Participant, and Circumstance, are equivalent in an original clause and its translation clause, as illustrated by the following example:

ST1	TT1
Our party **fights** for all the oppressed people of our country because we **believe** that fight **will lead** to greater freedom for everyone.	پارتەکەمان بۆ هەموو خەڵکی ستەملێکراوی وڵاتەکەمان دەجەنگێت، چونکە باوەڕمان وایە ئەو شەڕە رێگە بۆ ئازادی زیاتر بۆ هەموو کەس خۆشدەکات.

Segmenting the abovementioned English and Kurdish sentences into their clauses based on the rules addressed in the previous chapter shows that there are four clauses in each of them. This is mainly due to the reason that in order to obtain full Ideational equivalence between English ST and its Kurdish corresponding, the Transitivity elements of every individual clause, Participant, Process and Circumstance, are faithfully and accurately translated. To be clearer, the clauses are segmented into these three functional components.

In the example below, Actor, Material Process, and Circumstance of reason in both clauses are equivalence, and hence the clauses carry equivalent Ideational meaning.

Actor	Material Process	Circumstance (reason)
Our party	Fights	for all the oppressed people of our country
پارتەکەمان	دەجەنگێت	بۆ هەموو خەڵکی ستەملێکراوی وڵاتەکەمان

Next example demonstrates that the translations of Senser, Mental Process, and Phenomenon are precisely equivalent to their original ones. Thus, the Ideational meaning is also equivalent.

Senser	Mental Process	Phenomenon
We	Believe	That fight will lead to greater freedom for everyone.
مان	باوەڕ......وایە	ئەو شەڕە رێگە بۆ ئازادی زیاتر بۆ هەموو کەس خۆشدەکات.

Here, one point to be aware of is that since the Kurdish language is agglutinative, the Participant (مان) in the Kurdish clause is glued as affix to the verb.

In the example below, Actor, Mental Process, Circumstance, and Goal are equivalent in the English and Kurdish clauses, and consequently the SL Ideational meaning is equivalently reproduced in the TL. Importantly, the English Goal has been shifted to be a Kurdish Prepositional phrase (*for greater freedom*) as Circumstance of purpose; however, the Ideational meanings the two clauses express are completely equivalence.

Actor	Mental Process	Goal	Circumstance (cause)
Fight	will lead to	greater freedom	for everyone.
ئەو شەڕه	رێگه بۆ ..خۆشدەکات	بۆ ئازادی زیاتر	بۆ هەموو کەس

Going through the corpus to analyze and contrast the pairs of texts, STs and TTs, it is obvious that the literal equivalence of Ideational meaning is a very common pattern adopted in the practice of translating news texts. This finding can be supplemented further with the examples from other texts. In the two examples below, the translators translate the Process and Participant variables of the clauses equivalently to achieve this pattern. Regarding the pronominal subject Participants, they are free-standing in the English clauses while they have the form of clitics, since Free-standing forms of the Kurdish personal pronoun are utilized for emphasis. For the sake of clarity the Process is bolded and the Participant is italicized in the next example.

ST7	TT7

Western powers **are** hardly blameless for the Middle East's woes.	هێزه رۆژئاواییەکان بەدەگمەن بێتاوانن سەبارەت به کێشەکانی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست.

The analysis that the above examples report on has indicated that the three basic elements of the Transitivity system, Process, Participant, and Circumstance, have been placed on emphasis in the translation process in order to obtain literal equivalence of Ideational meaning. In this sense, are these forming components of Transitivity equal in significance to achieve literal equivalence? Next paragraph is a discussion to get an answer to this crucial question.

Due to special nature of every language in terms of words, phrases and syntactic structures and cultural differences, there is always an extent of meaning lost in the translation process, in other words, losing part of the meaning is inevitable. However, professional translators attempt to reduce this phenomenon as much as they can in the process. As explained, the equivalence of the three functional components of Ideational meaning, Process, Participant and Circumstance, is central to render this type of meaning at the level of clause faithfully from English into Kurdish. As per Halliday's SFG theory Transitivity lexicogrammar is central to Ideational metafunctional and through which the Ideational meaning of a clause can be realized (Halliday, 1985: 53). Furthermore, its three forming constituents are not equally handled in a clause; the first significance is attached to Process (Gerot and Wignell, 1994, p. 54) and the other two semantic categories, Participant and Circumstance are of second and last importance respectively (Butt et al., 2000, p. 46). From this perspective, a clausal Ideational meaning gets lost if Process is disregarded, that is to say, leaving Process out makes a translated clause does not ideationally match an original one. Thus, one can conclude that the Ideational meaning of the whole text is not accurately transferred if Process is not handled carefully.

The following examples illustrate that the translators working in the Kurdish media organizations at first give the highest value on the preservation of SL Process and Participant variables of the clause, and then there is a substantial degree of their attempt to translate Circumstance faithfully.

ST2	TT2
U.S. extends New START treaty with Russia *for five years* -Blinken	بلینکن: ئەمریکا درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەی نیوستارتی لەگەڵ رووسیا جێبەجێکرد

In the example above, the translator has left out only the temporal circumstance (*for five years*) in the Kurdish text. Therefore, this is the minimal reduction of Ideational meaning occurred at clause level owing to less significance of Circumstance to the meaning than other two components, Process an Participants. The same strategy is employed to miss out the entire Circumstance of location, as exemplified as follows

ST5	TT5

| IED kills four Tunisian soldiers *in mountain region* | له تەقینەوەیەکدا 4 سەربازی تونسی کوژران |

Unlike the same form of leaving out the whole Circumstance, a part of it is missed out. In that regard, the following example shows that the translator has passed up two lexical items bolded to transfer the entire bolded Circumstance. This may be due to a couple of reasons. First, as discussed previously, this clausal constituent is not as central as Process and Participant to clausal Ideational function. Second, it may not be necessary for the translator to fill in the target audiences on the full details.

ST6	TT6
For the second time *in almost exactly a year*, the United States is bracing for a Senate impeachment showdown over Donald Trump's behavior.	بۆ دووەم جار *لە ماوەی یەک ساڵدا*، ئەنجوومەنی پیرانی ئەمریکا خۆی بۆ لێپرسینەوە لە دۆناڵد ترەمپ، سەرۆکی پێشوو ئاماده دەکات.

As far as Process is concerned, consider that, in Halliday's opinion, it is extremely the most prominent semantic component of a clause. From that perspective, missing out this variable results in a loss of the whole clausal Ideational meaning. Therefore, translating Process in not an easy task, in other words, what always poses a real risk of translating the exact Ideational function is the loss of Process. The reason behind the centrality of this component is that leaving out Participant or Circumstance makes the clausal Ideational meaning gets partially lost, while it is completely missed out if Process is left out. This can be illustrated in the following example in which the translator has missed out two entire bolded and italicized clauses by virtue of the loss of their Processes.

ST3	TT3
Two witnesses also told Reuters they heard a loud explosion. Smoke plume was observed in the neighborhood after the blast, the witnesses reported.	لەوبارەیەوه دو شایەتحاڵی تەقینەوەکە باسیان لەوه کردوه که گوێیان لەتەقینەوەکە بوه و گڕو دوکەڵێکی زۆریشیان بەچاوی خۆیان بینیوه.

The fundamental implications arising from the aforementioned discussion is that the equivalence of Ideational meaning distinguishes a translation text from all non-translation products. In the support of this statement, Halliday's argument for the concept of equivalence of Ideational meaning in the translation process is as follows:

"if a text does not match its source text ideationally, it does not qualify as a translation, so the question whether it is a good translation does not arise". (Halliday, 2001: 16)

Additionally, the transfer of Ideational meaning can be considered a criterion to show the extent of the appropriate of a translation, in other words, how well a translation is. Therefore, it makes translators always consider achieving equivalence of this kind of meaning in the translation texts. To do this, if the three semantic categories of a source language clause, Process, Participant and Circumstance, can be rendered literally, the

pattern of literal equivalence of Ideational meaning is obtained. Nevertheless, if adopting this pattern is not accurate and faithful to translate the Ideational function for guarantying high quality of translation, the translator needs to provide functional equivalence or contextual equivalence.

4.1.1.2 CONTEXTUAL EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

As mentioned in chapter three, SFL is a linguistic model that studies language in use and primarily directs meticulous attention to texts in their situational and cultural contexts. Additionally, the theory tackles meaning co-textually, situationally and culturally. From this perception, apart from literal equivalence of Ideational meaning, it is crucial for the translator to achieve contextual or co-textual equivalence of meaning when the clausal Ideational function can contextually or co-textually be understood rather than what it literally implies. For example, the italicized English clause means literally (*there is concern within the U.S. within intelligence community*). But according to this situation, the translator translated into (دەزگاكانی ھەواڵگری ئەمەریكایی ترسیان ھەیە) which literally means (*the U.S. intelligence community shows fear*) based on his/her experience and background knowledge about news texts. The translator comprehends the intended meaning of the word (*concern*) which is used by the source text author to hide the U.S intelligence community's fear in the co-text.

ST4	TT4
There is concern within the U.S. intelligence community that the hackers who targeted the Treasury Department and the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications and Information Administration used a similar tool to break into other government agencies, according to three people briefed on the matter.	سەرچاوەكانی "ڕۆیتەرز" ئاماژەیانكرد، *دەزگاكانی ھەواڵگری ئەمەریكایی ترسیان ھەیە*، لەوەی ھاككەرمكان شێوازی ھاوشێوە بەكاربێن بۆ ھاككردنی دەزگا حكومییەكانی دیكە لە ویلایەتە یەكگرتووەكانی ئەمەریكا.

In the above analysis, some points can be implicated. Most importantly, translators specialized in the political field have a clear tendency to choose functional or contextual equivalence pattern in order to render what the source texts really implies. Additionally, they often attempt to achieve functional equivalence of the Ideational meaning rather than its semantic equivalence to help target audiences comprehend the message of the text.

4.1.2 SHIFT OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

The term shift which was first introduced by Catford (1965) refers to the changes taking place in the translation process. It arises at the lexicogrammar as the lower level of language and at textual thematic level. In the light of the functional grammar model, the Ideational meaning pertaining to the representation of meaning is realized the Transitivity system of lexicogrammar. From this standpoint, this section discusses the translation shifts of Ideational meaning-arising from the translational choices in the system of Transitivity. More to the point, shift in clausal Ideational function occurs

when the Transitivity components, Process, Participant and Circumstance, do not represent their straightforward equivalent of the original text. With the aim of making a systemic analysis, the shifts of Ideational meaning are categorized based on the forming elements involving in the shift.

4.1.2.1 SHIFT IN PROCESS

Process is one of the three variables of the Transitivity resources, which specifies the activity in a clause. Hallidayan linguistics categorizes this central constitute into six types: Material, Mental, Verbal, Behavioural, Existential and Relational (Eggins, 2004, p. 213). As they are different from each other in terms of the function, making changes in their functions in the process of going from the original text into its translation is considered as shift. For instance, these two clauses, *there are six students in the course* and *Six students are attending the course*, from the perspective of SFL, do not have the same meaning or function. The former includes an Existential process while the latter has a Material one. The analysis and discussion of the journalistic texts chosen as the data for the purposes of the present research shows that shifts of Process occur in the translation process, as exemplified and investigated below.

A. VERBAL PROCESS TO BEHAVIOURAL PROCESS

The analysis indicates that the translators have shifted Verbal process to another type of Process. In the following example, the Verbal process in the English clause, *The U.S. State Department **said** on Friday (September 11)*, has been changed to a Behavioural process in the Kurdish translated text (دوێنێَ هةیني (11 ایلول) حكومةتي واشنتن ئامادةیي خؤیي **نيشاندا**). This shift in the translation of Process makes the clausal Ideational meanings of the source and target texts do not become equivalent since the function of Verbal process is different from Behavioural process. In this case, it might be more appropriate to preserve the English Verbal process in the translation to achieve functional equivalence, i.e. to render into (دوێنێَ هةیني (11 ایلول) حكومةتي واشنتن **رایطةیان** ئامادةیي). However, the complex nature of both languages involved in the translation process illustrates that the translation's choice could be a good choice although this might not be the most careful one.

ST8	TT8
The U.S. State Department **said** on Friday (September 11) it was prepared to hold direct talks with North Korea to try to coax it back into multilateral negotiations on ending its nuclear programs.	دوێنێَ هةیني (11 ایلول) حكومةتي واشنتن ئامادةیي خؤیي **نيشاندا** بؤ سازداني طفتوطؤي راستةوخؤ لةطةلَ كؤریاي باكوور وةك هةولَيَك بؤ طيَرانةوةي كؤریاي باكوور بؤناو دانووستاندنة هةلایةنةكاني ثةیوةست بة كؤتاهيَناني ثرِؤطرامة ئةتؤميةكةي كؤریاي باكوور.

B. MATERIAL PROCESS TO RELATIONAL PROCESS

Instances of translation shifts of Process identified in the corpus employed in this study include the shift of Material process. In that respect, the following example is an instance in which the Material process in the English clause has been replaced by a Relational process in the Kurdish clause. As a result of this change, shifting English Material process (*faces*) to Kurdish Relational process (بووه) can be of serious detriment to fully equivalent of Ideational meaning because each of them, according to SFL, carries out its own particular function which is different from the other one. Therefore, in order to avoid functional loss, it would be more preferable to preserve the English Material process and translate the English clause as (**تونس رووبەرووی هەرەشەیەکی بچووک و** **بەردەوامی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان دەبیتەوە**). However, although the Kurdish clause does not fulfil the exact Ideational function as the source language clause, it may be the best choice under the requirement of the editorial policies. This is because, in the light of SFG, editorial policies serve as the situational context that plays a leading role in determining choices in texts.

ST5	TT5
Tunisia **faces** a small but persistent militant threat, foreign diplomats focused on security say.	هەرەشەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لەسەر تونس ئەگەر چی بچووک **بووه**، لە ماوەی رابردوودا بەردەوام بووه

C. MATERIAL PROCESS TO EXISTENTIAL PROCESS

Besides the two aforementioned shifts in the translation of Process, the analysis of the data indicates another kind in which Material process has been shifted to Existential process. For instance, the English Material process (*hole up*) has been shifted to Kurdish Existential process (هەن) (*there are*). Therefore, the English and Kurdish clausal Ideational meanings are not fully equivalent since their Process variables have different functions. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to retain the English Material process in order to achieve complete equivalence. To do this, the English clause can be replaced by (**لە تونس ژمارەیەک شانەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لە ناوچە شاخاوییەکان هەن،**) literally means (*A number of militant cells holed up in remote mountain regions in Tunisia*).

ST5	TT5
As well as jihadist cells **holed up** in remote mountain regions, who have not made successful forays beyond their strongholds in recent years, there is also a threat from militants radicalised online.	لە تونس ژمارەیەک شانەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لە ناوچە شاخاوییەکان هەن، بەڵام نەیانتوانیوە لە شار و لەم کاتەدا. شاروچکەکان جێگیربن بڵابوونەوەی بیری توندئاژۆیی لەسەر ئینتەرنێتیش هەرەشە لەو وڵاتەی باکووری ئەفریقا دەکات.

4.1.2.2 SHIFT IN CIRCUMSTANCE

Circumstance as the least important element of the lexicogrammatical system of Transitivity makes available circumstantial information on Processes. There are

different grammatical forms for Circumstance. Translation shifts influences this components to convert from one grammatical form to another, which can be described as Circumstance shifts. Below are two examples for the purpose of illustration.

ST7	TT7
The current "war on terror" will *increasingly* be replaced by this hegemonic conflict.	ئەم شەرەی ئێستا "لەدژی تیرۆر" **بەشێوەیەکی روولەزیاد** لەلایەن ئەم شەڕ و ململانێ هەژموونیەوە جێگای دەگیرێتەوە.

This example represents the translation shift of Circumstance resulting from a grammatical conversion by which the English adverb of manner (*increasingly*) has been shifted to a Kurdish prepositional phrase (بەشێوەیەکی روولەزیاد) (*in an increasing way*) functioning as Circumstance. To sum up, the reason why this pattern of shift is adopted may stem from the following excuses. Although the Kurdish prepositional phrase consists of four lexical items and is longer than the English adverb, such shift could be the most appropriate, since the prepositional phrase as Circumstance of manner is more common in spoken and written in the Kurdish language. Moreover, the translator may intend to make the Ideational meaning of the translation text more clear.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In order to render the Ideational meaning, which is realized through the system of Transitivity, several patterns are used to completely and accurately render the Ideational meaning of the original texts. On the basis of the analysis and discussion above, the translators have adopted the following patters to transfer Ideational meaning of political texts while translating from English into Kurdish: equivalence and shift. More specifically, literal equivalence of Ideational meaning, contextual equivalence of Ideational meaning, shift in Process and shift in Circumstance are identified as the main patterns that are systematically employed in the translation of journalistic texts. Moreover, the analysis shows that leaving out the Process component is very few due its centrality to the Ideational meaning. In that regard, omitting Circumstance is very high in comparison with Process and Participants in order to reduce the loss of Ideational meaning. This stems from the fact that Process and Participant are two crucial components of Ideational meaning. Thus, due to the complexity of political texts in terms of structure and terminology, the translators have attempted to adopt a number of strategies and patterns to render the Ideational meaning of English source texts more explicit and specific into Kurdish target texts in the translation process.

This study is a qualitative research employing a content analysis method to thoroughly investigate how Ideational meaning is transferred in the translation of journalistic texts, political texts in particular. More specifically, it analyzes the patters of equivalence and shifts utilized in the transfer of Ideational meaning in the translated texts.

In a survey, 16 journalistic texts pertaining to the political issues were collected, comprising 8 English source texts along with their 8 Kurdish translations. The availability of the majority of the texts on their websites granted the researcher easy access to collect the electronic versions of the original texts and their translations from the official websites of the media organizations (see Appendix 1). Combining the source texts with the target texts builds up a corpus of around (**200**) words (see Appendix 1).

SFL theory as an analytical approach to translation analysis is adopted to investigate meaning transfer and its patterns of the corpus selected for the present research, which will be applied in the next section in detail.

Based on the principal objective of the research and the scope of the study, the present study attempts to answer the following research question. What are the patterns of Ideational meaning transfer that are systematically employed in the translation of political texts?

5. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The main purpose of current work is to analyze a corpus of political texts in order to find and discuss how the Ideational meaning is transferred in the translation of English source texts into Kurdish target texts. More specifically, in this section, the equivalence and shift patters adopted to render the English Ideational meaning into Kurdish are investigated.

5.1 IDEATIONAL MEANING

Ideational meaning is utilized to describe individual's all kinds of experiences of the world, referring to the representation of meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 30). Although it is comprised of two subtypes: Experiential and Logical meaning (Halliday, 1994: 179), this study deals with the Logical meaning under the Textual **meaning[1]**. As mentioned in chapter three, the Ideational meaning in a clause is realized downwards through the Transitivity system of lexicogrammar including Participants, Processes and Circumstances. The deep analysis and contrast of the Transitivity system, specifically of its three components, in the original texts and their translations employed in the study is a touchstone to find the patterns of meaning transfer in the political translation. The patterns, for Ideational meaning, are into four main kinds: equivalence, shift, addition, and omission.

4.1.1 EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

The term equivalence in translation refers to the replacement of a source language unit with its closet equivalent in a target language. The analysis of data reveals that the Ideational meaning of a clause is transferred semantically or pragmatically while translating news texts from English into Kurdish. In other words, the source and target text clause meanings are equivalence either literally or contextually, which will be given details below.

4.1.1.1 LITERAL EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

For Halliday, the clause is a practical level to be handled as a unit of translation. In view of this perception, what is employed to be the level of analysis is the clause. In doing so, the source and target clauses are equivalent in terms of Ideational meaning if the three components of transitivity, Process, Participant, and Circumstance, are equivalent in an original clause and its translation clause, as illustrated by the following example:

ST1	TT1

Our party **fights** for all the oppressed people of our country because we **believe** that fight **will lead** to greater freedom for everyone.	پارتەکەمان بۆ هەموو خەڵکی ستەملێکراوی وڵاتەکەمان دەجەنگێت، چونکە باوەرمان وایە ئەو شەرە رێگە بۆ ئازادی زیاتر بۆ هەموو کەس خۆشدەکات.

Segmenting the abovementioned English and Kurdish sentences into their clauses based on the rules addressed in the previous chapter shows that there are four clauses in each of them. This is mainly due to the reason that in order to obtain full Ideational equivalence between English ST and its Kurdish corresponding, the Transitivity elements of every individual clause, Participant, Process and Circumstance, are faithfully and accurately translated. To be clearer, the clauses are segmented into these three functional components.

In the example below, Actor, Material Process, and Circumstance of reason in both clauses are equivalence, and hence the clauses carry equivalent Ideational meaning.

Actor	Material Process	Circumstance (reason)
Our party	Fights	for all the oppressed people of our country
پـارتەکەمان	دەجـەنگێت	بۆ هەموو خــەڵکی ستەملێکراوی وڵاتەکەمان

Next example demonstrates that the translations of Senser, Mental Process, and Phenomenon are precisely equivalent to their original ones. Thus, the Ideational meaning is also equivalent.

Senser	Mental Process	Phenomenon
We	Believe	That fight will lead to greater freedom for everyone.
مان	باوەر......وایە	ئەو شەرە رێگە بۆ ئازادی زیاتر بۆ هەموو کەس خۆشدەکات.

Here, one point to be aware of is that since the Kurdish language is agglutinative, the Participant (مان) in the Kurdish clause is glued as affix to the verb.

In the example below, Actor, Mental Process, Circumstance, and Goal are equivalent in the English and Kurdish clauses, and consequently the SL Ideational meaning is equivalently reproduced in the TL. Importantly, the English Goal has been shifted to be a Kurdish Prepositional phrase (*for greater freedom*) as Circumstance of purpose; however, the Ideational meanings the two clauses express are completely equivalence.

Actor	Mental Process	Goal	Circumstance (cause)
Fight	will lead to	greater freedom	for everyone.

بۆ هەموو کەس	بۆ ئازادی زیاتر	ڕێگە بۆ خۆشدەکات..	ئەو شەڕە

Going through the corpus to analyze and contrast the pairs of texts, STs and TTs, it is obvious that the literal equivalence of Ideational meaning is a very common pattern adopted in the practice of translating news texts. This finding can be supplemented further with the examples from other texts. In the two examples below, the translators translate the Process and Participant variables of the clauses equivalently to achieve this pattern. Regarding the pronominal subject Participants, they are free-standing in the English clauses while they have the form of clitics, since Free-standing forms of the Kurdish personal pronoun are utilized for emphasis. For the sake of clarity the Process is bolded and the Participant is italicized in the next example.

ST7	TT7
Western powers **are** hardly blameless for the Middle East's woes.	هێزە رۆژئاواییەکان بەدەگمەن بێتاوانن سەبارەت بە کێشەکانی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست.

The analysis that the above examples report on has indicated that the three basic elements of the Transitivity system, Process, Participant, and Circumstance, have been placed on emphasis in the translation process in order to obtain literal equivalence of Ideational meaning. In this sense, are these forming components of Transitivity equal in significance to achieve literal equivalence? Next paragraph is a discussion to get an answer to this crucial question.

Due to special nature of every language in terms of words, phrases and syntactic structures and cultural differences, there is always an extent of meaning lost in the translation process, in other words, losing part of the meaning is inevitable. However, professional translators attempt to reduce this phenomenon as much as they can in the process. As explained, the equivalence of the three functional components of Ideational meaning, Process, Participant and Circumstance, is central to render this type of meaning at the level of clause faithfully from English into Kurdish. As per Halliday's SFG theory Transitivity lexicogrammar is central to Ideational metafunctional and through which the Ideational meaning of a clause can be realized (Halliday, 1985: 53). Furthermore, its three forming constituents are not equally handled in a clause; the first significance is attached to Process (Gerot and Wignell, 1994, p. 54) and the other two semantic categories, Participant and Circumstance are of second and last importance respectively (Butt et al., 2000, p. 46). From this perspective, a clausal Ideational meaning gets lost if Process is disregarded, that is to say, leaving Process out makes a translated clause does not ideationally match an original one. Thus, one can conclude that the Ideational meaning of the whole text is not accurately transferred if Process is not handled carefully.

The following examples illustrate that the translators working in the Kurdish media organizations at first give the highest value on the preservation of SL Process and Participant variables of the clause, and then there is a substantial degree of their attempt to translate Circumstance faithfully.

ST2	TT2
U.S. extends New START treaty with Russia *for five years* -Blinken	بلینکن: ئەمریکا درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەی نیوستارتی لەگەڵ رووسیا جێبەجێکرد

In the example above, the translator has left out only the temporal circumstance (*for five years*) in the Kurdish text. Therefore, this is the minimal reduction of Ideational meaning occurred at clause level owing to less significance of Circumstance to the meaning than other two components, Process an Participants. The same strategy is employed to miss out the entire Circumstance of location, as exemplified as follows

ST5	TT5
IED kills four Tunisian soldiers *in mountain region*	لە تەقینەوەیەکدا 4 سەربازی تونسی کوژران

Unlike the same form of leaving out the whole Circumstance, a part of it is missed out. In that regard, the following example shows that the translator has passed up two lexical items bolded to transfer the entire bolded Circumstance. This may be due to a couple of reasons. First, as discussed previously, this clausal constituent is not as central as Process and Participant to clausal Ideational function. Second, it may not be necessary for the translator to fill in the target audiences on the full details.

ST6	TT6
For the second time *in almost exactly a year*, the United States is bracing for a Senate impeachment showdown over Donald Trump's behavior.	بۆ دووەم جار *لە ماوەی یەک ساڵدا*، ئەنجوومەنی پیرانی ئەمریکا خۆی بۆ لێپرسینەوە لە دۆناڵد ترەمپ، سەرۆکی پێشوو ئاماده دەکات.

As far as Process is concerned, consider that, in Halliday's opinion, it is extremely the most prominent semantic component of a clause. From that perspective, missing out this variable results in a loss of the whole clausal Ideational meaning. Therefore, translating Process in not an easy task, in other words, what always poses a real risk of translating the exact Ideational function is the loss of Process. The reason behind the centrality of this component is that leaving out Participant or Circumstance makes the clausal Ideational meaning gets partially lost, while it is completely missed out if Process is left out. This can be illustrated in the following example in which the translator has missed out two entire bolded and italicized clauses by virtue of the loss of their Processes.

ST3	TT3
Two witnesses also told Reuters they heard a loud explosion. Smoke plume was observed in the neighborhood after the blast, the witnesses reported.	لەوبارەیەوە دو شایەتحاڵی تەقینەوەکە باسیان لەوە کردوه که گوێیان لەتەقینەوەکە بوه و گڕو دوکەڵێکی زۆریشیان بەچاوی خۆیان بینیوه.

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The fundamental implications arising from the aforementioned discussion is that the equivalence of Ideational meaning distinguishes a translation text from all non-translation products. In the support of this statement, Halliday's argument for the concept of equivalence of Ideational meaning in the translation process is as follows:

"if a text does not match its source text ideationally, it does not qualify as a translation, so the question whether it is a good translation does not arise". (Halliday, 2001: 16)

Additionally, the transfer of Ideational meaning can be considered a criterion to show the extent of the appropriate of a translation, in other words, how well a translation is. Therefore, it makes translators always consider achieving equivalence of this kind of meaning in the translation texts. To do this, if the three semantic categories of a source language clause, Process, Participant and Circumstance, can be rendered literally, the pattern of literal equivalence of Ideational meaning is obtained. Nevertheless, if adopting this pattern is not accurate and faithful to translate the Ideational function for guarantying high quality of translation, the translator needs to provide functional equivalence or contextual equivalence.

4.1.1.2 CONTEXTUAL EQUIVALENCE OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

As mentioned in chapter three, SFL is a linguistic model that studies language in use and primarily directs meticulous attention to texts in their situational and cultural contexts. Additionally, the theory tackles meaning co-textually, situationally and culturally. From this perception, apart from literal equivalence of Ideational meaning, it is crucial for the translator to achieve contextual or co-textual equivalence of meaning when the clausal Ideational function can contextually or co-textually be understood rather than what it literally implies. For example, the italicized English clause means literally (*there is concern within the U.S. within intelligence community*). But according to this situation, the translator translated into (دەزگاکانی هەواڵگری ئەمەریکایی ترسیان هەیە) which literally means (*the U.S. intelligence community shows fear*) based on his/her experience and background knowledge about news texts. The translator comprehends the intended meaning of the word (*concern*) which is used by the source text author to hide the U.S intelligence community's fear in the co-text.

ST4	TT4
There is concern within the U.S. intelligence community that the hackers who targeted the Treasury Department and the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications and Information Administration used a similar tool to break into other government agencies, according to three people briefed on the matter.	سەرچاوەکانی "رۆیتەرز" ئاماژەیانکرد، *دەزگاکانی هەواڵگری ئەمەریکایی ترسیان هەیە*، لەوەی هاککەرمەکان شێوازی هاوشێوە بەکاربێن بۆ هاککردنی دەزگا حکومییەکانی دیکە لە ویلایەتە یەکگرتووەکانی ئەمەریکا.

In the above analysis, some points can be implicated. Most importantly, translators specialized in the political field have a clear tendency to choose functional or contextual

equivalence pattern in order to render what the source texts really implies. Additionally, they often attempt to achieve functional equivalence of the Ideational meaning rather than its semantic equivalence to help target audiences comprehend the message of the text.

4.1.2 SHIFT OF IDEATIONAL MEANING

The term shift which was first introduced by Catford (1965) refers to the changes taking place in the translation process. It arises at the lexicogrammar as the lower level of language and at textual thematic level. In the light of the functional grammar model, the Ideational meaning pertaining to the representation of meaning is realized the Transitivity system of lexicogrammar. From this standpoint, this section discusses the translation shifts of Ideational meaning-arising from the translational choices in the system of Transitivity. More to the point, shift in clausal Ideational function occurs when the Transitivity components, Process, Participant and Circumstance, do not represent their straightforward equivalent of the original text. With the aim of making a systemic analysis, the shifts of Ideational meaning are categorized based on the forming elements involving in the shift.

4.1.2.1 SHIFT IN PROCESS

Process is one of the three variables of the Transitivity resources, which specifies the activity in a clause. Hallidayan linguistics categorizes this central constitute into six types: Material, Mental, Verbal, Behavioural, Existential and Relational (Eggins, 2004, p. 213). As they are different from each other in terms of the function, making changes in their functions in the process of going from the original text into its translation is considered as shift. For instance, these two clauses, *there are six students in the course* and *Six students are attending the course*, from the perspective of SFL, do not have the same meaning or function. The former includes an Existential process while the latter has a Material one. The analysis and discussion of the journalistic texts chosen as the data for the purposes of the present research shows that shifts of Process occur in the translation process, as exemplified and investigated below.

D. VERBAL PROCESS TO BEHAVIOURAL PROCESS

The analysis indicates that the translators have shifted Verbal process to another type of Process. In the following example, the Verbal process in the English clause, *The U.S. State Department **said** on Friday (September 11)*, has been changed to a Behavioural process in the Kurdish translated text (دویَنیَ هةیني (11 ايلول) حكومةتي واشنتن ئامادةيي خؤيي نيشانئدا). This shift in the translation of Process makes the clausal Ideational meanings of the source and target texts do not become equivalent since the function of Verbal process is different from Behavioural process. In this case, it might be more appropriate to preserve the English Verbal process in the translation to achieve functional equivalence, i.e. to render into (دویَنیَ هةیني (11 ايلول) حكومةتي واشنتن رِايطةیان ئامادةيي). However, the complex nature of both languages involved in the translation process illustrates that the translation's choice could be a good choice although this might not be the most careful one.

ST8	TT8
The U.S. State Department **said** on Friday (September 11) it was prepared to hold direct talks with North Korea to try to coax it back into multilateral negotiations on ending its nuclear programs.	دوێنێ هەینی (11 ایلول) حکومەتی واشنتن ئامادەیی خۆیی **نیشاندا** بۆ سازدانی طفتوطۆی راستەوخۆ لەگەڵ کۆریای باکوور وەك هەوڵێك بۆ طێڕانەوەی کۆریای باکوور بۆناو دانووستاندنة هەلایەنەکانی ئەوتوقەست بة کۆتاهێنانی ژرۆطرامة ئەتۆمیەتكەتی کۆریای باکوور.

E. MATERIAL PROCESS TO RELATIONAL PROCESS

Instances of translation shifts of Process identified in the corpus employed in this study include the shift of Material process. In that respect, the following example is an instance in which the Material process in the English clause has been replaced by a Relational process in the Kurdish clause. As a result of this change, shifting English Material process (*faces*) to Kurdish Relational process (بووە) can be of serious detriment to fully equivalent of Ideational meaning because each of them, according to SFL, carries out its own particular function which is different from the other one. Therefore, in order to avoid functional loss, it would be more preferable to preserve the English Material process and translate the English clause as (**تونس ڕووبەڕووی هەڕەشەیەکی بچووك و** **بەردەوامی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان دەبێتەوە**). However, although the Kurdish clause does not fulfil the exact Ideational function as the source language clause, it may be the best choice under the requirement of the editorial policies. This is because, in the light of SFG, editorial policies serve as the situational context that plays a leading role in determining choices in texts.

ST5	TT5
Tunisia **faces** a small but persistent militant threat, foreign diplomats focused on security say.	هەڕەشەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لەسەر تونس ئەگەر چی بچووك **بووە**، لە ماوەی ڕابردوودا بەردەوام بووە

F. MATERIAL PROCESS TO EXISTENTIAL PROCESS

Besides the two aforementioned shifts in the translation of Process, the analysis of the data indicates another kind in which Material process has been shifted to Existential process. For instance, the English Material process (*hole up*) has been shifted to Kurdish Existential process (هەن) (*there are*). Therefore, the English and Kurdish clausal Ideational meanings are not fully equivalent since their Process variables have different functions. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to retain the English Material process in order to achieve complete equivalence. To do this, the English clause can be replaced by (**لە تونس ژمارەیەک شانەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لە ناوچە شاخاوییەکان هەن،**) literally means (*A number of militant cells holed up in remote mountain regions in Tunisia*).

ST5	TT5

As well as jihadist cells **<u>holed up</u>** in remote mountain regions, who have not made successful forays beyond their strongholds in recent years, there is also a threat from militants radicalised online.	له تونس ژمارەیەک شانەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لە ناوچە شاخاوییەکان هە**ن**، بەڵام نەیانتوانیوە لە شار و لەم کاتەدا. شارۆچکەکان جێگیرەبن بڵابوونەوەی بیری توندئاژۆیی لەسەر ئینتەرنێتیش هەڕەشە لەو .وڵاتەی باکووری ئەفریقا دەکات

4.1.2.2 SHIFT IN CIRCUMSTANCE

Circumstance as the least important element of the lexicogrammatical system of Transitivity makes available circumstantial information on Processes. There are different grammatical forms for Circumstance. Translation shifts influences this components to convert from one grammatical form to another, which can be described as Circumstance shifts. Below are two examples for the purpose of illustration.

ST7	TT7
The current "war on terror" will *increasingly* be replaced by this hegemonic conflict.	ئەم شەڕەی ئێستا "لەدژی تیرۆر" **بەشێوەیەکی** ***روولەزیاد*** لەلایەن ئەم شەڕ و ململانێ هەژموونیەوە جێگای دەگیرێتەوە.

This example represents the translation shift of Circumstance resulting from a grammatical conversion by which the English adverb of manner (*increasingly*) has been shifted to a Kurdish prepositional phrase (بەشێوەیەکی روولەزیاد) (*in an increasing way*) functioning as Circumstance. To sum up, the reason why this pattern of shift is adopted may stem from the following excuses. Although the Kurdish prepositional phrase consists of four lexical items and is longer than the English adverb, such shift could be the most appropriate, since the prepositional phrase as Circumstance of manner is more common in spoken and written in the Kurdish language. Moreover, the translator may intend to make the Ideational meaning of the translation text more clear.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In order to render the Ideational meaning, which is realized through the system of Transitivity, several patterns are used to completely and accurately render the Ideational meaning of the original texts. On the basis of the analysis and discussion above, the translators have adopted the following patters to transfer Ideational meaning of political texts while translating from English into Kurdish: equivalence and shift. More specifically, literal equivalence of Ideational meaning, contextual equivalence of Ideational meaning, shift in Process and shift in Circumstance are identified as the main patterns that are systematically employed in the translation of journalistic texts. Moreover, the analysis shows that leaving out the Process component is very few due its centrality to the Ideational meaning. In that regard, omitting Circumstance is very high in comparison with Process and Participants in order to reduce the loss of Ideational meaning. This stems from the fact that Process and Participant are two crucial components of Ideational meaning. Thus, due to the complexity of political texts in terms of structure and terminology, the translators have attempted to adopt a number of

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strategies and patterns to render the Ideational meaning of English source texts more explicit and specific into Kurdish target texts in the translation process.

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APPENDIX

No.	Source Text Title	Author	Source Text Publication	Type	Target Text Title	Target Text Publication
1.	Voters chose me as their mayor. President Erdogan had other ideas.	Ahmet Turk	Washington Post	Opinion	دەنگدەرەکان منیان وەک سەرۆک شارەوانی هەڵبژارد، سەرۆک ئەردۆغان بیرۆکەی دیکەی هەبوو	Rudaw
2.	U.S. extends New START treaty with Russia for five years –Blinken	Doina Chiacu and Susan Heavey	Reuters	News report	لینکن: ئەمریکا درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەی نیوستارتی لەگەڵ رووسیا جێبەجێکرد	Rudaw
3.	Explosion heard in central Madrid	Reuters Staff	Reuters	News report	دەنگی تەقینەوەیەکی گەورە لەمەدریدی پایتەختی ئیسپانیا بیسترا	Xendan
4.	REFILE-EXCLUSIVE-U.S. Treasury breached by hackers backed by foreign government – sources	Christopher Bing	Reuters	News report		Gulan
5.	IED kills four Tunisian soldiers in mountain region	Angus McDowall	Reuters	News report	لە تەقینەوەیەکدا 4 سەربازی تونسی کوژران	Rudaw
6.			Associated Press	News report	راپرسییەک: 47%ی ئەمریکییەکان لەگەڵ سزادانی ترەمپدان	Rudaw
7.	The Middle East's Next War	JOSCHKA FISCHER	Project Syndicate	Opinion	جەنگی داهاتووی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست	Xendan
8.	U.S. says ready for direct talks with North Korea.	Reuters Staff	Reuters	News report	ئەمریکا رایگەیاند ئامادەیە طفتوطۆی راستەوخۆیە لەگەڵ کۆریای باکوور	Newroz

ST1	TT1

Voters chose me as their mayor. President Erdogan had other ideas.

On March 31, I was reelected as the mayor of Mardin, Turkey. For me, as for so many of my colleagues in the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), this was no ordinary vote — we were running to retake positions from which we had been arbitrarily expelled.

I was first elected as mayor in Mardin in 2014. Yet just two years into my five-year term, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan cracked down on Kurdish politics and civil society, removing nearly 100 HDP mayors from our posts and replacing them with state appointees.

While I and dozens of my colleagues were jailed on terrorism charges — but in reality for the offense of having won a democratic vote — our unelected replacements worked to suffocate the will of the people. They removed the Kurdish language from public life, suppressed demonstrations and reportedly spent public funds on lavish gifts for other state officials.

When I was released from prison and allowed to run for my seat once again, I was committed to righting the wrongs that these placeholders had inflicted on my constituents.

On Aug. 19, history repeated itself. I learned from the television news that I, along with the HDP mayors of Diyarbakir and Van, had once again been removed from office by an order from the Interior Ministry. Since then, our supporters have been in the streets, facing water cannons and beatings simply for demanding that their votes should count.

We all stand accused of supporting terrorism. In reality, like the tens of thousands of people hit with this catchall charge under Erdogan, all we had done was oppose the government's tyrannical policies. The three of us represent the third-largest political party in Turkey. The relevant authorities approved all of our mayoral candidacies before we ran. We won easy majorities, increasing the HDP's vote

دەنگدەرەکان منیان وەک سەرۆک شارەوانی هەڵبژارد، سەرۆک ئەردۆغان بیرۆکەی دیکەی هەبوو

رۆژی 31ی ئادار، وەک سەرۆک شارەوانی مێردینی توركیا هەڵبژێردرامەوە. ئەوە هەڵبژاردنێکی ئاسایی نەبوو بۆ من و ژمارەیەکی زۆر لە هاوكارەکانم لە پارتی دیموكراسیی گەلان- هەدەیە. ئێمە بەشداربیمان لە هەڵبژاردنەكەدا کرد بۆ وەرگرتنەوەی ئەو پۆستانەی کە بەزۆر لێمان سەنداربوون.

من یەکەمجار لە ساڵی 2014 وەک سەرۆک شارەوانی ماردین هەڵبژێردرام، بەڵام تەنیا دوای دوو ساڵ لەو ماوە پێنج ساڵییەی کە ماوەی دەسەڵاتی سەرۆک شارەوانی هەڵبژێردراوە، سەرۆک رەجەب تەییب ئەردۆغان دەستی بە سەركوتكردنی سیاسەتی كوردی و کۆمەڵگەی مەدەنی کرد، نزیکەی 100 سەرۆک شارەوانی هەدەیە لە پۆستەکان دوورخستەوە و کەسانی سەر بە حکومەتی لەشوێن دانان.

لەکاتێکدا من و دەیانی دیکە لە هاوكارەکانم بە تۆمەتی تیرۆریزم زیندانیکراین - بەڵام لە راستیدا بەهۆی بردنەوەی دەنگدانێکی دیموكراسییەوە بوو- ئەو کەسانەی لە شوێنمان دانران بۆ خنکاندنی ویستی خەڵک کاریانکرد. ئەوان زمانی كوردییان لە شوێنە گشتییەکان لابرد، خۆپیشاندانەکانیان سەركوتكردن و بەگوێرەی راپۆرتەکانیش، داهاتی گشتییان بە دیاریی گرانبەها بۆ بەرپرسانی دیکەی وڵات خەرجکرد.

کاتێک لە زیندان ئازادکرام و ڕێگەم پێدرا بۆئەوەی جارێکی دیکە بۆ پۆستەکەم خۆم بەربژێر بکەمەوە، پابەندبووم بە راستکردنەوەی ئەو هەڵانەی ئەو کەسانە بەرامبەر دەنگدەرانم کردبوویان.

رۆژی 19ی ئاب، مێژوو خۆی دووبارەکردەوە. لە هەواڵی تەلەفزیۆنەکانەوە زانیم کە من و سەرۆک شارەوانییەکانی دیاربەکر و وان جارێکی دیکە بە فەرمانێکی وەزارەتی ناوخۆ لە پۆستەکان دوورخراوینەتەوە. لەو کاتەوە، پاڵپشتیکارانمان لە شەقامەکانن و لێیان دەدرێت و بە ئاو بڵاویان پێدەکرێت، تەنیا لەبەرئەوەی داوا دەکەن ڕێز لە دەنگەکانیان بگیرێت.

ئێمە هەموومان تۆمەتبارکراوین بە پاڵپشتیکردن لەتیرۆریزم. لەراستیدا، ئەوەی کردوومانە بریتیبووە لە دژایەتیکردنی سیاسەتە دیکتاتۆرییەکانی حکومەت، هاوشێوەی دەیان هەزار کەس کە لەژێر دەسەڵاتی ئەردۆغاندا هەمان تۆمەتیان ئاراستە کراوە. ئەو سێ کەسەمان نوێنەرایەتی سێیەمین پارتی سیاسیی گەورە لە توركیادا دەکەین. پێش هەڵبژاردنەکە بەرپرسانی پەیوەندیدار بەربژێربوونی ئێمەیان بۆ پۆستی

shares in areas where it was already strong.	سەرۆک شارەوانی پەسندکرد. ئێمه به ئاسانی زۆرینەمان بەدەستهێنا و دەنگی هەدەپەمان لەو ناوچانه زیادکرد که پێشتریش تیایاندا پارتەکه بەهێزبوو.
But then came Aug. 19. And as on so many previous occasions before when the government decided to choose between democracy and force, it picked the latter.	بەلام دواتر رۆژی 19ی ئاب هات و وەک زۆر بۆنەی دیکەی پێشوو کاتێک حکومەت بریاریدا له نێوان دیموکراسی و هێزدا یەکێکیان هەلبژێرێت، دووەمیانی هەلبژارد.
Like tens of millions of Kurds across our region, I am no stranger to state repression. Since I was first elected to the Turkish Parliament in 1973, I have been removed from office multiple times and spent more than five years in jail, simply for doing the work my constituents elected me to do. Before joining the HDP, I participated in the founding of several pro-Kurdish parties, all of which were shut down as a result of politically motivated show trials.	وەک دەیان ملیۆن کوردی سەرانسەری ناوچەکەمان، سەرکوتکردن له لایەن حکومەتەوه بەلامەوه شتێکی نامۆ نییه. لەو کاتەوەی وەک پەرلەمانتاری تورکیا له سالی 1973 هەلبژێردراوم، چەندینجار له پۆست لابراوم و زیاتر له پێنج سالم له زیندان بەسەربردووه، ئەوەش بەهۆی ئەنجامدانی ئەو کارەی که دەنگدەرانم منیان بۆی هەلبژاردووه. پێش پەیوەندیکردن به هەدەپەوه، له دامەزراندنی هەندێک پارتی نزیک له کورد بەشداریمکرد، که هەموویان وەک ئەنجامی دادگایی پالنەرسیاسیی داخران.
These anti-democratic offenses have always been justified in the name of fighting "terrorism" or "separatism" — even as the government terrorized civilians and frustrated any effort to achieve peace. When the international community asks why Erdogan felt empowered to annul an Istanbul mayoral election earlier this year or to jail so many of his critics without trials, it must recognize that his predecessors have spent the past several decades refining these tactics against the Kurdish people.	ئەم هێرشه دژه دیموکراسییانه هەمیشه بەناوی "تیرۆریزم" یان "جیاکاری"یەوه شەرعیەتیان پێدراوه- ئەوه لەکاتێکدایه حکومەت خەلکی دەتۆقێنێت و هەر هەولێکی بەئاراستەی دەستکەوتنی ئاشتی شکستیپێهێناوه. کاتێک کۆمەلگەی نێودەولەتی پرسیار دەکات که بۆچی ئەردۆغان هەست دەکات ئەو دەسەلاتەی هەیه هەلبژاردنی سەرۆکایەتیی شارەوانی ئیستەنبوولی سەرەتای ئەمسال هەلبوەشێنێتەوه یان ژمارەیەکی زۆر لەرەخنەگرانی بی دادگاییکردن زیندانی بکات، دەبێت ئەوەش بزانێت که سەرکردەکانی پێش ئەردۆغان چەندین دەیەیان به بەکارهێنانی ئەو تاکتیکانه دژی خەلکی کورد بەسەربرد.
Erdogan is now threatening Istanbul Mayor Ekrem Imamoglu with the same treatment I have faced. His definition of "terrorism" has expanded to include not only the state's traditional victims but also all who dare to show solidarity with them. This development makes one truth clearer than it has ever been: Turkey cannot be a true democracy for any of its citizens until it becomes one for its Kurdish population.	ئێستا ئەردۆغان هەرەشه له ئەکرەم ئیمامۆغلو، سەرۆک شارەوانیی ئیستەنبوول دەکات به ئەنجامدانی هەمان جۆره مامەله لەگەل من کرا. پێناسەی "تیرۆریزم"ی ئەردۆغان بەرفراونبووه بۆ لەخۆگرتنی ئەو کەسانەش که هاوسۆزی خۆیان بۆ قوربانییه تەقلیدییەکانی ولات پیشاندەدەن. ئەم پێشهاته زیاتر له هەر کاتێکی دیکه شتێک روونتر پیشاندەدات، ئەویش ئەوەیه تورکیا ناتوانێت ببێته دیموکراسییەکی راستەقینه بۆ هیچکام له هاوولاتییەکانی ئەگەر نەبێته دیموکراسییەکی راستەقینه بۆ خەلکی کورد.
That is what the HDP is working toward — and that is why the elements of the state that use autocracy to enrich and empower themselves at the expense of their people attack us. What matters now is whether this understanding is reciprocated.	ئەمەش ئەو شتەیه که هەدەپه کاری بۆ دەکات- وه هەربۆیەشه دامەزراوەکانی ولات که دەسەلاتی تاکرەوی بۆ دەولەمەندکردن و بەهێزکردنی خۆیان لەسەر حسابی خەلکی بەکاردەهێنن، هێرشمان دەکەنەسەر.

Many who otherwise value democracy, both in Turkey and internationally, have been silent when our party's efforts to defend it are attacked. Each time a fair vote is overturned without outcry, the state becomes more confident that it can do so again. Our party fights for all the oppressed people of our country because we believe that fight will lead to greater freedom for everyone. It is time for all who value that freedom to join us. While I may no longer hold elected office, I am as dedicated to defending the will of the people as ever. We can stand up to those who renounce democracy and pluralism only by reaffirming the strength of our unrelenting and universal commitment to both principles. After so many years of repression, I still believe that it is possible to have a future where that commitment is the basis of government.	ژمارەیەکی زۆر لەوانەی که ڕیز لە دیموکراسی دەگرن، چ لە ناو تورکیا و چ لە لەسەرئاستی نێودەوڵەتی، بێدەنگبوون، ئەوەش کاتێک هەوڵەکانی پارتەکەمان بۆ پارێزگاریکردن لە دیموکراسی هێرشیانکرایەسەر. هەموو جارێک که هەڵبژاردنێکی بێگەرد بێ دەربڕینی نارەزایی توەند هەڵدەوەشێندرێتەوە، دەسەڵات زیاتر دڵنیا دەبێت که دەتوانێت ئەو کارە دووبارە بکاتەوە. پارتەکەمان بۆ هەموو خەڵکی ستەملێکراوی وڵاتەکەمان دەجەنگێت، چونکه باوەڕمان وایە ئەو شەڕە ڕێگە بۆ ئازادی زیاتر بۆ هەموو کەس خۆشدەکات. کاتی ئەوەیە هەموو ئەوانەی که ڕیز لەو ئازادییە دەگرن، پەیوەندییمان پێوە بکەن. لەکاتێکدا دەکرێت جارێکی دیکە پۆستی هەڵبژێردراو لەئەستۆ نەگرم، وەک هەمیشە پابەندم به پارێزگاریکردن لە ویستی خەڵک. دەتوانین ڕووبەڕووی ئەوانە ببینەوە که پشت لە دیموکراسی و فرەیی دەکەن، ئەوەش تەنیا لەرێگەی دووپاتکردنەوەی بەهێزیی پابەندبوونە بەردەوام و جیهانییەکەمان به هەردوو بنەماکەوە. دوای چەندین ساڵ لە چەوساندنەوە، هێشتا باوەڕم وایە که دەکرێت داهاتوویەک هەبێت که تیایدا ئەو پابەندبوونە بنەمای حکومەت بێت.
ST2	TT2
U.S. extends New START treaty with Russia for five years -Blinken WASHINGTON, Feb 3 (Reuters) - The United States on Wednesday extended the New START treaty with Russia for five years, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinksen said. "Extending the New START Treaty ensures we have verifiable limits on Russian ICBMs, SLBMs, and heavy bombers until February 5, 2026," Blinken said in a statement. President Joe Biden's administration said last month it would seek the extension. The arms control treaty, which is due to expire on Feb. 5, limits the United States and Russia to deploying no more than 1,550 strategic nuclear warheads each.	بلینکن: ئەمریکا درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەی نیوستارتی لەگەڵ ڕووسیا جێبەجێکرد ئەنتۆنی بلینکن، وەزیری دەرەوەی ئەمریکا رۆژی چوارشەممە، ٣ی شوبات، رایگەیاند، ئەمریکا پەیماننامەی نیو ستارتی بۆ پێنچ ساڵ لەگەڵ ڕووسیا درێژکردەوە. بلینکن لە ڕاگەیێندراوێکدا رایگەیاند، "درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەی نیو ستارت دڵنیامان دەکاتەوە لە هەبوونی سنوور لەسەر موووشەکە باڵستیە کیشوەربڕەکان و مووشەکی کەشتیە ژێردەریاییەکان و بۆمبە زەبەلاحەکانی ڕووسیا تا ٥ی شوباتی ٢٠٢٦." ئیدارەی جۆ بایدن مانگی رابردوو رایگەیاند، هەوڵی درێژکردنەوەی پەیماننامەکە دەدات. پەیماننامەکە لە ئەگەری درێژنەکردنەوەی، رۆژی ٥ی ئەم مانگه بەسەردەچوو پەیماننامەکە ئەمریکا و ڕووسیا ناچاردەکات که هەر یەکەیان لە هەزار و ٥٥٠ کڵاوەی ئەتۆمی زیاتر جێگیرنەکەن.
ST3	TT3

| **Explosion heard in central Madrid**

MADRID (Reuters) - A loud explosion was heard in central Madrid on Wednesday, several local media including La Sexta TV and El Pais said.

La Sexta TV quoted government sources saying it may have been a gas leak. Officials could not immediately confirm. Two witnesses also told Reuters they heard a loud explosion. Smoke plume was observed in the neighborhood after the blast, the witnesses reported.   Emergency services could not immediately confirm what had happened. | دەنگی تەقینەوەیەکی گەورە لەمەدریدی پایتەختی ئیسپانیا بیسترا

ئاژانسی رۆیتەرز بڵاویکردەوە، کەمێک بەرلەئێستا دەنگی تەقینەوەیەکی گەورە لەمەدریدی پایتەختی ئیسپانیا بیستراوە.

ئاژانسی رۆیتەرز لەکەناڵێکی ناوخۆیی ئیسپانیاوە گواستییەوە کە کەمێک بەرلەئێستا دەنگی تەقینەوەیەکی گەورە لەمەدریدی پایتەختی ئیسپانیا بیستراوە، لەتۆڕە کۆمەڵایەتییەکانیش وێنەی ڤیدیۆیی چەند دیمەنێک بڵاوکرایەوە کە لەسەریان نوسرابو لەهوبارەیەوە دو شایەتحاڵی. تەقینەوەکەی ئەمرۆی مەدرید تەقینەوەکە باسیان لەوە کردوە کە گوێیان لەتەقینەوەکە بوە و تائێستا. گرو دوکەڵێکی زۆریشیان بەچاوی خۆیان بینیوە پۆلیسی مەدرید و تیمەکانی خزمەتگوزاری خێرا هیچ زانیارییەکیان لەوبارەیەوە ئاشکرانەکردوە. |
| ST4 | TT4 |

REFILE-EXCLUSIVE-U.S. Treasury breached by hackers backed by foreign government – sources Dec 13 (Reuters) - A sophisticated hacking group backed by a foreign government stole information from the U.S. Treasury Department and a U.S. agency responsible for deciding policy around the internet and telecommunications, according to people familiar with the matter. "The United States government is aware of these reports and we are taking all necessary steps to identify and remedy any possible issues related to this situation," said National Security Council spokesman John Ullyot. There is concern within the U.S. intelligence community that the hackers who targeted the Treasury Department and the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications and Information Administration used a similar tool to break into other government agencies, according to three people briefed on the matter. The hack is so serious it led to a National Security Council meeting at the White House on Saturday, said one of the people familiar with the matter. (Reporting by Christopher Bing; Editing by Daniel Wallis)	ئاژانسی "ڕۆیتەرز" ئەمڕۆ یەکشەممە ڕایگەیاند، هەردوو وەزارەتی گەنجینە و بازرگانی ئەمەریکایی دووچاری هێرشێکی سایبەرانی سەرکەوتوو بوومەتەوە کە لە لایەن گرووپێکی هاکەرەوە ئەنجامدراوە بە پشتیوانی دەوڵەتێکی دیکە. . ڕۆیتەرز لە سێ کەسی ئاگادار لە بابەتەکەی گواستووەتەوە، جەختیان کردووەتەوە لەسەر ئەوەی کۆمەڵێمیەکی هاکەری پێشکەوتوو توانیویانە، داتاکانی وەزارەتی گەنجینە و ئیدارەی سەر (NTIA) نیشتیمانی بۆ پەیوەندییەکان و زانیاری وەزارەتی بازرگانی، کە تایبەتمەندە بە دەستنیشانکردنی سیاسەتەکانی حکومەت لەبواری ئینتەرنێت و پەیوەندییەکاندا بدزن. یەکێک لە کەسە ئاگادارەکان بە ئاژانسەکەی گوتووە: مەترسی ئەو هێرشە سایبەرانییە سەرکەوتوو گەیشتە ئەو ئاستەی داوا لە ئەنجوومەنی ئاسایشی نەتەوەیی کرا، دوێنی شەممە، کۆبوونەوەیەك لەسەر بابەتەکە لە کۆشکی سپی ئەنجامدا. سەرچاوەکانی "ڕۆیتەرز" ئاماژەیانکرد، دەزگاکانی هەواڵگری ئەمەریکایی ترسیان هەیە، لەوەی هاکەرەکان شێوازی هاوشێوە بەکاربێن بۆ هاککردنی دەزگا حکومییەکانی دیکە لە ویلایەتە یەکگرتووەکانی ئەمەریکا.
ST5	TT5

	له تەقینەوەیەکدا 4 سەربازی تونسی کوژران
IED kills four Tunisian soldiers in mountain region	
TUNIS (Reuters) - An improvised explosive device killed four Tunisian soldiers patrolling in a mountain region near the Algerian border, Defence Ministry spokesman Mohammed Zekri said on Wednesday.	وەزارەتی بەرگریی تونس رایگەیاند، لە سەر سنووری نێوان ئەو وڵاتە و جەزائیر، بۆمبێکی چێندراو بە سەربازانی وڵاتەکەیدا تەقیوەتەوە و چواریانی لێ کوشتووە.
The mountainous Moghila area, near the impoverished city of Kasserine, is home to an Islamist militant group that the Tunisian army has been fighting for years. Tunisia faces a small but persistent militant threat, foreign diplomats focused on security say.	ناوچەی شاخاوی موغیلە لە نزیک شاری هەژارنشینی قەسرەین پەناگەی گرووپێکی پەرگیرە کە چەندین ساڵە هەرەشەی گرووپە. سوپای تونس دژی دەجەنگێت پەرگیرەکان لەسەر تونس ئەگەر چی بچووک بووە، لە ماوەی رابردوودا بەردەوام بووە.
As well as jihadist cells holed up in remote mountain regions, who have not made successful forays beyond their strongholds in recent years, there is also a threat from militants radicalised online.	لە تونس ژمارەیەک شانەی گرووپە پەرگیرەکان لە ناوچە شاخاوییەکان هەن، بەڵام نەیانتوانیوە لە شار و شارۆچکەکان لەم کاتەدا بڵابوونەوەی بیری تووندئاژۆیی لەسەر جێگیربن. ئینتەرنێتیش هەرەشە لەو وڵاتەی باکووری ئەفریقا دەکات.
Last year militants tried to attack the U.S. embassy in Tunis, killing a policeman at a security point with a suicide vest, and months later stabbed two security officers in a knife attack in the city of Sousse.	ساڵی رابردوو، ژمارەیەک چەکدار هەوڵیاندا هێرشبکەنە سەر باڵیۆزخانەی ئەمریکا لە تونسی پایتەختی ئەو وڵاتە، یەکێکیان خۆی بە خاڵێکی پشکنیندا تەقاندەوە و پۆلیسێکی کوشت؛ چەند مانگێک دوای ئەوە، چەکدارێکی دیکە لە شاری سووسە بە چەقۆ دوو ئەفسەری پۆلیسی برینداردکرد.
In October, a young Tunisian migrant arrived in France and immediately killed three people in a church.	مانگی تشرینی یەکەمی ساڵی رابردوو، گەنجێکی کۆچبەری تونسی، ماوەیەکی کەم دوای گەیشتنی بە فەرەنسا، سێ کەسی لە کەنیسەیەکدا کوشت.
ST6	TT6

راپرسییەک: 47%ی ئەمریکییەکان لەگەڵ سزادانی ترەمپدان

بۆ دووەم جار لە ماوەی یەک ساڵدا، ئەنجوومەنی پیرانی ئەمریکا خۆی بۆ لێپرسینەوە لە دۆناڵد ترەمپ، سەرۆکی پێشوو ئامادە دەکات. راپرسییەکیش دەریدەخات، 47%ی ئەمریکییەکان لەگەڵ سزادانی سەرۆکی پێشوویان.

For the second time in almost exactly a year, the United States is bracing for a Senate impeachment showdown over Donald Trump's behavior.

ئەم جارەیان، ئەندامانی ئەنجوومەنی نوێنەران داوا دەکەن ترەمپ سزابدرێت و دەرفەتی خۆبەربژێرکردنەوەی لێ قەدەخەبکرێت، چونکە بە گوتەی ئەوان، سەرۆکی پێشوو ژیانی هەموو ئەندامانی کۆنگرێسی خستە مەترسییەوە، ئەوەش کاتێک لە 6ی کانونی دووەم کۆمەڵێک لە لایەنگرەکانی هەڵیانکوتایە سەر باڵەخانەی کۆنگرێس.

This time, House impeachment managers are arguing the former president should be convicted and barred from future office because he endangered the lives of all members of Congress when he aimed his angry mob of supporters at the U.S. Capitol last month.

لە کاتێکدا کە زۆرینەی ئەمریکییەکان پێیانوایە ترەمپ بەرپرسیارە لە بەشێک لە تووندوتیژییەکانی ئەو رۆژە، کەمتر لە نیوەیان لەگەڵ ئەوەدان سزابدرێت.

But while a majority of Americans believe Trump bears at least some blame for the violent events on January 6th, only about half think the Senate should vote to convict the former president.

بە گوێرەی راپرسییەک کە لەلایەن سەنتەری لێکۆڵینەوەی کاروباری گشتیی سەر بە ئاژانسی هەواڵی ئەسۆشیەتد پرێس کراوە، 47%ی ئەمریکییەکان دەڵێن، پێویستە ترەمپ سزابدرێت، لە کاتێکدا 40%ی دیکەیان دژی سزادانین. 12%ش دڵنیا نین.

A new survey from the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research finds that 47% of Americans say Trump should be convicted, while 40% believe he should not.

هەر هەمان راپرسی نیشانیدەدات، لە هەر 10 کەس، 6 یان پێیانوایە ترەمپ کەم ریزی لە دامەزراوە و نەریتە دیموکراسییەکانی وڵاتەکەی گرتووە یانیش هەر هیچ ریزی بۆیان نەبووە.

The poll also finds that about 6 in 10 think Trump has little to no respect for the country's democratic institutions and traditions.

باربارا پێری کە مێژوونووسی بواری سەرۆکایەتیی ئەمریکایە و هاوکات بەرێوەبەری لێکۆڵینەوەکانی ئەو بوارییە لە سەنتەری میلەری سیاسی سەر بە زانکۆی ڤێرجینیا دەڵێت "پێنموایە ژمارەیەکی زۆری خەڵک هەن کە لە ترەمپ بێزاربوون. دەیانویست بە دەنگدان لە دژی لە کارەکەی دووربخەنەوە. هەر بەو شێوەیەش دەیانەوێت لە باسوخواسی رای گشتیشدا بڕواتە دەرەوە."

"I think there are a lot of people who are just tired of Donald Trump. They wanted him to go away by voting against him. And so they just want him out of the public consciousness," says presidential historian Barbara Perry who is also the director of presidential studies at the University of Virginia's Miller Center for Politics.

لە پاڵ ئەوەدا، خاتوون پێری پێیوایە کە هەندێک لە لایەنگرانی ترەمپیش هەن کە پێیان وایە جۆ بایدن بە شێوەیەکی یاسایی نەکراوەتە سەرۆکی ئەمریکا.

"So there may be some of that," she says, "along with his supporters who believe Joe Biden was not legitimately elected president".

پارێزەرانی ترەمپ و ئەو سیناتۆرانەشی کە لایەنگریی ئەو دەکەن، رەتیدەکەنەوە ترەمپ هانی تووندوتیژیی دابیت، بۆیە ئەو رێکارانەی کە لە ئەنجوومەنی نوێنەران بۆ سزادانی سەرۆکە کۆمارییەکە لە لایەن دیموکراتەکانەوە گیراونەتە بەر بە نادەستووری دادەنێن و پێداگرن لەسەر ئەوەی کە

Trump's lawyers and Senate supporters reject the claim that he incited the riot, calling the proceeding unconstitutional, and insisting the Senate can't put him on trial now that he has

left the White House. "Impeachment is for removal from office and the accused here has already left office," Kentucky Republican Senator Rand Paul argued on the Senate floor last month. Trump's second impeachment trial will be held in the very chamber where the insurrectionists stood on January 6th. House managers plan to lay out what happened that day in graphic detail, presenting video evidence, and even calling on Trump himself to testify, though his advisers have said he won't appear. Perry says the Democrats' show is less for the audience of reluctant Republican Senators, most of whom have already signaled they don't plan to convict, and more for the wider public - and history. "I think that as a political realists, the House managers, I'll call them the prosecutors, know that they're not going to win in the Senate, but that they are appealing to the larger audience of public opinion in the United States and...the world," Perry says. "For over two hundred years, the United States has been the great beacon of a democratic republic of democracy to the world. And we want to try to regain that. And one way to do it would be to say we attempted to impose accountability on an insurrectionist president," she adds. Conviction in the Senate will be an uphill climb, requiring a two-thirds majority -- or 17 Republicans -- to go along.	ناکرێت ئێستا که ترەمپ له سەرۆکایەتیدا نەماوه، دادگایی بکرێت. راند پۆڵ، سیناتۆری کۆماریبەکان که نوێنەرایەتی ویلایەتی کنتاکی دەکات، دەڵێت "مەبەست له لێبرسینەوه [له هەر سەرۆکێک] ئەوەیه که له پۆستەکەی دووربخرێتەوه، بەڵام ئەو کەسەی که لێره تۆمەتبارکراوه، هەر خۆی پۆستەکەی بەجێهێشتووه." لێبرسینەوەی دووەمی ترەمپ له هەمان ئەو هۆڵەدا بەڕیوەدەچێت که 6ـی مانگی ڕابردوو لایەنگرەکانی به زۆر خۆیان پێداکرد. ئەندامانی ئەنجوومەنی نوێنەران نیازیان وایه بەڵگەی وێنه و ڤیدیۆیی دژی ترەمپ بخەنەڕوو و تەنانەت داوا له ترەمپ خۆی بکەن له هۆڵی لێبرسینەوەکەدا ئامادەبێت و بەرگری له خۆی بکات، بەڵام راوێژکارەکانی دەڵێن، "ترەمپ ئاماده نابێت". پێری دەڵێت، ئەو کارەی دیموکراتەکان دەیکەن بەشێکی کەمی بۆ ئەوەیه دۆسیەکەیان بۆ سیناتۆره کۆماریەکان بسەڵمێنن، بەڵام زۆربەی ئەو سیناتۆرانه ئاماژەیان بەوه کردووه که دەنگ بۆ سزادانی ترەمپ نادەن، هەروەها بەشی هەره زۆری بۆ راکێشانی سەرنجی رای گشتی ئەمریکا و تۆمارکردنی مێژووه. ئەو مێژوونووسه دەڵێت، "به بۆچوونی خۆم وەکو واقعیبینێکی سیاسی، ئەندامانی ئەنجوومەنی نوێنەران، که من به لێکۆڵەرەکان ناویاندەبەم، دەزانن که ئەوان له ئەنجوومەنی پیران سەرکەوتن بەدەستناهێنن، بەڵام ئەوان دەیانەوێت پەیامێک به جەماوەره بەرفراوانەکەی ئەمریکا و جیهانیش بگەیێنن". هەروەها باربارا پێری باس لەوه دەکات "ماوەی زیاتر له 200 ساڵه، ئەمریکا بووەته مەشخەڵی [هەر وڵاتێکی] کۆماریی دیموکراتی دیموکراسیەت بۆ جیهان و ئێمه دەمانەوێت هەوڵبدەین دووباره ئەو شته بەدەستبهێنینەوه. یەکێکیش لەو رێگایانەی ئەنجامدانی ئەو کاره ئەوه دەبێت که بڵێین، ئێمه هەوڵماندا سزای سەرۆکێکی هەڵگەراوه بدەین." سزادانی ترەمپ له ئەنجوومەنی پیران کارێکی سەخت دەبێت، چونکه پێویسته دوو لەسەر سێی سیناتۆرەکان به بەڵێ دەنگ لەسەر سزادانەکه بدەن، واته جگه له 51 دەنگی دیموکراتەکان پێویسته 17 سیناتۆری کۆماریش له بەرژەوەندی سزادانەکه دەنگبدەن.
ST7	TT7

	جەنگی داهاتووی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست
The Middle East's Next War	لەگەڵ کۆنترۆڵکردنەوەی موسڵ لە باکووری عێراقدا، رەنگە بە خێرایی دەوڵەتی ئیسلامی (داعش) ببێتە شتێك لە رابردوو. بەڵام شکستپێهێنانی داعش و مەترسی ئەوەی کەخۆیان ناویان ناوە خەلافەت لە عێراق و سوریا،ئاشتی بۆ رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست ناهێنێت، یان تەنانەت کۆتایی بە تراژیدیای سوریا ناهێنێت. بەڵکو، رەنگە ئەوە قۆناغێکی نوێ لەمێژووی خوێناوی و پر پێشیوی ناوچەکەدا بهێنێتە ئاراوە- قۆناغێك کە هیچ مەترسیدارترنییە لە قۆناغی پێشووتر لەوکاتەی ئیمپراتۆرییەتی عوسمانی لەکۆتایی جەنگی جیهانی یەکەمدا رووخا .
With the retaking of Mosul in northern Iraq, the Islamic State (ISIS) could soon be a thing of the past. But the defeat of ISIS and the demise of its self-proclaimed Iraqi-Syrian caliphate won't bring peace to the Middle East, or even an end to the Syrian tragedy. Rather, it is likely to open a new chapter in the region's bloody and chaotic history – one no less dangerous than the previous chapters since the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I.	
The continuation of this violent pattern seems almost certain because the region remains unable to resolve internal conflicts on its own, or to create anything like a resilient framework for peace. Instead, it remains trapped somewhere between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.	بەردەوامی ئەم شێوازە توندوتیژە بەشێوەیەکی کرداربی وادیارە دڵنیاکراوە، چونکە ناوچەکە خۆی ناتوانێت کێشە ناوخۆییەکانی خۆی چارەسەربکات ، یان هیچ شتێك وەکو چوارچێوەیەکی بەهێز بۆ ئاشتی دروستبکات.لەبری ئەوە، ناوچەکە لەشوێنێك لەنێوان سەدەکانی نۆزدەیەمین و بیستەمدا گیری خواردووە .
Western powers are hardly blameless for the Middle East's woes. Any mention of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, by which Great Britain and France partitioned the post-Ottoman territories, still incites such rage in the Arab world that it seems as if the plan, devised in secret in 1916, had been conceived only yesterday.	هێزە رۆژئاواییەکان بەدەگمەن بێتاوانن سەبارەت بە کێشەکانی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست. هەر ئاماژەیەك بە رێکەوتنامەی سایکس- پیکۆ، کەلەرێگەیەوە بەر یەتانیای مەزن و فەرەنسا خاکەکانی پاش ئیمپراتۆرییەتی عوسمانی- یان دابەشکرد، تورەییەکی وەها لەجیهانی عەرەبیدا دەهەژێنێت کەوادەردەکەوێت پلانەکە، کە بەنهێنی لە ساڵی 1916 دا دارێژرا، تەنها دوێنی درکی پێکراوە .
Nor should we forget Czarist Russia's role in the region. Following World War II, its successor, the Soviet Union, and its Cold War rival, the United States, began their multiple interventions.	نابێت ئێمە رۆڵی روسیای قەیسەری لەناوچەکەدا لەبیربکەین. لەدوای جەنگی جیهانی دووەم، جێگرەوەی ئەو، یەکێتی سۆڤییەت، و رکابەرەکەی لە جەنگی ساردا ، ویلایەتە یەکگرتووەکانی ئەمەریکا، دەستیانکرد بە دەستێوەردانە هەمەچەشنەکانیان .
Indeed, the US may be the most significant contributor to today's regional turmoil. America's interest in the Middle East was originally based on its need for oil. But, with the onset of the Cold War, economic interest quickly morphed into a strategic interest in preventing the emergence of anti-Western,	لەراستیدا، رەنگە ویلایەتە یەکگرتووەکانی ئەمەریکا مەزنترین بەشداری کێشە ناوچەییەکانی ئەمرۆ بێت. بەرژەوەندییەکانی ئەمەریکا لە رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراستدا لە بنەرەتدا لەسەر بنەمای پێویستی ئەو بۆ نەوت دامەزرابوو. بەڵام لەگەڵ دەستپێکردنی جەنگی ساردا، بەرژەوەندی ئابووری بەخێرایی گۆرا بۆ بەرژەوەندییەکی ستراتیژی بۆ دوورخستنەوەی سەرهەڵدانی حکومەتەکانی دۆستی سۆڤییەت و دژە رۆژئاوایی. هەوڵەکانی ئەمەریکا دواتر بۆ درێژەپێدانی کاریگەربی گرنگ لە ناوچەکەدا لەگەڵ ئیسرائیل، هاوبەشی نزیکی، لەرووی ئەمنییەوە ، و دواجاریش لەرێگای ئەو دوو دەستێوەردانە سەربازییە مەزنەی جەنگەکانی کەنداوەوە لەدژی عێراقی سەدام حوسێن، تەواوکرا .

Soviet-friendly governments. America's effort to maintain decisive influence in the region was then supplemented by its close security partnership with Israel, and finally by the two large military interventions of the two Gulf Wars against Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

America's involvement in Afghanistan, too, has had profound repercussions for the Middle East. The US-backed insurgency of the 1980s, launched under the banner of jihad against the occupying Soviet Union, transformed two close American allies – Pakistan and Saudi Arabia – into strategic threats. This became clear on September 11, 2001, when it emerged that 15 of the 19 attackers sent by al-Qaeda were Saudi citizens. And it was Pakistan that created the Taliban, which provided al-Qaeda a haven for hatching its plots against the US and the West.

The success of the first Gulf War, launched in January 1991 by President George H.W. Bush, was fatally undermined 12 years later by his son, President George W. Bush, whose own Gulf War caused a regional catastrophe that continues to this day. Whereas the senior Bush had pursued the limited objectives of liberating Kuwait and didn't seek regime change in Iraq, his son's aims were far more ambitious.

The idea was to topple Saddam Hussein and bring about a democratic Iraq, which would catalyze comprehensive change throughout the Middle East and transform it into a democratic and pro-Western region. Within the younger Bush's administration, imperial idealism prevailed over hardheaded realism, resulting in sustained destabilization of the Middle East as a whole and helping to place Iran in a position to expand its influence.

After the Islamic State's demise, the next chapter in the history of the Middle East will be determined by open, direct confrontation between Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran for

هەروەها دەستێوەردانی ئەمریکا لە ئەفغانستاندا، دەرئەنجامی مەزنی هەبوو لەسەر رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست. ئەمریکا پشتگیری کرد لە یاخیبووەنەکانی ساڵانی هەشتاکان، کە لەژێر دروشمی جیهاددا لەدژی یەکێتی سۆڤیەتی داگیرکەر، دوو هاوپەیمانی نزیکی ئەمریکا- پاکستان و عەرەبستانی سعودی- گۆڕی بۆ هەرەشەی ستراتیژی. ئەمە لە 11ی سێپتێمبەری ساڵی 2001 دا روون بووەوە، کاتێ دەرکەوت لەکۆی 19 هێزرشبەر کەلەلاین ئەلقاعیدەوە نێردرابوون، 15 یان هاوڵاتی سعودیه بوون. ئەوەش پاکستان بوو کە تاڵیبانی دروستکرد، کە بەهەشتێکی بۆ ئەلقاعیده دەستەبەرکرد بۆ هێنانەدی پیلانەکانی لەدژی ئەمەریکا و رۆژئاوا.

سەرکەوتنی جەنگی جیهانی یەکەم، کەله مانگی کانوونی دووەمی ساڵی 1991 دا لەلایەن سەرۆک جۆرج دەبلیو ئەیچ بوشەوە دەستیپێکرد، 12 ساڵ دواتر لەلایەن کوڕەکەیەوە، سەرۆک جورج دەبلیو بوشەوە، بەشێوەیەکی کوشنده لاوازکرا، کە خودی شەڕی کەنداوی ئەو کارەساتێکی ناوچەیی دروستکرد کە هەتا ئەمرۆ بەردەوامە. لەکاتێکدا بوشی باوک بەدوای بەدیهێنانی ئامانجی سنورداریی رزگارکردنی کوەیت-دا رۆیشت و هەوڵینەدا رژێمی سەدام لە عێراقدا بروخێنێت، ئامانجەکانی کوڕەکەی زۆر فراوانخوازانەتر بوو.

بیرۆکەکە بریتییوو لە رووخاندنی سەدام حوسێن و هێنانەکایەوە عێراقێکی دیمۆکراتی، کە دەبووه هاندەرێك بۆ گۆرانکاریی گشتگیر لە سەرانسەری رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراستدا و بیگۆرێت بۆ ناوچەیەکی دیمۆکراتی و دۆستی رۆژئاوا. لەهنیوان ئیدارەی بوشی کوڕدا- ئایدیالیزمی ئیمپریالیستی سەرکەتووبوو بەسەر ریالیزمی لۆژیکیدا، لەئەنجامیشدا بووه ناسەقامگیری بەردەوامی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست بەمگشتی و یارمەتیدەربوو لەموەی ئێران بخاته پێنگەیەکەوه کە کاریگەریی خۆی فراوانتربکات .

دوای نەمانی دەوڵەتی ئیسلامی، قۆناغی داهاتووی مێژووی رۆژهەڵاتی ناوەراست لەهریەککەوتنی کراوه و راستەوخۆی نێوان عەرەبستانی سعودی سووننه و ئێرانی شیعه بۆ هەژموونی ناوچەیی بریاری لێدەدرێت. هەتائێستا ئەم ململانێی شاراوەیه بەهرێگای شاراوه و زۆربەی لەهرێگای جەنگی به وەکالەتەوه جێبەجێ کراوه. ئەو دوو هێزه جیهانییه کە لەناوچەکەدا چالاکن و پێشتر بەهروونی لە ململانییەکەدا پێنگەی خۆیان دیاری کردووه، و ئەمریکا لایەنگیری سعودیەی کرد و روسیاش لەگەڵ ئێران .

ئەم شەڕەی ئێستا "لەدژی تیرۆر" بەشێوەیەکی روولەزیاد لەلایەن ئەم شەر و ململانێی هەژموونیەوه جێگای دەگیرێتەوە. لەگەڵ ئەوەی سعودیه و چوار هاوپەیمانی سوونی گەمارۆیەکیان خستوونەته سەر قەتەر، بەشێك لەهۆکاری ئەوەش دەگەرێتەوە بۆ پەیوەندییه نزیکەکانی قەتەر لەگەڵ ئێراندا ، ئەم شەره گەیشته یەکەمین خاڵی

regional predominance. So far, this long-smoldering conflict has been pursued under cover and mostly by proxies. The two global powers active in the region have already clearly positioned themselves in this conflict, with the US siding with Saudi Arabia and Russia with Iran.	کۆتایی لەناوجەرگەی ناوچەکەدا، کە بریتی لە کەنداوی فارس .
	هەر ڕووبەڕووبوونەوەیەکی ڕاستەوخۆ لەگەڵ ئێراندا، بەدڵنیاییەوە، گڕبەردەداتە ناوچەکە، کە بەشێوەیەکی مەزن لە هەموو شەڕەکانی پێشووتری ڕۆژهەڵاتی ناوەڕاست مەزنتر دەبێت. سەرەڕای ئەوەی لەکاتێکدا هێشتا ئاگری شەڕی سوریا بەردەوامە، و عێراق بە ململانێی تایەفەگەری لەسەر دەسەڵات لاوازبووە،ڕەنگە داعش و هەندێ پاشماوەی داعش بە چالاکی بمێننەوە .
The current "war on terror" will increasingly be replaced by this hegemonic conflict. And with Saudi Arabia and four Sunni allies imposing isolation on Qatar, in part owing to the Qataris' close relations with Iran, this conflict has reached its first potential tipping point at the very center of the region, the Persian Gulf.	فاکتەرێکی ناسەقامگیری دیکە بریتیە لە سەرلەنوێ کردنەوەی "پرسی کورد". کوردەکان – گەلێك بەبێ دەوڵەت- سەڵماندوویانە کەشەرکەری پشت پێبەستراون لەشەڕی دژی داعشدا ، و دەیانەوێت هێزی سیاسی و سەربازی خۆیان بەکاربهێنن بۆ پێشکەوتن ڕووە و ئۆتۆنۆمی و تەنانەت دەوڵەتێکی سەربەخۆ. سەرەتا ئەو وڵاتانەی کارتێکراون- لەپێش هەموانیشدا تورکیا، بەڵام دیسانەوە سوریا، عێراق، و ئێران- ئەم پرسیارە پاساوێکە بۆ هەڵگیرساندنی شەڕ، چونکە کاریگەریی دەخاتە سەر یەکپارچەیی خاکەکانیان .
Any direct military confrontation with Iran would, of course, set the region ablaze, greatly surpassing all previous Middle East wars. Moreover, with the fires in Syria still smoldering, and Iraq weakened by the sectarian struggle for power there, ISIS or some successor incarnation is likely to remain active.	بەهەندوەرنەگرتنی ئەم پرسیارە چارەسەرنەکراوەکانە، و ململانێی هەژموونی نێوان ئێران و عەرەبستانی سعودیە، قۆناغێکی داهاتووی مێژووی ناوچەکە ڕەنگە هەموو شتێك بێت بەس ئاشتیانەنەبێت. بەڵی، ڕەنگە ئەمریکا لە کارەساتی عێراقەوە فێربووبێت کە ناتوانێت بە شەڕی وشکانی لەڕۆژهەڵاتی ناوەڕاستدا سەرکەوتووبێت، سەرەڕای ئەوەی هێزی سەربازی ئەو زۆر مەزنترە. سەرۆك باراك ئۆباما هەوڵیدا هێزەکانی ئەمەریکا لە ناوچەکە بکشێنێتەوە، کە سەڵما جێبەجێکردنی لە هەردوو ڕووی سیاسی و سەربازییەوە سەخت بێت. لەبەرئەوە ئەو دەستێوەردانی سەربازی بەدەرکرد لە بژاردەکانی خۆی- تەنانەت لە ئاسمانەوە- لەشەڕی ناوخۆی سوریادا، بەوش بۆشاییەکی بەجێهێشت کە ڕوسیا بە خێرایی پڕی کردەوە، لەگەڵ هەموو دەرئەنجامە زانراوەکانیدا.
Another destabilizing factor is the reopening of the "Kurdish question." The Kurds – a people without a state – have proven to be reliable fighters against ISIS and want to use their new political and military clout to make progress toward autonomy, or even an independent state. For the countries affected – first and foremost Turkey, but also Syria, Iraq, and Iran – this question is a potential casus belli, because it affects their territorial integrity.	جێگرەوەکەی ئۆباما، دۆناڵد ترەمپ، هەروەها کەمپینی کرد لەسەر بەڵێنێك بۆ کشانەوە لە ناوچەکە. لەکاتی هەڵبژاردنەکانەوە، ئەو لەسەر کەشتیەگەله سەربازییەوەکانەوەچەند مووشەکێکی ئاراستەی سوریا کردووە، چووەناو بەڵێنی گشتگیرەوە ڕووە و عەرەبستانی سعودیە و هاوپەیمانەکانی و هەڵوێستی فەرمی دژایەتی ئەمەریکای لەبەرامبەر ئێراندا بە ئاقارێکی خراپتردا برد .
Given these unresolved questions and the escalation of the hegemonic conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the next chapter in the region's history promises to be anything but peaceful. Yes, the US may have learned from the Iraq disaster that it cannot win a land war in the Middle East, despite its vastly superior military power. President Barack Obama sought to withdraw US forces from the region,	ترەمپ بە ڕوونی ڕووبەڕووی چەماوەیەکی تیزی فێربوون دەبێتەوە کاتێ قسە دێتەسەر ڕۆژهەڵاتی ناوەڕاست- ناوچەیەك کە چاوەڕوانی ناکات بۆ کۆنترۆڵکردنی. هیچ هۆکارێك نییە کە گەشبین بین.

which proved difficult to achieve both politically and militarily. That's why he ruled out military intervention – even from the air – in the Syrian civil war, leaving a vacuum that Russia quickly filled, with all of the known consequences. Obama's successor, Donald Trump, also campaigned on a promise to withdraw from the region. Since the election, he has launched cruise missiles at Syria, entered into more comprehensive commitments toward Saudi Arabia and its allies, and escalated America's confrontational rhetoric vis-à-vis Iran. Trump clearly faces a steep learning curve when it comes to the Middle East – a region that won't wait for him to master it. There is no reason to be optimistic.	
ST8	TT8
U.S. says ready for direct talks with North Korea. The U.S. State Department said on Friday (September 11) it was prepared to hold direct talks with North Korea to try to coax it back into multilateral negotiations on ending its nuclear programs. Previously, U.S. officials had sent mixed signals about direct meetings, at times saying Pyongyang must first commit to resume multilateral discussions and at others saying bilateral talks could only occur "in the context" of the multilateral discussions. The department denied changing its policy on direct talks, saying any bilateral meeting would be to bring Pyongyang back to multilateral talks. "We are prepared to enter into a bilateral discussion with North Korea, but it's important to characterize it properly. It's a bilateral discussion that hopefully within the six party context, and it's designed to convince North Korea to come back to the six party process, and to take affirmative steps towards de-nuclearization. So, given where we are, we	ئەمریکا ڕێطةیاند ئامادةی طفتوطؤي ڕاستەوخؤیة لەطەلَ كؤریاي باكوور دویَنیَ هةتیني (11 ایلول) حكومةتي واشنتن ئامادةیي خؤیي نیشاندا بؤ سازداني طفتوطؤي ڕاستەوخؤ لەطەلَ كؤریاي باكوور وةك هةولیَك بؤ طیَرانەوةي كؤریاي باكوور بؤناو دانووستاندنة هةلایةنةكاني ئةتؤمیةكةي كؤریاي باكوور. لة ئیَشتوةدا بةترژرساني ولایةتة یةكطرتووةكان سةبارةت بة كؤبوونةوة ڕاستەوخؤةكان ڕایانطةیاندوة كة حكومةتي ثیونطیانط دةبیَت یةكةمجار ئابةندبیَت بؤ دووبارة دةست ثیَكردنةوةي طفتوطوي فرةلایةني ، وة طفتوطؤي دوو قؤلَي تةنیا لة ضواضیَوةي طفتوطؤي هةمةلایةن دةبیَت. ئةمریكا ئةوةشي ڕةتكردةوة كة سیاسةتي خؤي سةبارةت بة طفتوطؤ ڕاستەوخؤةكان بطۆرِيَت بةلَكو كؤبوونةوة دوو قؤلَیةكان تةنیا بؤ طیَرانةوةي ثیونطیانطة بؤ ناو طفتوطؤ شةش قؤلَیةكة. شایاني باسة لة سالَي 2005 كؤریاي باكوور رِةزرامةندي نیشاندا كة دةستبةرداري ثرِۆطرامة ئةتؤمیةكةي بیَت لةتریَكةتونیَكي شةش قؤلَي هةردوو كؤریا و ضین و یابان و رووسیا و ولایةتة یةكطرتووةكان بةترامبةر بة یارمةتي داني كؤریاي باكوور. بةلَام لة كۆتايي سالَي ثارةوة طفتوطؤ شةش قؤلَیةكان فةشةلَي هیَنا كاتیَك كة كؤریاي باكوور رايطةياند كة ثرۆسةكة مردووة، ئیَستاش ئیدارةي ئۆباما بةدواي رِبةتايةك دةطةرِیَت بؤ زیندووكردنةوةي.

the United States, other countries, if through a bilateral process, we can bring them back to the six party process, that is our objective. But as we've indicated, we're prepared to do what we can to try to bring North Korea back," State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley told reporters. North Korea agreed in September 2005 to abandon its nuclear programs in an aid-for-disarmament agreement hammered out among the two Koreas, China, Japan, Russia and the United States in the so-called six-party talks. The process has unfolded in fits and starts, with North Korea taking some steps to disable its nuclear facilities but also testing a nuclear device in 2006 and again in May, leading the others to question its commitment to the deal. The six-party talks broke down at the end of last year, with the North declaring the process to be "dead," and the Obama administration is searching for a way to revive them. U.S. officials believe that the multilateral talks have the highest chances of persuading North Korea to give up its nuclear ambitions chiefly because their host, China, has greater influence over North Korea than the United States. Crowley said it was unlikely bilateral talks would take place before the U.N. General Assembly this month and he declined to say whether U.S. special envoy Stephen Bosworth might accept the North's invitation to visit Pyongyang.	بەرژەوەندی ولایەتە یەکگرتووەکان لەو باوەڕەدان کە ئۆتوطۆ شەتش قۆڵیەکان باشترین ریَطا ضارەقیة کە بتوَنیَت قەناعەت بة حکومەتی ئیونطیانط بکاتَ بۆئەتوۆی دەستبەردداری ثرۆطرامة ئەتۆمیەکەی بیَت لەبەرئەتوۆی ضین ئەندامی طۆتوطۆ شەتش قۆڵیەکەتیة و کاریطەریەکی زیاتری لەسەر کۆریاي باکوور هەیة وەتك لەتوۆي ئەتمریكا هەیةتي.

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