**Breaking the Language Barrier? Comparing TV news frames across texts in different languages**

Keywords:

*Al Jazeera, BBC, Arab Uprisings, Framing Analysis, Arabic, Tone, Emotive language*

*Sumaya Al Nahed, University of West London*

Abstract:

This article examines two factors which have become increasingly important in today’s multi-channel international media environment, but which add significant extra levels of complexity to framing analysis: language differences and tone of voice. Through case studies examining English and Arabic language television news reports, the article considers some of the difficulties facing researchers who aim to compare spoken texts in different languages about the same events. In particular, the paper focuses on the different cultural understandings of the appropriateness of emotive language in Arabic and English language journalism, and argues that in order to analyse the framing of stories in television news it is necessary to take account of the role of reporter tone in building frames.

By comparing Al Jazeera’s and the BBC’s coverage of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, the article aims to bridge some methodological gaps in this area, and to advance the reliability and validity of studies that attempt to compare news frames of the same events in different languages. It also considers the additional challenge of comparing tones of voice, particularly if they fluctuate throughout the story. Ultimately, the article proposes ways of going beyond literal understandings of both language and tone in order to establish the impact of both on construction of news frames.

**Introduction:**

The analysis of language is fundamental to formulating an understanding of news frames. Robert Entman recommends identifying news frames by “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (1993: 52). Shah, Watts, Domke and Fan (2002) also emphasise the importance of language and quotations in determining the frame. The choice of adjectives and descriptions used in a journalistic report, whether written or broadcast, is one that is measured by the individual journalist or, in cases where media control is exercised, by the news organization or any external influences that might affect its output. Thus, the analysis of language, and how it is used, is an essential component when conducting framing analyses that aim to compare journalistic texts.

A layer of complexity is added to the process when one approaches the analysis of journalistic texts covering the same stories but in different languages, in particular when these languages belong to different language families, such as English and Arabic. Some studies that have applied framing analysis to Arabic and English language media texts have compared them through the analysis of visual imagery, such as Shahira Fahmy’s (2010) comparison of the American *International Herald Tribune* and the Saudi *Al Hayat*, with regards to their coverage of 911 and the Afghan War. While Fahmy’s study yielded important insights into how two publications from different linguistic, ideological, and cultural contexts might cover the same (controversial) story, it focussed on the role of visuals in mediating the story, rather than language. Both language and visuals are rooted in choices made by journalists, which are central to the way we interpret these news frames (Entman, 1991), however, the comparison of imagery in news reports/news articles in different languages is largely straightforward and reliant on cues and signifiers that transcend linguistic barriers. This comes in contrast to comparison that involves the analysis of elements such as tone and emotive language, two key components that should be heavily considered when comparing texts of different languages. Both are particularly significant when analyzing the story’s position, or what might be described as slant. This paper will consider the impact of both tone and emotive language on frames, while drawing on previous research involving Al Jazeera’s and the BBC’s broadcast news coverage of the 2011 Arab uprisings (Al Nahed, 2015). Since translation from Arabic to English was a key component to the research, this paper will also consider the challenges faced when translating broadcast news texts from Arabic to English in order to allow for comparability of findings. The research (Al Nahed, 2015) also considered the impact of reporter tone on news frames, as reporter tone was considered a highly influential element to the framing process. The emotive nature of the Arabic language, as detailed in the section below, rendered a complexity to the framing analysis, which this article will work towards reconciling via the analysis of broadcast news case studies from the Arab uprisings, in particular the 2011 Libyan uprising, across Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English) and the BBC (BBC Arabic and BBC World News).

**Translation and the Emotive Nature of the Arabic Language**

It is first essential to consider that Arabic and English have different linguistic roots, with Arabic being a Semitic language and English being a Germanic language, which renders a complexity to the translation process. The fact that the two languages lie in different cultures also further complicates this process, as culture in and of itself influences language. Another important aspect to consider when comparing Arabic and English language texts, in particular those that are broadcast, is the role religion might play in spoken Arabic news texts. While Islam is not the only religion in Arabic speaking countries, it is primarily the dominant one. Al Jazeera Arabic, for example, is based in Qatar; a country with a Sunni Muslim majority Arab population. The use of terminology such as “Allah willing” or “with Allah’s blessing” is also enmeshed within Arabic language, and the incorporation of such terminology in colloquial Arabic (across the Middle East and North Africa) is part and parcel of the culture. This type of terminology is also common to Arab Christians, such as the Copts in Egypt.

This is one aspect to consider when approaching the translation process. Another is the emotive nature of the Arabic language, which poses a particular problem for translatability due to the fact that emotions are “controversial” and it can be difficult to reach a consensus or agreement when it comes to what they might signify (Mahasneh, 2016: 270). Ultimately, the implications and meanings behind emotions very much lie in the cultural context within which they are based, and from the role they play in the local culture (Harre, 1998). As such, when it comes to translating emotiveness within a particular language, it is important that the translator is not only experienced with the language itself, but also aware of the various connotations some words might carry within the culture itself. For example, the word dog might (and in most cases does) have a pejorative significance when used to describe someone in Arabic, as opposed to English for example. This lies very much in the religious context of Arabic culture, whereby a Muslim who has handled a dog must cleanse themselves (through ablutions) prior to praying (Mahasneh, 2016: 271). Thus, the word can be used as a slur. This a good example of how both religion as well as the cultural context might come to affect emotiveness within the language, in particular the Arabic language where religion and religious connotation is very much enmeshed within. Another aspect that contributes to the emotive nature of Arabic is the centrality of poetry to the culture, with poetry being one of the strongest emotional literary genres (Alon, 2005; Mahasneh, 2016).

So an important element to consider when approaching the translation process is the need to retain as much as possible the original meaning of the text, especially when grappling with finding the right equivalent to the connotative meaning (Mahasneh, 2016; Bell, 1991). This is sometimes impossible, and highlights the necessity of taking culture into account in the process of translation, as well as the need to go beyond literal understandings when conducting framing analyses that involve emotive languages such as Arabic, or indeed any two languages which lie in vastly differing cultural contexts. Mahasneh (2016: 272) argues that the translator must have good background knowledge of both languages and cultures in order to compensate for any missing meanings or connotations in an effective way. Another possible way of retaining as much meaning as possible would be via inter-coder reliability, whereby two or more translators would translate the texts for the purpose of the framing analysis.

**Translation and Framing in Practice: Case Studies from the Arab Uprisings**

The emotive nature of Arabic was especially clear during the Arab uprisings of 2011, particularly in coverage of Egypt but also in Libya, which the data for this article comes from primarily. In the case of Egypt, coverage was especially emotive across the four channels considered within this article: Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Arabic, BBC Arabic, and BBC World News. In the case of Libya, Al Jazeera Arabic was the most emotive in its coverage, as well as the most supportive of the opposition and the uprising. BBC Arabic was the most balanced, while BBC World News and Al Jazeera English lay somewhere in the middle (Al Nahed, 2014; 2015). First, it is important to consider that the political context had clear implications on these channels’ coverage of the Arab uprisings, and the type of language used to describe the uprisings, the protesters, and indeed the “revolutions” and the revolutionaries (Al Nahed, 2015). Here the political context refers to the particular political circumstances within which these news networks lie. In the case of Al Jazeera, it would be Qatar and the country’s internal and foreign policy aims. The significance of the political context in the case of Al Jazeera is that the network is completely funded by its government, namely the Qatari emir. This indicates a certain alignment between the network (in particular its Arabic edition) and the political goals and geopolitical aims of its home country. In the case of Al Jazeera English alignment has also been demonstrated, albeit to a lesser degree (Al Nahed, 2014; 2015). The BBC has also exhibited an alignment between its coverage of the Libyan uprising and the foreign policy goals of its home country (Al Nahed, 2014; 2015). The key reasons behind the alignment between the two networks, their coverage of Libya in 2011, and the foreign policy aims of their home countries was due to the fact that both Qatar and the United Kingdom were active participants in the NATO intervention in Libya, whether financially or militarily, and in the implementation of the No Fly Zone over Libya in that year. Thus, coverage more or less followed the policies of the respective political contexts, especially in Libya where both the UK and Qatar were active participants in the military operation. It is worth noting here that the first so-called independent Libyan television channel, *Libya Al Hurra*, aired in 2011 from its headquarters in Doha, Qatar. In order to fully understand the significance of this, one must first understand Al Jazeera’s role in Qatar itself.

Qatar is a relatively small but very wealthy country, with the highest GDP per capita coupled with the biggest reserves of natural gas in the world. Surrounding it are two large and very powerful neighbours, Saudi Arabia and Iran. This positioning, between the reigning Sunni and Shia powers, has led the tiny nation to innovative ways to establish itself diplomatically, chief among them establishing Al Jazeera as its media arm. The Al Jazeera channel, established in 1996, came at a prime moment in the history of Arab media, and provided a counter-narrative to national news and pan-Arab media, which the Arab public largely distrusted as government-sponsored propaganda (El Nawawy and Iskander, 2002; Lynch, 2006; Miles, 2005; Rugh, 2004). Al Jazeera thus filled a void within Arab media, as it identified a market demand in the Arab world for independent journalism, and capitalised on addressing issues relating to political matters of key concern to their Arab viewers (El Nawawy and Iskander, 2003: 33). Zayani argues Al-Jazeera succeeded in “providing food for an audience that is hungry for credible news and serious political analysis” (Zayani, 2005: 5). Such political matters included the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the Iraq War, the War in Afganistan, and finally culminating in the 2011 Arab uprisings.

Al Jazeera Arabic in particular is a very appropriate case study when considering the topic of this paper, due the emotive nature of its coverage across the Arab political issues mentioned above. In the case of the Arab uprisings especially, the channel exhibited some very emotive language, which was very revolutionary in its nature (Al Nahed, 2014). It is important here to define what is meant by revolutionary language in order to assess its implications on the emotiveness of the coverage as well as the tone of the coverage. Revolutionary language would involve mobilising words or tones used by presenters, correspondents, or guests who appear on news segments. For example, the use of the word “revolutionaries” to describe people involved in protests in Egypt, Syria, and Yemen, and the use of the same word to describe fighters in Libya, implies a certain type of angle to the coverage which is very much pro-uprisings. By describing the uprisings as revolutions, and by denoting the mantle of a revolutionary to a protester or fighter, the channel/network is clearly giving legitimacy to the movement and the people involved. In addition to this type of emotive coverage, the channel also included mobilising “promos”. These involve short segments or montages showing a variety of mobilising images and words; and they would precede and end each of the uprisings covered. Thus, there were promos dedicated to Libya, Yemen, Egypt, and Syria. Perhaps unsurprisingly there were none dedicated to Bahrain, and here the role of the political context becomes clear, as Qatar and thus Al Jazeera would not be supportive of an uprising and political upheaval taking next door. Bahrain was also never framed as a revolution.

This type of Qatari-aligned coverage was also present in Al Jazeera’s (particularly Al Jazeera Arabic’s, but also Al Jazeera English’s) coverage of the 2013 military coup that removed former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi from power (Dreyfuss, 2013). Due to Qatari support for the Muslim Brotherhood, Al Jazeera’s coverage itself was largely sympathetic to the deposed president and his supporters. So much so that three of Al Jazeera English’s staff were arrested and detained in December 2013 under charges of destabilizing Egypt and spreading false news. With Syria, there were similar circumstances, as Al Jazeera’s coverage was highly supportive of the disorganised Syrian opposition (Hashem, 2012), and this coverage fell in line with Qatar’s own support of the opposition (Lynch and Gearan, 2012). Thus, it may be argued that Al Jazeera’ coverage has become more biased towards Qatari national and foreign interests as Qatar’s profile in the international diplomatic arena has risen.

Returning to the key issue of language and its effect on coverage and framing, one must draw a distinction between descriptions or words that are clearly angled towards a cause and language that is emotive due to the linguistic and cultural context within which it lies. This is of particular significance to the translation process, which is a step within the comparative framing analyses. In the case of Al Jazeera Arabic’s coverage of the Arab uprisings, it can be seen that the use of words such as “revolution” and “revolutionaries” is particularly loaded, as it implies legitimacy. Thus, when these words were present in the coverage it would be clear that the framing had a pro-revolutionary tone. The presence of the above mentioned promos would enhance these tones, leading to a story or package that framed the uprisings as a revolution. This highlights the role of the translator, and their expertise in the language, in decoding this difference, whereby they would be able to establish whether the words used have loaded meanings (due to the political context for example) or that the words merely reflect the cultural context within which they lie.

Two examples here from Al Jazeera Arabic’s coverage of the Libyan uprising will help make this distinction clearer. The first involves Libyan cleric Shaikh Sadik Al Ghiryani, who via emotive language was able to utilise Al Jazeera Arabic as a platform to call for the Libyan people to rise against Gaddafi. On February 20, 2011, during the first week of the uprising, Shaikh Ghiryani said,

What is happening in Libya is unbearable…it is a heavy handed war apparatus being unleashed against bare breasted civilians, who peacefully raise their hands above their heads as the regime shoots them brutally with live ammunition…these are scenes we only witness when the Zionists attack Gaza…a horrible and outrageous situation…Everyone must stand up to this; every Muslim is obligated to do whatever is in his power to stop this bloodshed; it is a horrendous massacre

Al Jazeera Arabic also frequently invited Muslim cleric Shaikh Yusuf Al Qaradawi as a source and commentator, where he exhibited very emotive language, which drew on religious sentiment. Shaikh Qaradawi is an Egyptian cleric who is head of the Global Union for Muslim Scholars, and who is currently exiled in Doha, and who also presented the Al Jazeera Arabic Islamic programme *Sharia and Life*. On February 21, 2011, Qaradawi issued a religious edict against Gaddafi’s order to his people to kill the protesters. He followed this with a fatwa to kill Gaddafi himself, describing him as “insane”. Qaradawi said,

I am protecting the people and I issue a fatwa to whoever is able to kill Gaddafi and relieve Libya and its people from his evil and his danger. It is forbidden on any man, whether he is a soldier or a pilot, to follow this man’s orders in evil and in sin and in injustice

Accompanying the fatwa above was a montage of very graphic footage of victims of Gaddafi’s brigades’ assaults on various cities in Libya. The presenter commented on the graphic nature of this footage, further augmenting its impact:

And usually in such instances, the viewing of such images becomes emotionally draining to any journalist, because unfortunately, some of it is absolutely unbearable

In the cases of the two examples above, both religious sentiment and emotive language were used in order to give legitimacy and forward the cause of the Libyan protesters. While there is a clear pro-revolutionary sentiment in both reports, in particular from the emotional comments by the presenter above, it is complicated by the impact Al Jazeera Arabic’s political context plays. A further layer of complexity is added when one considers that this type of coverage was present at the moment Qatar was beginning to have a role in Libya. It is essential to bear this type of impact in mind when conducting framing analyses in order to determine not only the frame, but also some of the elements that might lead to the construction of the frame itself.

To make the distinction above clearer it would helpful here to bring forward the example of BBC Arabic. BBC Arabic aired in 2008, and since then up until 2014 the channel was funded by the UK Foreign Office. Following that, the UK government required the BBC take over the funding of the channel. This means that, during the time of the 2011 Arab uprisings BBC Arabic was funded by the Foreign Office, a government entity, thus heightening the impact of its political context. BBC Arabic’s coverage of the Arab uprisings was generally much tamer and less emotive than that of most Arab news channels/networks, in particular Al Jazeera Arabic’s (Al Nahed, 2014; 2015). This was due in large part to the ethos and professional environment of the BBC itself. An example would be the BBC’s *Middle East Glossaries*, that detail nomenclature associated with covering conflict in the Middle East (Barkho, 2008: 126-127). The BBC’s Middle East Glossaries, titled *Guide to Facts and Terminology on Israel and the Palestinians: Key Terms*, instructs news workers at channels across the BBC to cover the Israeli Palestinian conflict in a particular manner and to avoid loaded terms such as martyrs to describe Palestinian casualties.

This type of coverage from BBC Arabic comes in stark contrast to the rest of the Arab news media environment, whereby the word martyrs and martyrdom are consistently used in relation to the Palestinians (on Al Jazeera and elsewhere). This also largely mirrors the expectations of Arab audiences, as the Palestinian cause is one that is central to the Arab identity. However, irrespective of cultural expectations, BBC Arabic is bound to describe dead Palestinians as casualties (rather than martyrs), regardless of the expectations or desires of an Arabic speaking audience who might feel passionate about the Palestinian cause. It is worth noting that Al Jazeera English and Al Jazeera Arabic do have separate Middle East Glossaries, and where Al Jazeera Arabic does describe Palestinian casualties as martyrs, Al Jazeera English does not (Barkho, 2008). Here it is clear that there are organizational influences that affect the way language might be used, and the difference between Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English is a case in point, and it is important for scholars conducting framing analyses between two such channels to be aware of how these organizational influences might come to affect linguistic choices used by journalists during their reports, which in turn would impact the frames present in news reports.

The above further relates to coverage of the 2011 Arab uprisings. While, as stated above, Al Jazeera (both English and Arabic) consistently framed some revolutions (namely Libya, Syria, Egypt, and Yemen) as revolutions, BBC Arabic and BBC World News did not. This came as a result of instruction from BBC itself to the channels (Al Nahed, 2015). This certainly set BBC Arabic apart from Arab language news channels at that time, as there was this consistent type of framing across Arab news media; of uprisings as revolutions and fighters or protesters as revolutionaries.

The difference outlined between BBC Arabic and Al Jazeera Arabic highlights another important element with regards to the use of emotive language; whereby clearly BBC Arabic’s own cultural British context has led to a more tempered stance in coverage. This meant that, throughout the Arab uprisings, BBC Arabic’s use of Arabic differed than Al Jazeera Arabic’s. This difference was enhanced by Al Jazeera Arabic’s tendency to use dramatic descriptions, and given the emotional nature of Arabic news reports in Arab media generally. Barkho (2008) comments on Al Jazeera Arabic’s use of emotive language and its impact on their viewership:

The best way to exercise ideological power in a conservative region like the Arab Middle East, where Aljazeera is most influential, is to learn how to traverse language with the social power by relying on cultural and religious signs. This is what makes Al Jazeera Arabic’s culture and religion-based discourse legitimate and natural in the eyes of millions of its viewers (Barkho, 2008: 125)

The statement above correlates with a study by Lawrence Pintak, where through his study of Arab journalism, he found Arab journalists’ “cultural truth” to have a big impact on the way they cover stories, particularly stories from the Middle East (Pintak, 2011). This implies that there is within Arab journalism an articulation of the Arab identity that is present in coverage and which in turn resonates with Arab audiences. An example would be the above-mentioned use of the word martyrs to describe Palestinian casualties, the use of the word occupier to describe the Israeli presence in Palestine, and indeed the use of the word revolution to describe the successive uprisings that gripped the Middle East and North Africa in 2011. While the use of such words might be deemed controversial to Western audiences and critics (Kessler, 2012; Ajami, 2001), since they deviate from the parameters of the western journalistic ethic of objectivity, they are the norm in the Middle East due to the cultural context within which they lie. Pintak describes this as a “self-identity” within Arab journalism, and while he finds that this “self-identity” must lie at the core of any discussion about Arab journalism, he does not find it implies biased coverage (2011: 3). However, this lack of bias does not imply an absence of framing, and he describes framing as:

The particular angle from which the reporter approaches the story, which is in turn, dictated by the reporter’s unique worldview-the personal baggage we all carry, shaped by kindergarten, culture, and community. Nor does it mean a universal agreement on what ‘objectivity’ even means” (Pintak, 2011: 4)

Here an example from Al Jazeera English’s coverage of the 2011 Egyptian uprising would help further clarify how this might translate into coverage. Al Jazeera English’s coverage of the 2011 Egyptian revolution that unseated former President Hosni Mubarak was contextual and far less emotional than coverage on Al Jazeera Arabic, save for a few instances. For example, on February 11, 2011, on the day Mubarak fell, AJE correspondent Rawya Rageh held back tears of joy and said that since she was born, she had never known an Egyptian president other than Hosni Mubarak. Thus, while Al Jazeera English might be less affected by the cultural context from within which it operates, there are still instances when Arab journalists, such as Rawya Rageh mentioned above, might still articulate their Arab identity on screen. It is worth noting here that Al Jazeera Arabic’s reports were far more emotive and very confrontational of oppositional voices; with a strong sense of Arab identity that was very clear in the linguistic choices made by journalists (Al Nahed, 2014). While this type of coverage was mainstream to Al Jazeera Arabic’s viewers, and was present in coverage of a variety of other Arabic news channels, it would not be the case with Western channels such as the BBC. While in the case of Egypt in particular there was somewhat of a euphoric sense in the fall of Mubarak (such as on BBC World News for example) there are clear differences in the way the uprising was covered by Arab journalists and the way it was covered by journalists in English speaking countries. Through the above we can gain further insight into the necessity of taking the cultural context (and how it might translate into emotive language) into account when conducting framing analyses across texts of different languages. This cultural context, as demonstrated above, may translate into key areas such as the perceived professional mission of the journalist and the emotive nature of the language itself, which would ultimately impact how news workers frame stories.

**The Analysis of Tone**

A way forward with regards to weighing up the impact of emotive language on frame building is by incorporating an analysis of tone as well, in particular reporter tone. Negative or positive tones are also, along with linguistic choices, an essential part of the makeup of a frame. Here it would be useful to define the methodology that was employed to determine the tone in news reports from the 2011 Libyan uprising, where a sample of roughly four weeks was studied. The sample involved the first week of the uprising (starting 17 February 2011), the week prior to the first day of the NATO intervention in Libya (March 19, 2011), and the week following the first day of the NATO intervention. The last ten days of the NATO intervention were also included in the sample, starting with the day Muammar Gaddafi was killed (October 20, 2011), and ending with the day where NATO officially announced the end of its military operations in Libya (October 31, 2011). The aim was to establish how Al Jazeera (Arabic and English) and the BBC (Arabic and World News) framed the Libyan uprising and the ensuing NATO intervention.

In order to determine the frames present in the Libya sample, several aspects of the story were measured and assessed. These involved presenter and/or correspondent tone and story tone, as well as any rationales that gave legitimacy to the uprising and/or the intervention. Examples of rationales could for example involve emotive footage or particularly emotive commentary surrounding human suffering as inflicted by the Gaddafi regime. This type of coverage would in turn give legitimacy to the military operation as well to the protesters aims to depose Gaddafi. Tone was particularly tricky to establish, largely due to how it fluctuated throughout the news stories. A tone scale was developed drawing on previous framing research that studied UK media coverage of the 2003 Iraq war (Robinson, Goddard, and Parry, 2010a; 2010b). Story tone and presenter/correspondent tone were each placed on a scale ranging from heavily pro-revolution or heavily pro-intervention, to heavily anti-revolution or heavily anti-intervention. The aim was to establish presenter or correspondent tone, as well as story tone, towards the uprising on one hand and towards the NATO intervention on the other. Thus, the tones towards both were deemed necessary to the frame. The tone scale was as follows: heavily pro, somewhat pro, neutral, mixed, evaluative, somewhat anti, heavily anti.

Presenter or correspondent tone was part and parcel of story tone, however, it was the most explicit and straightforward way to determining the frame of the stories within the sample. When journalists for example expressed pro-revolutionary views, this ultimately went towards constructing frames which were pro-revolutionary in nature and which *framed* the uprising as a legitimate revolution with legitimate aims. Similarly with the intervention; when journalists expressed pro-interventionist views or tones, this ultimately went towards constructing pro-interventionist frames, such as frames that were cheerleading towards the intervention or frames that established the intervention as legal and necessary. The type of language used by the journalist, especially in cases where it is emotive or indeed passionate, is an essential step towards understanding the tone within the story, which is a step towards establishing what types of frames might be present within the story. This is especially the case when fluctuating tones are present within the story. For example, the story tone could range from heavily pro-revolution to neutral or mixed. This may come as a result of having several journalists (with varying tones) present within the broadcast news package. It might also come as a result or guests or experts who express tones that might conflict with the journalists’ tone or the overarching story tone. However, when especially emotive language is used by the journalists in the report, it becomes more or less straightforward to determine the tone present in the story, due to the weight this type of emotive language would give to the construction of the frame.

The ties in with the above mentioned study by Pintak (2011) as well as a further study by Pintak and Ginges’ (2008) where they found in their study of 600 Arab journalists that 75% of them understand their professional mission to be socio-political change. It also correlates with the points mentioned earlier on in this paper and which posited that culture itself has an impact on language and linguistic choices. If a large majority of Arab journalists perceive their mission to socio-political change, this would ultimately affect the language that they would use during politically turbulent times such as the 2011 Arab uprisings.

**Conclusion**

The article has examined some of the complexities that might rise when comparing news frames across broadcast news texts of different languages, particularly when these two languages come from different cultural or social contexts. Emotive language is an especially complex aspect of the translation process, and Arabic is one such language where emotiveness is part of the language’s identity. Thus, this article proposes looking past literal translations when conducting framing analyses of this kind, while also proposing to keep the cultural context of the language itself in mind through the translation and framing process.

Another aspect to consider is the differences with which journalists might view their profession, as exemplified in Genges and Pintak’s (2008) study of 600 Arab journalists, of which the majority cited their professional mission to be socio-political change. This would ultimately affect the linguistic choices and the tone these journalists might use, especially in reports that involve socio-political upheaval. The 2011 Arab uprisings are a good example to draw on here, as they presented a moment when revolutionary spirit gripped Arab news media, particularly with networks such as Al Jazeera where news reports exhibited pro-revolutionary framing, much of which was attributed to the emotive language used by journalists in their reports. Thus, while it is important to move beyond literal meanings of emotive language when conducting framing analyses, it is also important to measure the impact that such emotive language might have on tone and ultimately its impact on the frame present in the story. Finally, it is also essential to establish the influences that might lead to journalists using such emotive language, such as the political context, as exemplified by Al Jazeera’s coverage of the 2011 Libyan uprising as well the 2013 coup that removed former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi.

**References**

Ajami, F. (2001, November 18). What the Muslim World is Watching. *New York Times Magazine.*

Al Nahed, S. (2014). *Framing the Arab Uprisings: A Framing Analysis of Al Jazeera’s Coverage of Uprisings and Interventions*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. London South Bank University.

Al Nahed, S. (2015). Covering Libya: A Framing Analysis of Al Jazeera and BBC Coverage of the 2011 Libyan Uprising and NATO Intervention. *Middle East Critique,* 24(3).

Alon, I. (2005). Towards a Palestinian Arabic emotive lexicon: An invitation for discussion. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain &*

*Ireland*, vol. 15, pp. 1-13.

Barkho, L. (2008). The Discursive and Social Power of News. *Studies in Language and Capitalism,* 3(4): 111-159

Bell, R.T. (1991). *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice.* London and New York: Longman.

Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The Neglect of Power in Recent Framing Research. *Journal of Communication*, 54(2): 214–233.

Zayani, M. (ed.) *The Al Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media*. London: Pluto.

Dreyfuss, B. (2013, July 10). *A*l Jazeera’s Muslim Brotherhood Problem. *The Nation.* Retrieved at [http://www.thenation.com/blog/175179/al-jazeeras-muslim-brotherhood-problem#](http://www.thenation.com/blog/175179/al-jazeeras-muslim-brotherhood-problem) (accessed 24 July 2013).

El Nawawy, M. & Iskandar, A. (2003) *Al-Jazeera: The Story of the Network that is Rattling Governments and Redefining Modern Journalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

El Nawawy, M. and Powers, S. (2009). Al Jazeera English: Clash of Civilizations or Cross Cultural Dialogue? *Media, War & Conflict*, 2(3): 263-284.

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Towards a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication,* 43(4): 51-58.

Entman, R. B. (1991). Framing US Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication,* 41: 6–27.

Fahmy, S. (2010). Contrasting Visual Frames of our Times: A Framing Analysis of English and Arabic Language Press Coverage of War and Terrorism. *The International Communication Gazette,* 72(8), pp. 695-717.

Harré, R. (1998). Emotion across cultures. Innovation. *The European*

*Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(1), pp. 43-52,

Mahasneh, A. (2016). Arabic Language and Emotiveness Translation. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity,* 6(4).

Pintak, L. (2011). *The New Arab journalist: Mission and Identity in a Time of Turmoil.* London: I.B. Tauris.

Pintak, L. and Ginges, J. (2008). The Mission of Arab Journalism: Creating Change in a Time of Turmoil*. The International Journal of Press/Politics,* July 2008, 13: 193-227.

Robinson et al. (2010a). *Pockets of Resistance: British News Media, War and Theory in the 2003 Invasion of Iraq.* Manchester University Press.

# Robinson et al. (2010b). *Overview of Key Codebook Features for 2003 Iraq War Television Coverage (plus press with slight alterations) for use with Microsoft Access Database.* Unpublished Manuscript.

Seib, P. (2008). *The Al-Jazeera Effect*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc.

Zayani, M. (2005). Al-Jazeera and the Vicissitudes of the New Arab Mediascape. In: Zayani, M. (ed.). *The Al-Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on New Arab Media*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers