

Intertextuality and the British Media Representation of Egypt's June 30 Revolution: A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

In this paper, I examine the types of internal intertextuality used in the representation of the June 30 Revolution and its key social actors in the British newspapers. This is based on a 4-million-word corpus of British newspaper articles collected from June 2012 till October 2013. The analysis is conducted using the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and methods of Corpus Linguistics (CL). Corpus linguistic techniques of collocations and concordances are employed using the software AntConc. For the critical discourse analysis, I adopt Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach and Richardson's (2007) model of internal intertextuality. The results of the corpus-based intertextual analysis reveal significant differences between the pre- and post-uprising periods in terms of the sources included in the news reports and how these sources were reported. The British media used internal intertextuality to present their ideological perspectives on Egypt's political crisis.

Keywords: Intertextuality, Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Morsi, Muslim Brotherhood, Media

المخلص

أتناول في هذا البحث أنواع التناص الداخلي المستخدمة في تغطية ثورة ٣٠ يونيو وأبرز المشاركين فيها في الصحف البريطانية. تتضمن البيانات مخزون لغوي مكون من ٤ ملايين كلمة من مقالات الصحف البريطانية التي تم جمعها في الفترة من يونيو ٢٠١٢ حتى ٢٥ أكتوبر ٢٠١٣. تم إجراء التحليل عن طريق الجمع بين أداة تحليل الخطاب النقدي وتحليل المتن اللغوي. يعتمد الباحث بشكل أساسي على استخدام أدوات تحليل المتن اللغوي مثل المتلازمات اللفظية و التطابق باستخدام برنامجي AntConc و CQP. تعتمد الدراسة في تحليل الخطاب النقدي على مبادئ نظرية منهج الخطاب التاريخي (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) و نموذج التناص الداخلي. Richardson's (2007) كشفت نتائج التحليل التناصي المبني على متن النصوص عن اختلافات كبيرة بين فترة ما قبل الثورة وفترة ما بعد الثورة من حيث المصادر المتضمنة في التقارير الإخبارية وكيفية نقل هذه المصادر. استخدمت وسائل الإعلام البريطانية التناص الداخلي لعرض وجهات نظرها الأيديولوجية حول الأزمة السياسية في مصر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التناص، المتن اللغوي، التحليل النقدي للخطاب، مرسى، الإخوان المسلمون، الإعلام

1. Introduction

Media, specifically newspapers, are crucial and influential because they are mainly related to people's daily life and subject to different interpretations. Therefore, journalists can manipulate media to introduce certain ideologies and beliefs to their readers. According to van Dijk (1995), journalists attempt to maintain their influence and dominance which includes preferential access to text and context taken as a basis or resource of power. Their goal is to create and recreate mental images until they are established and legitimated in readers' minds. Fuchs (2005, p.14) claims that "the mass media don't map objective reality but construct social realities that distort objective reality due to the subjective views, interests, and complex relationships that are contained in this [media] system". That is, the media is controlled by powerful institutions and therefore does not have a neutral ground to stand on regarding the production and the consumption of news commodities. It is the purpose of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to demonstrate how such realities are represented and to what extent the Press has been able to accurately reflect social events.

The way in which the media has covered the Egyptian protests of June 30 has generated controversy because each media outlet presented a different portrayal of the protests in Egypt, reflecting their own ideologies. As a result, media networks have had varying impacts on the course of the revolution. While some have legitimized the revolution, others have demonized it. This highlights the importance of examining the role that news media played in shaping our perception of and response to the events of the revolution. The coverage of Egypt's June 30 protests in the Western media has been criticized for being biased in favor of Morsi's supporters and the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), especially in light of the connection between these newspapers and the foreign policies of their respective nations towards Egypt. As a result, this study delves into media bias by analyzing how articles in the British newspapers are linguistically framed to report the events in alignment with their respective countries' political positions.

1.1 Research Objectives and Questions

This paper examines linguistic and discursive representation of the June 30 Revolution in the British newspapers using a combination of both CDA and corpus linguistic (CL) techniques. Specifically, it investigates the types of intertextuality used in the representation of the main social actors of the event before, during, and after the uprisings. The main objective of the study is to examine whether there was a biased representation of the protests in the media and to highlight the influence of the linguistic structures and the discursive choices in operating specific ideologies embedded in discourse. To my best knowledge, using a synergy of CL and CDA to examine the portrayal of June 30 protests received little attention. I have found only one study conducted by Ibrahim (2014) which used a corpus assisted critical discourse analysis to examine the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in British and Egyptian newspapers. The study was mainly informed by the notion of collocation, and the related notion of semantic/discourse prosody. The present study attempts to build upon that study by providing a comprehensive analysis of the representation of the Egyptian uprisings including all of its key social actors,

namely: *Morsi*, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, the *protesters*, and *The Egyptian Military*. Moreover, the current study focuses on examining the types of internal intertextuality in the British media coverage. Accordingly, the study seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What kind of internal intertextuality is employed in the news coverage of the British newspapers?
- 2) How does the intertextual analysis reflect the perspective of the British newspapers towards the Revolution and its key social actors?

1.2 Contextual Background

Given that the results of the corpus analysis are descriptive in nature, it is important to provide a comprehensive background for the investigated topic to enable an appropriate critical interpretation of the findings (Baker et al., 2008). Therefore, it is essential to consider and examine the relevant historical background about Egypt and the Egyptian Revolution when explaining why a particular event has been represented.

In June 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi won Egypt's presidential elections, securing a narrow win over Ahmed Shafik, who served as the last prime minister during the rule of the former President Hosni Mubarak. Morsi became the first elected president with a civilian background. Since taking office, the MB president made a commitment in his inaugural speech to be a president for "all Egyptians"; however, some Egyptians perceived his regime as "repressive and cumbersome" (Housdon, 2013, p.72). By engaging in a power struggle with the military, Morsi was able to remove the SCAF's traditional leadership. Mubarak-era officials were compelled to retire in August 2012, including defense minister Tantawi, army chief of staff Sami Anan, and several senior generals. On 21 November 2012, Morsi issued a constitutional decree, granting himself extensive powers as Egypt's president. The declaration marked a turning point in the growing anger of public opinion against Morsi and the MB since his decisions aimed to place himself above the law. Liberal political parties referred to the decree as "dictatorial" and pointed out that it even went beyond the powers once held by Mubarak (Mohyeldin, 2014, as cited in Hamdy, 2017). A constituent assembly controlled by Islamist parties and the Salafist Al-Nour party drafted the new constitution without the presence of "a single Christian" representative. The drafting of the constitution and the President's decision to hold a referendum without attempting to reach an agreement with the opposition groups resulted in a political crisis during which millions of people took the streets in protests demanding the overthrow of the regime. In the last months of Morsi's presidency, Egypt experienced an energy crisis, leading to regular power outages and long queues at gas stations across the whole country (Mohyeldin, 2014, as cited in Hamdy, 2017).

Early in 2013, the hostility towards Morsi and the government gave way to a newfound support for the Egyptian army, even among a large number of revolutionary activists who demanded that the military should intervene to remove Morsi and supervise a new political transition. On April 28, a group of revolutionary activists introduced a plan for the anti-Morsi opposition. They called their initiative *Tamarod*, meaning "Rebellion", and launched a petition to withdraw confidence from Morsi and call for early presidential elections. By the end of May,

the movement was widely recognized throughout the whole country and the campaign succeeded in collecting more than seven million signatures within its first ten days of work (Trager et al., 2012). On June 30, 2013, millions of Egyptians poured into the streets throughout the country, seemingly to outnumber the number of demonstrators who took part on the 25th of January Revolution. On July 3, state television broadcasted a statement delivered by Defense Minister Al-Sisi, surrounded by a wide range of Egyptian figures such as Mohamed ElBaradei, Sheikh of Al-Azhar Ahmed El-Tayeb, and the Coptic Pope Tawadros II. In this statement, he ended the presidency of Morsi, and presented a political road map for the country agreed upon by all the political forces, which includes handing over power to the head of the Constitutional Court Supreme Council until early presidential elections are held (Trager et al., 2012).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is described by van Dijk (2001) as a form of a discourse analytical approach which primarily examines how text and talk produce, reproduce, and resist social power abuse, inequality, and dominance within social and political contexts. Therefore, the goal of CDA analysts is not merely to conduct an analysis for the sake of analysis, in order to reveal certain linguistic features or to demonstrate how stylistic or genre features are used in specific patterns. Even though CDA comprises textual analysis, it also includes the historical, social, and cognitive contexts underlying the production of a text.

Bertrand and Hughes (2005, p. 174) state that CDA specifically focuses on “the process of making meaning, rather than just in the meaning itself”. CDA is perceived as a field of study that analyzes texts to reveal the discursive sources of injustice, manipulations of power and bias, and how these sources are enacted, sustained, and changed in particular historical, social, cultural, and political contexts (Van Dijk, 1998). According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), discourse analysis is socially constitutive and is formed by society; it is a way to make ambiguous power relations more transparent and easier to be recognized and understood. To be specific, CDA is primarily interested in exploring “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). CDA attempts to direct people’s attention towards the manifestations of dominance, social inequalities, and non-democratic practices in society. The main theoretical framework employed in this study is Reisigl and Wolak’s (2001) Discourse Historical Approach, which proposes a set of discursive strategies involved in the positive self- and negative other- presentation. This study focuses on two strategies for analysis: referential and predication strategies.

Although the different approaches to CDA have been applied extensively as detailed language approaches in humanities and social science studies, a number of criticisms have been directed against them regarding their eclectic theoretical epistemology. The accusations levelled against CDA mainly focus on regarding CDA as an exercise in interpretation, rather than analysis, being qualitative, cherry picking, partial, and too optimistic in its pursuit for social change. In response to

these accusations, Stubbs (1997) recommends the integration of CL methods and CDA, specially by using random sampling, examining large number of texts, and comparing the textual elements under investigation with language norms detected in a corpus in order to form reliable generalizations about language usage.

2.2 Corpus Linguistics

According to Hunston (2002), corpus linguistics is defined as “a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study” (p.2). McEnery and Wilson (2001) assert that a modern corpus must have four main features: sampling and representativeness, finite size, machine-readable form and a standard reference. The common analytical techniques of CL include frequency, dispersion, concordance, clusters, collocation, and keywords. The present study mainly depends on the techniques of collocation and concordance.

Collocation is defined as “the statistical tendency of words to co-occur” (Hunston, 2012, p.12). Stubbs (2001) points out that collocations are closely linked to the concept of “discourse prosody”, which reflects the attitude of texts’ writers since it examines the connection between the meaning of words to the speaker and hearer (Baker, 2006). When researchers use a corpus of authentic language, they can describe a word as having positive, negative, or neutral semantic prosody in case this word co-occurs frequently with pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral collocates. In this respect, Baker (2010) gives the example of the verb *cause* which frequently collocates with negative situations despite the fact that it does not have negative meanings as an individual word but its repeated occurrences with negative events produces this negative association. Similar to previous studies, collocational analysis would be a first choice in order to conduct a comprehensive and detailed examination for specific linguistic terms such as the node words *morsi*, *brotherhood*, and *military*.

After the extraction of collocation, researchers can conduct a concordance analysis to look at the immediate co-text of these words (Haider, 2016). A concordance list, also known as key word in context (KWIC), is a list which shows all the instances of a specific search word in a corpus within the context in which they appear, along with some words to the left and right of the search term. Concordance analysis is considered the area in which CL and CDA overlap. Baker (2006) points out that it is the main technique in CL which is used by researchers as an entry point to conduct the qualitative analysis by displaying the search term in the middle of its co-text on the left and right side in each of the concordance lines.

2.3 Internal Intertextuality

Intertextuality, according to Fairclough (2001), is the inclusion of actual elements from other texts within a text in different forms such reported speech, quotations, writing, or thoughts. When one text presents the thoughts, speech, or writing of another individual, it establishes a dialogue between two texts or voices, representing distinct perspectives, interests, and visions. This interaction between the reporting text and the reported text often leads to tension regarding their meanings, ideologies, and discourses.

Examining internal intertextuality is of great importance to the present study. News articles weave various voices together to interpret events, and the inclusion of voices from social actors, whether they are officials or ordinary people, whether directly quoted or paraphrased, reflects the potential bias in news coverage (Richardson, 2007). News reporting includes narrating events, providing different viewpoints on the events, offering background details, and presenting opinions about these events. Therefore, news articles are made up of fragments of other texts. Reported speech plays a significant role in news coverage. Journalists control the framing and ideologies in their reports by deciding which voices to include or exclude, thus influencing the content even when they try to distance themselves from the text by minimizing their own voice (Fairclough, 2003). Richardson (2007, pp. 102-06) outlines four methods of reported speech that hold the most relevance for analyzing news discourse::

1. The first type is reporting speech through direct quotation. This is the most common way to report speech, in which the reporter includes the exact words someone said, surrounded by quotation marks.
2. The second type of reporting speech is done through strategic quotation, referred to as “scare quotes”. News organizations use scare quotes to distance themselves from the content of specific expressions. Examples include reporting on contentious terms such as “coup” and “terrorism”, which can have varying interpretations among different groups.
3. The third type of reporting speech is through indirect reporting. The author in this type summarizes “the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49). Therefore, it is difficult to differentiate between “the representing discourse and the represented discourse – between the voices of the reporter and the person reported” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 81).
4. The fourth type is reporting speech through transformed indirect quotation. Richardson (2007, p. 104) points out that this type of reporting differs from indirect reporting in that it does not include reporting clauses like “said”, “alleged”, “accused”, etc. and replaces it with transitive action verbs (e.g. discovered) or mental state verbs (e.g. believes).

In this study, intertextual analysis illustrates how reporters of British Press constructed their news articles by choosing what to report and by determining who they deemed newsworthy. Quotation patterns, as Teo (2000) argues, can function as a powerful ideological tool that news reporters can use to influence how readers perceive and understand the people and events they cover. To elaborate, a strategic quotation reveals the journalist's disagreement with the quoted speech or doubts regarding its accuracy (Bell, 1991; Juan, 2009; van Ginneken, 2002). Direct quotations, on the other hand, signal that the content of the speech is beyond dispute, enhancing its persuasiveness and newsworthiness while enabling the reporter to distance themselves from the quoted speech (Bell, 1991; Fairclough, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Indirect quotation differs from the other two types of quotations in that it distorts the original words spoken/said to the point that they may become attributed to the reporter. As a result, it can be challenging to differentiate between the voice of the reported and the reporter's, giving the author

the ability to alter the speech content in a manner that introduces bias either against or in favor of a specific party or group (Fairclough, 2003).

What is also important in examining quotations and reports are the reporting verbs utilized by the authorial voice to cite voices. Examining these verbal processes can reveal a great deal about the author's stance towards the quoted speaker and how the author can manipulate the reader towards adopting a particular perception of that speaker (Chen, 2005, 2007; Fairclough, 2003). Chen (2005) introduced a comprehensive analytic framework of verbal processes, classifying them into three semantic categories: negative, positive, and neutral. Examples of each type are shown in table 2.3 below. In this study, I analyze the different verbal processes that were used in the British press during the Egyptian Revolution. The examination should reveal how journalists conveyed their understanding of the events and their opinions toward social actors representing the two opposing sides in the conflict. It is argued that the consistent utilization of a specific type of verbal process, whether positive or negative, towards a specific group reflects the reporter's position towards that group and consequently, the newspapers' ideology regarding the opposing parties.

Table 2.1

Types of verbal processes (adapted from Chen 2004, 2005, 2007)

Positive	Negative	Neutral
pointed out, announced, explained, declared, indicated, urged	denied, claimed, admitted, insisted, complained	said, told, described, asked, commented

3. Methodology

The corpus of the study was designed from scratch. The online interface of newspapers Nexis UK has been used in the present study to gain access to a large number of the British newspapers. In order to build a corpus that comprises news articles relevant to the Egyptian Revolution, the following core query terms were used, namely, *Egypt*, *Morsi*, *Muslim*, and *brotherhood*. The corpus consists of 3,883,165 million words of British news articles extracted from: *The Sun* and *Sunday Sun*, *The Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror*, *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Observer*, *The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday*, *The Express* and *The Sunday Express*, and *The Star*. The two sets of corpora were further subdivided into two periods in accordance with the political situation in Egypt: pre- uprisings (Morsi's Regime - 30 June 2012 to 29th June 2013), and during and post uprisings (After Morsi's removal and the immediate aftermath of the protests – 30th June 2013 to 25 October 2013) as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Word number of British corpus in the two investigated periods

Period	No. of words
Pre-uprisings	2,874,146
Post-uprisings	1,009,019
Total	3,883,165

The analysis is divided into two sections. The first section includes CL analysis which involves extracting the statistically significant collocations of the node words *brotherhood*, *Morsi*, and *military* in both the pre- and post-uprisings period. Different significant tests are used to calculate collocations such as MI, Z-score, T-score, Dice Coefficient, and log-likelihood. I have selected the MI score which is one of the most applied tests in studies of Corpus Linguistics. This test was selected because it mainly measures the strength of association between the node term and its collocates - with a score of 0 in case there is a total independence between the words, and a higher value suggesting a stronger correlation (Evert, 2005, p. 77). A span of ± 5 words is determined, that is, five words on the right side and the left side of the search term. The minimum frequency is set as 5 because the words which only come once or twice are less likely to be informative. The analysis considers the first top 50 collocational patterns with each of the selected three lexemes. Having determined the starting point of the data analysis, the concordance lines of each collocate are then examined. Thus, the next step involves the corpus analysis using the CDA methodological framework to examine the linguistic choices and analyze the connection between the language of the newspapers and the representation of the Egyptian revolution. The analysis of internal intertextuality draws upon Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), Richardson's (2007) four types of reported speech, and Chen's (2004, 2005, 2007) comprehensive analytic tool of communicative verbal processes.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Intertextual Analysis of the key Social Actors (Period 1)

The lexical items *morsi*, *brotherhood*, and *military* are targeted for a collocation analysis in order to reveal the most statistically significant words that accompany the target words and the semantic preferences attached to them. The statistically strongest 50 collocates with each node word are presented in the following tables.

Table 4.1
Collocates of the node word Morsi (period 1)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	305	299	6	6.85387	mohamed
2	174	172	2	6.84893	mohammed
3	5	5	0	6.64081	commissioned
4	21	9	12	6.58191	grab
5	7	0	7	6.54127	awarded
6	5	1	4	6.47088	ceremony
7	526	512	14	6.4479	mr
8	6	0	6	6.44441	sworn
9	6	0	6	6.44441	reconvene
10	6	0	6	6.44441	annulled
11	8	1	7	6.31888	televised
12	6	5	1	6.31888	successor
13	5	0	5	6.31888	oath
14	9	4	5	6.31888	dictatorial
15	17	5	12	6.27706	granted
16	9	4	5	6.24088	resignation
17	6	1	5	6.2034	accuse
18	9	1	8	6.09649	assumed
19	550	464	86	6.07565	president
20	7	0	7	6.03877	approval
21	12	1	11	5.99695	pledged
22	71	18	53	5.99289	decree
23	61	15	46	5.9187	supporters
24	6	4	2	5.90384	praised
25	12	5	7	5.81638	newly
26	36	13	23	5.76088	issued
27	6	0	6	5.73392	Recep
28	6	2	4	5.73392	orders
29	5	2	3	5.73392	furious
30	12	5	7	5.69439	decrees
31	7	3	4	5.6668	predecessor
32	5	4	1	5.64081	finish
33	20	1	19	5.61844	promised
34	17	6	11	5.59899	critics
35	15	1	14	5.58191	actions
36	50	18	32	5.57903	elected
37	5	1	4	5.55334	granting
38	8	3	5	5.51152	consensus
39	6	5	1	5.51152	adviser
40	42	16	26	5.50174	opponents
41	17	16	1	5.4756	captions
42	5	5	0	5.47088	gathering
43	21	4	17	5.42579	declaration
44	37	4	33	5.38878	himself
45	12	1	11	5.38028	sweeping
46	6	0	6	5.38028	backers
47	18	1	17	5.35952	ordered
48	5	0	5	5.31888	Yasser
49	8	8	0	5.31888	voted
50	5	5	0	5.31888	summer

Table 4.2
Collocates of the node word brotherhood (period 1)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	595	592	3	8.08512	muslim
2	12	10	2	7.82531	offshoot
3	5	4	1	7.64974	hijacked
4	6	5	1	7.45334	gehad
5	8	4	4	7.32781	declare
6	7	0	7	7.0477	arm
7	7	5	2	6.96524	haddad
8	16	3	13	6.86838	candidate
9	7	3	4	6.6116	backers
10	11	7	4	6.53931	wing
11	6	2	4	6.52046	adviser
12	11	3	8	6.42969	offices
13	26	18	8	6.38439	member
14	6	2	4	6.32781	organised
15	5	1	4	6.32781	guide
16	21	4	17	6.09077	allies
17	33	8	25	6.04129	supporters
18	19	11	8	6.02115	dominated
19	6	0	6	5.95858	Salafist
20	28	10	18	5.916	members
21	6	1	5	5.86838	twitter
22	8	2	6	5.83596	organisation
23	6	4	2	5.78349	headquarters
24	19	3	16	5.75556	justice
25	27	2	25	5.74285	freedom
26	10	1	9	5.719	attacked
27	36	6	30	5.70983	party
28	6	0	6	5.70332	Salafi
29	5	3	2	5.64974	ties
30	20	4	16	5.5308	movement
31	12	7	5	5.42092	spokesman
32	31	18	13	5.36912	mohammed
33	10	3	7	5.36434	parliamentary
34	7	2	5	5.35381	powerful
35	14	9	5	5.32781	whose
36	6	1	5	5.21233	backed
37	6	1	5	5.15789	rally
38	15	14	1	5.14724	senior
39	46	19	27	5.1337	mohamed
40	6	1	5	5.03013	majority
41	9	0	9	4.76982	claimed
42	9	0	9	5.022	dead
43	5	4	1	5.00588	protester
44	26	9	17	5.00034	leader
45	5	1	4	4.97731	became
46	14	9	5	4.92571	opponents
47	8	6	2	4.91842	ruling
48	7	3	4	4.88724	Mahmoud
49	5	1	4	4.86838	liberals
50	6	0	6	4.86838	claim

Table 4.3
Collocates of the node word military (period 1)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	6	0	6	8.82373	academy
2	6	6	0	8.60134	ramping
3	8	1	7	8.23877	trials
4	10	2	8	7.97573	jaabari
5	6	3	3	7.70825	sissi
6	7	7	0	7.63108	interim
7	5	2	3	7.3383	Qassam
8	20	2	18	7.26301	intervention
9	5	0	5	7.23877	command
10	14	3	11	7.13923	commander
11	24	1	23	7.08676	intelligence
12	6	0	6	7.08676	activity
13	5	1	4	7.0582	transitional
14	5	0	5	7.0582	research
15	10	0	10	6.89773	wing
16	5	1	4	6.89773	advice
17	8	7	1	6.86953	assassination
18	22	0	22	6.84022	action
19	5	0	5	6.82373	presence
20	5	3	2	6.75334	dissolution
21	6	6	0	6.70825	direct
22	6	0	6	6.55071	sources
23	23	1	22	6.52711	rule
24	11	10	1	6.5018	powerful
25	11	4	7	6.5018	jabari
26	37	0	37	6.47094	council
27	16	6	10	6.41434	civilians
28	5	0	5	6.39077	rulers
29	20	4	16	6.39077	ahmed
30	9	1	8	6.29322	dictatorship
31	21	5	16	6.25026	chief
32	5	0	5	6.23877	intervene
33	5	1	4	6.19146	analysts
34	22	21	1	6.11324	head
35	6	1	5	6.01637	courts
36	12	2	10	5.9993	leadership
37	5	2	3	5.9362	coup
38	5	0	5	5.9362	arrest
39	18	16	2	5.90619	senior
40	9	1	8	5.86437	ordered
41	7	1	6	5.82373	followed
42	10	8	2	5.78811	strikes
43	5	2	3	5.75334	confrontation
44	8	1	7	5.73627	hospital
45	5	1	4	5.71939	base
46	14	0	14	5.71222	operation
47	7	1	6	5.565	officers
48	7	1	6	5.46116	center
49	6	5	1	5.43141	Tantawi
50	6	1	5	5.43141	met

The collocation analysis revealed that the UK press tended to include and exclude voices which represent the different opposing sides depending on the different political situations in the period before the eruption of June 30 protests. During the first months of Morsi's rule, the voices of the opposition and the military leaders were totally excluded; the only voices reported were those of Morsi and government officials. At that stage, the British newspapers used positive and neutral verbal processes to report voices representing Morsi and the government; there were no positive verbal processes employed with opposition simply because these voices were absent at the beginning of Morsi's presidency. Moreover, El Sisi, as Egypt's defense minister, has kept a remarkably low profile and made few public appearances since his appointment. As the events unfolded following the constitutional declaration on November 23, the British newspapers heavily reported the opinions of the opposition side, who expressed their anger over Morsi's dictatorial move and called for the army to intervene and topple the elected president. The collocation analysis of the node word *morsi* revealed a set of collocates that reflects how the evaluation of Morsi's decisions was established through the discourse representation of his critics and opponents' verbiage. For instance, examining the concordance lines of the collocates *dictator* and *pharaoh* revealed that they were used to report the opposition voices, as evident in the examples below:

1. Islamist Morsi insists his decrees cannot be challenged. Critics said he had appointed himself "Egypt's new pharaoh". A protester said: "I worry he'll be another dictator"

The Sun, November 24, 2012

In the above example, the text producer used a mixture of direct speech, indirect speech and scare quotes in reporting Morsi's declaration. The writer quotes directly one of anti-Morsi protesters using the neutral reporting verb *said*. He constructed the Egyptian president negatively as *another dictator*. The use of direct quotation helps to represent the information being quoted as reliable source of information fact. In the same example, the writer uses indirect speech to reword the utterances of Morsi using the negative verbal process *insisted*. The selection of this verb serves to evaluate the content of Morsi's verbiage, reflecting the writer's subjective opinion of what Morsi has said. This reporting verb is used in a negative context, conveying Morsi's negative intentions and aggressive tone towards his critics and opponents. Moreover, the writer described Morsi as a non-secular leader and framed him as an *Islamist president*, thus foregrounding that he is one of the Muslim Brotherhood's leaders and backgrounding that he is the freely democratically elected President of Egypt. The use of the noun *pharaoh* is significant since it has negative connotations. In Ancient Egypt, the term *Pharaoh* was used to refer to the King or the ruler of the country. Over time, its usage has developed to refer to any person who uses authority in a cruel, vicious, or unjust, way.

After Morsi had issued the Constitutional Declaration in November 2012, clashes broke out between his supporters and his opponents around the presidential palace. In reporting the violent acts that took place between the two opposing sides, it was found that both sides of the conflict were presented: the coverage included voices representing the opposition and Morsi's supporters as well as neutral voices such as the interior ministry and security officials. However, not all voices were given equal prominence throughout the days of the protests. Inspecting the concordance lines of the plural noun *supporters* (61 occurrences) as one of the salient collocates with the node word *morsi* reveals that the news reports give more space for the liberal leaders and youth organizations to present Morsi and his backers negatively. In one of *The Guardian* articles entitled *Tear gas fired as demonstrators in Cairo protest against Morsi*, the main sources reported included: the interior ministry (once), Mohamed ElBaradei (3 times), the Opposition National Salvation Front (twice), protesters from the opposing group (twice), Morsi (once), Morsi's vice president (twice), Hillary Clinton (once), and William Hague (twice). In representing the utterances of the opposing group, the writer used direct speech four times, while indirect speech is used twice, and strategic quotation is used only once. Examples of direct speech can be found in the following utterances:

2. "We hold President Morsi and his government completely responsible for the violence that is happening in Egypt today", he said.
3. "A regime that is not able to protect its people and is siding with his own sect, (and) thugs is a regime that lost its legitimacy and is leading Egypt into violence and bloodshed."
4. "The Brotherhood must be dragged in the streets like dogs, there is no salvation without blood after what they have done. Morsi must fall"

The Guardian, 6 December 2012

Examples (2) and (3) show the actual utterances of Mohamed ElBaradei, a leading opposition advocate of reform. The direct speech, marked by quotation marks, negatively constructs Morsi's regime and his government as being exclusively responsible for the actions of violence that took place against the anti-regime protesters. In reference to the opposing groups, ElBaradei used the inclusive pronoun "we", which reinforces the sense of intimacy and solidarity among the opposing groups and their agreement on all the decisions they were taking against Morsi's regime. Using such inclusive pronouns implies his authority as a legitimate political leader who has a responsibility to speak on behalf of the opposing groups. Ideologically, quoting powerful elites in news reporting, especially in direct mode, could be considered as newsworthy by the readers (Van Dijk, 1991). In addition, information given by such authorities will undoubtedly be considered by the reader as authentic and truthful (Jeffries, 2010). In example (3), a number of negative predications are assigned to Morsi by using restrictive relative clauses (highlighted parts) as a post-modification of the noun *regime* which is described as being not able to protect its citizens, taking the side of its own party, losing its legitimacy and leading Egypt into violence and bloodshed. The use of the collective noun *people* against the noun phrase *his own sect* explicitly indicates that Morsi is working only

for the favor of his backers and his political party the Muslim brotherhood, while ignoring the demands of the political opposition. The selection of singular noun *regime* itself reflects the speaker's negative stance toward Morsi's government as this nominal choice generally has a negative semantic prosody (Sinclair, 2003). The negative evaluation is further emphasized by using negative terms such as *thugs* which was used by ElBaradei to describe the protesters hired by the MB to threaten the anti-regime protesters and attack them around the presidential palace. Examining the co-texts of the word *thugs* as a noun in the BNC revealed that it is strongly associated with violent actions. For example, it frequently occurred (205 occurrences) with verbs such as *rip off*, *beat up* and *terrorized* and adjectives such as *opportunist* and *vicious*. In addition to the sources of political leaders, the same negative portrayal of Morsi's backers was also represented through the verbiage of ordinary protesters. In example (4), the news writer used direct speech in representing the voice of Mina Nader, one of anti-Morsi protesters who appears to be expressing a strong negative sentiment towards the MB and a call for action against them. The use of the dehumanizing metaphor *dragged in the streets like dogs* suggests a desire for public punishment or humiliation and an attempt to marginalize the MB.

The content of the above quotations clearly reflects the ideology that *The Guardian* writers attempt to pursue in this regard. *The Guardian* writers foreground the detailed comments of the opposition on the adverse impact of Morsi's declaration on the nation in addition to the MB members' violent reaction to the protests of the opposition. In response to this negative portrayal of the declaration by the opposition, *The Guardian* reported the side supporting Morsi only three times using indirect speech. The news writer indirectly reported the voice of Morsi who insisted that his decisions are temporary and will be cancelled once the constitution is passed. Therefore, it can be noted that there is a big difference in how the voices of the two conflicting sides are being represented. Although the verbiage of the opposition was either quoted directly or indirectly, the direct mode was mostly used by the Guardian in order to reflect the negative public opinion towards the declaration. As apparent in (2), (3) and (4), the conflict between the two opposing sides is explicitly drawn through direct speech of the anti-regime members, which helps to legitimize the status of the opposition and serve to orient the accusation toward the government authorities. Moreover, the voices of the opposing group are legitimized by being taken up in the news articles, while Morsi and his vice president were not reported as not as frequently as the opposition figures. Quoting Morsi and his supporters indirectly also enables the journalist to reformulate their words and report them in a manner that fits his ideological perspectives. The intertextual analysis reveals that the British press leans towards the anti-regime members although the news articles did not show any alignment for or against the propositions stated in the direct quotations. Additionally, the three examples use the neutral reporting verb *said*, which does not reflect any attitudinal stance.

Although ElBaradei explicitly accused Morsi's protesters of violent actions against the opposition's activists, *The Guardian* avoided making direct accusations against either of the two warring sides. The exclusion of agency was mainly employed when reporting the number of casualties and the injuries during the clashes which

took place around the presidential palace. The following example, taken from the same article is indicative of this exclusion:

5. One person was reported to have been killed and at least 211 people injured in Cairo during the violence which centered on the district around the presidential palace. The interior ministry said at least 32 people had been arrested and three police vehicles destroyed.

The Guardian, 6 December 2012

In this example, the social actor who is responsible for the material actions of killing and injuring the protesters is suppressed by passive agent deletion. Accordingly, the doer could be Morsi's supporters or the security forces. Additionally, the casualties are referred to in terms of their numbers, thus obscuring their identity. In this way, the British press did not portray the opposition members as the victims of such actions. Besides, the cited official sources spoke generally of more than 32 people arrested but did not specify whether they belonged to the pro- or anti-Morsi protesters. The suppression of the agent of such violent actions by the British press encodes their ideological bias indirectly towards Morsi's supporters. This argument is supported by Van Dijk (1985, p.73) since he maintains that "the news bias can even be expressed in the syntactic structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive constructions, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agent of the news acts from subject position". The text producer in the above example attempts to avoid accusing the MB members of killing and injuring the opposition activists. Additionally, the accusations of ElBaradei and anti-Morsi protesters (examples 2, 3, 4) were directly quoted, which renders it persuasive and newsworthy, but at the same time, it helps the writer to distance himself from the content of the quoted speech.

Examining the concordances of the verb *hijacked* (5 occurrences), as one of the strongest significant collocates of the node word *brotherhood*, reveals that the opposition were cited repeatedly in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* to refer negatively to the MB. Five articles cited the opposition leaders and activists' fears that the MB members have hijacked the revolutionary goals of 2011, as concordance 4.1 shows:

1	100-strong assembly. They claim it has been	hijacked by a Brotherhood and Salafist majority that
2	weeks, claiming that its work has been	hijacked by its Brotherhood and Salafist majority.
3	article - believes that the state has been	hijacked by the Brotherhood and must be regained
4	from the process, saying it had been	hijacked by the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies.
5	a banner in Tahrir Square accusing the	Brotherhood of having hijacked last year's revolution.

Concordance 4.1 Co-occurrence of *brotherhood* with the verb *hijacked*

The passive construction in the above concordances places the emphasis on the affected participants: *it* (referring to the constituent assembly) in line 1, *its work* (referring to the work of the constituent assembly) in line 2, *it* which refers to the processes of voting in the referendum in line 3, and *the state* in line 4. The action of hijacking is acted upon entities, i.e., non-human goals. The passive transformation serves to prioritize those affected entities and portray them metaphorically as victims, thus highlighting them in the readers' mind. The metaphor of hijacking,

often associated with the consequences of Morsi’s dictatorial constitution, highlights the threatening and controlling behavior of the actor, i.e., the MB. The metaphor carries connotations of theft, illegitimacy, and a hostile takeover. By suggesting that the Brotherhood hijacked the revolution, it implies that they did so without rightful authority, undermining their legitimacy. The indirect quotation was the only type of reported speech used in all the articles to report the process of hijacking, eliminating boundaries between the voice of the reporter and the voice of the person reported.

Negative opinion about the MB and the constitutional declaration is also constructed through the analysis of the verbal processes. As table 4.2 reveals, the verb *claimed* (9 occurrences) was among the salient collocates associated with the node word *brotherhood* to report the speech of the Muslim Brotherhood’s leaders and members. Below is a sample of concordance examples:

6. Mohamed ElBaradei, the opposition’s leader, said the violence was “the end of any legitimacy this regime has”. A spokesman for the Brotherhood, claimed they took down “empty tents on public property” and “both sides attacked”
The Daily Telegraph, December 6, 2012
7. The counter-demonstration that evening was violent and bloody, and the Muslim Brotherhood claimed that several members were shot dead.

The Sunday Telegraph, December 23, 2012

It can be seen in example 6, which represents the wrap up of the article, that the voice of the MB is cited in contrast with the opposition leader’s voice, making the former's alternative view seem irrational and illegitimate, as argued by Hertog and Mcleod (1995). ElBaradei points out indirectly to the violent actions caused by Morsi’s supporters towards the opposition protesters, and how this violence marks the end of Morsi’s rule as a legitimate president. The choice of the neutral reporting verb *said* indicates that the writer does not hold any particular stance towards the opposition leader and is simply reporting what he is saying. Although the writer used strategic quotation in reporting the two opposing sides, what the MB member said was represented using the negative reporting verb *claimed*, which casts doubt about the content of his verbiage and reveals a certain negative feeling on the part of the writer towards the speaker. In addition, the quoted voice on the regime's part is defined as spokesman for the MB, whose name is not identified, as opposed to the more defined source of ElBaradei representing the opposition. This makes the speech of the opposition's cited voice much more influential than that of the MB's anonymous voice. However, examining the concordance lines of the collocates *claim* and *claimed* revealed that they were also used to report the opposition voices, as evident in the examples below:

1	by President Mohammed Morsi and his Muslim	Brotherhood. But the opposition claim the constitution tramples
2	ion service yesterday referred to investigators a	Brotherhood claim that opposition leaders, judges and journalists
3	ded for internal consumption, the Egyptian Muslim	Brotherhood posted a claim on its website that
4	these results. Despite the low turnout, the	Brotherhood will claim 64% as a decisive victory. Mr
5	mandate of the polls, were clear. The	Brotherhood would prove its claim to be a
6	nstitution: Troops on the streets amid opponents'	claims that document favours Muslim Brotherhood

Concordance 4.2 collocates of verb *claim* and plural noun *claims* in relation to the MB and the opposition

In lines 1 and 6, the article cites the opposition using the negative verbal process *claim* and it's nominalized from *claims* to highlight its negative attitude towards the constitution, which they believe does not support the minorities. This presupposes that the constitution represents only the Islamists who drafted it. Therefore, one can argue that the British press was not biased towards or against any side; it employed negative, positive, and neutral verbal processes with both sides. Nevertheless, the voices of the opposition leaders and activists were more emphasized in terms of number of occurrences and were reported using neutral and positive verbal processes, reflecting that they were to some extent the ingroup. As discussed above, ElBaradei as one of the main opposition figures during the protests, was reported on continuously by using the neutral verbal process *said* in (2), (3) and (6). The voices of the ordinary protesters and eyewitnesses were also reported using both neutral verbal processes in (4) and negative verbs in rare cases (concordance 4.2). Conversely, the collocation analysis of node *Brotherhood* revealed that the reporters used negative verbal processes such as *claimed*, *claim* and *accuse* in most cases to report their speech. The consistent use of the negative reporting verbs with the MB spokesmen indicates that the British news articles adopted the opposition's negative perspective towards the constitutional declaration, which deepened Egypt's political polarization.

4.2 Intertextual Analysis of the key Social Actors (Period 2)

The lexical items *morsi*, *brotherhood*, and *military* are targeted for a collocation analysis in order to reveal the most statistically significant words that accompany the target words and the semantic preferences attached to them. The statistically strongest 50 collocates with each node word are presented in the following tables.

Table 4.4
Collocates of the node word morsi (period 2)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	5	0	5	7.15384	truncated
2	7	7	0	6.79127	mohammad
3	188	184	4	6.78956	pro
4	5	2	3	6.66841	spray
5	50	42	8	6.60787	ousting
6	106	35	71	6.55983	removal
7	14	2	12	6.50176	reinstated
8	129	86	43	6.49973	ousted
9	5	4	1	6.47577	Osama
10	5	1	4	6.47577	marching
11	410	404	6	6.46045	mohamed
12	182	180	2	6.41846	mohammed

13	123	83	40	6.39591	deposed
14	678	652	26	6.37039	mr
15	18	7	11	6.36957	reinstatement
16	26	4	22	6.33072	departure
17	10	10	0	6.30584	successor
18	5	1	4	6.30584	aide
19	8	4	4	6.24695	celebrate
20	80	40	40	6.22784	overthrow
21	17	16	1	6.15384	toppling
22	7	4	3	6.15384	poster
23	19	7	12	6.15384	overthrown
24	6	2	4	6.15384	narrowly
25	5	4	1	6.15384	depose
26	110	101	9	6.12784	anti
27	374	118	256	6.09155	supporters
28	10	10	0	6.08345	topple
29	8	0	8	6.06638	loyalists
30	7	0	7	6.0543	incommunicado
31	14	2	12	6.0543	downfall
32	12	0	12	6.03836	backers
33	596	482	114	6.00123	president
34	8	8	0	5.90591	oust
35	5	2	3	5.8908	promoted
36	7	2	5	5.87373	celebrating
37	17	6	11	5.84898	supporter
38	14	3	11	5.79127	camped
39	5	1	4	5.77533	troubled
40	5	5	0	5.77533	arbitrary
41	10	0	10	5.77533	aides
42	8	3	5	5.76152	clash
43	27	15	12	5.75898	removed
44	12	12	0	5.7388	remove
45	14	9	5	5.71327	ultimatum
46	7	4	3	5.71327	demise
47	8	2	6	5.69441	resign
48	8	8	0	5.69441	reply
49	9	2	7	5.67991	freely
50	10	10	0	5.66841	overthrew

Table 4.5
Collocates of the node word brotherhood (period 2)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	1087	1085	2	7.28354	muslim
2	6	0	6	7.22056	Egypt's
3	5	4	1	7.17992	banning
4	5	4	1	6.95753	Aref
5	5	5	0	6.76488	unaffiliated
6	22	11	11	6.69293	gehad
7	17	5	12	6.67244	spiritual
8	5	1	4	6.59496	altogether
9	23	3	20	6.5742	wing
10	6	5	1	6.56848	portray
11	7	7	0	6.54987	sympathetic
12	17	9	8	6.53042	beltagy
13	115	45	70	6.52026	members
14	17	4	13	6.48602	banned
15	28	17	11	6.22794	haddad
16	5	0	5	6.17992	sympathizers
17	5	0	5	6.17992	encampments
18	5	1	4	6.17992	discourse
19	5	0	5	6.06444	quietly
20	81	70	11	6.05488	senior
21	16	6	10	6.05064	supporter
22	6	2	4	6.02792	links
23	8	6	2	5.98352	warrants
24	10	3	7	5.95753	offices
25	5	1	4	5.95753	activities
26	6	0	6	5.94045	denounced
27	5	3	2	5.85799	Erian
28	8	4	4	5.7991	vision
29	29	9	20	5.79314	leadership
30	7	6	1	5.79088	crush
31	26	16	10	5.78584	member
32	31	12	19	5.78244	Badie
33	5	0	5	5.76488	militias
34	5	3	2	5.76488	capacity
35	11	3	8	5.73246	guide
36	7	6	1	5.72675	letter
37	49	13	36	5.67396	spokesman
38	7	1	6	5.66535	guidance

39	104	26	78	5.6356	leaders
40	25	9	16	5.61108	headquarters
41	26	5	21	5.60423	allies
42	5	3	2	5.59496	Beltagi
43	6	6	0	5.56848	reply
44	7	2	5	5.54987	sought
45	7	2	5	5.54987	clashed
46	27	5	22	5.53963	figures
47	7	3	4	5.49542	destroy
48	5	1	4	5.44295	Khairat
49	7	5	2	5.44295	allegations
50	193	47	146	5.42623	supporters

Table 4.6
Collocates of the node word military (period 2)

Rank	Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1	15	0	15	7.91679	exercises
2	5	2	3	7.52448	punish
3	5	0	5	7.52448	parade
4	5	1	4	7.52448	hardware
5	5	0	5	7.52448	circled
6	32	0	32	7.45531	takeover
7	15	14	1	7.39323	joint
8	5	5	0	7.33183	Maadi
9	7	1	6	7.2323	intervened
10	12	4	8	7.20255	coups
11	9	0	9	7.17983	overhead
12	81	9	72	7.04597	backed
13	15	13	2	7.0099	annual
14	6	6	0	6.78751	cancelling
15	5	1	4	6.74687	establishment
16	9	2	7	6.65627	junta
17	7	5	2	6.64733	flown
18	5	5	0	6.63139	bright
19	13	1	12	6.62288	intelligence
20	13	2	11	6.62288	assistance
21	27	1	26	6.59487	helicopters
22	40	2	38	6.59036	intervention
23	7	0	7	6.49533	exercise
24	8	1	7	6.42494	flew

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25	16	14	2	6.36605	suspend
26	24	3	21	6.36605	action
27	15	3	12	6.33183	helicopter
28	7	4	3	6.2937	installed
29	11	2	9	6.25988	equipment
30	13	2	11	6.25091	dictatorship
31	5	0	5	6.24437	succeed
32	5	2	3	6.24437	scheduled
33	5	0	5	6.24437	facility
34	76	19	57	6.19174	aid
35	6	6	0	6.13543	chanting
36	12	10	2	6.13543	cancelled
37	201	19	182	6.093	coup
38	10	2	8	6.0839	ultimatum
39	15	0	15	6.05881	rulers
40	11	2	9	6.04307	barracks
41	8	0	8	6.0099	remove
42	17	8	9	5.94762	removed
43	5	2	3	5.93951	topple
44	18	15	3	5.91304	billion
45	5	1	4	5.80827	targets
46	5	5	0	5.80827	star
47	51	4	47	5.77544	rule
48	5	0	5	5.74687	flying
49	6	3	3	5.73689	jets
50	5	3	2	5.68798	grip

In contrast to the balanced representation of the voices of the two warring sides in the pre-uprisings period, the British newspapers used different types of verbal processes as one of the methods which enabled text producers to present what they believed to be the “outgroup” negatively and what they believed to be the “ingroup” positively. At the beginning of the revolution, the news articles reported the two camps in a balanced manner and used positive and neutral verbal processes with voices representing the MB and the opposition supporters. As tensions rose and violence erupted between pro-Morsi protesters and the security forces, more negative reporting verbs were employed in referring to the opposition side and articles became critical of the military intervention. When reporting the speech of the Brotherhood’s members and supporters, the corpus analysis revealed that positive and neutral reporting verbs such as *believe*, *told*, and *said* were among the frequently used collocates with the node word *brotherhood*. An example of such is given below:

8. An army spokesman claimed that the base had come under attack from armed men, but Mr Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood said the protesters had been peacefully holding their dawn prayer when the army attacked.

The Telegraph, July 9, 2013

Though both sides are indirectly reported, the choice of the neutral verb *said* reflects the writer's unbiased stance towards what the MB is saying regarding the peaceful nature of its demonstrations. On the other hand, using the negative verbal process *claim* with the army spokesman casts doubt on the authenticity of his reported speech. This representation in turn displays the army officers negatively, leading them to appear as the primary players who initiated violence against unarmed protesters and hence lets the brotherhood protesters gain the readers' compassion. Such negative representation is emphasized by the writer's additional information when the article reported that "troops and officers opened fire shortly before dawn on pro-Morsi protesters camped in front of the Republican Guard base in north-east Cairo". Representing the army as the main actor of carrying out violent actions via the authorial voice reflects the newspaper's explicit accusation of the army and its leaning towards the opposing camp.

The fierce clashes which took place between the military and the Brotherhood supporters during the evacuation of Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda protest camps was mainly established through the discourse representation of the MB protesters and sympathizers. The authors heavily recontextualized the voices of the Islamist supporters through direct quotations in an attempt to highlight the brutality and inhumanity of the army officers. One of *The Daily Times* articles published on August 15 was dedicated entirely to describing the use of live ammunition and tear gas in clearing the protests, with extensive reliance on quoting Morsi supporters to shed the light on the number of deaths and injuries among them. The main voices quoted are pro-Morsi protesters (5 times), relatives of pro-Morsi protesters (3 times), ordinary Egyptian people including a paramedic (four times), officer (once) and a leading figure of the National Salvation Front (once). All the utterances of the MB protesters and their relatives were reported using direct speech. Examples of these direct quotations are shown in the following sentences:

9. "There was no way out, they supposedly left Nasr Street open, but we had to go round and find a place to leave"
10. "One of the guys next to me got shot in the neck. He was slaughtered like a sheep; blood was gushing out"
11. "My husband told me they can't count the injured and the dead as there are so many. He said his friend was shot in the forehead. Then his phone went off"

The Times, August 15, 2013

The speakers whose words are directly reported above directly belong to the protesters camping in support of Morsi in Rabaa al-Adawiya (examples 9, 10) and a wife of one of the protesters (example 11). In all cases, the speakers constructed the military and the security forces negatively as agents of crimes committed against the MB supporters. In 9, the use of the adverb *supposedly* suggests doubt about the

authorities' promises to leave a safe passage, implying that the protesters felt trapped or surrounded. The phrase "find a place to leave" highlights the struggle the protesters faced in attempting to escape the situation. The direct speech here underscores the protesters' perception of being encircled and cornered inside the camp by the authorities, which contributes to their sense of victimization. In example 10, the speaker attempts to visualize an image of the military's savagery by comparing one of the victims to a slaughtered sheep. By using such figurative language, the speaker seeks to elicit empathy and outrage from the audience. This narrative strategy aims to emphasize the protesters' vulnerability and the extreme violence they were subjected to. In 11, the inability to count the injured and dead due to their sheer numbers serves to emphasize the magnitude of the violence and the large number of casualties among the MB. The mention of the husband's friend being *shot in the forehead* is a stark and disturbing detail that portrays the violence as deliberate and targeted. The abrupt ending of the statement, with the husband's phone going off, adds a sense of urgency and suspense, underscoring the uncertainty and danger faced by the protesters. This representation serves to produce the worst possible image of the military and the security forces, given that the UK press reported extensively the violation and brutal acts of this side. On the other hand, text producers avoid reporting any violation carried out by the MB protesters, rather they are highly passivated as victims of the army's attacks. Reporters, as Caldas-Coulthard (1994) argue, select news items they want to emphasize and overlook other items that does not serve their ideological purposes. In response to this negative construction of the army by the MB protesters and their relatives, the author included only two instances of indirect speech for the opposition side. Think over the following examples:

12. Officers near the fighting claimed that they were provoked by the Muslim Brotherhood
13. The National Salvation Front tried to justify the actions of security forces. Khaled Daoud, a leading member of the NSF, told Al-Jazeera that the Brotherhood bore "full responsibility" for what happened, as their encampments were not peaceful.
The Times, August 15, 2013

In the examples above, the author rewords the utterances of the army officers and a leading member of the National Salvation Front, in which their voices are represented in relation to defending themselves against the accusations of the MB protesters. Unlike direct quotations, indirect speech makes it difficult for the readers to differentiate between the reported voice and the author's voice since it distorts the original utterances of the speaker, and therefore enables the author to present the information in a way that makes it biased for or against one of the conflicting parties. The words of the opposition side are framed in a manner that evaluate them negatively in this story. In the first example, the use of the negative verbal process *claim* reflects doubt or skepticism towards what the officers said that the use of force came in response to violence of the protesters. In the second example, framing involves the relation between the reported voice and the authorial voice; the indirect speech of the NSF member is preceded by the authorial phrase

tried to justify the actions of the security forces which implicitly suggests the negative intentions and false explanations given by the opposing camp to justify the violent actions of the security forces. The inclusion of the scare quote *full responsibility* within the indirect quotation reflects the author's disapproval of the quoted speech. Thus, the writer provides a challenged representation of the opposition voices and its supporters in their justifications, which reveals the newspaper's preference towards the MB members and protesters.

In addition to the voices of the two conflicting sides, what the security forces and the army did is also represented through the verbiage of ordinary Egyptian people. Eyewitnesses including a paramedic were reported four times in the examined article and in three out of these, there was focus on presenting the negative side of the army and positive side of the MB protesters. The army and the security forces were portrayed positively in only one instance of these voices. One the paramedics who treated the injured protesters provided the readers with a thorough description of the lethal attacks and high casualty counts among the MB members, as evident in the following example:

14. "All the fatal wounds we saw were to the head and the chest. We think there are over 150 dead," the paramedic said I have also treated dozens of injured security forces, but they mostly were bruised possibly from rocks".

The Times, August 15, 2013

Example 14 reveals how quoting unidentified sources was geared towards supporting the pro-Morsi protesters and constructing the security forces negatively in the coverage. The readers sympathy for the victims of the MB supporters is stimulated through portraying the security forces as perpetrators of violent action, as seen in the quoted speech. All the victims were shot in *the head and the chest*, highlighting that there was a systematic plan that envisioned opening fire on the MB supporters. The quotation represents them as only peaceful defenders using domestic tools such as rocks against the attacks of the security forces. In other words, they were merely unarmed protesters who presented no real security challenge and intended no harm to others. According to van Dijk (1987), using quotations may contribute to biased representation when they are used to serve the interests of the powerful and their ideological perspectives. As a result, less powerful people can be unfavorably depicted in these quotations.

Negative opinion about the military is also represented through reporting international political figures. The use of force against civilians has provoked strong international response from different political leaders. In their verbiage, they implicitly condemned the Egyptian military for its bloody crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood. The examples below highlight this point:

15. "I am disappointed that compromise has not been possible. I condemn the use of force in clearing protests and call on the security forces to act with restraint."

16. "Confrontation and violence is not the way forward to resolve key political issues. I deplore the loss of lives, injuries and destruction in Cairo and other places in Egypt."

The Guardian, August 15, 2013

The above examples show the actual utterances of William Hague, Britain's foreign secretary, and Baroness Ashton, the EU's foreign policy chief respectively. The direct speech, marked by quotation marks, includes indirect accusations against the security forces as being responsible for the actions of violence that took place in clearing the protests. As previously mentioned, reporting the voices of influential and prominent authorities in news articles make them newsworthy and increases credibility because the reader will undoubtedly consider the information provided by such powerful elites as authentic and truthful facts which are unlikely to be contested. Furthermore, their accusations were directly quoted, which renders it persuasive and newsworthy.

To sum up, the intertextual analysis reveals significant differences between the pre-uprising period and the post-uprising era in terms of the sources included in the news reports and how these sources were reported. Based on the content of the aforementioned quotations, one can argue that the UK press adopts and seeks the definitions of the MB and their backers as opposed to the military and the interim government. To illustrate, the newspapers have provided plenty of space to report on direct and indirect quotations from MB protesters to support their argument regarding the violent actions committed by the military and the police to disperse the protests. Their direct and indirect speech were not challenged by the authors; hence, they are considered the primary definers of the situation. In contrast, the newspapers tended to exclude voices representing the opposition side and downplay the opposition's negative representation of the MB; that is, they are the counter definers.

5. Conclusion

The findings of intertextual analysis revealed significant differences between the pre-uprising period and the post-uprising era in terms of the sources included in the news reports and how these sources were reported. The British media used internal intertextuality to present their ideological perspectives on Egypt's political crisis. The evaluation of Morsi's decisions, particularly following the constitutional declaration, was mainly framed through the discourse representation of his critics and opponents, portraying him negatively as a *dictator* and *pharaoh*. The coverage of violent clashes between Morsi's supporters and opponents revealed that voices of the two opposing sides were included. However, not all voices were given equal prominence following the constitutional declaration. The voices of the opposition leaders and liberal activists were more emphasized in terms of number of occurrences and were reported using neutral and positive verbal processes. For example, ElBaradei, as one of the main opposition figures, was consistently reported the using neutral reporting verb *said*, emphasizing Morsi's government's responsibility for the violence against anti-regime forces. Quoting

powerful elites in news reporting, especially in direct mode, is deemed newsworthy and lends authenticity to the narrative. The voices of the ordinary protesters and eyewitnesses were also reported using both neutral verbal processes and negative verbs in rare cases. Conversely, reporters used negative verbal processes such as *claim* and *accuse* when reporting on the speech of MB's spokesmen. The consistent use of the negative reporting verbs with Morsi's side casted doubts about the content of their verbiage and reveals a certain negative feeling on the part of the journalists towards the speakers. It also indicated that the British media adopted the opposition's negative perspective towards the constitutional declaration.

After the outbreak of the protests, the UK Press extensively featured direct and indirect quotations from the MB protesters and sympathizers, allowing them to be the primary definers of the situation. Positive and neutral reporting verbs such as *believe*, *told*, and *said* were frequently used to report their speech and support their argument regarding the peaceful nature of their demonstrations. Furthermore, the representation of severe clashes between the Egyptian military and the Brotherhood supporters during the evacuation of Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda sit-ins heavily relied on discourse representations from MB protesters and sympathizers. The voices of Islamist supporters and eyewitnesses were heavily recontextualized through direct quotations to highlight the brutality of the army officers. For example, one of *The Daily Times* articles dedicated significant coverage to describing the use of live ammunition and tear gas in clearing the protests, with extensive reliance on quoting Morsi supporters to highlight the number of deaths and injuries among them. Additionally, the findings revealed a tendency to exclude voices representing the opposition side and cast doubt on and downplay their negative representation of the Muslim Brotherhood. Negative opinions about the military were also represented through quoting international political figures such as William Hague, Britain's foreign secretary, and Baroness Ashton, the EU's foreign policy chief. Their actual utterances indirectly accused the security forces of being responsible for the violence that occurred in clearing the protests.

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