

## Text Analysis of the Online News Coverage of the 25<sup>th</sup> January Egyptian Revolution: A Systemic Functional Grammar Perspective

Sally Galal Ahmad Alnabawy

Language Instructor, Faculty of Education, Zagazig University

### Abstract

*The media coverage of the Egyptian eighteen-day revolution has been controversial, as each media network has a different representation of the unfolding of events of the protests in Egypt, which springs from its own set of ideologies. Thus, media networks have played different roles in the course of the revolution. Some of them have been legitimizing the revolution, others have been demonizing it. There emerges the need to explore the role that news media have played in influencing our perception to and reaction towards the events of the revolution. Adopting Halliday's theory of systemic functional grammar, the study attempts to analyze the discursive structures used in media discourse in order to construe different representations of events. The study reports the discursive analysis of the online news of Egyptian and Arabic media that report on the 25<sup>th</sup> January Egyptian Revolution during the period from 25<sup>th</sup> of January till 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2011. Particularly, it examines the discursive aspects of the ten headlines of the news stories selected from the coverage of four major news networks: Alahram electronic gate as a representative of state media on one side, and Alwafd electronic gate, Alyoum7, and Aljazeera network as representatives of oppositional media on the other side.*

**Keywords:** Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), Media discourse, Discourse analysis, Online News discourse.

### Introduction

From January 25 to February 11, 2011, the Egyptian people shocked the world when millions of Egyptians went down to the streets to call for *isqaat al nizaam* (the fall of the regime) in unison, despite their differences in class, gender, religion, and age. The media coverage of the Egyptian eighteen-day revolution has been controversial, as each media network has a different representation of the unfolding of events of the protests in Egypt, which springs from its own set of ideologies. Thus, media networks have played different roles in the course of the revolution. Some of them have been legitimizing the revolution, others have been demonizing it. There emerges the need to explore the role that news media played in influencing our perception to and reaction towards the events of the revolution

## 1. Objectives

Language plays an important role in shaping our understanding of various events due to its role in constructing these events. Media language, especially that of news, is considered a good example of how language is employed to produce meanings which construct ideological representations of events in the world to the readers. Thus, it becomes important to investigate the role of language as a mode of representation in constructing different images of reality. The goal of this study is to investigate how media language is used for propagating specific ideologies by examining the online news reports on the 25<sup>th</sup> January Egyptian revolution.

## 2. Data and Research Methodology

Adopting Halliday's theory of systemic functional grammar, the study attempts to analyze the discursive structures used in media discourse in order to construe different representations of events.

## 3. Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1- How are the events of the 25<sup>th</sup> January Revolution and the revolutionists represented verbally in different media channels?
- 2- How do discursive representations of the revolution and the revolutionists reflect the dominant ideologies of each media network?
- 3- How do some media channels demonize the revolution and how do others legitimize it through language?

## 4. Literature Review

Linguists have adopted many research methods to investigate media discourse. The most dominant methods in analyzing media discourse are: critical discourse analysis (CDA), conversation analysis (CA), and multimodal discourse analysis (MMDA). Critical discourse analysis studies have made use of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar SFG as an essential tool for analyzing media language. One of the earliest studies in the field of critical discourse analysis of media discourse is that of Roger Fowler and his associates (1979) which

investigates three propositions about the way language functions in social and political practice. The study aims at describing the social, interpersonal and ideological functions of linguistic constructions. The linguistic apparatus used in this study is drawn from functional theories of Halliday, which assert that the functions of linguistic structures are based on social structure. Fowler finds that "social groupings and relationships influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers and writers, and moreover, that these socially determined patterns of language influence non-linguistic behaviour including, crucially, cognitive activity" (p.185). Thus, ideology is proved to be linguistically mediated. Fowler concludes that since linguistic meaning is inseparable from ideology and both depend on social structure, then "linguistic analysis ought to be a powerful tool for the study of ideological processes which mediate relationships of power and control" (p.195).

Fowler (1985) examines the press's mediation of unequal power relationship by examining how matters of public concern like medical services are represented through the linguistic structures comprising news media accounts. Fowler examines the *Sunday Times'* critical accounts about the validity of a cabinet Minister's claim that there is an adequate surgical provision in general. He presents an analysis of transitivity structures of clauses and lexicalization comprising the newspaper reports. He discusses how the linguistic structures of the reports reproduce the society's power as if it were natural, so that it characterizes medical authorities such as surgeons and politicians as inherently powerful and assigns passivity, anonymity, and powerlessness to the patients. Fowler concludes that this is an example of the indirect and contradictory way in which discourse can constitute an ideology.

Brookes (1995) examines the ideological construction of Africa through a critical discourse analysis of news on Africa in the British press. Through a comparative analysis of two British newspapers with opposing ideological positions, and by drawing on the approach of Halliday's SFG (1985) and the models of Fairclough (1989), Kress (1985) and van Dijk (1993), the paper demonstrates that there is a stereotypical, naturalized and dominant discourse in Africa. Through systematic textual analysis with an examination of processes of production and interpretation of texts by the readers and analysis of social context, this study demonstrates that there is a stereotypical and dominant discourse in reporting on Africa by constructing stereotypical distortion of African groups as different, deviant and inferior, and this is achieved by naturalization of western ideology of western superiority in the

representation of Africa. Brookes points out the role of this discourse in the reproduction of power relations and in maintaining western hegemony and concludes that this discourse reproduces the racist perceptions of Africa and Africans in western society which "plays a central role in the perpetuation of existing power relations of western superiority and dominance over Africans" (p.448).

Min (1998) attempts a research to "establish how meaning is socially constructed in linguistic structures by examining the news reports about South Korea published in four English language newspapers, one published in South Korea, two in the United States, and one in England" (p.1). Her analysis incorporates four approaches: the textual approach of Halliday, the sociological approach of Thompson, the critical linguistic approach of Fairclough, and the cognitive approach of van Dijk. The study shows that language use in discourse has the role of constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations. It also "demonstrates that no social analysis of language can proceed by ignoring the role of language in reflecting and thereby sustaining the existing social structures and unequal power relations" (198).

Olson (2005) attempts a study to examine the weekly presidential radio addresses by president Clinton delivered in August 1998 and dealt with the terroristic attacks on U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. She uses systemic functional grammar as a useful analyzing tool to investigate the constitutive power of discourse. The study investigates the processes used and their participants, the nominalized processes and the clause complexes. Olson concludes that Americans and enemies are not treated as grammatical equals and that "differences appear in lexical choices, the variety of process types, the number and kind of explicit participants, the semantic domain from which processes are drawn, and the number of rankshifted processes that elaborate upon basic propositions" (p.53). These differences contribute to represent the Americans in a quite different way compared to their enemies.

Clark (2007) examines the language of the news programmes and in particular the language of evaluation of the embedded reporters. The study attempts to show "how embedded reporters carved a role as privileged witnesses, interpreters of events and esteemed opinion givers" (p.137). A theoretical framework based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar, particularly the interpersonal mode, is adopted to trace the subjectivity of authorial voice in the embedded reporters. Clark concludes that "analysis of the corpus shows that the BBC embed reports may be

considered objective according to the common-sense notion of true to reality or factual. They appear to avoid bias and report opposing viewpoints"(p.120). However, "they also project an unmistakable reporter voice as opinion-giver, interpreter of, and witness to events" (p.120). Thus, the BBC is the least "anti-war" (p.121) in its news reports, compared with all other major news services. Reporters keep objective position and most of the reports were not judgmental, whereas most other reports adopt the pro-war stance and show that the Iraqis were enthusiastic and happy about the invasion.

Alnabawy (2012) conducts a study to identify how news texts employ linguistic devices at various levels in order to construe ideological representations of events and situations. It investigates the news reports on the Israeli war on Gaza posted on the websites of the three networks (Al-Jazeera, CNN, and BBC). The study uses critical discourse analysis as an approach to investigate the hidden ideologies in the discourse of the three networks. It also draws upon theories of systemic functional linguistics to analyze the experiential meaning of the news as well as their thematic structures. Alnabawy finds that the news coverage of the three networks reveals features of an ideological news discourse. Each network strives to support a different set of ideologies.

## **5. Theoretical Framework**

The present study is based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar theory which has established itself as a convenient tool for studying language in its social context in order to reveal the hidden meanings embedded in different texts. The name of the approach "Systemic Functional Linguistics" is thus derived from the claims it advances about language. The word "systemic" is derived from the claim that language is a system of meanings. Halliday (1985) states that "language is a semiotic system; not in the sense of a system of signs, but a systemic resource for meaning- what I have often called a meaning potential" (p.192-3). The word "functional" refers to the notion that language is seen as performing three functions: the ideational function, the interpersonal function and the textual function.

### **5.1. The Experiential (Ideational) Meaning**

Halliday (1979) states that the experiential meaning is "the semantic (linguistic) encoding of experience; particularly our experience of the processes of the external world and of the internal world of our own consciousness" (p.202). According to the experiential mode,

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) state that the clause "construes a quantum of change as a figure" (p.169). The figure is a representation of experience in the form of a configuration that consists of a Process, Participant(s), and Circumstantial.

Starting with the **Participants**, Matthiessen et al. (2010) define the participant as

one of the three grammatical components of a figure set up in the configuration that provides the models of construing our experience of what goes on, an element directly involved in process, which may or may not be impacted by the involvement in the process (p.155).

The participants take part in the process in a number of ways: they may act out the process, they may sense it, or may receive it; they may be affected by it or may say it. Participants are inherent in the process; every process has at least one participant. Regarding the **Circumstantial** element, Halliday and Matthiessen (2006) state that the circumstantial is "less closely associated with the process and are usually not inherent in it. They specify the spatial or temporal location of the process, its extent in space or time (distance or duration), its cause, the manner of its occurrence" (p.54). Circumstantial elements are realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. There are four main types of circumstances: Enhancing, Extending, Elaborating, and Projection.

The third element in the transitivity system is the **Process**. Halliday and Matthiessen (2006) state that "processes serve in the most central or nuclear role in a figure; they embody the temporal properties of a figure unfolding in time" (p.64). Thus, the experiential meaning of the clause is mainly realized by the process which is considered the most important element in the configuration. The system that construes the world of experience into a set of process types is called transitivity system. Each process type construes a particular domain of experience. There are three main types of processes in the English transitivity system: the **Material** processes, the **Mental** processes and the **Relational** processes. There are other categories of course that are considered as intermediate between these types such as the Behavioural processes which are considered as intermediate between Material and Mental processes and the Verbal processes which are considered as intermediate between the Mental and the Relational processes. The discussion here is confined to the material, verbal and relational processes as they are included in the analysis.



### 5.1.1. Material Processes

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) state that "a material clause construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy" (p.179). Material processes are those which express doing or happening. Time and energy are involved in their actualization because these processes involve a change over time of occurrence and require some energy to occur. The material clause should involve at least one participant which is the actor. The actor is the one that does the deed and it is an inherent participant in the material clause. Material processes can be classified into two categories: the first category is the one that represents a **Happening** (intransitive) and thus it involves only one participant **Actor**, e.g. *The war broke out between Israel and Lebanon* (The war is the Actor). The second category is the one that represents a **Doing** (transitive) and in this case the unfolding of the process extends to another participant **Goal**. Thus, this category involves two participants: actor and goal, e.g. *Israel waged a war on Lebanon* (Israel is the Actor and war is the Goal).

### 5.1.2. Relational Processes

Relational processes serve to characterize and to identify. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) state that "relational clauses prototypically construe change as unfolding inertly without an input of energy as a uniform flow without distinct phases of unfolding" (p.211). The participants of the relational clauses are not confined to things, but they may be acts or facts. The essential properties of the relational clauses derive its nature of a configuration of being. The relational clauses represent a relationship of being between two separate entities. There are three main types of relational clauses: Intensive, Circumstantial, and Possessive. Each one of these types comes in two distinct modes: Attributive and Identifying. The discussion here is confined to the first two types (intensive & circumstantial) as they are included in the analysis.

The first type of the relational processes is the **Intensive** type. Eggins (2004) argues that the intensive process "involves establishing a relationship between two terms, where the relationship is expressed by the verb be or a synonym" (p.239). In the **Attributive** mode, an entity has some class attributed to it, e.g. *The girl is beautiful*. We refer to the class as the **Attribute** *beautiful* and the entity which it is ascribed is the **Carrier** *the girl*. In the **Identifying** mode, something has an identity assigned to it, i.e. some identity is used to identify another, e.g. *Sam is the*

*teacher*. We refer to the element that is to be identified as the **Identified** *Sam* and the element which serves as an identity as the **Identifier** *the teacher*. The second category of the relational processes is the **Circumstantial** process. In the circumstantial clauses, the relationship between the two terms is one of time, place, manner, cause, accompaniment, role, matter, or angle. In the **Attributive** mode, the circumstantial element is an attribute that is being ascribed to some entity the attribute may be a prepositional phrase, or an adverbial group, e.g. *The lesson is about the digestive system*. In the second case, when the circumstantial relation is realized by the process, the attribute is a nominal group and the circumstantial relation is expressed by the verb that realizes the process, e.g. *The lesson concerns the digestive system*. In the **Identifying** mode, one entity is related to another by a feature of time or place, or manner, etc. The circumstantial relationship is realized by two forms: a feature of the participants, or a feature of the process. In the first case, when the circumstantial relationship is expressed as a feature of the participants, the participants are the circumstantial elements, e.g. *Unemployment is the cause of poverty*. In the second case, when the circumstantial relation is expressed by the process, the process expresses the circumstance, e.g. *Unemployment causes poverty*.

### 5.1.3. Verbal Processes

The verbal processes are those of saying. The verbal clause contains three participants: Sayer, Receiver, and Verbiage. The **Sayer** is the participant that is responsible for the verbal process, e.g. *I said to him that he should go*. The **Receiver** is the one to whom the process is directed, e.g. *I told my sister the story*. The **Verbiage** is the function that corresponds to what is said. It may be either the content of what is said as in: *I said to her that we were lost*, or the name of the saying as in: *I asked her a question*. The distinct feature of the verbal processes is their ability to project like the mental processes. However, verbal processes report or quote locutions, e.g. *I told him that the children were safe*. The projected clause may be either a proposition (exchange of information) as in: *The demonstrators told the reporter that the police attacked them*, or a proposal (exchange of goods and services) as in: *the Prime minister vowed to fight corruption*.

## 5.2. The Interpersonal Meaning

In order to explore the interpersonal meaning of a clause, Halliday and Hasan (1989) assert that one should look at the clause as a "piece of



interaction between the speaker and the listener" (p.20). Interaction means exchange and this implies giving and receiving, demanding and offering. The commodity that is being exchanged may be either one of these: a) goods and services, or b) information. When language is used to exchange information the clause takes the form of a proposition. The proposition takes either the form of a statement or a question. When language is used to exchange goods and services, the clause takes the form of a proposal. The proposal takes either the form of an offer or a command.

The interpersonal meaning comprises two main elements: the Mood element and the Modality element. The Mood element comprises two main constituents: MOOD and the RESIDUE. The Mood consists of two components: the subject which is realized by a nominal group and the finite operator which is realized by a verbal group. The finite element makes the proposition arguable as it gives it a point of reference. This is done in two ways: one way is by reference to the time of speaking, the other is by reference to the judgment of the speaker. In grammatical terms, the finite component refers to the primary tense of the proposition as well as to modality. The RESIDUE consists of functional elements of three kinds: **Predicator**, **Complement** and **Adjunct**. The Predicator is realized by the verbal group but without the operator. It is non-finite. Its function is to specify the voice (active or passive) and the process. The Complement is an element that has the potential of being subject, but is not. It is typically realized by a nominal group. The Adjunct is an element that has not got the potential of being subject. The second element of the interpersonal meaning is the Modality which means likely or unlikely, desirable, or undesirable. The system of Modality is divided into two sub-categories: Modalization and Modulation. Modalization refers to the probability or frequency of propositions and is realized by Epistemic modals. Modulation refers to the obligation or inclination of proposals and is realized by Deontic modals.

Another significant aspect of interpersonal meaning is the attitude expressed in a text and the encoding of judgments through lexical choices. It is the attitudinal lexis which expresses the speaker's or the writer's opinion about events or individuals. This aspect is examined within the appraisal system introduced by Martin and White (2005). Appraisal theory provides a particularly useful and appropriate tool for analyzing aspects of evaluation beyond modality in CDA. Hart (2014) states that "APPRAISAL exists as a meaning potential in the semantic stratum which is realized in the lexicogrammar through three particular

sub-systems: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION" (p.45). However, the present study is confined to the sub-system of ATTITUDE.

AFFECT models resources to do with emotions, it is the resource used for construing emotional responses, it is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings and it offers more delicate choices between security, fear, interest, and disquiet. JUDGEMENT deals with attitudes towards behavior, which we admire or criticize, JUDGEMENT can be divided into those dealing with social-esteem and those oriented to social sanction. JUDGEMENTS of esteem have to do with normality, capacity, or tenacity, and JUDGEMENTS of sanction have to do with veracity or propriety. The aim of JUDGEMENT is to exert control over people's behavior. APPRECIATION construes our evaluation of things we make and performances we give and also including natural phenomena and it includes choices between reaction, composition and valuation. It manifests the aesthetic quality of text like: remarkable, desirable, elegant, etc.

### 5.3. The Textual Meaning

In order to explore the textual meaning of the clause, we should look at the clause as a message that consists of two parts: Theme and Rheme. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) define the **Theme** as "the element which serves as the point of departure of the message, it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context" (p.64). Thus, the theme contains familiar or given information which has already been mentioned somewhere in the text. We can identify the theme by its place. It is the element that comes first in the clause, e.g. *The children tidied their room.* The second element of the clause as a message is the **Rheme**. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) define it as "the remainder of the message, the part in which the theme is developed" (p.64). Thus, the Rheme contains unfamiliar or new information. We can simply recognize the Rheme as being everything in the clause that is not Theme, e.g. *The children tidied their room.*

Regarding the first element (Theme), there are three types of themes that reflect the three functions of the clause: the Topical Theme, the Interpersonal Theme, and the Textual Theme. **The Topical Theme** is the one that contains one of the constituents of the experiential meaning (the participants, the process, or the circumstantial). We must note that the theme contains only one of these three constituents, e.g. *The police*

*officer caught the thief* (topical theme actor). *The thief was caught by the police officer* (topical theme goal). *Catch the thief* (topical theme process). *Yesterday, the police officer caught the thief* (topical theme circumstantial). The second type of themes is the **Interpersonal Theme** is the one that contains one of the constituents of the interpersonal meaning such as: the finite in the interrogative structures or one of the modal adjuncts as: mood, vocative, polarity and comment, e.g. *Do you like photography?* (interpersonal theme finite). *I think you should accept* (interpersonal theme mood adjunct). *Peter, take off your shoes* (interpersonal theme vocative adjunct). *Yes, I did* (interpersonal theme polarity adjunct). *Unfortunately, they did not catch the train* (interpersonal theme comment adjunct). The third type of themes is the **Textual Theme** which is defined by Eggins (2004) as "these are elements which do not express any interpersonal or experiential meaning, but which are doing important cohesive work in relating the clause to its context" (p.305). e.g. *Oh, you forgot your bag* (textual theme continuity adjunct). The second type is the conjunctive adjuncts which are used to link the sentences together such as: so, but, and, e.g. *So you have joined the university* (textual theme conjunctive adjunct).

The last thing that should be explained about the theme is its patterns of choice. There are two patterns of theme: marked and unmarked theme. Unmarked means typical or usual. In this case all things are equal. However, marked means all things are not equal or as Eggins (2004) explains "that something in the context requires an atypical meaning to be made" (p.318). The theme is considered to be unmarked in the following cases: a) when it is the subject in the declarative clause. b) when it is the finite in the interrogative clause. c) when it is the predicator in the imperative clause. d) when it is the WH element in the WH interrogative. However, when the theme is realized by other constituents in each case, it is considered as a marked theme. Here are some examples of the marked theme in each case: in the declarative clause: *Yesterday, he visited him*, in the interrogative clause: *In most cases, is the medicine effective?*, in the imperative clause: *You take the bag right now*, in the WH interrogative: *In political terms, what are the consequences of his act?*

#### 5.4. Grammatical metaphor

Thompson (2004) defines the grammatical metaphor as "the expression of meaning through a lexico-grammatical form that originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning" (p.223). Any language consists of a number of elements; each element serves a particular

function. However, this element, as included within the system of a language, is not confined to this particular function and may be accessible for some other related uses. Thus, the grammatical metaphor has the effect of increasing the levels of meaning and wording. There are two subcategories of the grammatical metaphor: (a) the ideational metaphor, and (b) the interpersonal metaphor (metaphors of mood).

#### 5.4.1. Ideational Metaphor

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) point out to the nature of the ideational metaphor, as it has the tendency "to downgrade the domain of grammatical realization of a semantic sequence, figure or element— from clause nexus to clause, from clause to group/phrase, and even from group or phrase to word" (p.646). Thus in the metaphorical mode, sequences are construed as figures, figures as elements and so on. For example, the sequence, *Many people protest after the police have attacked the demonstrators* is metaphorically realized as a figure: *Many people protest after the police attacks on the demonstrators*.

The ideational metaphor has the tendency of downgrading the grammatical realization. Thus, this downgrading may occur to (a) sequence, (b) figure or (c) element. The downgrading of a sequence occurs when a clause nexus is realized by a clause. In the congruent mode, a sequence of two figures is realized by a clause nexus. However, in the metaphorical mode one of those figures is rank shifted from a clause to a phrase. Thus, the clause complex becomes a clause comprising the rank shifted clause as phrase inside it. For example, this clause nexus *She fired him after he had obviously insulted her* can be realized in the metaphorical mode as one clause *She fired him after his obvious insult to her*. The dependent clause in the clause nexus is rank shifted to a prepositional phrase that functions as a circumstantial inside the clause in the metaphorical mode. This results in interpersonal and textual effects as changing Theme/Rheme organization and losing the interpersonal status of a proposition or a proposal.

#### 5.4.2. Interpersonal Metaphor

Thompson (2004) defines the interpersonal metaphor as "non-congruent ways of enacting interaction" (231). While the ideational metaphor tends to downgrade the domain of realization from clause nexus to clause and from clause to nominal group, thus compacting the realization and making it less explicit, the interpersonal metaphor tends to

upgrade the domain of realization from clause to clause nexus, making the realization more explicit, and this is used to give an explicitly subjective orientation to speech functions.

There are two types of the interpersonal metaphor: metaphors of modality and metaphors of Mood. Taverniers (2003) defines metaphors of modality as those "expressing modal meanings outside the clause, for instance by means of an additional projecting clause" (p.10). Modality is congruently realized by modal verbs, but within the domain of the interpersonal metaphor, a modal proposition or proposal is realized as if it were a projection sequence, by a nexus of two clauses, rather than a single clause. Here, the modal assessment itself is given the status of a proposition in its own right, but because the projecting clause of the nexus is metaphorical in nature, standing for an interpersonal modality, it is also at the same time a modal adjunct in the clause realizing the proposition/proposal. As for metaphors of Mood, Taverniers (2003) defines them as the kind of interpersonal metaphor where "the mood meaning is not expressed in the clause, but rather as an explicit element outside the clause" (p.11). In this kind of metaphors, one mood is acting as another. In the mood metaphor, the proposition or proposal is realized by a clause nexus of projection rather than by a simple clause. This has two sequences for the expansion of meaning potential of speech function. On the one hand, the option of making subjective orientation of speech functional selection explicit is added to the system. On the other hand, the speech functional system can be elaborated indelicacy by drawing on extensive resources of the lexico-grammar of verbal and mental clauses.

## **6. Analysis**

### **6.1. Ideational Meaning**

The results of investigating the types of processes used in the representation of the events of the revolution in the four networks show that: the five headlines selected from Alahram's coverage are realized by: three material processes, three verbal processes, and one relational process. On the other hand, the five headlines selected from the oppositional media websites are realized by: five material processes and one relational process. Each type of process is discussed in detail in the following section.

#### **a. Material processes**

The analysis shows that, in Alahram's representation, the headlines that are concerned with the violent actions of the security forces



or Mubarak's supporters are realized by nominalized processes as in the following headlines:

ضبط ٦ متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب امام مبني نقابة الصحفيين

( Arresting six protestors who sparked riots in front of Journalists' Syndicate) posted on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

ضبط (arresting)	٦ متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب (six protestors who sparked riots)	امام مبني نقابة الصحفيين (in front of the Journalists' Syndicate)
Pro. material	goal.	circumstantial

(The entrance of horses and camels for the dispersal of Tahrir Square demonstrations) posted on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011.

دخول (entrance)	الخيول و الجمال (horses and camels)	ل (for)	تفريق (dispersal)	مظاهرات ميدان التحرير (Tahrir Square demonstrations)
Proc. material	actor	Conj.	Proc. material	goal

نجاح ابراهيم: عليكم التجاوب مع خطاب الرئيس و ميدان التحرير لن يطير (Najeh Ibrahim: you should respond to the president's speech and Tahrir Square will not disappear) posted on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011.

نجاح ابراهيم (Najeh Ibrahim)	عليكم (you should)	التجاوب (respond)	مع خطاب الرئيس (with the president's speech)	و (and)	ميدان التحرير (Tahrir Square)	لن يطير (will not disappear)
Sayer	actor	Proc. material	circumstantial	conj.	actor	Proc. material

Nominalized processes are called verbal nouns in Arabic language. Wright (1996) refers to the term 'verbal nouns' as used in Arabic language

as: "abstract substantives, which express the action, passion, or state indicated by the corresponding verbs without any reference to object, subject, or time"(p.110). It is observable that the clauses are realized by verbal nouns which are presented as part of 'genitive constructions'. This term is defined by Trask(1993) as "a construction in which a noun is possessed or modified by another noun phrase" (p.149). This case of genitive construction is what is called in Arabic *Idaafah* or annexation. Ryding & Versteegh (2006) explain the case of annexation: "two Arabic nouns may be linked together in a noun phrase in such a way that the second noun in sequence determines the first by limiting, identifying, possessing, defining, or amplifying it. The two nouns in this phrase function as a closely knit syntactic unit" (p.294). The first member of the construct (the annexed) refers to the thing possessed or modified *almudaaf* and the second member (the annexing) refers to the possessor or the modifying *almudaaf ilayh*.

When the first member of the genitive construction is a verbal noun, sometimes the second member refers to doer of the verb and in this case the construction is called 'subjective genitive' and sometimes it refers to the object of the verb and in that case the construction is referred to as objective genitive. The analysis of the headlines shows that one of the genitive constructions falls in the category of objective genitive " ضبط ٦ " دخول الخيول و " دخول الخيول و " متظاهرين الجمال " (entrance of horses and camels). Using verbal nouns in these realizations is a way to represent these actions as happenings or self-caused and thus, mystifying their responsibility. Moreover, the frequent use of objective genitive focuses the reader's attention on the outcome of the process rather than its initiator. It is evident that the exclusion of the actor in these structures leads to the absence of any agency feature, since the clause does not refer to the causative agent which is responsible of the action. This has the effect of obfuscating agency and hence causality and responsibility.

The only process that is realized by subjective genitive is "دخول" (entrance) which does not denote a violent action. The actor of the process "الخيول و الجمال" is presented in the genitive construction as a modifying noun. Though the actor of the process is not excluded radically as the previous examples, it is presented as an embedded element in the nominal phrase. i.e. a modifier to the noun head "دخول". Choosing to shift the status of the actor from an inherent participant to an embedded element that functions as a modifying noun is a way to place the actor in a less focal area.

As for the participants of the process, the role of the actor is assigned to الخيل و الجمال (horses and camels). Thus the agency of the process is attributed to 'horses and camels' which are not the real actor because it is difficult to take literally the notion that horses and camels have made the decision to enter Tahrir Square to attack the protestors their own selves. It is evident that in a different representation, thugs or Mubarak's supporters could be the actor of the process. It is evident that the network tends to attribute the agency of the negative actions to ambiguous and mystifying actors. The analysis of the Goals of the material processes shows that Alahram uses the word "متظاهرين" (protestors) as the goal of the process "ضبط" (arresting) and it is modified by the relative clause "اثاروا الشغب" (sparked riots) which denotes violence in order confine the action of arresting to those who sparked the riots only. The modifying relative clause not only specifies the goal and conveys the meaning of limitation, but justifies the action taken against them, as well.

On the other hand, the analysis of the headlines posted in the oppositional media shows that the majority of these headlines are realized by material processes. Most of these material processes represent the negative actions done by the security forces or Mubarak's supporters against the protestors as in the following headlines:

أجهزة الامن تعتقل صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين.

(Security forces arrest journalists, activists, and protestors)  
(Alyoum7) posted on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

اجهزة الامن (security forces)	تعتقل (arrest)	صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين (journalists, activists and protestors)
actor	Proc. material	goal

الامن يطارد متظاهري التحرير بالرصاص المطاطي

(security are chasing the protestors with rubber bullets), (Alwafd)  
posted on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

الامن (security)	يطارد (are chasing)	المتظاهرين (the protestors)	بالرصاص المطاطي (with rubber bullets)
actor	Proc. material	goal	circumstantial

بالفيديو .. بلطجية يهاجمون المتظاهرين

(video: thugs are attacking the protestors) (Alwafd) posted on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011.

بلطجية (thugs)	يهاجمون (are attacking)	المتظاهرين (the protestors)
actor	Proc. material	goal

المصريون كسروا حاجز الخوف

(the Egyptians have broken the barrier of fear) (Aljazeera) posted on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011.

المصريون (the Egyptians)	كسروا (broke)	حاجز الخوف (the barrier of fear)
actor	Proc. material	goal

انطلاق مظاهرات يوم الغضب

(The launch of the demonstrations of the day of rage) (Aljazeera) posted on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011 .

انطلاق (the launch)	مظاهرات يوم الغضب (demonstrations of the day or rage)	بمصر (in Egypt)
Proc. material	actor	circumstantial

All these material processes included in the headlines [ يتعقل، يطارد، ] (arrest, chase, attack) denote violence and thus classified as negative actions. In addition, all of the processes come in the operative mode which corresponds to the active voice. The operative mode results in activating the social actors. Thus, the participants of the process (the actor and the goal) are included and the agency of the action is attributed directly and explicitly to the real actor. in addition, the actor is thematized as being placed first whereas the goal affected is positioned last and this foregrounds the involvement of the actor in the incident. Fairclough (2003) asserts that when the participants of the process are presented in the active mode, "their capacity for agentive action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth is accentuated" (p.151).

The analysis of the actors of the material processes shows that the Egyptians are represented as the actor of the material process "broke" which connotes force and strength and the demonstrations are presented as the actor of the process "launch" which connotes freedom and release. Both processes imply power and control. Such representations have the effect of empowering the Egyptians and the protestors. However, the actors that belong to Mubarak's regime such as "اجهزة الامن ، الامن ، بلطجية" (security forces, security, thugs) are attached to negative and violent material processes as in these headlines: "اجهزة الامن تعتقل صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين" (security forces arrest journalists, activists, and protestors) (Alyoum7), "الامن يطارد متظاهري التحرير بالرصاص المطاطي" (security are chasing the protestors with rubber bullets), (Alwafd), "بلطجية .. بالفيديو .. يهاجمون المتظاهرين" (video: thugs are attacking the protestors) (Alwafd). In addition, it is evident that the agency of these negative actions are attributed directly to their real actors and this has the effect of incriminating Mubarak and his regime.

The analysis of the goal element of the material processes shows that the word "متظاهرين" (protestors) appears thrice as the goal of negative processes in three headlines: "اجهزة الامن تعتقل صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين" (Security forces arrest journalists, activists, and protestors) (Alyoum7), "الامن يطارد متظاهري التحرير بالرصاص المطاطي" (security are chasing the protestors with rubber bullets), (Alwafd), "بلطجية يهاجمون المتظاهرين" (video: thugs are attacking the protestors) (Alwafd). This enhances the idea that the protestors are targeted by security forces and Mubarak's supporters. In the first headline, the process comprises multiple goals realized by three noun phrases: "صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين" (journalists, activists, and protestors). This has the effect of widening the range of the goal to embrace many categories of the society. As a result, this contributes in depicting the security forces as being accused of violence and thus provokes feelings of anger towards them.

### **b. Verbal processes**

The analysis shows that the verbal processes presented in Alahram are attributed to either one of Mubarak's statesmen such as Aladli or religious authority such as The Catholic Church, and Najeh Ibrahim. According to Bell (1991), "news stories come from two types of sources: media and newsmakers" (p.190). Thus, the sources that are granted access to news discourse are those that are considered newsmakers.



In the headline that is posted on Alahram on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 "الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في مصر تدعو المتظاهرين للعودة الي بيوتهم" (The Catholic church asks the protestors to return back to their homes)

الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في مصر (The Catholic church in Egypt)	تدعو (asks)	المتظاهرين (the protestors)	للعودة (to return)	الي بيوتهم (to their homes)
sayer	Proc. verbal	receiver	Proc. material	Circum.

the verbal process "تدعو" (asks) belongs to the imperating category as it denotes commanding, the sayer is the Catholic church which is considered a religious authority but its loyalty is to Mubarak's regime, and the phenomenon is realized by the projected non-finite clause "للعودة الي بيوتهم" (to return back to their homes). Presenting such a religious authority performing a proposal to the protestors enhances the idea that Alahram network still views Mubarak and his loyalists as the real authority that has the power to command the people.

The Catholic church is presented as a metaphoric Sayer which is a mystifying representation of the actor of the process. There is semantic deviation between the actor (The Catholic church) and the process (ask) because normally churches do not ask. The congruent version could represent "people in the church or the bishop" as the real actor. This strategy is what van Leeuwen (2003) calls impersonalization of the participant. According to him, there are two types of impersonalization: abstraction, and objectivation. "Objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in" (p.59). Impersonalization of the participant results in giving a kind of impersonal authority to the utterances.

On the other hand, the headlines of the news stories posted on the oppositional media do not comprise verbal processes as the networks show little interest in conveying the views of the politicians because these politicians are not part of the people revolution. On the contrary, they exhibit their disapproval of the idea of ousting Mubarak. Therefore, the oppositional media exclude their views and their statements from their coverage as they appear to be against the revolution. Instead, the

oppositional media coverage focus on representing the events of the revolution itself.

### c. Relational processes

The analysis shows that the four networks have used two relational processes in their representation of the events; one of the intensive type and one of the circumstantial type. Alahram network uses the intensive type processes in the headline:

العادلي: مظاهرة ميدان التحرير لم تكن مفاجئة و نظام مصر ليس هامشيا او هشاً  
(Aladli: the protest of Tahrir Square was not surprising and the regime in Egypt is not marginal or fragile) posted on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

العادلي (Aladli)	مظاهرة ميدان التحرير (Tahrir square protest)	لم تكن (was not)	مفاجئة (surprising)	و (and)	نظام مصر (Egyp's regime)	ليس ( is not)	هامشيا او هشاً (marginal or fragile)
Sayer	carrier	Proc. Rel..	attribute	conj	carrier	proc. Rel.	attribute

The headline comprises two intensive processes of the attributive type as they ascribe qualitative attributes to some entities. Here, the processes are used in the negative mood to deny ascribing the attribute "مفاجئة" (surprising) to the carrier "مظاهرة ميدان التحرير" (Tahrir square protest) and attributes like "هامشيا او هشاً" (marginal and fragile) to the regime in Egypt. The qualities used by Aladli to describe the protests and Mubarak's regime reflect his notions about the ability of Mubarak's regime to nip the protests in the bud.

The oppositional media networks use one circumstantial relational process which expresses comparative relationship in the headline: " وفاة ثالث متظاهر في السويس و الاصابات ترتفع ل ١٢٠ حالة" (Death of the third protestor in Suez, and the injuries rise to 120 ) (Alyoum7). Posted on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

وفاة (death)	ثالث متظاهر (the third protestor)	في السويس (in Suez)	و (and)	الاصابات (injuries)	ترتفع (rise)	ل ١٢٠ حالة ( to120)
Proc. material	actor	Circum.	Conj.	value	Proc. Circum.	token

The headline is realized by two processes the first "وفاة" (death) which falls in the category of material processes and the second process "ترتفع" (rise) which is a relational process of the circumstantial type which is used in the context of stating the number of casualties to express a comparative relationship between the 'injuries' and the figure representing it. The network uses the process 'rises' to highlight the increasing number of the casualties.

#### d) Labeling

Labeling is considered a powerful tool for sorting people and things. This process is useful in news discourse because the economic nature of labels suits the tight space of news texts as labels compress so much meaning into a few words. The act of labeling a person or a thing defines how members of the society can understand and judge any action done by that person and allows them to generalize about them.

Alahram uses the strategy of labeling to label the thugs who attacked the demonstrators in Tahrir square in the 'camel battle' as: "متظاهرون بالخيل" (demonstrators on horses), and "مؤيدي الاستقرار" (stability supporters). This helps in depicting a peaceful picture of those thugs who broke into Tahrir Square on horses and camels to attack the protestors. They are represented as knights on horses who are trying to save their country from slipping into conflicts and divisions. On the other hand, the protestors are labeled as: "متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب" (protestors who sparked riots), and "الاخوان" (brotherhood). This evokes in the minds of the readers a violent image of the protestors by describing them as sparking riots and by equating them with the brotherhood that is considered a banned group in Egypt. This results in suggesting the illegitimacy of the protests.

On the other hand, the oppositional media uses the label of "يوم الغضب" (the day of rage) to refer to the 28<sup>th</sup> of January in the headline "انطلاق مظاهرات يوم الغضب بمصر" (The launch of the demonstrations of the day of rage in Egypt) posted on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011. It is noticeable that this is the very name which has been chosen by the demonstrators and activists to refer to that day which is considered the first day of mass demonstrations. By adopting the same vocabulary of the demonstrators, Aljazeera reveals its attitude of supporting the demonstrations and siding with the people against the state. The label "يوم الغضب" (the day of rage) helps in inflaming the protestors and arouse their agitation.

One noticeable thing is that the oppositional media sometimes replace the word "المتظاهرين" (demonstrators) with the word "المصريون"

(Egyptians). This occurs in the headline posted in Aljazeera on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2011: المصريون كسروا حاجز الخوف (The Egyptians have broken the barrier of fear) It is evident that the headline describes the people's feelings of rage, fearlessness and determination. This serves to generalize the state of rage and revolt to embrace all the Egyptians not only the demonstrators of Tahrir square. This generalization has the effect of mobilizing support to the revolution as well as creating a commonsensical approval of it.

## 6.2. Interpersonal meaning

### 6.2.1. Mood and Modality

The analysis of the Mood system shows that there is consistency of mood as all the clauses that realize the headlines posted on Alahram or the oppositional media websites fall in the category of propositions. All the propositions belong to the declarative type in which information is stated. Declaratives always express factual information or attitudinal opinion. Using declaratives is appropriate to the news discourse as it is supposed to provide the reader with facts supported with evidence. Thus, the use of declarative implies confirmation and confidence. Besides, the fact that nine out of ten propositions have positive polarity which contributes in representing processes as real and factual. In addition, all the propositions are realized in the present simple tense which reflects the certainty of the statement.

Alahram network makes use of declaratives to make strong assertions about the protests and this is demonstrated in the following headline: العادلي: مظاهرة ميدان التحرير لم تكن مفاجئة و نظام مصر ليس هامشيا او هشيا (Aladli: the protest of Tahrir Square was not surprising and the regime in Egypt is not marginal or fragile). Aladli is using a declarative sentence to make categorical statements about the protests and Mubarak's regime. These statements are realized by nonverbal equational sentences or what is called in Arabic *aljumlah alismiah* which is equivalent to clauses realized by verb to-be. Generally, non-verbal equational sentences in Arabic expresses a static form which Eisele (2006) asserts that it "represents the state of affairs predicated of an entity as homogeneous or true at all points or moments within an interval"(p.197). This adds much to the credibility and validity of the statements and creates a sense of the speaker's authority over knowledge.

The negative polarity is used once in this headline in which Aladli states his opinion about the protests. Bublitz (1992) states that negation expresses both a contrast with and a comparison to an alternative, it "is used to reflect the contrast between the expected and the unexpected, between what is assumed to be the case and the unexpected deviation from this assumption" (p.567). The negative polarity implies that What is assumed here is that the protest is surprising and Mubarak's regime does appear to be fragile. However, Aladli is giving an unexpected deviation from this assumption by declaring that the protest was not surprising and Mubarak's regime is not fragile. This negative statement expresses denial of a presupposition.

As for the modality system, Alahram's coverage comprises three headlines which express statements of obligation and inclination, these headlines are: الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في مصر تدعو المتظاهرين للعودة الي بيوتهم (the catholic church is requesting the protestors to return back to their homes), (Najeh Ibrahim: عليك التجاوب مع خطاب الرئيس و ميدان التحرير لن يطير (Najeh Ibrahim: you should respond to the president's speech and Tahrir Square will not fly away). Though these headlines appear to be proposals as they express commands, they belong to the indicative mood and function as propositions due to the presence of the third person subject. Realizing the command by a declarative instead of an imperative serves to temper the command. The modulation in these statements is made explicit through the use of deontic modals as " عليك " (should) whereas, In the first headline, the obligation is made implicit through the use of the verb تدعو (ask).

Deontic modality has to do with influencing people and events. It demonstrates power, authority, and control. The modality of obligation used here is of the subjective type realized by عليك (should) which carries the speaker's own judgement. Thus, Ibrahim appears to be imposing his own views in order to direct the people to what they see to be appropriate. This exhibits the desire of the network to present Ibrahim not only as authoritative figures who still has the ability to influence the course of events, but as a trustworthy leader that still play the role of the custodian of the country. Consequently, this reflects the ideology that the network propagates which is related to enhancing Mubarak's regime's power and authority over people.

Epistemic modality is used once in the headline: عليك ابراهيم: (Najeh Ibrahim: عليك التجاوب مع خطاب الرئيس و ميدان التحرير لن يطير (Najeh Ibrahim: you should respond to the president's speech and Tahrir Square will not fly away). The headline is realized by a clause complex which includes two



processes, the first one is modalized by the deontic modal "عليكم" (should) and the second one is modalized by the epistemic modal "لن" (will not). "لن" is a preverbal particle which expresses future negation. However, Palmer (2001) argues that "the future is not fully known and it is always no more than a reasonable assumption that a future event will ensue" (104-105), Lyons (1977) also suggests that "futurity is never a purely temporal concept, it necessarily includes an element of prediction" (677). Thus, "لن" (will not) can be considered as one of the epistemic modals which belongs to the Assumptive category. Assumptive modals can be seen as a judgement based upon evidence; this evidence is from what is generally known. Najeh Ibrahim is presented as making a prediction about the future and this suggests that he is speaking from the position of insider knowledge. This results in making his assertions sound more authoritative.

On the other hand, the representation of the oppositional media appears to be devoid of modality. No obvious modal features can be detected in the headlines under analysis, as all of them are realized by positive declaratives. These positive statements without modality markers contributes in representing processes as real and actual. The absence of epistemic modality in any text is a strategy to warrant strong claims and this is appropriate to news discourse. Montgomery(2007) asserts that "news discourse is assumed to be in a veridical relationship to the truth and so there is no need to modalize degrees of commitment to the factuality of its statements" (p.32). In addition, the absence of deontic modality reveals the absence of the writer's point of view in the utterance as he/she neither intrudes in the events with his/her own judgement nor directs the readers to a certain course of events.

### 6.2.2. Appraisal Theory

The analysis shows that Alahram network employs both JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in the evaluative language used in the headlines. the Tahrir Square protest is appreciated by Aladli negatively in terms of REACTION in the headline: العادلي: مظاهرة ميدان التحرير لم تكن مفاجئة و نظام مصر ليس هامشيا او هشيا (Aladli: the protest of Tahrir Square was not surprising and the regime in Egypt is not marginal or fragile), This negative REACTION is realized by the negated adjectival "لم تكن مفاجئة" (was not surprising) which describes their reaction towards the protests. According to Aladli's statement, the government is not surprised by the protests and they are prepared to face them. In the same headline, Mubarak's regime is judged positively by Aladli. The

JUDGEMENT is of positive Social Esteem considering the capacity of Mubarak's regime. It is evaluated in terms of appraisal vocabulary by attitudinal adjectives " ليس هامشيا او هشئا " (not marginal or fragile) which indicates the power of the regime.

On the other hand, the demonstrators are negatively judged in terms of Social Sanction in the headline: ضبط ٦ متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب امام نقابة " الصحفيين " (Arresting six protestors who sparked riots in front of journalists' syndicate). The JUDGEMENT about the protestors is negative in terms of PROPRIETY which aims to exert control over people's behavior. The JUDGEMENT is expressed implicitly and evoked as a token through the ideational meaning of the embedded clause " اثاروا الشغب امام نقابة الصحفيين " (who sparked riots in front of the journalists' syndicate). This clause evokes appraisal of impropriety of the protestors' behavior. The network depicts the demonstrators' behaviour as riotous in order to trigger an assessment of negative propriety on the part of the protestors.

Thus, the analysis shows that Alahram network employs evaluative language and attitudinal lexis in order to impose the opinions of the institution itself or those of the sources of the news whose statements are conveyed. Mubarak's speech and regime are judged and appreciated positively while the protests and the protestors are judged and appreciated negatively. This contributes in depicting Mubarak and his regime as the in-group and the protestors as the out-group.

As for the oppositional media, the selected headlines are devoid of any kind of evaluative language.

### 6.3. Textual Meaning

The analysis shows that the thematic organization of all of the headlines under analysis is grammatically unmarked as the presented themes are typical to their grammatical realizations. However, the thematic foregrounding should be examined as Bazzi (2009) refers to its importance: "thematic foregrounding comes from the dominant thematic references or theme repetition that become the main topic in the text in order to activate particular assumptions upon which the reader builds his/her interpretation of what follows"(p.158).

The thematic patterns of the headlines posted on Alahram are oriented to the statesmen of Mubarak's government or some religious authority such as: مصدر امني, العادلي Aladli. Moreover, Some processes in the reduced form of nominalization are presented as

themes in some headlines as: ضبط (arrest), دخول (entrance). The phrase of obligation عليكم (you should), is foregrounded as a themes in one of the headlines.

The analysis of thematization in the oppositional media shows that The highest proportion of thematic positions in oppositional media is occupied by processes in the reduced form of nominalization as: وفاة (death) and انطلاق (launch). The word "المصريون" (Egyptians) is foregrounded once in the headline: المصريون كسروا حاجز الخوف (Egyptians have broken the barrier of fear).

It is evident that the words: الامن (security) and اجهزة الامن (security forces) appear twice in the thematic position in the headlines: اجهزة الامن (security forces) تعقل صحفيين و نشطاء و متظاهرين (police arrests journalists, activists, and protestors) (Alyoum7), الامن يطارد متظاهري التحرير بالرصاص المطاطي (security forces are chasing the protestors with rubber bullets), (Alwafd). By examining the two headlines, we observe that security and security forces function as the actor of processes which denote violence; تعقل (arrest) and يطارد (chase). Foregrounding the actors of these negative actions and putting them in prominent thematic position highlights their agency of the negative actions they perform and direct the reader's attention to their responsibility of these negative actions that is illustrated in the Rheme.

Therefore, it is obvious that in the coverage of Alahram, Mubarak's regime is the dominant theme in the headlines. However, the events of the revolution is the dominant theme in the oppositional media and this is illustrated by the recurred themes that appear in the headlines of the three networks. The consistent foregrounding of Mubarak's regime in the thematic positions in Alahram's coverage reveals the network's concern with Mubarak as one side of the conflict. On the other hand, the foregrounding of the events of the revolution in the thematic positions in the coverage of the oppositional media reveals their concern with the revolution as a historic event and the Egyptian people who make it. This strategy of foregrounding particular participants in the thematic positions has the effect of evoking in the mind of the readers the commonsensical assumption of identifying with one side of the conflict, and thus, creating in-groups and out-groups. In the case of Alahram network, readers are asked to identify with Mubarak and his regime while the demonstrators are othered. In the case of the oppositional media, readers are identified with the events of the revolution itself not with particular participants.

## 6.4. Beyond clause (Grammatical metaphor)

### 6.4.1. Ideational metaphor

The analysis of the headlines posted on Alahram shows that a general feature that characterizes them is the use of the ideational metaphor. A number of nominal phrases, which are in fact clauses downgraded to nominal phrases are detected throughout the analysis. Most of these nominal phrases express the violent actions taken by the police or Mubarak's supporters against the protestors.

The network uses nominal phrases such as " ضبط " (arresting), and " دخول " (entrance) to realize its headlines. In fact all these nominal phrases are clauses that have been rankshifted to phrases in the metaphorical mode and the processes which denote actions are downgraded into happenings. It is observable that these nominal phrases are used to replace material processes which denote violence and convey negative actions and the actors of all these processes are either security forces or Mubarak's supporters. Thus, if the network chooses to use the congruent realizations instead of the metaphorical ones, the responsibility of all these negative actions is attributed to Mubarak's regime explicitly and this seems to be against the ideology of Alahram network. Reporting on the negative actions by using the ideational metaphor allows the network to avoid attributing the agency of these negative actions to their real agents. This form weakens the causal link between the responsible actor and the process.

For example the headline *ضبط ٦ متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب امام مبني نقابة الصحفيين* (arresting six protestors who sparked riots in front of journalists' syndicate) can be realized in the congruent mode as the following: *" الامن يضبط ٦ متظاهرين اثاروا الشغب امام مبني نقابة الصحفيين "* (security arrest six protestors who sparked riots in front of journalists' syndicate). The figure in the congruent realization is downgraded into a noun phrase in the metaphorical mode and the process " يضبط " (arrest) is rankshifted into a verbal noun that functions as a head in the noun phrase. The actor of the process is deleted in order to mystify the agency of the negative action.

Thus, the proposition conveyed by the headline is realized by a nominal phrase of annexation which consists of the head, also functions as the predicate of the phrase, " ضبط " (arresting) annexed by the modifier, also functions as the patient of the nominalized process, " ٦ متظاهرين " (six protestors). Presenting the process as a noun, the goal as an embedded element, and the complete absence of the actor contribute to creating a

distorted image of the truth. Downgrading the figure to a noun group results not only in mystifying the agency of the negative action, but in rankshifting the goal of the process "المتظاهرين" (protestors) into a modifier to the noun head, as well. In addition, using the ideational metaphor deprives the structure of its textual meaning represented in Theme Rheme organization. Consequently, it serves a thematic purpose in that it brings attention to different topics rather than directly incriminating legal actors. The phrase also loses its interpersonal status of a proposition and is presented as something established and cannot be arguable.

It is noticeable that although the main proposition of the headline is realized by a nominal phrase, the word "متظاهرين" (protestors) is modified by an embedded relative clause which depicts the protestors negatively. The relative clause: "اثاروا الشغب امام نقابة الصحفيين" (sparked riots in front of the journalists' syndicate) functions as a post modifier to the noun "متظاهرين" (protestors) and refers to a negative action attributed to them. This post modifier is realized by a full clause that comprises a material process "اثاروا" (sparked) which expresses provocation, a goal "الشغب" (riots), and a circumstance "امام مبني نقابة الصحفيين" (in front of the journalists' syndicate). Thus, the protestors appear to be the agent of sparking the riots rather than the patient of arresting. The different strategies employed by the network in reporting on the two sides of conflicts reveals its attitudes towards the protestors as an out-group and towards Mubarak and his regime as an in-group.

In the oppositional media, the ideational metaphor is used in the coverage but in a quite different way. Aljazeera uses nominal phrases like "انطلاق" (launch) to report on the protests in the headlines: "انطلاق" (launch) "مظاهرات يوم الغضب بمصر" (the launch of the protests of the day of rage in Egypt). In this headline, the network prefers to use the nominalized structures in the metaphorical mode: "مظاهرات" (demonstrations) and "انطلاق" (launch) instead of their congruent realization: "يتظاهر" (demonstrate) and "تنتطق" (launches) in order to produce various effects.

First, the network avoids attributing the responsibility of the action of protesting or launching the protests to anyone and this makes it seem as though something that just happen as the initiator of the event is hidden. Second, nominalization results in concealing who is the affected by the demonstrations or against whom or what the demonstrations are launched. Third, it results in the reification of the process which means viewing the process as a thing or object. Hart (2014) states that "This



process of reification allows relational or attributive concepts to be treated as concrete products having or coming into some kind of ontological existence " (p.130). Therefore, the demonstration is presented here as an object that does not unfold dynamically in space and time, but as spontaneously coming into being. And since the event is distanced from any moment in time, it just appears as a simple fact.

Thompson (2004) refers to the reification function of nominalization with the term 'encapsulation'. He asserts that "a noun typically refers to a thing, that is something that exists. By nouning a process, writers can reflect the fact that they have negotiated and established the meaning of the clause centered on the process- in other words, that the meaning can now be treated as having existence as a kind of abstract thing" (p.228). Thus, the meaning of the nominalized clause becomes nonnegotiable. This reveals the fact that Aljazeera network represents the action of protesting and demonstrating as an established fact or reality that cannot be denied. It is not just an action taken by some individuals or groups it becomes a phenomenon that overspreads the country and it is not limited to specific actors or specific timing.

#### 6.4.2. Interpersonal metaphor

The analysis shows that while Alahram network uses the interpersonal metaphor in two headlines of its news stories, the other networks that represent the oppositional media do not use it at all. The headlines which are realized in the metaphorical mode are: *ناجح ابراهيم: عليكم التجاوب مع خطاب الرئيس و ميدان التحرير لن يطير* (Najeh Ibrahim: you should respond to the president's speech and Tahrir Square will not fly away), and *الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في مصر تدعو المتظاهرين للعودة الي بيوتهم* (the catholic church asks the protestors to return back to their homes).

All these headlines convey commands or express the meaning of obligation and necessity, but with different degrees and in different realizations. Commands are realized typically by the imperative mood or by proposals, but in the metaphorical mood, they can be realized in the guise of the declarative mode. In the first headline, the command is realized metaphorically by modulated declarative clauses. Modulation is characterized as the imperative type of modality as it refers to using deontic modality which expresses obligation and inclination and it is often associated with the grammar of proposals. However, modulation resources are borrowed here to express a proposition rather than a proposal where information is exchanged not goods and services. Modulation here is realized by the modal operator (should) " عليكم"(you



should). This indicative mood provides a delicate way of commanding as the use of should as the mood element is typically a milder version of a command.

The second headline: الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في مصر تدعو المتظاهرين للعودة الي بيوتهم (The Catholic Church asks the protestors to return back to their homes) involves another form of the interpersonal metaphor which is the mood metaphor. The command here is realized within the ideational lexico-grammar, including a clause nexus of projection. The proposal is realized as if it were a projection sequence, by a nexus of two clauses, rather than a single clause. The projecting clause specifies the speech function which is demanding through the projecting verbal process "تدعو" (asks) and the projected clause is realized as a perfective non-finite dependent clause "للعودة الي بيوتهم" (to return back to their homes). The catholic church is presented as a source of authority which carries the responsibility of the verbal process and consequently the modal responsibility. The protestors are presented as the receiver to whom the verbal process is directed and the entity that is supposed to comply with the command.

Moreover, metaphors of this kind can be examined in terms of indirect speech acts as this kind of metaphorical realization is considered as a narrative report of a speech act. The headline exhibits a request which represents a speech act of a Directive illocutionary point. According to Holtgraves (2001), this type of speech acts counts as "an attempt to get the hearer to perform some future action" (p.14). Directives is considered as a form of symbolic power of utterance because they express an attempt to influence other people's behavior and they require that the addresser have authority on the addressee even in weaker Directives as requests. Therefore, attributing a Directive speech act to the catholic church reveals the desire of the network to empower the religious institutions and present them as authoritative figures that can exercise their power over the protestors and consequently, influence the course of events.

The interpersonal metaphor has the effect of construing additional layers of meaning and wording, as metaphors of mood expands the meaning potential of speech function by drawing on extensive resources of the lexico-grammar of verbal and mental clauses. In addition, projection is considered a device to temper the command as well as to enable the speakers to distance themselves from it.

## 7. Findings and conclusion

The news coverage of the four networks on the issue of the Egyptian revolution reveals the features of an ideological news discourse. It is obvious that each network strives to support some values and ideologies that serve its representation of its own in-group and out-group. Thus, the research finds that the news coverage of Alahram website exhibits different ideologies vis-à-vis the coverage of Alwafd, Alyoum7, and Aljazeera websites. This section is going to deal with the ideologies that can be detected in the four networks' news discourse. Beginning with Alahram network, the news discourse of Alahram provides a good example of advocacy media that adopts a kind of apologetic ideology towards Mubarak and his regime as the network persists in defending them throughout its coverage of the revolution. From the beginning, it is obvious that the network adopts a pro-regime rhetoric that represents Mubarak as a glorified and revered figure. It is apparent throughout the news discourse of Alahram that they seek to portray Mubarak and his regime in a more positive, legitimate and appealing light as well as to assert the power of his regime. Thus, Alahram network acts as a propaganda tool to empower Mubarak's regime or as a vehicle through which the regime gets his own views across.

Alahram's coverage of the Egyptian revolution reveals not only the network's solidarity with Mubarak's regime, but its enmity towards the protestors, as well. Following van Dijk's theory of the ideological square, the network organizes its news discourse to the dichotomy of 'US' Vs. 'THEM'. Positive news about Mubarak and his regime is emphasized, as they are considered the in-group, while negative ones are deemphasized. On the other hand, positive news about the protestors are deemphasized, as they are considered the out-group, while negative ones are emphasized. The network uses language and images to construct a positive image of the regime and a negative picture of the protestors. Thus, Mubarak and his statesmen are presented in terms of the 'in-group' while the protestors are viewed as the 'out-group'. This serves to foster the idea that Mubarak is the legitimate ruler of the country and to urge the people to reject the idea of ousting him. Besides, foregrounding the theme of the legitimacy of Mubarak's regime contributes in reproducing the ideology of justification according to which the regime is blameless in all the negative actions taken by the police or his supporters.

On the other hand, the oppositional media which is exemplified by the news discourse of Alwafd, Alyoum7, and Aljazeera, exhibit a contradicting set of ideologies that dominates the discourse of these

networks. While Alarharm network adopts the ideology of legitimating Mubarak's regime, the dominant ideology of the oppositional media is based on delegitimizing this regime. This is achieved through exposing the abuses of the regime by highlighting the violent practices of the security forces that belong to this regime towards the protestors.

Unlike Alahram's discourse which treats the protestors as a far less interesting subject, Alwafd, Alyoum7, and Aljazeera create a different kind of discourse that gives them due attention by presenting them as the main topic of their coverage. They provide an example of how discourse can be used as a means of empowerment. Instead of focusing on Mubarak and his government, the oppositional media acts as the mouthpiece of the people in general and the protestors in particular by reporting on their actions and opinions. Giving the protestors the oxygen of publicity is a method to assert their power and their influence on the course of events. Thus, we can say that representation of the revolution in the discourse of the oppositional media is an attempt to provide the basis of changing the imbalance of power in the conflict in favor of the oppressed.

In addition, the ideology of resistance dominates the discourse of the oppositional media. This is achieved through the devices employed by the networks to galvanize people and ignite their rage against Mubarak's regime. Media can be seen as an agent of social change as it increases the awareness among the people to resist oppression and authoritarian regimes. It is a device to inflame public opinion and pave the road for achieving real political change that can lead to democratic change.

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