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**A Discourse Analysis of
Arabic newspaper Front-page
Headlines: Egyptian newspapers
as an example**

Ahmed-Sokarno Abdel-Hafiz
South Valley University

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Abstract

This study probes into the front-page headlines in Egyptian newspapers, which have different ideologies and political affiliations. Special attention is given to the front-page headlines of two newspapers with different orientations (i.e. Algomhuria and Alwafd). The headlines selected referred to the 2007 parliamentary election of the members of the Shura Council. Using the methodological framework of Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) for the discourse analysis of newspaper headlines, I examined the linguistic and nonlinguistic features of the front-page headlines. Moreover, the paper aims at showing how the way language is used reflects the ideological practice of representation manifested in newspaper front-page headlines.

1. Introduction

The paper tackles newspaper front-page headlines in Egyptian newspapers. Special attention is given to the front-page headlines (henceforth headlines) that referred to the 2007 parliamentary election of the Shura Council members that was held in June. Egyptian newspapers have different ideologies and political affiliations that find their way into the headlines. Using the methodological framework of Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) for the discourse analysis of newspaper headlines, I examined the headlines of two Egyptian newspapers with different orientations: Algomhuria and Alwafd. This study aims at establishing the features of newspaper headlines and at showing that the way language is used reflects the ideological practice of representation manifested in newspaper headlines.

A headline is defined in the Compact edition of the Oxford English Dictionary as “[t]he line at the top of a page in which the running title,

pagination, etc., are given; a title or sub-title in a book, a newspaper, etc.” (p.1271). Newspaper headlines, in Crystal and Davy’s (1969:174) terms, “have to contain a clear, succinct and if possible intriguing message, to kindle a spark of interest in the potential reader”. The purpose of a headline is to attract attention and usually to encourage the reading of the full text. Smith (1999) has shown that headlines have 23 functions. Six of them are crucial for selling the story to the reader: in other words, they attract attention to the story. Also headlines have a summarizing function: they summarize the story by referring to its main idea and the major points. Another seven functions serve graphic or display functions on the page: they make the page more attractive and more modern. That newspaper headlines have become important in the Arab World is evidenced by the fact that over one thousand editors and journalists from many countries gathered in 2005 to attend a two-day Dubai conference with the purpose of discussing what determines front-page headlines.

2. Background information

Egypt has two houses of parliament: a lower house known as the People's Assembly and an upper house known as 'The Shura Council' or "the Consultative Council". The Shura Council was created in 1980 through a Constitutional Amendment. The Council is composed of 264 members of which two thirds (174 members) are elected by direct ballot and the remaining third (88 members) is appointed by the President of the Republic for a six-year term. Membership is rotating, with one half of the Council renewed every three years. The Shura Council offers advice and consultation, and proposes new laws and regulations to the People's Assembly. An election was held in Egypt last June 2007 for the selection of members of the Shura Council. Foreign media and Satellite TVs reported vote tampering or irregularities, killings, bullying and rioting before and during Election Day.

In the years following the 1952 Revolution, the government was keen to exercise power over the country by imposing restrictions on the freedom of expression. It controlled all types of media: broadcast or print. According to Abdelfattah (1996:132),

the socialist regime, which came to power after 1952

Revolution, discovered in the media an effective tool of social change and set out to aggressively utilize the available media outlets in order to reach the previously isolated masses and to convey the message of the new political and social change.

As Shabana (2006) argues, the press as well as the broadcast media play a significant role in promoting and introducing the government policies and ideologies to the public. Thus the state-controlled newspapers are expected to have an impact on public opinion. Nowadays, Egypt enjoys an unprecedented freedom of expression that is not witnessed in any other Arab country. There are two types of newspapers in the country: newspapers that are owned and controlled by the state which appoints the editorial board and controls the editorial policy. There are also newspapers that are not under the control of the government; rather they are owned and run by opposition parties or by individuals in the private sector. It is quite expected that the first type will be sympathetic with the government and will adopt the views of people in the authority. On the other hand, the second type of newspapers will be critical of the government and perhaps sympathetic with the critics of the government.

3. Review of Literature

Attempts have been made to establish newspaper headlines as a genre by pointing out the features that characterize them. Allan Bell (1991) analyses the 'distinctive telegraphic syntax' of English newspaper headlines. Mardh (1980) offers an exhaustive study of the characteristic linguistic features of the headlines of a range of English newspapers: the omission of articles; the omission of verbs and of auxiliaries, nominalisations, and the frequent use of complex noun phrases in subject position. Mouillaud and Tétu (1989: 125 cited in Develotte and Rechniewski (2001:4)), analysing *Le Monde*, suggest that French newspaper headlines have such features as "the suppression of spatial and particularly temporal markers, the use of the present tense of verb as opposed to - or in place of - any other tenses, the replacement of verbs by nominalizations and the suppression of declarative verbs". Manjulakshi (2003) has studied Indian newspaper headlines, which have features such as a tendency to use simpler and colloquial forms of expression more

frequently, and the use of loaded expressions with sarcasm and cynicism. Khodabandeh (2007) has compared English and Persian newspaper headlines; they are shown to be similar in using dynamic verbs, active voice, short words, declarative sentences, finite clauses, and simple sentences and different in the use of tense forms, headline types, modification, and omission of words.

The analysis of linguistic features which work subliminally in the newspapers' ideological practice of representation has been the subject of extensive research (c.f. Fowler 1991; Clark 1992; Krishnamurthy 1996; Wodak 1996; Hoey 1996; Attia 2001). In the words of Fowler (1991), this "particular system of beliefs, pre-exists these newspaper reports, being part of the general discourse of the paper and, more widely, of the culture of its production and consumption" (p.118).

Newspaper headlines as social or national representations have often drawn the attention of linguists. Develotte and Rechniewski (2001:6) define 'national representations' as "the knowledge systems that encapsulate knowledge about other nations and nationalities, the term being applicable to representations of one's own nation, people and country, and to representations of other nations". Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) have given examples of representations of France and the French in the Australian press, and of Australia and Australians in the French press. Taiwo (2007), relying on Critical Discourse Analysis, has studied the vocabulary and rhetorical devices employed in 300 Nigerian newspaper headlines with the purpose of identifying the ideologies that lie behind their constructions.

Some studies have attempted to explore the effect of ideology on the language of Arabic newspaper headlines. Mazid (1999) has used Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse Analysis to discuss how ideology and control figure in the headlines of some Egyptian and Anglo-American newspapers. Shabana (2006), using a pragmatic frame of reference, attempts to study some aspects of prewar political discourse in the front-page headlines of Al-Ahram newspaper. Other studies (cf. Nemeth 2006) pertaining to the characteristics of Arabic newspaper headlines have been concerned with graphological issues such as the new technology of the digital page layout for Arabic, which rendered hand-written headlines obsolete. No efforts, however, have been made to

compare the headlines of the Egyptian newspapers that harbor ideological differences and political affiliations which can have an immense impact on the language of newspaper headlines. This study is an attempt to fill this gap by providing answers to two questions: (a) what features do the Egyptian newspaper headlines have? (b) how are the social actors represented in an instance of a particular kind of election discourse? or which choices do the Egyptian newspapers have for referring to people and groups of people?

5. Methodology

A corpus of newspaper headlines pertaining to the Shura election has been collected over a fourteen-day period (starting June 7, 2007 till June 20, 2007) from two Egyptian daily newspapers: *Algomhuria* and *Al-Wafd*. These newspapers are selected because they represent opposite poles concerning the Egyptian political spectrum. *Algomhuria* is a pro-government paper that first appeared in the post-Revolutionary period, that is, in 1953, whereas *Alwafd*, which was established in 1984, is considered the platform for *Alwafd* Party, an opposition party that ruled in the pre-Revolutionary period. Unlike *Al-Ahram* which is favored by an elite group of people, these two newspapers are popular among ordinary and simple people.

The number of collected front-page headlines is 52: 30 headlines from *Alwafd*; 22 from *Algomhuria*. If we count each part in the multipart headlines, the number of the overall headlines becomes 82. The selection of headlines depended on the topic (i.e. all the headlines draw attention to the Shura election that was held in Egypt on June 11-18, 2007) they handled and on the presence in the headlines of such terms as 'election', 'National Party', 'nominees' etc. The headlines were then categorized and examined in such a way that their generic and nongeneric features are identified. In addition, some features clarify how headlines are used for social representation and how they reflect the ideologies of the newspaper and the power that is relevant to owners or controllers. As pointed out by Develotte and Rechniewski (2001:1), "a comparison between newspapers can reveal the relative importance each paper gave to an issue during a particular period".

The study relies on the methodological framework of Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) for the discourse analysis of newspaper headlines. According to Develotte and Rechniewski (2001), headlines have three characteristics that make them worthy of attention: diffusion, perspective, and cultural knowledge. First, headlines draw the attention of a 'large audience for they are accessible on newsstands. Second, they play a role in forming the perspective of the reader concerning the content of the article. The headlines determine the importance of the information conveyed. This is achieved through such devices as font size, color of printed material, order of appearance, with important information appearing on top and less important on the bottom of the page, the presence of synchronic and diachronic repetition. The former is associated with co-occurring headlines within one issue of a newspaper, the latter with repetition over time. Third, headlines permeate in cultural reference or intertextual referencé, which has been described as "a mechanism through which a text refers backward (or forward) to previous (or future) texts, by alluding to, adapting, or otherwise invoking meanings expressed in those other texts (Hatim and Mason 1997:19). Failure to understand these intertextual references will result in partial understanding, or incomplete retrieval of the intended meaning of the text concerned.

Develotte and Rechniewski (2001) refer to three typical linguistic features of newspaper headlines: designation, appraisal, and presupposition. First, designation or the processes of naming (cf. Bell 1991:189) is expected to have two components: an agent and an action. The agent can be implicit. If present, the agent may be given a name. This process may result in valorisation or devalorisation (e.g. assigned high-value or low-value roles). There are also two other aspects of designation: personification and generalization. Personification is the naming of a nation or transferring the traits of an individual to a whole community, whereas, generalization is associated with the use of the present tense and the suppression of the spatial and temporal markers in headlines. These characteristics tend to place the event in a dehistoricised static present and transform the behavior or attitudes at a certain time into statements about unchanging characteristics. Second, appraisal is realized with linguistic elements (e.g. adjectives, verbs, adverbs etc.) which convey the perspective of the writer. The third linguistic feature is presupposition, which appears in two types in newspaper headlines: structural

presupposition and conventional implicature. The first type is introduced by Levinson (1983:167) when he says that presupposition is based "more closely on the actual linguistic structure of sentences". In contrast, conventional implicature is a type of inferencing which arises via conventional meaning of the words or expressions used (Grice 1975:44; Levinson 1983:127).

6. Results and Discussions

6.1 The Features of newspaper Headlines

Newspaper headlines are, as Crystal and Davy (1969:180) put it, "radically different from the rest of newspaper reporting language". The newspaper headlines under discussion have linguistic and nonlinguistic features. The nonlinguistic features are concerned with the types of headline (e.g. double/triple) and with graphological features such as the color, size or font of the headline. In contrast, linguistic features refer to the linguistic structure of the headlines (e.g. the headline may be expressed by a nominal or a verbal sentence or an incomplete sentence). Headlines are likely to be ambiguous, allowing more than one interpretation. The other features are associated with the ideological practice of representation: designation or naming, appraisal, and presupposition.

6.1.1 Graphological and linguistic Features

As Nemeth (2006) puts it, "for the longest part of Arabic newspaper history, headlines were not typeset, but written by hand. Until the 1990s many Arabic typesetters relied on copyists to shape the headlines to go with the body text." (p.34). The new technology of the digital page layout for Arabic has introduced new ways for foregrounding the relevant lines against the rest of the text. Arabic newspaper headlines have graphological features such as the use of red color and large font size as a strategy to attract the public's attention.

The corpus headlines fall into different types: (a) straight types in which the headline is simply related to the main topic of the story and (b)

headlines involving a quoted speech. The corpus contains one-part and multipart headlines. The latter type involves a major headline followed by minor ones tackling the same topic as in the following five-part headline from Algomhuria:

(1)

- a. ʔalraʔiis ʔadlaa biSawtihi ʔamaam madrasat miSri jjadiida
The president gave by-vote-his at school MiSr aljadiida
'The president voted at the MaSr aljadiida school Ballot.'

- b. ʔintixaabaatu ššuraa haadiʔa walnataaʔiju nnahaaʔiyya xilaa
Elections the Shura quiet and the results the final in
ƏalaaƏatu ʔayyaam
Three days
'The Al-Shura elections are quiet and the final results in three days.'

- c. Hiyaad taam lilšurTa.. wištibakaat maHduuda bidawaaʔiri
Neutrality absolute the police and fightings limited at-
constituencies
ššarqiyya waljiiza walGarbiyya
AlSharqiyya and Giza and Gharbiyya
'The absolute neutrality of the police...and limited fightings at the
constituencies of Al-Sharqiyya, Al-Giza and Al-Garbiyya.'

- d. tawkiilaat muzawwara liṃurašaHi l-maHZuura biʔalminya
documents forged for the-nominee the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamuHaawalaatun faašila liʔiƏaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
'forged documents of forbidden group nominee in Al-Minia and
unsuccessful attempts to stir troubles.'

- e. ʔašširiif: HariiSuuna 9ala ššafaafiya wamultazimuun biqaraaraati
Al-Shareef: obliged for transparency and committed decisions
llajna l9ulya
committee supreme

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‘Al-Shareef: we are obliged to adopt transparency and committed
to the decisions of High Election Committee’ (Algomhuria: 12
June 2007)

As table (1) shows, one-part headlines constitute 67.31% of the headlines followed by two-part headlines (21.15%), three-part headlines (5.77%), and four-part headlines (3.85%). The corpus contains one example of five-part headline which constitutes 1.92%. Out of the 35 one-part headlines, Alwafd contributes 71.4% and Algomhuria 28.6%). Out of the eleven two-part headlines,

Table (1): one and multipart headlines

	1-part	2-part	3-part	4-part	5-part	Total
Wafd	25 (71.4%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (33%)			30
Gom	10 (28.6%)	7 (63.6%)	2 (67%)	2	1	22
Total	35 (67.31%)	11(21.15%)	3(5.77%)	2 (3.85%)		52

Algomhuria has 63.6%, whereas Alwafd only 36.4%. As for the three-part headlines or more, Alwafd has only 1 out of 6 (17%), whereas Algomhuria has 5 83%. Thus Most headlines in Alwafd (83.33%) are one-part, whereas only 45.4% of Algomhuria headlines consist of one part. Only 4 of AlWafd headlines (13.33%) are two-part headlines. In contrast, more than half (54.5%) of Algomhuria headlines can be classified as multipart headlines. The reason is probably that Algomhuria is a larger newspaper and has a much wider circulation. A similar situation is reported in the United States. Peer and Nesbitt (2004) has shown that the US larger papers tend to have multipart headlines more often than smaller papers.

Newspaper headlines, like advertisements (cf. Gully1997), rely on disjunctive grammar. Leech (1966), in his pioneering study of the language of advertising, has made a distinction between discursive grammar and disjunctive grammar. The word and the phrase occur as dependents in discursive grammar, but these elements may occur as independent sentences in disjunctive grammar. However, the newspaper

headlines examined show that they rely on discursive grammar more than on disjunctive grammar (as in table 2):

Table 2: type of sentences in the headlines

Sentence Type headlines	number of
Incomplete sentences with no overt predicate or comment:	6
Nominal sentences: the predicate is realized by a noun, adjective:	12
Nominal sentences: the predicate is realized by a prepositional phrase	32
Nominal sentences: the predicate realized by a verbal sentence	28
Verbal sentences:	4
Total	82

As (table 2) shows, 76 of the overall headlines or 92.6% should be categorized under discursive grammar. Only 6 headlines or 7% are incomplete sentences (e.g. a noun phrase) and can be considered examples of disjunctive grammar. Thus the headlines in (2-3) are noun phrases:

(2) naksat 11 yunyu
Defeat 11 June
The June Defeat (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

(3) ta7xiir 7i9laan nataa7iji ššura
Delay announcement results Al-Shura
“Announcement of elections delayed” (Alwafd: 14 June 2007)

Most of the headlines are nominal sentences (72 headlines) with the predicate being realized by a noun or adjective (12 headlines) as in (4), a prepositional phrase (32 headlines) as in (5) or a verbal sentence (28 headlines) as in (6).

(4) sayyarat naa7ibi lmaHZuura... muxaalifa
car member of Parliament forbidden... illegal
‘The car of the MP for the forbidden group ticketed.’
(Algomhurya 13 June 2007)

- (5) dimaa? fidaa?irati l-Husayniya
blood in Constituency Al-Husayniyya
'Blood in Al-Husayniyya' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)
- (6) ?alra?iis ?adlaa biSawtihi ?amaam madrasat miSri jjadiida
The president gave by-vote-his at school MiSr aljadiida
'The president voted at the MaSr aljadiida school Ballot'
(Algomhuria 12 June 2007)

As shown in (6) the predicate or comment of a nominal sentence is realized by a verbal sentence which contains a perfective verb (?adlaa). However, it should be noted that either a perfective or an imperfective verb form can be used. As will be shown in section 6.1.2, the imperfective is more frequent than the perfective verb form in newspaper headlines, which contributes to generalizations:

- (7) ?alHizbu lwaTani yabda?u Himlati ttazwiir
the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
'The national Party begins a campaign of forgery' (Alwafd 7
June 2007)
- (8) ?as?ura yu9aTil ?imtaHanaati ΘΘaanawiyya waldibloom
AlShura hinders examination Secondary and Diploma
'The Shura Council hinders the Exams of High Schools and
Diplomas' (Algomhuria 10 June 2007)

The headlines discussed above are all nominal sentences: they begin with a noun or noun phrase. This type constitutes the bulk of the corpus. This is not surprising for headlines "have historically been confined mostly to nominal structures." (Abdelfattah 1996:134) However, the corpus contains four headlines that are verbal sentences, which is the basic pattern of Arabic:

- (9) Taalabuu bi?istid9aa? Al9aadli wahadadu billijuu?
Requested-3pl by-summoning Al9aadli and-threatened by-
resorting to-the-lilbarlamaani dduwalai

parliament international
'They summoned Al-9aadli and threatened to resort to the
International Parliament' (Alwafd 13 June 2007)

- (10) ra7iisu llajinati l9ulya: wa-7abTl-na 7ay Sanaadiiq taTarqa
7ilyaha
ššak
doubt
President the-committee the-High and disavowed any boxes
The President of the High Committee: we disavowed all
tampered boxes.'(Algomhuria 14 June 2007)

- (11) nuriid 7intixaabaat naziihatan wanuHaðir min silaaHi lmaal
We-need elections clean and warn against weapon the-money
'We need clean elections and warn against bribes' (Algomhuria
14 June 2007)

Successive independent headlines that refer to separate events can be
coordinated by wa:

- (12) 7iSaabat murašaH 7i9tada 9alayhi 7anSaar murašaHi lwaTani
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-
National
'The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the
National Party Candidate.' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

- (13)...wa 7iSabatu murašaHin 7aaxar biGaybuuba bisababi ttazwiir
...and-injury candidate another by-coma because of forgery
'And another (candidate) went into a coma because of forgery'
(Alwafd 12 June 2007)

Note that the headlines in (12-13) do not constitute a two-part headline;
rather, they are separate headlines that have something in common: the
injury of an election candidate.

Such headlines remind us of telegraphic language (cf. Biber et al. 1999:
263). They are the result of the elision of a range of linguistic elements

from newspaper headlines; therefore any examination of headlines must consider “the kinds of words which tend to be omitted” (Crystal and Davy 1969:180). Thus the head noun (ʔaljamma9a ‘the group’)) is elided from the headline in (14), whereas in headline (15) the subject is elided:

- (14) tajdiid Habs 19 min ʔalmaHZuura
Renewal imprisonment 19 from the forbidden
‘The renewal of imprisonment for 19 (members) of the
forbidden group’(Algomhuria 17 June 2007)
- (15) ʔašširiif: waaθiquuna bišša9bi laa binnataaʔij walaa makaana
Al-Shireef: trust-pl by-the people not by-the-results no place
lilmaHZuura
for the-forbidden
‘(we) trust the people not the results and no place for the
forbidden (group)’ (Algomhuria 8 June 2007)

Note that the elided item (14-15) is recoverable even without resorting to the full text. For instance, the pronominal subject (**naHnu**) is often elided in Arabic, so the reader can easily identify the subject.

Headlines can be ambiguous and misleading. F.T. Marquez (cited in Smith 1999) studied headline accuracy by comparing headline and story content. He found that 25 percent of headlines in a sample of 292 stories were misleading or ambiguous. The ambiguity of newspaper headlines is often attributed to syntactic impoverishment (cf. Perfetti et al 1987). The impoverishment is the result of elision and deletion rules (cf. Halle and Marantz 1994). There are two types of ambiguity in the corpus headlines: lexical and syntactic. In the former, ambiguity is attributed to a lexical item that carries more than one interpretation. The latter type is concerned with ambiguity that is attributed to syntactic structure. The following examples involve syntactic ambiguity:

- (16)ʔalwafd HaSalat 9ala ʔaalaaf l-buTaaqaati l-muzawwara fi
šawaara9i
Alwafd found thousands the ballots forged in streets
ssayyida zaynab wal ʔazbakiyya

Al-sayyida Zaynab and Alʔazbakiyya

‘The Wafd has found thousands of tampered ballots in the streets of Al-Sayyida Zeinab and Al-Aʔazbakiyya’ (Alwafd 14 June 2007)

(17) Habsu lmuttahaḡ biqatl DaHiyyati l ʔintixabaat

Imprisonment the-suspect for-killing victim the-elections

biššarqiyya

in Al-sharqiyya

‘The imprisonment of the suspect for killing the victim of elections in Al-Sharqiyya’. (Alwafd 14 June 2007)

(18) ʔiHaalat naaʔibi l-Hizbi l-waTani l-qaatil li-maHkamati l-jinaayaat

Sending PM the-party the National the-killer to-court the-criminal-the ‘transfer of the National Party MP to the Criminal Court’ (Alwafd 8 June 2007)

The headline in (16) can mean that the forgery occurred in the streets of Cairo suburbs (Al-sayyida zaynab and Alʔazbakiyya). A second interpretation of the headline: the Wafd has found the forged cards at these districts. It is the prepositional phrase (‘in the streets of Al-sayyida Zaynab and Alʔazbakiyya’) that is responsible for the ambiguity. Similarly, the prepositional phrase (bilsharqiyya ‘in Al-Sharqiyya’) in (17) triggers double interpretation: the imprisonment of the suspect may have taken place in Al-Sharqiyya or the murder of the election victim may have occurred in Al-Sharqiyya. The headline (18) shows that the adjective lqaatil ‘the murderer’ may modify the National Party member or the National Party itself.

The language used in Arabic newspapers is known as Standard Arabic. Although colloquial expressions have become common in editorials (cf. Abdelfattah 1996:135), it is rarely used in headlines. However, the headlines under discussion contain some colloquial expressions that are very common among readers. It is worth noting that the colloquial expressions are put between inverted commas to draw the attention of the reader:

- (19) Hizbu "ttakwiiš" ʔa9tabaraha Harban waʔistaxdam kuli lʔasliHa
Party "greed" considered-it a-war and-used all the-weapons not
Gayra lmašruu9a
Legal
The party of "greed" considered it a war and-used all illegal
weapons' (Alwafd 16 June 2007)

- (20) mafiiš fayda
no use
Hukm u l-qaDaaʔi l- ʔidaari ʔanSafana... walaakin tanquSuhu
The-sentence-of-the court of administration on our side but lacks
lmawDuu9iyya
objectivity
'Although the sentence of the Court of Administration is quite
fair, it lacks objectivity.' (Algomhuria 12 June 2007)

The headline (19) in which a colloquial word refers to the ruling party shows disrespect and emphasizes despicable behavior familiar to regular readers.

The headline in (20) shows how Colloquial lexis is used to belittle the speech of a member of an out-group.

6.1.2 More Features

The type of language used in journalism in general and headlines in particular is determined by several factors: population, education, and political ideologies (Abdelfattaah 1996: 132). Here we are concerned with the impact of hidden newspaper ideologies on the language of headlines which aim at influencing public opinion. According to Fairclough (1989:85), "ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible". The corpus headlines have three linguistic features: designation, appraisal, and presupposition. These features reflect the ideological practice of representation manifested in newspaper headlines.

6.1.2.1 Designation

Designation or the processes of naming (cf. Bell 1991:189) is expected to have two components: an agent and an action. The agent can be implicit. If present, the agent may be given a name. This process may result in

valorization or devalorisation (i.e. assigned high-value or low-value roles). The two newspapers under discussion have different ideologies and political inclinations: the *Algomhuria* is a pro-government entity and has views critical of the Islamic group. In fact, it adopts and disseminates the government views concerning the danger expected from this group, which had had successes in the last parliamentary election held in 2001. The group snatched 80 seats in the first round. In contrast, the other newspaper, which is the platform for *Alwafd* party, is not hostile towards the Islamic group. The attitudes of these newspapers are quite apparent in their designation of the group. *Algomhuria* keeps referring to this group as *ʔalmaHZuura* 'the forbidden':

- (21) *tajdiid Habs 19 min ʔalmaHZuura*
Renewal imprisonment 19 from the forbidden
'The renewal of imprisonment for 19 (members) of the forbidden group' (*Algomhuria* 17 June 2007)
- (22) *51 lilwaTani bilʔiqtiraa9 wa-12 biltazkiya walaa maqaa9id*
51 for-the-National by-voting 12 without voting and no seats for the-*lilmaHZuura*
Forbidden
51 (seats) for the National by voting and 12 without and no seats for the "forbidden" (*Algomhuria* 14 June 2007)
- (23) *haziima saaIliqa lil-maHZuura raGma l-maal wal-da9aaya wal-defeat utter to-forbidden despite money and-publicity and balTaja*
bullying
'Utter Defeat of the forbidden group despite money, publicity and Bullying' (*Algomhuria* 13 June 2007)
- (24) *tawkiilaat muzawwara limurašaHi l-maHZuura biʔalminya*
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamuHaawalaatun faašila li ʔiΘaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder

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Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group)
and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble (Algomhuria 12
June 2007)

- (25) 15 yawman li?a9Daa?i *l-maHZuura*.. qaðafuu ššurTa bilHijaara
'15 days for the members of the forbidden: they threw stones at
the police.' (Algomhuria 10 June 2007)

In contrast, Alwafd refers to the same Islamic Group as *?ali?ixwaan* 'the
Brothers':

- (26) ...nuwwabu *l-?ixwaan* yuhadiduuna bil?i9tiSaam
Representations of Brothers threaten sit-in (Alwafd 10 June
2007)
- (27) *?al?ixwaan* yu9linuun ta?siis Hizb mustaqil ba9di l?intixaabaat
The-Brothers declare establishment party independent after
elections 'The Brothers declare the establishment of the
independent party after elections' (Alwafd 11 June 2007)
- (28) takliif lajna barlamaaniya bibah?i l?9tidaa? 9la naa?ibi
Assign Committee parliament to-search the assault on
representative of *?ixwaan*
the-Brothers
'A Parliamentary committee for investigating the assault on the
member of the Islamic group'(Alwafd 11 June 2007)

Note that the way the group is named in the pro-government newspaper
aims at assigning a low-value social role to the group (i.e. devalorisation),
thus sending people away from this group. The word *l-maHZuura*
'forbidden' means it is an illegitimate group. The naming given by the
other newspaper does not have the same subtle devalorisation.

There are also two other aspects of designation: (im)personalization and
generalization. Personalization is realized if social actors are represented
as human beings, which can be realized by proper names (Leeuwen

1996:59), whereas impersonalization is the representation of social actors as nonhuman, which is realized by abstract or concrete nouns. Thus there are two ways for referring to a group in a society: generic reference and specific reference. The choice between them, in Leeuwen's (1996:46) terms, can be considered as "another important factor in the representation of social actors, they can be represented as classes or as specific individuals". The newspapers under discussion are different in the way they refer to individual members of the Islamic group. While Algomhuria does not use the surname or family name, Alwafd uses the name of Islamic group members: Algomhuria refers to the parliament member as *naaʔibu lmaHZuura* 'representative of the forbidden (group)' instead of *naaʔibu šša9b* 'representative of people'. The non-naming of the agent is sometimes meaningful in that it refers to an unchanging set of attitudes and behavioural patterns. The pro-government paper has resorted to such a strategy in the following headlines:

- (29) *sayyaaratu naaʔibi l-maHZuura... muxaalifa*
Car the-Member the forbidden got a traffic ticket
'The car of the MP of the forbidden group got a traffic ticket'
(Algomhuria 13 June 2007)
- (30) *tawkiilaat muzawwara limurašaHi l-maHZuura bilminya*
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamuHaawalaatun faašila liʔiŋaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group)
and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble (Algomhuria 12
June 2007)

Note that in (29-30), Algomhuria has refrained from using a proper name to refer to an individual because proper names, in Brown and Yule's (1983:210) terms, "are used to identify individuals uniquely".

In contrast, Alwafd uses a strategy of individualisation (cf. Leeuwen 1996:48) when referring to the same person. Alwafd, which takes a sympathetic position, treats the person referred to as a human being when it uses a proper name to refer to the parliament member: *Yasir*

Hammoud. Such a proper name is “applicable to only one Individual of a kind” (Wright 1964:107)

- (31) fi jalsat munaqašati l-7i9tidaa? 9ala *Yasir Hammoud*
in session discussions of-assault on Yasir Hammoud
'at the session the discussion of the assault on Yasir Hammoud'
(Alwafd 13 June 2007)

Thus in government-controlled newspapers like *Algomhuria*, members of the Islamic group are frequently referred to generically. The individuals are seen as an integral part of a group that behaves in the same way. The same person is shown to be referred to specifically in privately-owned newspapers like *Alwafd*.

The strategy of the opposition party newspaper is quite clear: its headlines present individual incidents without referring to spātiāl or temporal information. Thus the headlines aim at reaching a generalization that is applicable to the whole party (the National Party):

- (32) 7anSaar murašaHi l-waTani qatal-uu šaaban daaxil'
Supporters candidate the-National killed-3pl young man inside
l-lajnatl l-7intixaabiyya
the ballot room
'The supporters of the National Party candidate killed a young
man inside the Ballot room' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)
- (33) 7iSaabat murašaH 7i9tada 9alayhi 7anSaar murašaHi lwaTani
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-
National
'The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the
National Party Candidate.' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

Generalization is also realized by the use of the imperfective verb form in the headlines. Standard Arabic has Perfective and Imperfective verb forms. As Wright (1964) has stated, “In the Perf[ective] the *act* is placed conspicuously in the foreground, because completed; in the

Imper[fective], *the agent*, because still occupied in the act.”(p.59). The imperfective verb form in all varieties of Arabic, “is associated with non-completeness.” (Holes1995:178). The corpus shows that the imperfective (18 headlines or 62%) is even more frequent than the perfective (11 headlines or 38%):

- (34) ʔat-tazwiiru l-faaDiH yaDa9 lajnata l- ʔintixabaat fi maʔzaq
The-tampering disgraceful places the committee elections in a
dilemma (Alwafd 14 June 2007)
‘The despicable tampering places the committee in a dilemma’
- (35) ʔalHizbu lwaTani yabdaʔ Himlata ttazwiir
the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
‘The national Party begins a campaign of forgery’ (Alwafd 7
June 2007)
- (36) ʔalwaTani yaktasiHu jjawla l-ʔuula li-ʔintixabaati ššura
The-national sweeps the-round the-first of-the-elections Alshura
‘The National (party) gets a landslide victory in the first round
of Elections’ (Algomhuria 13 June 2007)
- (37) ʔattaqaariir tuʔakkid:
najaaHu l-muqaata9a šša9biyya liʔintixaabaati š-šura
success the-boycotting people of-elections the Shura
‘The success of people’s boycotting of the Shura
elections’(Alwafd 13 June 2007)
- (38) taʔxiir ʔi9laan nataaʔiji ššura wal ʔarqaam takšifu l9awda
delay announcement results the Shura. The numbers reveal return
ʔila jareemat taqfeeli SSanaadiiqi ššura
to the crime tampering ballot-boxes Al-Shura
‘Delay in the announcement of Alshura election results and
return To ballot-box tampering’ (Alwafd: 14 June 2007)

The imperfective verb form may turn a headline into a comment on a current situation (cf. 34): the committee is in a dilemma at present. The

imperfective verb form can also present the content of the headlines as non-punctual processes as in (cf. 36) or timeless truths or a dehistoricised static present as in (cf. 37). For example, in (37) the reports are not subject to change; therefore, the facts given cannot be challenged.

6.1.2.2 Appraisal

Appraisal can be realized by verbs, adjectives or adverbs. These elements may convey the perspective of the newspaper editorial. *Algomhuria*, as a pro-government newspaper is expected to upgrade elections. This has been achieved through verbs and adjectives that evaluate the process:

- (39) *ʔalwaTani yaktasiHu* jjawla l-ʔuula li-ʔintixabaati ššura
The-national sweeps the-round the-first of-the-elections AlShura
'The National wins in the Shura elections.'
- (40) *haztiima saaHiqa* lil-maHZuura raGma l-maal wal-da9aaya wal-balTaja
defeat utter to-forbidden despite money and-publicity and bullying
The National (party) gets a landslide victory in the first round of
'Elections Utter Defeat of the forbidden group despite money, publicity and bullying' (*Algomhuria* 13 June 2007)
- (41) *raʔiisu llajnnati l9ulya: ʔalʔintixabaat naziihatun wa-ʔabTl-na*
President the-committee the-High:the elections clean and disavowed-1pl
ʔay Sanaadiiq taTarqa ʔilyaha ššak
any boxes cast doubts
The President of the High Committee: we disavowed all tampered boxes.' (*Algomhuria* 14 June 2007)

The verb *yaktasiH* 'sweep' in (39) indicates the overwhelming victory of the National party in the elections. In contrast, the adjective *saaHiqa* 'utter or overwhelming' in (40) which celebrates the defeat of the Islamic group in the elections. The adjective *naziihatun* 'clean' in (41) emphasizes the integrity of the elections

Algomhuria goes so far as to accuse the Islamic group of tampering with election documents as in:

- (42) *tawkiilaat muzawwara* limurašaHi l-maHZuura bialminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamuHaawalaatun faašila li?iΘaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
'Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group) and
unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble' (Algomhuria 12 June
2007)

The adjective *muzawwara* 'tampered' in (42) is used by the pro-government newspaper to tarnish the reputation of the group. This is to convey a message concerning the moral standards that control the behavior of this group.

In contrast, the opposition party newspaper levels the same accusation at the National Party. This is indicated by the adjectives used for the description of the election:

- (43) ?at-tazwiiru *l-faaDiH* yaDa9 lajnata l- ?intixabaat fi ma?zaq
The-tampering disgraceful places the committee elections in a
dilemma
'The despicable tampering places the committee in a
dilemma'(Alwafd 14 June 2007)
- (44) ?alwafd HaSalat 9ala ?aalaaf l-buTaaqaati *l-muzawwara* fi
šawaara9a
The-Wafd got thousands of ballots tampered in streets
ssayyida zaynab wal ?azbakiyya
of Al-Sayyida zaynab wal?azbakiyya
'The Wafd has found thousands of tampered ballots in the
streets of Al- Sayyida Zeinab and Al-A?azbakiyya' (Alwafd 14
June 2007)

The adjective *l-faaDiH* 'despicable' in (43) describes the forgery that characterized the election. Thus the elections are rejected as being an

immoral act of political practice. The adjective *muzawwara* 'forged', with which government newspaper used to tarnish the reputation of the group (cf.42), is used in Alwafd to characterize the ballots tampered by the supporters of the National party.

A four-part headline can carry a meaning that stands in stark contrast to the adjective involved in the appraisal:

(45)

- a. *ʔintixaabaat haadiʔa fi jawlati l-ʔi9aada bil-muHaafaZaat*
Elections Quiet in the round second in the governorates
'Quiet elections in the second round in all cities.'

- b. *ʔaššura jjadiid yaktamil...waʔawal jalsa l-ʔaHada l-qaadim*
AlShura the-new completes and-first session and-Sunday and-
next
'The new Shura completed...first session next Sunday'

- c. *6 muSabiin fi Sohaaj...mušaHanaat fi asyuut waswaan wal-*
BuHeera
6 injuries in Sohage...fightings in Assuit and Aswan and
BuHayra
'6 injuries in Sohage... fightings in Assuit and Al-BuHayra'

- d. *ʔalkaašif: ʔiHaalatu T-Tu9uun lilmajlis wa-šakaawi*
Al-Kashif: sending objections to the Council and the-
complaints the- l-
mujtama9i l- madani lil-niyaaba
civil society to D.A. (Algomhuria 19 June 2007)
'Al-Kashif: objections sent to the Council and the complaints of
the civil society to D.A.' (Algomhuria 19 June 2007)

The adjective *haadiʔa* 'quiet' in (45a) is an attempt to show that the election day was characterized by tranquility. However, the headline in (45c) shows that 6 people were injured and a few quarrels occurred on the election day. This means it was far from quiet. Thus the adjective is not an accurate description or appraisal, rather it reflects the objectives of the

newspaper which tries to depict an attractive picture of the elections as a way to impact public opinion.

Although the newspaper (Alwafd) does not use outright epithets for referring to the national party, it does rely on collocation to associate certain negative attributives to the government-supported party. By collocation, I mean words that occur in collocation with the word **WaTani** 'the National Party' in the headlines:

- (46) *ʔalHizbu lwaTani yabdaʔ Himlat ʔattazwiir*
the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
'The national Party begins a campaign of forgery' (Alwafd 7 June 2007)
- (47) *ʔiSaabat murašaH ʔi9tada 9alayhi ʔanSaar murašaH ʔalwaTani*
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-National
'The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the National Party Candidate.' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)
- (48) *ʔiHaalat naaʔibi l-Hizbi l-waTani l-qaatil li-maHkamati j-jinaayaat*
Sending PM the-party the National the-killer to-court the-criminal
'The transfer of the National Party MP to the Criminal Court'. (Alwafd 8 June 2007)
- (49) *ʔanSaar murašaHi l-waTani qatal-uu šaabana daaxil*
Supporters candidate the-National killed-3pl young man inside
l-lajnatil l-ʔintixaabiyya
the ballot room
'The supporters of the National Party candidate killed a young man inside the Ballot room' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

The co-occurrence of the word **waTani** with words like *ʔattazwiir* (cf. 46), *ʔi9tada* (cf. 47), *l-qaatil* (cf. 48), and *qatal-uu* (cf. 49) should create a negative image concerning the reality of the National Party. The

repetition of such collocations in headlines synchronically or diachronically is definitely going to set up an image in the mind of readers.

Modern Standard Arabic is the preferred variety in serious journalism such that “educated Arabs are able to read and comprehend without difficulty any Arabic newspaper regardless of the country of origin.” (Abdelfattah1996:130). However, in marginal texts or in non-serious material, “a written form of the colloquial” can be used (Holes 1995:256). The use of colloquial expressions in the headlines can be considered an appraisal resulting from a subtle form of code-switching:

(50) *mafiiš fayda*

no use

Hukm u l-qaDaaʔi l- ʔidaari ʔanSafana... walaakin tanquSuhu

The-sentence-of-the court of administration on our side but lacks

lmawDuu9iyya

objectivity

‘Although the sentence of the Court of Administration is quite fair, it lacks objectivity.’ (Algomhuria 12 June 2007)

(51) *Hizbu “ttakwiiš” ʔa9tabaraha Harban waʔistaxdam kuli lʔasliHa*

Party “greed” considered-it a-war and-used all the-weapons not

Gayra lmašruu9a

Legal

The party of “greed” considered it a war and-used all illegal weapons’ (Alwafd 16 June 2007)

Thus the colloquial expression *mafiiš fayda* ‘no use’ in (50) is considered an appraisal that places the statement given by the member of the Islamic group in a negative light. The pro-government newspaper refers to the ruling party as ‘national’, whereas the opposition party newspaper uses the colloquial term *takwiish* ‘the party of greed’ to refer to the National Party in (51). As the name indicates, the colloquial term characterizes the party as monopolizing and greedy.

6.1.2.3 Presupposition

Presupposition has a great deal of importance in persuasive language, particularly in advertising language (cf. Li 2005:1). Presuppositions can be defined as “what a speaker assumes is true or is known by the hearer” (Yule 1996:132). They rely “on precise meanings that are embedded inside utterance” (Short 1996:225), thus producing specific assumptions. Two types of presupposition are identified: structural presupposition and conventional implicature. The first type is introduced by Levinson (1983:167) when he says that presupposition is based “more closely on the actual linguistic structure of sentences [e.g. temporal clauses, cleft sentences, non-restrictive relative clauses etc.]”. In contrast, conventional implicature is a type of inferencing which arises via conventional meaning of the words or expressions used (Grice 1975:44; Levinson 1983:127). We can provide Gricean examples of conventional implicature: e.g., the discursial deictic term *but* which has an additional conventional implicature, that is, some sort of contrast is to be stated. The following portion is a conclusion or result that has been arrived at on the basis of the proposition previously given. The social deictic term *sir* implicates the addressee is a man. The word ‘*madam*’ indicates that the addressee is a married woman. Karttunen and Peters (1979) do not make a distinction between presuppositions and conventional implicature. According to these authors, who adopt the conventional implicature view, the presuppositions associated with such lexical items as *too*, *even*, *know*, and *manage* are “really instances of conventional implicature” (Karttunen and Peters 1979:11). Simons (2000) has treated the conventional implicatures triggered by such lexical items as *even*, *too*, and *again* as conventionally derivable presuppositions.

The corpus headlines manifest different types of presupposition: (a) presuppositions triggered by the linguistic structure of sentences, nominalizations and conventional implicatures. Structural presuppositions are triggered by such introducers as **bi**, **bisabab**, and **raGma**:

- (52) ...wa7iSaabatu 7aaxar biGaybuuba *bisababi* ttazwiir
... and injury another person by coma because of forgery

‘Another (person) went into coma because of forgery’
(Alwafd 12 June 2007)

(53) *ʔalqabD 9ala murašaH bituhmat xaTf ʔistimaaraati ttaSwiit*
The-arrest of candidate accused snatching ballot-papers
‘The arrest of a nominee for snatching ballot papers (Alwafd 12
June 2007)

(54) *ʔinsiHaabu ʔawal murašaH mu9aaq bisabab man9ihi min
duxuuli*
Withdrawal first candidate disabled cause prevention entrance
Iijaan
The withdrawal of the first handicapped nominee for being
denied entry into voting rooms (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

(55) *haziima saaHiqa lil-maHZuura raGma l-maal wal-da9aaya wal-
defeat utter to-forbidden despite money and-publicity and
balTaja*
bullying
‘Utter Defeat of the forbidden group despite money, publicity
and Bullying’ (Algomhuria 13 June 2007)

Note that the parts introduced by *bi(sabab)* in (52-54) and *raGma* in (55) give rise to presuppositions. In the headline (52), ‘*bisababi ttazweer*’ because of forgery’ presupposes the existence of forgery in the elections. In (53) ‘*bituhmat*’ ‘for the alleged’ indicates that the arrest is based on allegations rather than hard evidence. *bisababi man9ihu* “because of his denial’ in headline (54) presupposes he was denied entrance into the election rooms. The phrase introduced by *raGma* ‘in spite of’ in (55) presupposes the existence of abuse related to money, campaigning, and bullying.

The corpus headlines also manifest presuppositions that are based on words that have been subject to nominalization:

(56) *tawkiilaat muzawwara* limurašaHi l-maHZuura biʔalminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya

- wamuHaawalaatun faašila li?iθaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
'Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group)
and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble' (Algomhuria 12
June 2007)
- (57) ?alwafd HaSalat 9ala ?aalaaf *l-buTaaqaati l-muzawwara* fi
šawaara9a
The-Wafd got thousands of ballots tampered in streets
ssayyida zaynab wal?azbakiyya
of Al-Sayyida zaynab and ?azbakiyya
'The Wafd has found thousands of tampered ballots in the
streets of Al-Sayyida Zeinab and Al-Alazbakiyya' (Alwafd 14
June 2007)
- (58) haziima saaHiqa lil-maHZuura raGma l-maal wal-da9aaya wal-
defeat utter to-forbidden despite money and-publicity and
balTaja
bullying
'Utter Defeat of the forbidden group despite money, publicity
and Bullying' (Algomhuria 13 June 2007)
- (59) *najaaHu l-muqaata9a* šša9biyya li?intixaabaati š-šura
success the-boycotting people of-elections the Shura
'The success of people's boycotting of the Shura
elections'(Alwafd 13 June 2007)
- (60) fi jalsat munaqašaati l-?i9tidaa ?9ala *Yasir Hammoud*
in session discussions of-assault on Yasir Hammoud
'at the session for the assault on Yasir Hammoud' (Alwafd 13
June 2007)
- (61) 9ajaa?ib ?intixaabaati š-šura tu?akkid *Sawaab qaraari lwafd*
Weirdness elections the Shura confirms right decision Alwafd
bi9adami l-mušaaraka
not participation

‘The freaks of the Shura elections shows that the Wafd Part
was right on boycotting’ (Alwafd 16 June 2007)

The nominalization in the first two headlines, **tawkiilaat muzawwara** in (56) and **buTaaqaati l-muzawwara** in (57) presuppose the existence of forgery and tampering. The nominalization in headline (59) presupposes the existence of election boycotting by people. Similarly, the headline (60) presupposes the existence of aggression against **Yaser Hamoud**. The headline in (61) has nominalization (**Sawaab qaraari lwafd bi9adami lmušaraka**), which refers to the right decision taken by Alwafd concerning election boycotting, presupposes the existence of the decision and the actual boycotting implemented by the party.

Communication is essentially “incomplete and inferential — it is impossible to “say everything about anything at any point in time” (Winter 1994:47). To derive intended meanings from a text, the reader needs to use inferences based on context. This context is defined as “the space of possibilities that allows us to listen to both what is spoken and what is unspoken” (Winograd and Flores 1986:57). Presuppositions that are conventionally attributed to particular words are employed in the corpus:

(62) taʔxiir ʔi9laan nataaʔija ššura wal ʔarqaam takšifu **l9awda**
delay announcement results the Shura. The numbers reveal
return

ʔila jareemat taqfeeli SSanaadiiqi ššura
to the crime tampering ballot-boxes Al-Shura
‘Delay in the announcement of Alshura election results and
return To ballot-box tampering’ (Alwafd: 14 June 2007)

(63) tajdiid Habs 19 min ʔalmaHZuura
Renewal imprisonment 19 from the forbidden
‘The renewal of imprisonment for 19 (members) of the
forbidden group’(Algomhuria 17 June 2007)

In the headline in (62), the word **l9awda** ‘return’ presupposes that vote irregularities occurred before. Evidence that there is a presupposition

triggered by this word comes from negation: if the sentence is negated, the presupposition (i.e. the crime referred to has been committed before) remains intact: (ʔalaʔrqaam lam takšif 19awda ʔil jareemat taqfeeli SSanaadiiq.). In headline (63), the word **tajdeed** 'renewal' triggers a presupposition: they were imprisoned before.

The words that are imbued with presupposition can be difficult to explain unless we are aware of their special cultural significance in a given linguistic community at a certain time. This gives rise to intertextuality as defined by Hatim and Masson 1997:18. To take an example from the corpus, the following headline in which an item that assumes knowledge on the part of the reader has been used:

(64) naksat 11 yunyu
Defeat 11 June
'The June Defeat' (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

The reader will fail to grasp the full and intended meaning of the headline in (64) if s/he doesn't recognize the cultural significance of the word (**naksa**). This word is used to refer to a painful historical event, that is, the 1967 war which ended in the occupation of Sinai, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The term was in fact coined by the media as a euphemism for military defeat. The headline writer aims at arousing that event in the mind of the reader who will make an immediate link between the election procedures and the military defeat. The intended meaning is: the election procedures are abominable and will lead to disaster. Such intended meanings are impossible to retrieve unless the reader makes full understanding of the intertextual references present in the headlines.

7. Conclusion

Using the methodological framework of Develotte and Rechniewski (2001), I have attempted to explore the front-page headlines of two Egyptian daily newspapers that have different ideological positions: *Algomhuria* (a pro-government paper) and *Alwafd* (an opposition party newspaper). The study has shown that the headlines in the two newspapers have similar graphological and linguistic features. For instance, most of the headlines are nominal sentences. In addition, the

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headlines under discussion contain some colloquial expressions that are very common among readers.

The headlines also have their differences which echo their editorial policies, political affiliations and ideologies. For example, most headlines in Alwafd are one-part headlines. In contrast, more than half of Algomhuria headlines can be classified as multipart headlines. The corpus headlines have three linguistic features: designation, appraisal, and presupposition. These features reflect the ideological practice of representation manifested in newspaper headlines. In a nutshell, the study has shown that the ideological stand of a newspaper is expected to have an impact on the perspective of headline writers and on the way individuals and groups are designated.

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Appendix 1

Arabic consonants and vowels

Consonants:

- /b/ voiced bilabial stop
- /t/ voiceless dento-alveolar stop
- /D/ voiced dento-alveolar emphatic stop
- /T/ voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic stop
- /q/ voiceless uvular stop
- /ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop
- /G/ voiced uvular fricative
- /x/ voiceless uvular fricative
- /9/ voiced pharyngeal fricative
- /H/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative
- /Z/ voiced dental emphatic fricative
- /S/ voiceless dento-alveolar fricative
- /š/ voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
- /j/ voiced alveo-palatal affricate
- /s/ voiceless dento-alveolar fricative
- /z/ voiced dento-alveolar fricative
- /ð/ voiced dental fricative
- /θ/ voiceless dental fricative
- /w/ a voiced bilabial approximant
- /y/ a voiced palatal approximant

Vowels:

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| /i/ high front. | /ii/ its long counterpart |
| /u/ high back | /uu/ its long counterpart |
| /a/ low central | /aa/ its long counterpart |