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

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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. Algomiuria and Alwaafa). 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: Algomiuria and Alwaafa. 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 Têtu (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
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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 handwritten 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 reference, 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 Alghomria:

(1)

   The president gave by-vote-his at school MiSr aljadiida
   'The president voted at the MaSr aljadiida school Ballot.'

   Elections the Shura quiet and the results the final in
   ?alaa?atu ?ayyaam
   Three days
   'The Al-Shura elections are quiet and the final results in three
   days.'

c. Hiyaad taam lii?urTa.. wi?tibakaat maHduuda bidawa?iri
   Neutrality absolute the police and fightings limited at-
   constituencies
   ?s?arqyya 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. tawikiilaat muzawwara li?ura?saHi l-maHZuura bi?alminya
   documents forged for the-nominee the-forbidden in-Alminya
   waruHaawalaaatu faaSila li?iQaarati l-fawDaay
   and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
   'forged documents of forbidden group nominee in Al-Minia and
   unsuccessful attempts to stir troubles.'

   Al-Shareef: obliged for transparency and committed decisions
   Ilajna I?ulya
   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, Alwafid contributes 71.4% and Algomhuria 28.6%. Out of the eleven two-part headlines,

Table (1): one and multipart headlines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-part</th>
<th>2-part</th>
<th>3-part</th>
<th>4-part</th>
<th>5-part</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wafd</td>
<td>25 (71.4%)</td>
<td>4 (36.4%)</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
<td>10 (28.6%)</td>
<td>7 (63.6%)</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35 (67.31%)</td>
<td>11 (21.15%)</td>
<td>3 (5.77%)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(3.85%)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Algomhutria has 63.6%, whereas Alwafid only 36.4%. As for the three-part headlines or more, Alwafid has only 1 out of 6 (17%), whereas Algomhuria has 5 83%. Thus Most headlines in Alwafid (83.33%) are one-part, whereas only 45.4% of Algomhuria headlines consist of one part. Only 4 of AlWafid 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Type</th>
<th>number of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete sentences with no overt predicate or comment:</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal sentences: the predicate is realized by a noun, adjective:</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal sentences: the predicate is realized by a prepositional phrase</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal sentences: the predicate realized by a verbal sentence</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal sentences:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Alwafid 12 June 2007)

(3) ta?xiir 7i9laan nataa?iji ššura  
Delay announcement results Al-Shura  
"Announcement of elections delayed" (Alwafid: 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 naa?ibi lmaHZuura... muxaalifa  
car member of Parliament forbidden... illegal  
'The car of the MP for the forbidden group ticketed.'  
(Algomhurya 13 June 2007)
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(5) dimaʔaʔ fidaʔaʔirati l-Husayniya
   blood in Constituency Al-Husayniyya
   ‘Blood in Al-Husayniyya’ (Alwafd 12 June 2007)

(6) ʔalrəʔiis ʔadlaʔ biSawtihi ʔamaam madrasat miSri jjadiida
   The president gave by-vote-his at school MiSr aljadiiida
   ‘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 (ʔadlaʔ). 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) ʔalHizbu lwaTani yabdaʔu Himlati ttazwiir
   the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
   ‘The national Party begins a campaign of forgery’ (Alwafd 7 June 2007)

(8) ʔas̲əʔura yuʔaTil ʔimtaHanaati ʔOaanawiyya waldbloom
   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 biʔistid9aaʔ Al9aadli wahadaduu billijuʔ?
   Requested-3pl by-summoning Al9aadli and-threatened by-resorting to-the-liilbarlamaani dduwalai
parliament international
'They summoned Al-9aadli and threatened to resort to the
International Parliament' (Alwafid 13 June 2007)

(10) ra7iisu llajnati l9ulya: wa-?abTl-na 7ay Sanaädiq taTarqa
7ilyaha
§§ak
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 naziihathan wanuHa0ir 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 mura^aH 7i9tada 9alayhi 7anSaar mura^aHi lwaTani
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-
National
'The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the
National Party Candidate.’ (Alwafid 12 June 2007)

(13). . . wa 7iSabatu mura^aHin 7aaxar biGaybuuba bisababi ttazwiir
...and-injury candidate another by-coma because of forgery
'And another (candidate) went into a coma because of forgery'
(Alwafid 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

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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 (؟الجمَم ْة the group) is elided from the headline in (14), whereas in headline (15) the subject is elided:

(14) التاجمِيد للبس 19 ريال ؟الحماَرة
Renewal imprisonment 19 from the forbidden
'The renewal of imprisonment for 19 (members) of the forbidden group' (Algomhuria 17 June 2007)

(15) ظَمِير رضى: وَاعَجَّناكَ بِيُسَأَبَّيَب لَا بِالنَّائَرلايُبَي الْمَكَانَا
Al-Shireef: trust-pl by-the people not by-the-results no place
للحماَرة
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 (ناحْنُ) 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) ظَاوَفَ وَفَد لهاضِل 9الا ظَاىَئِف لَبُعُتْتاءَتُي 1-مُعاَوَّرة فِي
Alwafad found thousands the ballots forged in streets
سَيِّيْدَة يَزْنَاب وَالْمَزَبَكِيَّة
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Al-sayyida Zaynab and Al?azbakiyya
‘The Wafd has found thousands of tampered ballots in the streets of Al-Sayyida Zeinab and Al-A?azbakiyya’ (Alwafd 14 June 2007)

(17) Habsu lmuttaham biqatl DaHiyyati l?intixabaat
Imprisonment the-suspect for-killing victim the-elections
bi?jarqiyya
in Al-sharqiyya
‘The imprisonment of the suspect for the killing of elections in Al-Sharqiyya’. (Alwafd 14 June 2007)

(18)?iHaalat naa?ibi 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 Al?azbakiyya). 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 Al?azbakiyya’) that is responsible for the ambiguity. Similarly, the prepositional phrase (biljarqiyya ‘in Al-Si?arqiyya’) 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 Iqaatil ‘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.

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(19) Hizbu "ttakwiš" ?a9tabaraha Harban wa?istaxdam kuli l?aslłęHa Party "greed" considered-it a-war and-used all the-weapons not Gayra Imašruu9a Legal The party of "greed" considered it a war and-used all illegal weapons' (Alwafid 16 June 2007)

(20) mafiš fayda no use Hukm u l-qaDaa?i l- ?idaari ?anSafana... 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 Alghuria 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 Alwafid party, is not hostile towards the Islamic group. The attitudes of these newspapers are quite apparent in their designation of the group. Alghuria keeps referring to this group as ?almaHZuurah ‘the forbidden’:

(21) tajdid Habs 19 min ?almaHZuurah
Renewal imprisonment 19 from the forbidden
‘The renewal of imprisonment for 19 (members) of the forbidden group’ (Alghuria 17 June 2007)

(22) 51 lilwaTani bil?iqtira9 wa-12 biitazkiya walaa maqaa9id
51 for-the-National by-voting 12 without voting and no seats
for the-lilmaHZuurah
Forbidden
51 (seats) for the National by voting and 12 without and no seats for the “forbidden” (Alghuria 14 June 2007)

(23) haziim saaIliqa lil-maHZuurah 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’ (Alghuria 13 June 2007)

(24) tawkiilaat muzawwara limura?saHi l-maHZuurah bi?alminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamuHaawalaatun faa?ila li ?i?aarati l-fawDa4
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group) and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble (Algomhuría 12 June 2007)

(25) 15 yawman liʔa9Daaʔi l-maH Zuura.. qaɗafuu ѣMurTa biHijaara
‘15 days for the members of the forbidden: they threw stones at the police.’ (Algomhuría 10 June 2007)

In contrast, Alwafd refers to the same Islamic Group as ṭalʔixwaan ‘the Brothers’:

(26) ...nuwwabu ṭalʔixwaan yuḥadiduuna biʔiʕtiSaam
Representations of Brothers threaten sit-in (Alwafd 10 June 2007)

(27) ṭalʔixwaan yu9linuun taʔsis Hizb musteqil ba9di lʔintixaabaat
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 bibahQi lʔ9tidaaʔ 9la naaʔibi
Assign Committee parliament to-search the assault on representative of ṭalʔixwaan
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-maH Zuura ‘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 Algomhruria does not use the surname or family name, Alwa’id uses the name of Islamic group members: Algomhruria refers to the parliament member as naa?ibu lmaHZuurra ‘representative of the forbidden (group)’ instead of naa?ibu ﮟﺱﺍﺏ ‘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 naa?ibi l-maHZuurra... muxaalifa
Car the-Member the forbidden got a traffic ticket
‘The car of the MP of the forbidden group got a traffic ticket’
(Algomhruria 13 June 2007)

(30) tawkiilaat muzawwara limurašaHi l-maHZuurra bilminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
wamHaaawalaatun faašila liʔiGaaratI l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group)
and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble (Algomhruria 12 June 2007)

Note that in (29-30), Algomhruria 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, Alwa’id uses a strategy of individualisation (cf. Leeuwen 1996:48) when referring to the same person. Alwa’id, 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 munaqaṣatî l-ʔiʔtidâaʔ 9ala Yasir Hammoud
in session discussions-of-assault on Yasir Hammoud
‘at the session the discussion of the assault on Yasir Hammoud’
(Alwâfîd 13 June 2007)

Thus in government-controlled newspapers like Algomburia, 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 Alwâfîd.

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

(32) ʔanSaar muraṣaHî l-waTani qatal-uu ʔaabar daaXîl
Supporters candidate the-National killed-3pl young man inside
l-lajnati l-ʔiʔtixaabiyya
the ballot room
‘The supporters of the National Party candidate killed a young man .inside the Ballot room’ (Alwâfîd 12 June 2007)

(33) ʔiʔSaabat muraṣaHî ʔiʔtada 9alayhi ʔanSaar muraṣaHî lwaTani
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-National
‘The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the National Party Candidate.’ (Alwâfîd 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 Perfective the act is placed conspicuously in the foreground, because completed; in the
Imperf[ective], *the agent*, because still occupied in the act." (p.59). The imperfective verb form in all varieties of Arabic, "is associated with non-completeness." (Holes 1995:178). 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-faadDiH yaDa9 lajnata l-ʔintixabaat fi maʔzaq
The-tampering disgraceful places the committee elections in a
dilemma (Alwafid 14 June 2007)
‘The despicable tampering places the committee in a dilemma’

(35) ʔalHizbu lwaʔTani yabdaʔ Himlata ttazwiir
the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
‘The national Party begins a campaign of forgery’ (Alwafid 7
June 2007)

(36) ʔalwaʔTani yaktasiHu jjawla l-ʔuula li-ʔintixabaati ṣṣura
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) ʔatqaʔaariir ltuʔakkid:
najaaHu l-muʔqaata9a ṣṣa9biyya liʔintixaabaati ṣ-ṣuura
success the-boycotting people of-elections the Shura
‘The success of people’s boycotting of the Shura
elections’ (Alwafid 13 June 2007)

(38) taʔxiir ʔi9laan nataaʔiji ṣṣuura wal ʔarqaam takʔifu l9awda
delay announcement results the Shura. The numbers reveal return
ʔila jareemat taqfeeli SSanaadiiqi ṣṣuura
to the crime tampering ballot-boxes Al-Shura
‘Delay in the announcement of Alshura election results and
return To ballot-box tampering’ (Alwafid: 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) ṭalwatani 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) hazīima saaHīqa 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 llajnati l9ulya: ṭalʔintixabaat 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 saaHīqa ‘utter or overwhelming’ in (40) which celebrates the defeat of the Islamic group in the elections. The adjective naziihatan ‘clean’ in (41) emphasizes the integrity of the elections.
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Algohuria goes so far as to accuse the Islamic group of tampering with election documents as in:

(42) tawkillaat muzawwara limurašaHi l-maHZuura bialminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya
warnuHaawalaatun faašila liʔiΘaarati l-fawDaa
and attempts unsuccessful to-stir disorder
‘Forged documents for the candidate of the forbidden (group) and unsuccessful attempts to stir up trouble’ (Algohuria 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-ʔintixabaat fi maʔzaq
The-tampering disgraceful places the committee elections in a dilemma
‘The despicable tampering places the committee in a dilemma’ (Alwafūd 14 June 2007)

(44) ?alwafūd HaSalat 9ala ?aalaaf l-buTaaqaati l-muzawwara fi šawaara9a
The-Wafd got thousands of ballots tampered in streets
ssayyida zaynab walʔazbakīyya
of Al-Sayyida zaynab walʔazbakīyya
‘The Wafd has found thousands of tampered ballots in the streets of Al-Sayyida Zeinab and Al-Aʔazbakīyya’ (Alwafūd 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. 7intixaabaat haadiʔa fi jawlati l-ʔ9aada bil-muHaafaZaat
Elections Quiet in the round second in the governorates
‘Quiet elections in the second round in all cities.’

b. ʔašṣura 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 muSabiiin fi Sohaaj...mušaHanaat fi asyuuut waswaan wal-
BuHeera
6 injuries in Sohage...fightings in Assuit and Aswan and
BuHayra
‘6 injuries in Sohage... fights in Assuit and Al-BuHayra’

d. ʔalkaasif: ʔiHaalatu T-Tu9uun lilmajlis wa-šakaawi
Al-Kashif: sending objections to the Council and the-
complaints the-1-
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 (Alwaftd) 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) ?alHizbu lwaTani yabda? Himlat ?attazwiir
the-party the-national begins campaign forgery
‘The national Party begins a campaign of forgery’ (Alwaftd 7 June 2007)

(47) ?iSaabat murašaH ?i9tada 9alayhi ?anSaar murašaH ?alwaTani
The-injury candidate attacked by supporters candidate the-
National
‘The injury of a candidate attacked by the supporters of the
National Party Candidate.’ (Alwaftd 12 June 2007)

(48) ?iHaalat naa?ibi l-Hizbi l-waTani l-qaatil li-maHkamati j-
injaayaat
Sending PM the-party the National the-killer to-courthe-
criminal
‘The transfer of the National Party MP to the Criminal Court’. (Alwaftd 8 June 2007)

(49) ?anSaar murašaHi l-waTani qatal-uu šaaban daaxil
Supporters candidate the-National killed-3pl young man inside
l-lajnati l-7intixaabiyya -
the ballot room
‘The supporters of the National Party candidate killed a young
man inside the Ballot room’ (Alwaftd 12 June 2007)

The co-occurrence of the word waTani with words like ?attazwiir (cf. 46), ?i9tada (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.”
( Abdelfattah 1996:130). 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-qaDaani l- 7idaari ḏanSafana... walaakin tanquSuḥu
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 “ttakwiš” ḏa9tabaraha Harban wa9istaxdam kuli ḏasliHa
Party “greed” considered-it a-war and-used all the-weapons not
Gayra lmashruu9a
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 takwiš ‘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 discoursal deictic term but which has an additional conventional implicature, that is, some sort of contrast is to be stated. The discoursal deictic term therefore has a conventional implicature: that 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) ...waʔiSaabatu ʔaaxar biGaybuuba bisababi ttazwiir
     ... and injury another person by coma because of forgery
A Discourse Analysis of Arabic newspaper Front-page
Headlines: Egyptian newspapers as an example.

'Another (person) went into coma because of forgery'
(Alwafid 12 June 2007)

(53) ?alqabD 9ala muraśaH bituḥmat xaTf 7istimaraaati ttaSwiit
The arrest of candidate accused snatching ballot-papers
'The arrest of a nominee for snatching ballot papers (Alwafid 12
June 2007)

(54) 7insiHaabu 7awal muraśaH mu9aaq bisabab man9ihi min
duxuuli
Withdrawl first candidate disabled cause prevention entrance
liljaan
The withdrawal of the first handicapped nominee for being
denied entry into voting rooms (Alwafid 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' (Algosphuria 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) 'bituḥmat 'for the alleged' indicates that the arrest is based on
allegations rather than hard evidence. bisasabi man9ihi “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 limuraśaHli l-maHzuura bi7alminya
Proxies forged for the-candidate the-forbidden in-Alminya

31
wamuhawalaatun faa'sila 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 ʔalaaf l-buTaaqaati l-muzawwara fi
?awaara 9a
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) najaHnu l-muqaata9a 5ša9biyya liʔintixaabaati š-šuura
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 munaqašati l-ʔi9tidaa ʔ9ala Yasir Hammoud
in session discussions of-assault on Yasir Hammoud
‘at the session for the assault on Yasir Hammoud’ (AlwafD 13
June 2007)

(61) 9ajaaʔib ʔintixaabaati š-šuura tuʔakkid Sawaab qaraari hwafD
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 I-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 lwafid bi9adami Imušaraka**), 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 ʔawda
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’ (Alwafid: 14 June 2007)

(63) tajdiid Habs 19 min ʔalmaHZuur
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 **ʔawda** ‘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: (؟الآر量化lam takšif 19awda 71l jareemat taqfeeli SSanaadiq.). 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
A Discourse Analysis of Arabic newspaper Front-page Headlines: Egyptian newspapers as an example.

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 Alwaaf 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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Lund: Liberläromedel/Gleerup.


University of Reading Dissertation.

http://www.readership.org/new_readers/data/content_analysis.pdf


http://www.phil.cmu.edu/faculty/simons/home/materials/presupas GCI.jos.pdf


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
/ʔ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative
/H/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/R/ voiced dental emphatic fricative
/S/ voiceless dento-alveolar fricative
/ʃ/ voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
/j/ voiced alveo-palatal affricate
/ʂ/ 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
/a/ high back /uu/ its long counterpart
/ɑ/ low central /aa/ its long counterpart